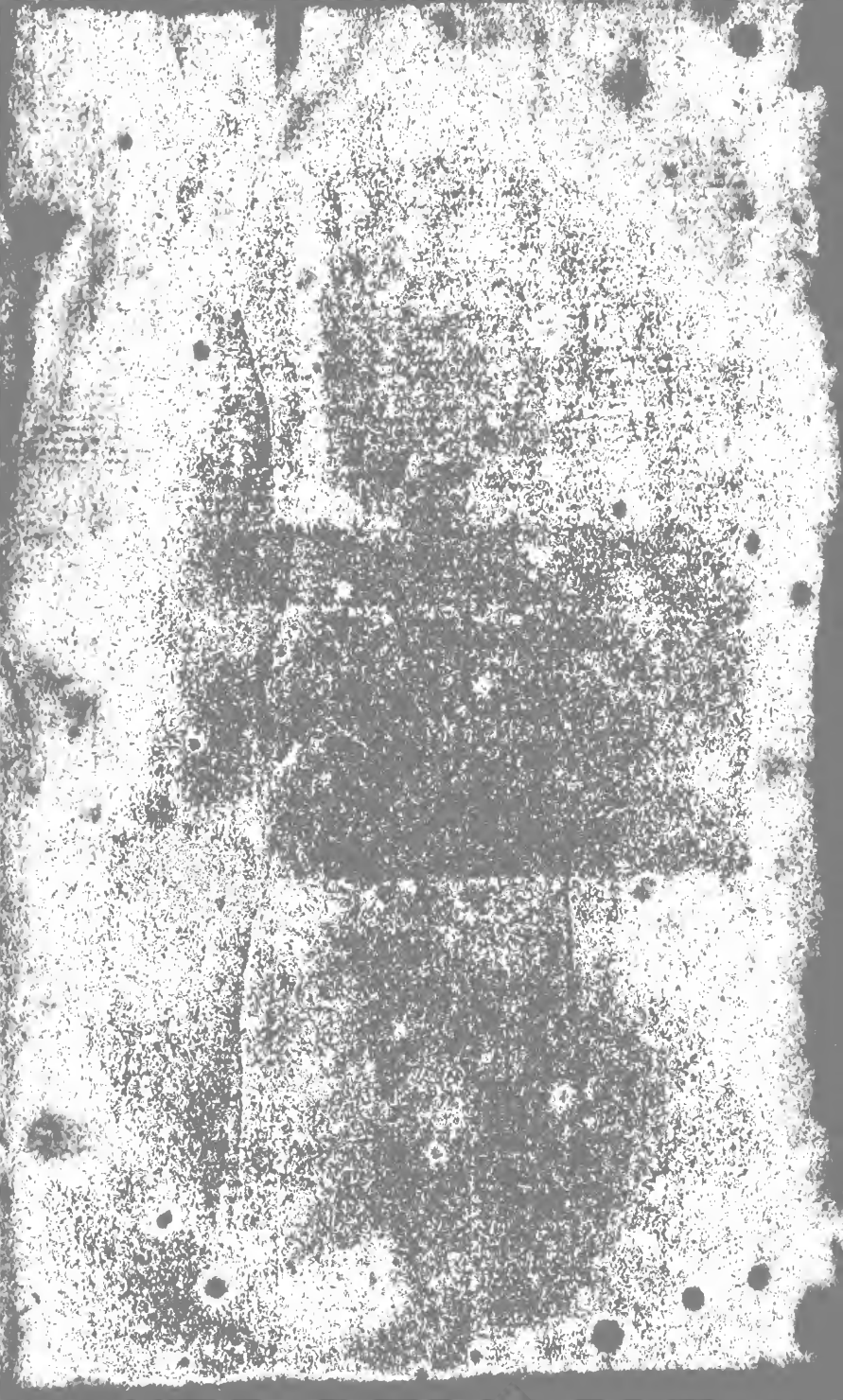




Mrs. Pierre Bruneau,

MONTARVILLE.









THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by
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Translated into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes, by
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ILLUSTRATED WITH
MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS
and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.

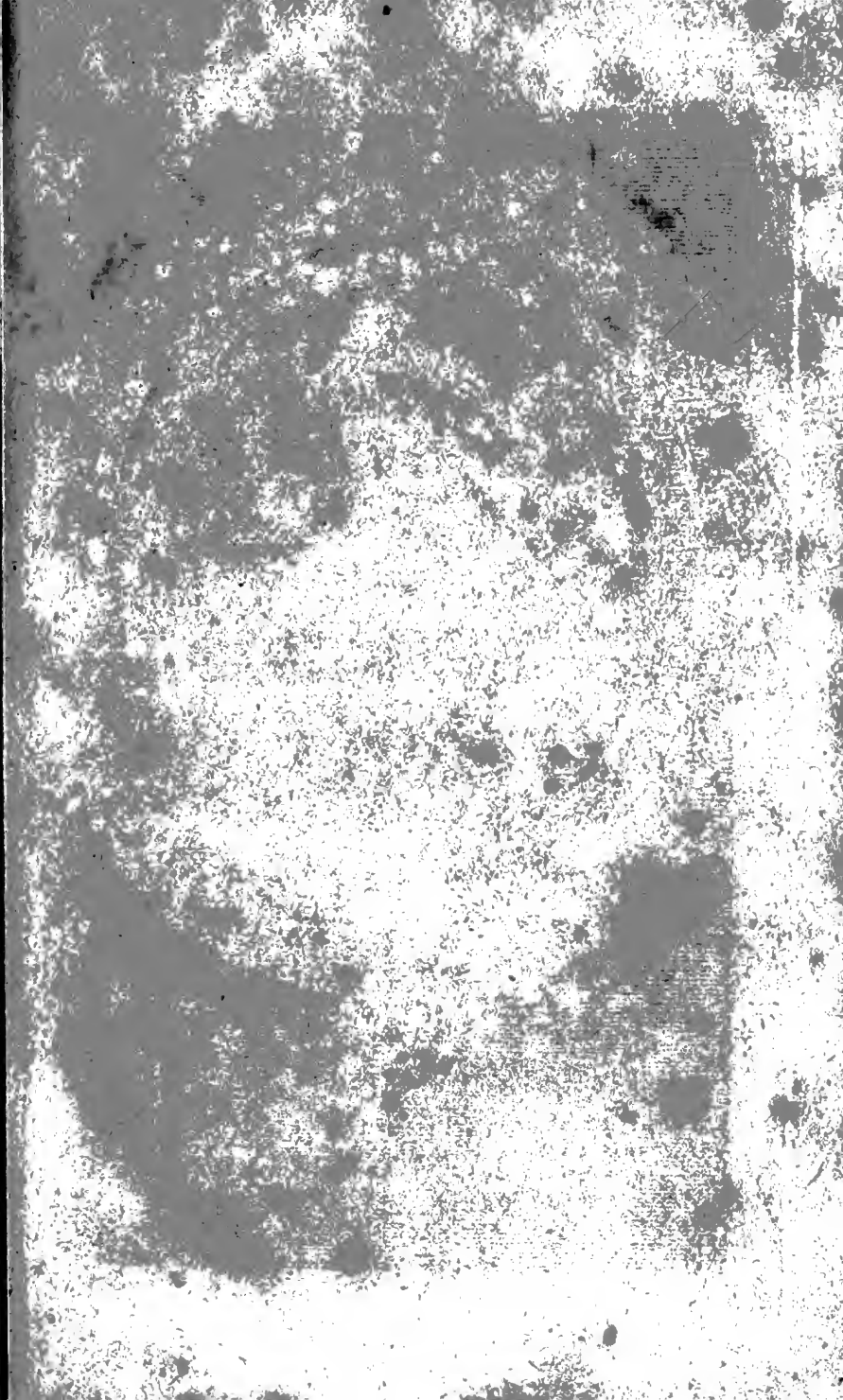
V O L. VI.

L O N D O N :

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K. HENRY VIII

Vertue Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

*The reign of HENRY VIII. containing the space of
thirty seven years and nine months.*

20. HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. son and successor of Henry VII. ^{Henry VIII.} came to the crown at the age of eighteen years, ^{1509.} wanting a few months ^{1509.} ^{His educa-} The lord Herbert, his ^{tion.} historian, says, the king his father designed him at first for the archbishoprick of Canterbury, because, having an elder son, there was no likelihood that Henry would ascend the throne. And therefore, continues he, care was taken to instruct him in all the parts of learning necessary for a prince that was one day to be a churchman. He would have spoken more justly, if he had only said, that Henry VII. had such a design when he first put him upon his studies. But as the young prince was become his heir-apparent at the age of eleven years, it could not be with the same view, that he caused him to pursue the study of such parts of learning as were proper for a clergyman. It is more likely therefore, that the king his father kept him to his studies, for fear his active and fiery spirit should carry him

^a He was born June 28, 1491, and came to the crown April 22, 1509.

1509. to more dangerous employments ^b. He was only son of queen Elizabeth, heiress of the house of York. Consequently he might have given the king his father some trouble, had he thought of asserting his right as heir to his mother. However, Henry having taken a relish for learning in his younger years, preserved it ever after. He always delighted in perusing good books, and conversing with the learned, even when the multitude of his affairs seemed to divert him from such kind of employments. By that means he made advances in the sciences very uncommon to great princes. Francis I. his cotemporary, stiled by the French historians, the father of the muses, was in learning much his inferior. He spoke French and Latin very well and readily. He was perfectly skilled in musick, as two entire masses composed by himself, and often sung in his chapel, do abundantly witness. He was exercised in the most abstruse points of the Aristotelian philosophy, which alone was in vogue in those days. But he applied himself chiefly to the study of divinity, as it was then taught in the universities, all stuffed with useles questions. Thomas Aquinas's summary was his favourite book.

Herbert.

Hollingsh.

Henry has good conceit of himself.

He is often imposed upon.

His good qualities.

This knowledge, which was considered as a great accomplishment, even in ordinary persons, had upon the young prince an effect which is not unusual. It gave him a good opinion of himself, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his life. The excessive commendations bestowed upon him by all, helped to confirm him in this conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the affairs of the state, he fancied himself very able; and this presumption was the cause of his being often the dupe of those princes with whom he was concerned, as will more amply appear in the course of his reign.

But in remarking that this prince had a great deal of self-conceit, I don't pretend to rob him of, or any ways lessen, the noble qualities he had from nature or education. In his youth he was very handsome, and expert in all bodily exercises, as much as, or more than, any prince of his time. Accordingly, he was passionately fond of all those diversions, which gave him an opportunity to shew his activity. He was courageous without ostentation, of a free and open temper, an enemy to fraud and insincerity, scorn-

^b Burnet says, his father had given orders, that both his elder brother and he should be well instructed in matters of knowledge, not with design to make

him archbishop of Canterbury, for he had made small progress when his brother died.

1509.

ing to use indirect means to compass his ends. His liberality perhaps was as much too great as the king his father's avarice. Henry VII. seemed to have been solicitous to accumulate riches, only to afford his son the pleasure to squander them away without any discretion.

As Henry VIII. when he mounted the throne, was little experienced in the affairs of the government, he made use at first of the king his father's ministers and counsellors. The principal were, William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England (of whom honourable mention is made by Erasmus somewhere in his writings); Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, who had been employed in the late reign, in the nicest affairs; Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, lord treasurer of England, son of the duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth field, fighting for Richard III. George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord steward of the king's household; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law; sir Edward Poyning, knight of the garter, controller, whose name is still famous for a statute enacted in Ireland in the former reign, whilst he had the government of that island; sir Charles Somers, lord Herbert of Gower, Chepstow, and Ragland, lord chamberlain^d.

His first
counsellors.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

Henry VII.'s funeral was celebrated with great magnificence a few days after his death. His body was interred at Westminster in the chapel built by himself, and for the adorning whereof he had spared no cost. This chapel passed then for one of the stateliest in Christendom. Henry VII. covetous as he was, laid out fourteen thousand, some say, twenty thousand pounds sterling, a very considerable sum in those days, when money was much scarcer in Europe than at present^e.

Henry VII's
funeral.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Stow.
Herbert.

^c Erasmus of Rotterdam came over into England, in 1497, and studied some time in Oxford and Cambridge. His instructions mightily promoted the new learning, and particularly the knowledge of the Greek tongue.

^d He bore that title upon marrying a daughter of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon. He was natural son to Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, killed at Henham. To these counsellors the lord Herbert adds, sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower, sir Henry Wyat, sir Henry Marney, afterwards

(1532) lord Marney, sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards (1511) lord Darcy. These he says were selected out of those his father most trusted, by the countess of Richmond his grandmother, and farther observes, that this council was of scholars chiefly and of soldiers, without so much as one lawyer, which he wonders at, p. 2.

^e His tomb, perfected by his executors 1519; cost a thousand pounds, which, as money went then, might be thought a sumptuous monument. Herbert, p. 2.

1509.

Herbert.

The lord
Stafford sent
to the
Tower.
Hall.Ruthal is
made bishop
of Durham.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 256,

258.

General
pardon.Proclama-
tion to en-
courage the
people to
complain.

Stow.

Hollingsh.

Herbert.

Pol. Virg.

While the obsequies were preparing, the new king privately retired from his palace of Richmond to the Tower of London, under colour of withdrawing on account of the king his father's death. But it was rather to settle with his ministers some affairs which would not admit of delay. Whilst he was thought in his retirement to be employed in devotion, he ordered Henry lord Stafford, brother of the duke of Buckingham, to be apprehended, probably upon some groundless suspicion, which soon vanished, since shortly after, he was created earl of Wiltshire.

The see of Durham, vacant by the translation of Christopher Bambridge, to the archbishoprick of York, was conferred on Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law, and one of the privy council ^f.

A few days after, the king confirmed his father's general pardon granted before his death ^g. But all offenders had not the benefit thereof. A proclamation quickly appeared, wherein the king said, that, being informed his good subjects had been oppressed under the specious pretence of preserving the prerogatives of the crown, he gave them leave to bring their complaints, and promised them satisfaction. The design of the proclamation was not to restore to his subjects the sums unjustly extorted by the late king, but only to encourage them to exhibit their complaints against Empson and Dudley, the instruments made use of by Henry VII. and to give them some sort of satisfaction, by punishing these two ministers.

When the proclamation was published, numberless petitions were presented against them. This was what the court wanted, not only because these men were odious to the whole nation, but moreover to show the people, the new king intended to rule in a very different manner from the king his father. Upon all these petitions, Empson and Dudley were called before the council, where they were briefly told the principal articles alledged against them.

Empson and
Dudley are
called before
the council.

^f And pope Julius sent him the form of the oath he was to take to the holy see, of which, the curious reader may see a copy in Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. XIII. p. 256.—About this time, the king confirmed to John, earl of Oxford, the possession of the castle of Colchester, granted to his ancestor Alberic de Vere, by the empress Maud; and appointed sir Edward Howard, standard bearer, with a salary of forty pounds a year;

and sir Thomas Boleyn, warden of the exchange at Calais, with a salary of thirty pounds six shillings and eight pence. *Ibid.* p. 251, 258.

^g Out of which were excepted all persons guilty of murder, felony, and treason. In the same pardon, all vagabonds and sturdy beggars were ordered to depart out of London, and repair to the several places where they were born. Stow, p. 486.

Empson answered for both, "That the accusation was of
 " a very new and strange nature: that usually men were
 " prosecuted for acting against the laws, or disobeying their
 " sovereign; but for their part, they were accused by the
 " people of executing the laws, of which they themselves
 " were the authors: that, on the other hand, the king
 " called them to an account for obeying his father's ex-
 " press orders, unheard-of crime! the punishment whereof
 " would be apt to throw all his subjects into rebellion:
 " that if they must be punished for such offences, he de-
 " sired it might not be divulged to foreign nations, lest
 " they should infer, that the final dissolution of the Eng-
 " lish government was approaching." To this it was briefly
 " replied, "That he had spoke with great freedom; but
 " his eloquence was fruitless and unseasonable: that they
 " were not accused of executing the laws, or of obeying
 " the king, but of stretching the laws beyond their due
 " bounds, and exceeding their sovereign's commission,
 " which accusations they had reason to fear were too
 " well proved." Then they were both committed to the
 " Tower ^h. The king was resolved to make them an ex-
 " ample, in order to content the people who were extremely
 " incensed against them. Thus their condemnation was re-
 " solved before their appearance, though it was not yet
 " known on what to ground their process. In any other
 " country, an act of sovereignty to send these two men to
 " the gallows, would have been seen with joy. But it is
 " not the same in England, where the greatest criminals have
 " privileges, of which they cannot be debarred, without giv-
 " ing the people occasion to think, the court is forming
 " designs against liberty. It was necessary therefore to search
 " for some express law to condemn them. But upon exam-
 " ining the accusation, already brought against them, great
 " difficulties occurred. It appeared, that though they were
 " accused of numberless offences, nothing could be proved
 " but their merciless execution of the laws. But notwith-
 " standing they had stretched these same laws as far as the
 " words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a
 " crime, since they had the king's warrant, in whom the
 " execution of the laws is lodged. It is true, Henry VII.
 " contrary to the custom of his predecessors, had acted ac-
 " cording to the utmost rigour of the statutes. But he might

1509.

Empson's
defence.
Herbert.
Hall.Hollingsh.
Pol. Virg.

Herbert,

They are
sent to the
Tower.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

^h Their promoters and instruments were also apprehended, and put in the pillory. Hall, fol. 1. Stow, p. 437.

1509.

do it, and if the former kings had done otherwise, it was more out of condescension than justice. These two ministers, therefore could not be tried for obeying him. Besides, to condemn them for executing their master's orders, was publickly dishonour that prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his severities upon his subjects. It was resolved therefore to put them to death upon a false accusation, of intending to withdraw their allegiance from the king since his accession to the throne. It is evident, the accusation was entirely groundless. For how could two persons, so odious to the whole nation, and deprived of all credit by the death of Henry VII. think of such a design, and still less put it in executionⁱ! Mean while, it was not scrupled to take away their lives for a forged crime, because they were believed worthy of death, though not condemned by the letter of the law. Upon this frivolous accusation, they were brought before their proper judges, and found guilty, whether false witnesses were suborned against them, or by a mental reservation, hitherto unknown in England in judgments of this nature. Dudley was tried at London the 16th of July, but Empson was not condemned till the 14th of October at Northampton. Henry, either out of scruple, or some other motive, suspended their execution till the next year^k.

Slight accusation against them.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.
Stow.

They are condemned to die.

Hall.

Debate about the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon.
Herbert.

Whilst means were contriving to dispatch these two ministers, the king and the council had a much more important affair to take into consideration. We have seen, in the former reign, prince Arthur's marriage with Catherine of Arragon: that prince's death without issue; the reasons inducing king Henry VII. to desire, that prince Henry, become his heir apparent, should marry his brother's widow; the consent of Ferdinand and Isabella, father and mother of the princess; and pope Julius's dispensation for the marriage. The true reason why Henry VII. proposed this match was, his unwillingness to restore the hundred thousand crowns received in part of Catherine's dower. He was also afraid of losing the other half, which remained to be paid. In short, he foresaw, that, after the receipt of the

ⁱ They were accused, as appears in their indictments upon record, of a conspiracy against the king and state, of summoning, during the late king's sickness, certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning; and upon the king's death to hasten to London, from whence it was inferred by

the jury, that they intended either to seize the king's person, or to destroy him. Herbert, p. 4.

^k King Henry the VIIth's executors made restitution, this year, of great sums of money extorted from many persons by those two oppressors. Hall. fol. 7.

whole,

whole, the princess his daughter-in-law would indispenfibly enjoy her settlement of the third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, and the county of Cornwall. However, as it was not decent to urge such a motive to the pope, to obtain a dispensation for so strange a marriage, which could not but be deemed scandalous, it was pretended to be necessary to preserve the peace between Henry VII. and the king and queen of Spain. That was the motive alledged to the pope, which he readily considered as sufficient, though there was but too much reason to question whether it was the true one.

In consequence of the pope's dispensation, Henry and Catherine were solemnly affianced. Nevertheless, whether Henry VII. intended only to deceive Ferdinand, and get the remaining hundred thousand crowns, or was moved by the remonstrances of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the marriage, he so ordered it, that the prince, his son, on the very day he was fourteen years of age, made, in the presence of certain witnesses, a protestation in form against the consent he had given. But the protestation was kept so secret, that it came not to the knowledge of the publick till it was necessary, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of Henry VII.'s death, Ferdinand sent to the earl of Fuensalida, his ambassador in England, a very ample power to renew the treaty of alliance made with the deceased king, ordering him withal, to demand the confirmation and execution of that which was concluded for Catherine's second marriage with prince Henry, now become king of England.

Hall.
Herbert.

Burnet's
Ref. T. I.
p. 38.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 249.
May 11.

The Spanish ambassador having presented a memorial upon this occasion, it was deliberated in council whether the king should consummate the marriage with Catherine. The affair was debated with great attention. Against the marriage it was alledged, that for a man to marry his brother's widow was a thing unheard of among christians: that such a marriage was contrary to the law of God, and therefore it was a question, whether the pope had power to dispense with it. This was the archbishop of Canterbury's opinion, who could not forbear considering the marriage as really incestuous. But Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, was of another mind. He strenuously insisted upon the pope's dispensation, and the unlimited power of Christ's vicar. He affirmed, " That the pope's granting a dispensation, was a certain proof that he had the power, and was sufficient to satisfy the king's conscience: that no person upon earth

" could

Difficulties
about the
marriage.
Burnet.
Reasons for
and against
it.

1509.

“ could limit, or so much as inquire into the papal authority; and though such a power should be ascribed to a general council, at least the council of England could not pretend to it.” To these arguments concerning conscience, the bishop added others drawn from reasons of state, and the king’s particular interest. He said, “ that probably, the king would have, during the course of his reign, many disputes with France, England’s old enemy, and whether he would attack or only defend, the alliance with Spain was absolutely necessary: that in sending back the princess Catherine after having affianced her, he would affront king Ferdinand, which he would certainly revenge by leaguings with France, and such a league could not but endanger England, or at least be extremely expensive to the nation: that moreover, if the king refused to consummate his marriage with Catherine, he must resolve either to restore her dower, or suffer her to enjoy her settlement: but by marrying her he would save the hundred thousand crowns received by the king his father, gain another hundred thousand, which the king of Arragon was to pay, and avoid the great charge of marrying another princess, and conducting her into England. In fine, he enlarged upon the sweet and virtuous temper of the princess of Wales, capable of making a husband perfectly happy.” Adding, “ there was no room to doubt, that the princess was still a virgin, since she herself affirmed it, offering even to be tried by matrons, to show that she spoke the truth.”

Pol. Virg.

Henry resolves to marry Catherine.

All these arguments, except the first, concerning the dispensation, were very strong. As to that, it was so dangerous for a churchman to dispute the pope’s authority, especially such a pope as Julius II. who was still in his vigour, that the archbishop of Canterbury durst not persist openly in his opinion. So, the king closing with the bishop of Winchester’s and almost the whole council’s sentiments, it was resolved he should consummate his marriage. But first he required of the princess that she should renounce by a solemn act her dower of two hundred thousand crowns, and consent that the sum should belong to the king her spouse, to be claimed again neither by herself nor heirs, nor by king Ferdinand her father, nor queen Joan her sister, nor any person living, on any pretence whatsoever. Two days after, the earl of Fuenfaldida made the like renunciation in the name of king Ferdinand and queen Joan. Catherine’s letters patents, where-

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 251. June 7.

Ib. p. 253, 254.

in the styles herself only princess of Wales, bearing date June the 7th, it is evident, the king married her not on the third of that month, as historians affirm, nor sooner than the day these letters were signed. Their coronation was solemnized on the 24th of the same month, and five days after died Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother ¹.

In the beginning of his reign, Henry willingly left to his council and ministers the care and management of his affairs. As he was in peace with all his neighbours, what passed in the kingdom could not keep him much employed. He thought only of such pleasures and diversions, as were more suitable to his years, than application to business. But as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments at court were very expensive. The ancient bishop of Winchester, Henry VII.'s old minister, could not help murmuring to see the money lavished away without any necessity, which his deceased master had amassed with so much care, pains, and injustice, in which he had himself been employed. He threw all the blame upon the earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, who was his rival in favour under the late king, and continued to be so still under the present, by gaining the affection of his new master by a blind compliance to his will. During Henry's VII.'s life he was more close, and harder to part with money than the king himself. How express soever the orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his court admirably to his master. Being continued in his post in the present reign, he became quite another man. He not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but also put the king upon spending extravagantly. This gained him the favour of the young prince, who was naturally addicted to prodigality. The bishop of Winchester openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the king's interest. But he was little regarded, in a court where every one was striving to make an advantage of the sovereign's liberal temper. Mean while, his discourses exasperated more and more the earl of Surrey and the young courtiers against him, who never ceased to do him ill offices with the king. Thus the bishop, who was in so great credit in the late reign, gradually lost it in this. His disgrace, which sat heavy upon his mind, threw him upon devising means to supplant his rival, by introducing at court Thomas Wolfey,

1509.
Hall, &c.
Death of the countess of Richmond.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Henry gives himself up to his pleasures.
Hollingh.
Stow.
Quarrel between the bishop of Winchester and the earl of Surrey.
Surrey's character.
Pol. Virg.
Herbert.

Herbert.
He introduces Wolfey at court.

¹ She was buried at Westminster. Stow, p. 487.

1509.

whose qualifications he was no stranger to. Wolsey was a clergyman, already eminent for his merit, though he was but a butcher's son of Ipswich. The bishop of Winchester easily foresaw, the king would soon be in want of persons about him, fit and able to ease him; and as he knew Wolsey's genius, did not question that when he was at court, he would render himself necessary to the king. To that end, he procured him the place of almoner. We shall see presently that the bishop was not mistaken in his judgment, or rather that his foresight was far short of Wolsey's fortune ^m.

About the middle of the year, the treaties concluded between Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, were confirmed or renewed by the bishop of Murray, who was sent into England to congratulate Henry upon his accession to the crown.

The emperor Maximilian sent also an embassy to Henry, to congratulate him, and confirm the treaties made with Henry VII. in the year 1502.

Christopher Bambridge, archbishop of York, being at Rome, where he was gone to have his election confirmed, received a commission from the new king to act as his ambassador. We shall see presently the reason, why the pope wanted to have an English ambassador reside at his court, and why the king was desirous to be particularly informed of what passed at Rome, and in all Italy.

^m Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in March 1471. He was sent so early to Oxford, that he was bachelor of arts at fourteen years of age, and from thence called the boy bachelor. Soon after he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, and when master of arts, had the care of the school adjoining to that college committed to him. Being charged with the education of the marquis of Dorset's three sons, his lordship presented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire, October 10, 1500. He had not long resided at his living, before sir Amias Powlet, a justice of peace, put him in the stocks for being drunk (as is said,) and raising disturbances at a fair in the neighbourhood. By the recommendation of sir John Nafant, he was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1506, he was instituted to the rectory of Bedgrave, in the diocese of Norwich; having then, be-

sides the rectory of Lymington, the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent. Rymer's Fed. tom. XIII. p. 217. Whilst he was king's chaplain, he insinuated himself into the favour of Fox, bishop of Winchester, and of sir Thomas Lovel, who recommended him to the king as a fit person to be employed in negotiating the marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret, duchess of Savoy. He was dispatched to the emperor her father, and returned with such speed, that the king seeing him, supposed he had not been gone. Having reported his embassy, he was made dean of Lincoln, February 8, 1508, and on the 20th of the same month, prebendary of Walton Brinhold, in that church. In these circumstances he was when he was introduced at court by bishop Fox, after Henry VII.'s death, where he soon found means to insinuate himself into the favour of his son and successor. Burnet's Hist. Ref. Fiddes.

These

Confirmation of the treaties with Scotland, Act. Pub. XIII. p. 257, 261, 267. and with the emperor. p. 260. Aug. 20. Bambridge archbishop of York ambassador at Rome. p. 264. Sept. 24.

1590.

Necessity of knowing the affairs of Italy, for the full understanding the history of Henry VIII.

These were the most remarkable occurrences in England, during the first eight months of the reign of Henry VIII. They were for the most part domestick affairs of little importance, except the king's marriage which was attended with very great consequences. But there passed abroad matters of great moment, which became as it were the source of the troubles wherewith almost all Christendom was agitated for above fifty years, and wherein England was but too much engaged. For some time, the affairs of Europe had begun to have a new face, and what happened this year in Italy put them upon such a foot, as obliged almost every sovereign to be concerned therein. Henry VIII. unhappily entangled himself in the troubles of that country, which seem to have had no relation to him. This makes the knowledge of the affairs of Italy so absolutely necessary, that without it neither the events of this reign can be understood, nor the king's character fully known. It will therefore be proper to enlarge upon this subject, which concerns not only the history of England, but also those of France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland; the principal events whereof, for a long space of time, flowed properly from the affairs of Italy. It is true, most of the authors who have writ the histories of the states, supposed their readers to be acquainted with what passed in Italy at the same time. They have thereby much shortened their works; but withal rendered them very obscure to those who were not so fully instructed as they have supposed. For my part I intend another course. Since the affairs of Italy are the foundation of most of the occurrences in Europe and particularly in England, during almost one half of the sixteenth century, I think they ought to be spoken of something largely, which alone can clear the particular histories proceeding from thence. But to avoid tedious digressions, it is necessary to give first a distinct idea of the state of Italy, as well as of the character and interests of the several princes.

I have already related, in the foregoing reign, how Lewis XII. assisted by the Venetians, conquered the duchy of Milan upon Ludovico Sforza, pretending a right to it as grandson to Valentina Visconti, daughter of John Galeazzo I. duke of Milan. I have likewise had occasion to speak of the conquest of Naples by the united arms of Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, and of the means used by Ferdinand to remain sole master of that kingdom. It will suffice therefore to add here, that though Lewis XII. lost his portion of that conquest, he desisted not from his pretensions, but was waiting for a favourable

State of Italy, Milan, and Naples.

1509.

vourable opportunity to assert them. I must now briefly speak of the other states of Italy, and first of the ecclesiastical state.

Ecclesiastical state.

Before the kings of France and Spain had set foot in Italy, the popes were as sovereign arbiters of that country. But it was not so much by their temporal arms as their spiritual, of which they made frequent use. For some centuries past they had lost great part of the demesns formerly belonging to the church. About the end of the reign of Otho I. the ecclesiastical state consisted of the city of Rome and its territory, with Tuscany, the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, Ravenna, all La Romagna, and the whole country in general comprised formerly under the exarchateⁿ. But afterwards, during the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, the emperors wrested from the popes all Tuscany and several towns in other parts. Some of these towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the church, and the popes themselves had been forced to grant others in fee to lords who served them; or from whom they expected assistance. At length, the emperor Rodolphus I. having sold liberty to as many cities of Italy as would purchase it, there were several formerly belonging to the church that embraced the opportunity to shake off at the same time both the emperor's and the pope's yoke^o. Hence there were quickly in Italy almost as many sovereignties as cities. The strongest subdued the weakest, and fell at last themselves under the dominion, or rather the tyranny of some of their own citizens, who found means to seize the whole power. In this manner were formed in Italy several petty states, out of the ruins of what the ancient kings of Italy, the emperors, and the popes had formerly possessed.

In the pontificate of Alexander VI. the ecclesiastical state was reduced within narrower bounds than before, though the popes had preserved the sovereignty of several cities, of which they were no longer proprietors. Of this number, were Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, Urbino, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Imola, Cesena, Perugia. Notwithstanding all these losses, they were still very powerful, because their spiritual

ⁿ So was this district formerly called, because it was governed by the emperor of Constantinople's general in the west, named his exarch, who resided at Ravenna. The first exarch was under Justin the young, in 567, after Belisarius and Narses had driven the barbarians out of Italy: the last was

Eutychius, defeated by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, in 751. Pepin, king of France, turned him out of the exarchate, and made a present of it to the pope.

^o As Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Bologna, &c.

arms gave them great advantages over their neighbours. Moreover, besides the revenues of the ecclesiastical state, they had very considerable incomes from all Christendom.

But when Lewis XII. took possession of the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, the affairs of Italy had quite another face. Then the temporal power of the popes was nothing in comparison of that of these two monarchs, who, besides their dominions in Italy, had moreover at their command the forces of two large kingdoms. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs met with much more opposition, when they had a mind to brandish their spiritual weapons, whose force was in proportion to the weakness of those against whom they were darted. For that reason they sought all sorts of means to drive the foreigners out of Italy. But as they could not by their own strength execute such a design, they were forced to make use of one of these kings to destroy the other, in which their policy was often deceived. For, they could not humble one without giving the other a superiority more destructive of their interests, than the equality which was between them before. This for many years was the occasion of all the pope's intrigues, and withal an incumbrance they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; sometimes setting them at variance, they remained spectators of the war; and sometimes they called in foreigners to make the balance incline to the side they intended to favour. But whatever was the success of these wars, the conqueror always became very formidable to the pope and all Italy. It is certain therefore that the conquests of Naples and Milan gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the popes, and were also very prejudicial to their spiritual authority. As the popes from thenceforward had frequent occasions of quarrel with the kings of France, now become their neighbours, they sometimes used their spiritual arms, but not with the same success as formerly against the sovereigns of Italy. As they had to deal with princes who did not easily bend, they only gave them occasion to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the popes.

Besides the interest of their see, the Roman pontiffs had also that of their family, of which they were no less mindful. Each of them seeking to raise his nephews or other relations, all the cities formerly belonging to the church were so many objects that inflamed their desires. Alexander VI. who of all the popes his predecessors was the least scrupulous,

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had formed the design of making Cæsar Borgia his bastard a great prince, by erecting him a state out of several cities of La Romagna, which still owned the pope's sovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this design it was, that Cæsar Borgia either by fraud or force became master of Perugia, Urbino, Imola, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Cesena, under colour that the possessors had not been punctual in paying the tribute or annual relief to the holy see. But Alexander VI. dying before his son was well settled in his conquests, it happened, during the short pontificate of Pius III. and the interval between his death and the election of Julius II. that the former owners of these cities found means to recover them. This was chiefly by the assistance of the Venetians, who for their pains kept Faenza and Rimini.

Character
and design
of Julius II.
Guicciard.

Julius II. who succeeded Pius III. formed for the house of la Roverè, of which he was, the same projects as Alexander VI. had formed for that of Borgia. He was no sooner in the papal chair, but he begun the execution of his designs with imperiously acquainting the Venetians, that his intention was to reannex to the church whatever had been alienated, and therefore they must restore Faenza and Rimini. Upon their refusal he demanded aid of the emperor Maximilian. This was properly the first rise of the league of Cambray, mentioned in the foregoing reign, and of which I shall be obliged to speak more fully hereafter.

The republic
of Venice.
Paruta.
Dogliani.
Sabellico.
Embo, &c.

The senate of Venice had long passed for the wisest and most politick assembly in the world. By their prudence and abilities they had by degrees formed in terra firma^p a state, which being supported by a very strong naval force, was inferior to none in Italy. This state consisted of Friuli, Treviso, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, Rovigo, and the whole Polesin, Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini. Most of these cities with their territories were formerly part of the kingdom of Italy. After that, they fell under the dominion of the German emperors, who governed them by their vicars. At length, either these vicars were become sovereigns, or being expelled, the cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again afterwards under the tyranny of some private persons, who had usurped an absolute power. Of these it was that the Venetians had acquired them either by money or arms. But however it be, when

^p The towns belonging to the republic of Venice are of two sorts: those in Lombardy, that compose terra

firma, or the firm land state; the rest are maritime, and called the sea state.

they had made these acquisitions, it is certain, the authority of the emperors was seldom acknowledged. Mean while the emperors still preserved their pretensions to all these cities, as having been formerly parts of the empire, or rather of the kingdom of Italy, enjoyed by some of their predecessors. Friuli was conquered upon the church of Aquileia, to whom it was presented by Otho I. Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, formerly belonged to the see of Rome. Rovigo and the Polesin were conquered upon the duke of Ferraro. Cremona and Gierradadda, appertained to the duchy of Milan, having been resigned by Lewis XII. Brescia was taken from the dukes of Milan, and Crema freely given up by duke Francis Sforza. They had still in the kingdom of Naples five maritime places, mortgaged to them by one of the kings.

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Bologna ^q was a rich and powerful city, but not so considerable as formerly. Civil discords had at length compelled her upon certain terms to submit to the church. After that, the city was governed by the pope's legates, sent thither from time to time. But their dominion suffered frequent interruptions. The legates oppressing the people forced them often to shake off their yoke, and expel them the city. But it was only to fall again under the tyranny of the heads of faction, who by their oppressions forced them to have recourse to the pope and receive his legates again. This is what happened several times. In the year 1440, Hannibal Bentivoglio became so powerful, that he was little less than a sovereign. From that time to 1506 some one of the family of Bentivoglio held the government, though the pope's legates were still admitted and honoured, but without having any real power. At last Julius II. not content with this shadow of authority, demanded in 1506 aid of Lewis XII. to make himself master of Bologna. Though France had hitherto protected the Bentivoglios, Lewis however ordered the governor of Milan to send the pope troops. Whereupon John Bentivoglio, head of that house, seeing himself forsaken by the king of France, quitted Bologna with all his family, and retired to Milan, leaving the city to the pope.

Bologna.
Ghirard.
Alberti.

The duchy of Ferrara ^r was a fief of the church, long possessed by the family of Este, who were invested by the pope, and paid a yearly relief in money. This petty state bordering upon the pope and the Venetians, and being very

Ferrara.
Sardi.

^q The second city of the ecclesiastical state, and the third of the four most considerable universities in the world, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salaman-

ca, says la Forest.

^r The birth place of the poet Ariosto, who has a tomb and epitaph in the benedictines church.

1509. convenient for both, preserved itself by their mutual jealousy, but however, the Venetians had taken from them Rovigo and the Polesin. But Julius II. had greater views, and thought seriously of annexing the whole duchy to the church.

Modena and
Reggio.
G. Batt.
Pigna.

Modena and Reggio were likewise under the dominion of the family of Este, not as belonging to the duchy of Ferrara, but as a distinct state acquired by that family after being possessed of Ferrara. Julius II. had also pretensions to these two cities, as having been formerly given to the church by Charles the Great, and perhaps on the sole pretence that they belonged to the duke of Ferrara his vassal.

Urbino.
Cimarelli.

Urbino * had formerly been of the church's demesne. But the popes had not for many years challenged more than the right of sovereignty. Cæsar Borgia had seized this city, and expelled duke Guidobaldi Ubaldini, who recovered it after the death of Alexander VI. As Guidobaldi had no children, Julius II. persuaded him to adopt Francis Maria de la Rovere, nephew to both, son of the pope's brother and the duke's sister. Shortly after, la Rovere became duke of Urbino, by the death of Guidobaldi his adoptive father.

Parma and
Placentia.
Alberti.

Parma and Placentia had been under the dominion of several lords or tyrants, till at last they became subject to the dukes of Milan. Lewis XII. took possession of them after his conquest of the Milanese.

Florence.
Machiavel.

Florence, a very potent city, and the chief of Tuscany, was fallen at length under the dominion of the family of Medicis. But afterwards an opposite Faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in exile, attempting however from time to time to be restored to their country.

Pisa.
Alberti.

Pisa had been formerly a very considerable city by reason of her naval forces, but at length becoming subject to the dukes of Milan, a bastard of that family, to whom it was given, sold it to the Florentines. The Pisani were against the sale, and would have recovered their liberty, but were overcome. After that, Charles VIII. in his way to Naples restored Pisa to her liberty; but as soon as the Florentines had nothing more to fear from him, they besieged Pisa, though assisted by the Venetians, and the siege was still carrying on at the time of the league of Cambray.

Genoa.
Pizarre.

The city of Genoa, after sundry revolutions caused by the factions of the Fregossas and the Adornos, was at length

* The birth place of the famous painter Raphael, and Polydore Virgil, who wrote the English history.

fallen into the hands of the French, in the reign of Charles VII. After that, Lewis XI. resigned it to the duke of Milan, and Lewis XII. seized it after his conquest of the Milanese.

This survey of the states of Italy shows, that it was then divided between six powers, namely, pope Julius II. Lewis XII. king of France and duke of Milan, Ferdinand king of Arragon and Naples, the republicks of Venice and Florence, and the duke of Ferrara. To these six may be added, the emperor Maximilian, who without possessing a foot of land in Italy, had however pretensions to whatever was formerly enjoyed by the emperors, and particularly to the firm land state of the Venetians, whose ruin the other six were equally concerned to procure. The emperor pretended that all the Venetian dominions belonged to the empire; he passionately desired to wrest some place from them that would give him entrance into Italy, and an opportunity to re-establish the imperial power in that country. Julius II. as I said, had formed a project to annex to the church whatever had been alienated, and especially the duchy of Ferrara and the towns of La Romagna. This design could be effected only by the destruction of the Venetians, ever attentive to oppose the growth of their neighbours. Besides, the pope had a mind to begin with them, and wrest from them Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini. Lewis XII. repented of yielding to them Cremona and Gierradadda. He wanted to dispossess them, and under that pretence to get possession also of Crema, Bergamo, and Brescia, and in general of whatever had belonged to the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand was desirous to recover without money the five maritime towns of the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them. Moreover, his interest required that there should be always troubles in Italy, to hinder Lewis XII. from thinking of the conquest of Naples. The duke of Ferrara wished to recover Rovigo and the Polesin. Lastly, the Florentines, obstinately bent upon the siege of Pisa, protected and defended by the Venetians, could desire nothing more advantageous than to see that republick unable to assist the Pisani.

Such were the motives of the league formed against Venice, of which the pope, the emperor, and the king of France were the chief promoters. For the greater secrecy, they spread a report that the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Austria his grandson, had agreed that his differences with the duke of Gueldres should be amicably adjusted. To that purpose, the city of Cambray was appointed for the place of

Motives of the league of Cambray against the Venetians.

Hist. della Legha di Cambray.

League of Cambray.

1509.

congress, thereby to intimate, that the affairs only of Flanders would be considered. Here the famous league against the republick of Venice was concluded; and the better to deceive the spies, was signed at first a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, the emperor, Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, which was indeed made publick. But a second treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a league offensive and defensive against the Venetians, the principal articles whereof were these:

Hist. della
Legha di
Cambray.

Treaty of
the allies
against
Venice.
Bembo.

In the first place it was set forth in the preamble, that the Turks having begun to make great progress in Europe, it was absolutely necessary for the christian princes to join their forces against them, but that the Venetians by their continual incroachments greatly obstructed this union. From thence it was concluded, that they were to be dispossessed of what they had usurped. This was the pious motive of the league. And therefore it was agreed, that of their spoils, the pope should have Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini; the emperor, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, and as duke of Austria, Treviso, and Friuli: Lewis XII. as duke of Milan, Cremona, Gierradadda, Brescia, Crema, and Bergamo: the king of Arragon, Manfredonia, Trani, Monopoli, Brindisi, and Otranto in the kingdom of Naples: that the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the marquis of Mantua should be admitted into the league if they desired it; the first to recover Rovigo, and the Polesin; the second to get the kingdom of Cyprus out of the hands of the Venetians; and the third, to obtain satisfaction concerning certain pretensions he had upon Venice. Lastly, that all who had any claim upon the Venetians, should be received into the league as principals, if they declared themselves within three months. Thus, in order to wage war against the Turks, no other means were found than to strip the Venetians of all their firm land state, and leave them only the single city of Venice.

Projects of
the allies.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.

To accomplish this design, it was agreed, that the king of France in person should enter the territories of the Venetians, the first of April, in the year 1509, with an army of forty thousand men: that the pope should send an army into la Romagna, and Ferdinand have another in Lombardy, with a fleet in the gulf, and the emperor attack the Venetians from the side of Germany. But as he had lately made a three years truce with them, an admirable expedient was devised to furnish him with a pretence to break it, which was, that

that the pope should summon him as the church's advocate, to come and defend the patrimony. In fine, Julius II. engaged to thunder out all the ecclesiastical censures against Venice. This league was signed at Cambray, December 10th, 1508.

1509.

The time of executing the projects of the league being come, Lewis XII. departed from Milan the beginning of April 1509, at the head of forty thousand men, whilst the pope's army entered la Romagna, under the conduct of Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino, and Raymond of Cardona, threw himself into Lombardy, with the king of Arragon's troops. At the same time, the duke of Ferrara, took the field in the Polesin. But the emperor contented himself with staying at Trent, and seeing the rest of the allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruit of their labours. Mean while, the Venetians, having first provided their towns with ammunition, raised an army, under the command of count Pitigliano their general, whose lieutenant was Barthelein d'Alviano.

Campaign of the year 1509. Mezerai. Bembo.

The van of the French army commanded by Chaumont, passed the Adda, the 15th of April, and at the same time the pope excommunicated the Venetians, and put the city of Venice under an interdict. On the 14th of May, was fought the battle of Gierradadda or Agnadel †, between the French and Venetians, contrary to the opinion of Pitigliano, though general in chief of the Venetians, and to all reason. For the Venetians having no refuge but their army, it was by no means proper to hazard a battle. But the heat of Alviano, prevailed over his general's prudence. The Venetian army was entirely routed, and Alviano taken prisoner. Whereupon the Venetians being no longer able to resist their enemies, Lewis, in less than a fortnight became master of Cremona, Peschiera, Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, and of all the places in general, formerly belonging to the Milanese. Moreover Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, sent him their keys. But as by the treaty of Cambray, these places were in the emperor's division, he sent their deputies to him. Maximilian was then at Trent, expecting the success of the confederate arms. Upon the arrival of the deputies, he ordered his troops to advance towards the state of Venice, and as these cities freely opened their gates, had nothing to do but to garrison them. Treviso alone refused him admittance, and remained firm to the Venetians, though reduced to the

Battle of Agnadel. Bembo.

Venetians lose all their state of terra firma.

† Called also the battle of Rivolta.

1509.
Sardi.

last extremity. Friuli and the towns of Istria followed the stream, and submitted to the emperor. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino, with the pope's army, took Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, whilst the duke of Ferrara became master of Rovigo, and the marquis of Mantua of some castles which were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the Venetians saw all their dominions reduced to the single city of Venice, with five places in the kingdom of Naples, which could not be of much service to them. Mean while, they were not entirely discouraged amidst so many calamities, though the senate and people were under the greatest consternation. Their chief care was to re-assemble their scattered troops, and use their endeavours to break so destructive a league.

Pisa surrenders to the Florentines, Guicciard.

The misfortune befallen the Venetians occasioned the loss of Pisa. This city despairing of being relieved by Venice, or the king of France, who had deserted her at last, surrendered to the Florentines, after having endured a long siege.

Lewis XII. returns to France. Mezerai, Guicciard.

Lewis XII. having compassed his ends, returned into France, after he had detached a body of his troops, under the command of la Palisse, to join the emperor, who probably, had not men enough to supply his garrisons, and to keep an army in the field against the Venetians, who were drawing together again.

The Venetians retake Padua, Bembo.

Upon the king of France's departure, affairs began to have a new face. The Venetians took Padua by surprise, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found means to send into Friuli, an army which employed the greatest part of the emperor's troops. In short, they appeased the pope by their humble submission, and obtained his positive promise to give them absolution, and take off the interdict upon certain conditions, which they could not refuse him. On the other hand, Ferdinand, who had not yet reaped any benefit by the league, was easily gained by the offer of the five cities held by the Venetians, in the kingdom of Naples.

and appease the pope.

The emperor besieges Padua in vain.

Whilst the senate was labouring to draw off the pope and the king of Arragon from the league, Maximilian with his own and la Palisse's forces, laid siege to Padua, but after an unsuccessful assault, raised it, and retired into Germany. At the same time, the French general also returned to Milan. By which means the Venetians had time to breathe a little, and continue with the pope negotiations, which made them hope the event of the war would not be so fatal as they had hitherto apprehended.

The

The union of the king of France with the emperor, made Julius II. extremely uneasy. He beheld the French king so firmly settled in the duchy of Milan, that it seemed impossible to dislodge him. On the other hand, the emperor could not but be formidable to him, since he had an entrance into Italy, by means of Verona and Vicenza. He did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that prince by Lewis XII. to compleat the ruin of the Venetians, and he was not without fear, that these two monarchs had made a private treaty together to share all Italy. Mean while, he hardly saw how these two formidable potentates could well be opposed. Venice was reduced to nothing. The Florentines were drained by the long Pisan war. As for the king of Arragon it was almost impossible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived. He knew how to improve all the treaties, and scrupled not to forsake his allies, when it was for his interest. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the pope formed the project of putting the affairs of Italy upon another foot, in order to execute his first designs. He resolved therefore to agree and league with the Venetians, to take off Ferdinand from the league of Cambray, by investing him with Naples, to use his endeavours to set the emperor and king of France at variance; to bring a Swiss army into the Milanese; in fine, to persuade the new king of England to make a diversion in France. These were the pope's projects, the success whereof we shall see hereafter. He began with making a peace with the Venetians upon three conditions. First, that they should desist from all their pretensions to the cities of la Romagna, lately taken from them. Secondly, that they should renounce the right of placing in Ferrara, a certain magistrate called Bisdolina. Thirdly, that they should leave the navigation of the gulf free to all the subjects of the church. In the present circumstances of Venice, there were no other conditions to be imposed upon her.

1509.
The pope's
uneasiness,
Mezerai,
Guicciard.

He forms
new pro-
jects.

He makes
peace with
the Vene-
tians.
Bembo.

After so long a digression concerning the affairs of Italy, which however is not useles, as will appear in the sequel, we must return to the affairs of England.

The parliament being assembled the 21st of January 1510, the commons represented to the king, that certain statutes made in the former parliaments, had given occasion to the king his father's ministers, to oppress the people, by putting forced interpretations upon them; contrary to the natural meaning of the words: that therefore it was necessary to soften, or so explain them, as to prevent such abuses for the

1510.
The parlia-
ment meets.
Herbert,
Statutes
softened.

1510.

Act of attainder against Empson and Dudley. Hall. Stow.

New treaty of alliance between Lewis XII. and Henry VIII.

future ^u. Henry readily agreed to what was proposed by the commons, not only because the thing was just in itself, but chiefly because it naturally led to his design of having Empson and Dudley, attainted by the parliament. Though these men had been already condemned by their proper judges, the king had deferred the execution of the sentence. He could not help having some scruple, for causing them to be accused of a crime of which he knew them not to be guilty. Nevertheless he wanted to sacrifice them to the people, without incurring the imputation of a false accusation, and withal to vindicate his father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders. To reconcile these two things, he so managed it, that the parliament passed an act of attainder against them; that is, they were condemned to die by the authority of the king and parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs upon which their sentence was founded. This method, which till then had been seldom practised, was but too frequently used in the sequel of this reign, so dangerous is it to establish such precedents. Mean while, Henry having still some difficulty to overcome his scruples, delayed their execution till the following August ^v.

Whilst the parliament was thus employed, Lewis XII. sent ambassadors to England, to renew with the king the treaties made with Henry VII. As by the peace of Estaples,

^u The benefit of forfeitures for penal laws was also reduced to the term of three years next preceding. There was likewise a sumptuary law against excess in apparel repealed, and a more decent one substituted. Herbert, p. 6. — It having been enacted in the 3d of Henry VII. That a coroner should have for his fee, upon every inquisition taken upon view of the body slain and murdered, thirteen shillings and four pence of the goods and chattels of the murderer; since the enacting of which, coroners would not perform their office without receiving the said sum of thirteen shillings and four pence; which was contrary to the common law, and the intent of the same statute of Henry VII. It was therefore now enacted, that upon a request made to a coroner, to come and enquire upon the view of any person slain, drowned, or otherwise dead by misadventure, the said coroner diligently shall do his office up-

on the view of the body of every such person or persons, without taking any thing for it, upon pain, to every coroner that will not endeavour himself to do his office, or that taketh any thing for the doing of it, for every time, to forfeit forty shillings. Statut. 1 Hen. VIII, c. 7.

^w They were both beheaded on Tower-hill, August 17. Hall, fol. 8. Dudley had, at the time of his death, in lands, fees, and offices, to the yearly value of eight hundred pounds; and twenty thousand pounds in ready money, besides jewels, plate, and rich furniture, &c. During his imprisonment in the Tower, he writ a book called *Arbor Republicæ*, dedicated to king Henry. By Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Edward Grey, viscount Lisle, he left issue three sons and one daughter. Stow. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II, p. 217.

after

after the death of one of the two kings of France or England, his successor was to signify to the survivor, whether he would continue the alliance, it was Henry's business to inform Lewis XII. of his intention. However, he had done nothing towards it. But as he was a lively young prince, and abounding in riches, Lewis thought doubtless it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might engage in designs destructive of the welfare of France. His ambassadors therefore concluded with Henry a new treaty of alliance, wherein the former treaties were not mentioned. By this it was agreed, that the peace between the two kings should last till the death of the shortest liver: that it should be confirmed by the states general of France, and the parliament of England: that each of the two kings should take care to obtain the pope's approbation, with a previous sentence of excommunication against the first violator.

There was nothing said in the new treaty of the 745000 crowns that Charles VIII. had promised to pay to Henry VII. or his successors, and for which Lewis XII. himself was engaged by a subsequent treaty, because the business was only to renew the peace between the two present kings. However, Henry forgot not to secure the debt, by requiring of Lewis letters patents, wherein he promised to pay the arrears by twenty five thousand livres every six months, till the whole was discharged. After which the peace was ratified and sworn by both the kings.

Julius II. was meditating great designs against Lewis XII. The success of the league of Cambrai, though he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneasy. He saw the French more firmly settled in Italy than ever, and Lewis XII. better able to protect the duke of Ferrara. To accomplish his projects against France, he doubtless wanted assistance; and to that end, tried to excite all the states of Europe against that kingdom, as will be seen presently. So, to insinuate himself into the king of England's favour, he sent him this year the golden rose, which the popes, after solemnly consecrating it, were wont to present to some prince*. Probably also, the king of Arragon, in concert with the pope, began now to take measures to engage Henry his son-in-law, in a league against France.

1510.
 Act. Pub.
 XIII. p. 270.
 March 23.
 Du Tillet.
 Herbert.
 Stow.

Act. Pub.
 XIII. p. 277
 —280,
 287—293.

The pope
 sends Henry
 a consecrated
 rose.

Ib. p. 275.
 April 9.
 Burnet.

* It was dipped in chrism and perfumed with musk, and so sent to archbishop Warham, with instructions to present it to the king at high mass, with

the pope's benediction. Julius's letter to Warham, in Burnet's collection is dated April 5, 1510.

1510.

Ferdinand
falls off
from the
league.

The success of the last campaign made the king of Arragon, no less uneasy than the pope. He was sensible, Lewis never loved him, nor had any reason to love him, and saw this enemy, since the ruin of the Venetians, in a condition to disturb him in the possession of Naples. On the other hand, the league of Cambray could not procure him any further advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it were very considerable. The Venetians agreed to restore him the cities they possessed in the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was willing to depart from his claim of forty thousand crowns, and give him the investiture of that kingdom for a Spanish genet only. This was sufficient to induce him to break his engagements at Cambray. In all appearance, ever since the end of the last year, he had taken measures with the pope to form a new league against France. But as he never acted openly, he desired these measures to be kept private, in order to attack Lewis the more irresistibly. To that purpose, on the 6th of January this year 1510, he commissioned Lewis de Caroz, of Villaragud, his ambassador at London, to treat with Henry VIII. about a stricter alliance than had yet been concluded between the crowns of England and Spain.

New treaty
of alliance
between
Henry and
Ferdinand.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 284.

Whether Henry could not so soon resolve to conclude this new alliance with Ferdinand, or was willing first to finish his affairs with Lewis XII. it was not till the 24th of May, that the new treaty was signed. It was only a defensive alliance between the two kings, with a promise of mutual aid upon occasion. But Ferdinand, who had his views, caused these words to be inserted: that in case one of the two kings was attacked by any prince whatsoever, the other should be obliged to proclaim and wage war against the aggressor, though he should be his ally: that if one was attacked by the king of France, the other should be obliged to go against him in person with a powerful army. This treaty secured to Ferdinand the kingdom of Naples, because if Lewis XII. had intended to undertake the conquest, the diversion he would have been threatened with from England, would have infallibly kept him from his purpose. But it is hard to conceive what advantage Henry could reap from such a treaty, since it was not likely, Lewis designed to attack him; so that all the advantage was on Ferdinand's side. It must be either that Henry's ministers were not very clear sighted, or he, from a motive of generosity for a father-in-law, whom he did not yet sufficiently know, was imprudently persuaded

Remark on
that treaty.

to this proceeding, the more strange, as he had lately renewed the peace with France.

1510.

But it must not be thought that Henry was then a compleat politician. He was still young, and minded his diversions more than the publick affairs. There was nothing every day but tournaments, balls, entertainments, concerts of musick, which consumed by degrees the eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, found in the king his father's coffers *y*. He used likewise to play at tennis and dice with certain strangers who cheated him of his money, which he discovered at last, and though a little too late, shamefully chased them from court. He was so passionately fond of musick, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he spent in his studies and other diversions, left him but little leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the government, the management whereof he willingly left to his ministers. And therefore it may be affirmed, that in matter of policy, never prince committed grosser faults, or was more imposed upon than himself, especially in the first years of his reign.

Henry minds only his diversions. Herbert. Hall.

Whilst Henry was wholly addicted to his pleasures, there was a person gradually rising at court, who was one day to have an absolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs as well foreign as domestick. I mean Thomas Wolsey, who was made the king's almoner last year, and in the beginning of this dean of Lincoln *z*. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that on the 30th of January, the king gave him a house in London *a*, formerly Empson's, no in-

Wolsey rises at court.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 267, 269.

y The reader may see a large account of the king's juffs, pageants, and other costly devices, in Hall and Hellinghead, who have many particulars worth perusing, by such as delight in such matters.

z Burnet says, he not only served the king in all his secret pleasures, but was leud and vicious himself; so that his having the French pox (which in those days was a matter of great infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in parliament when he fell into disgrace. He had also the art of attaching so effectually those to his interests, in whose company the king did most delight, that they were always ready to forward his views. Being of a gay, facetious,

and open temper, he would divert himself with them in such exercises (says Polydore Virgil) as were most agreeable to the levity and passions of youth, and which did not perfectly suit with character of a dean in the church. He would descend to sing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as if for the time he had quite laid aside that severity of behaviour which became his station. Hist. Ref. vol. I. p. 8.

a A messuage, called the parsonage, lying in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street; which Empson held by lease from the abbot and convent of Westminster. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 269. The king gave him also in February the next year, a prebend of Windsor. Ibid. p. 293.

considerable

1510.

considerable present, since the patent mentions thirteen gardens belonging thereto. We must now return to the affairs of Italy, which will afford us matter for several years.

The pope's
designs.

Julius II. had two grand designs in his head. The first was to seize the duchy of Ferrara; the second to expel the French and Germans out of Italy. His forces alone not being capable to execute these projects, it was necessary to use the assistance of some other princes, and try to engage them in his designs. His scheme was to league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand and Maximilian from the interests of France; to break the league of Cambray, to persuade the king of England to make a diversion in France; to excite the Switzers to invade the duchy of Milan. He executed all these projects, but not without encountering such difficulties, as would have discouraged any man less resolute than himself. First, he made a private league with the Venetians, after which, he solemnly gave them absolution the 24th of January. Then, he secretly agreed with Ferdinand, by promising him the investiture of Naples. That done, he quarrelled with Lewis XII. by filling a bishoprick in Provence, without asking his consent, contrary to his own promise. Lewis complained of it, the pope denied he had promised any such thing; and in short, they came at last to give one another the lie in form. This was precisely what the pope wanted, in order to have cause to break with him.

He absolves
and leagues
with the
Venetians.
Ib. p. 294.
He quarrels
with
Lewis XII.
Bembo.

and with the
duke of
Ferrara.
Sardi.
Mezerai.

His league with the Venetians being publickly known, he imperiously commanded the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray, and join his arms with those of the church. The duke not believing his being vassal to the holy see obliged him to be thus blindly devoted to all the pope's humours, refused to break his alliance with France, and so gave his holiness the pretence he had long been seeking. When the duke offered to pay him the tribute due to the church for the sief of Ferrara, the pope refused it, plainly intimating by that refusal, he intended to confiscate the duchy.

Ferdinand
acts under-
hand to gain
Henry.
Herbert.

Mean while, Ferdinand was privately acting with Henry VIII. his son-in-law, to draw him into the pope's interest, which was become his own, in consequence of the projects they had formed in common. But his practices were so secret, that Lewis XII. never mistrusted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the assurances given him by his ambassador, that his design was to continue firmly attached to the league of Cambray.

On

1510.

On the other hand, Julius II. gained the bishop of Sion ^b, who having great credit among the Switzers, found means to set them at variance with France, by persuading them to demand an augmentation of their pensions. Their alliance with that crown being about to expire, they required to renew it, that their pensions should be increased. Lewis refusing it, the bishop of Sion effectually used that refusal to stir them up against France, to which the king himself also contributed by making an alliance with the Grisons. He thereby so provoked the Switzers, that in a diet at Lucern they declared for the pope, and resolved to send an army into the duchy of Milan.

The pope sets the Switzers at variance with France. Guicciard. Mezerai.

In fine, the pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of persuading the Venetians to agree with the emperor at any rate, even to the advising them to deliver him Treviso and Padua. He intimated to them, that the most effectual means to drive the French out of the Milanese, was to disengage the emperor from their interests, and when once they were out of Italy, it would be easy to wrest from the emperor not only Treviso and Padua, but all his other conquests too. But the Venetians durst not run such a hazard.

He tries to reconcile the Venetians to the emperor. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such were the vast projects of the pope. He was so private in his negotiations, that Lewis XII. imagining he had no other design than to seize Ferrara, contented himself with ordering Chaumont, governor of Milan, to aid the duke in case he was attacked. But shortly after, a Venetian fleet and papal army commanded by Fabricius Colonna attempting, though unsuccessfully, to surprize Genoa, Lewis had but too much reason to suspect, there was some grand design formed against him, and therefore, sent Chaumont orders to have an eye to the pope's proceedings.

Lewis XII. begins to suspect the pope. Mezerai. Guicciard.

These orders came to Milan very seasonably. Julius II. really intended to besiege Ferrara, and for that purpose was come to Bologna, till an army, prepared on some pretence by Raymond of Cardona at Naples, was ready to join his and the Venetian troops. But Chaumont did not allow him time to execute his projects. Hearing the pope was arrived at Bologna, he departed from Milan at the head of an army, and made such speed that he would have surprized the pope there, had he not suffered himself to be amused with parleys. Whilst he was treating with the pope's envoys, some Venetian troops in the neighbourhood entering the city, secured it

Julius II. is like to be surprized at Bologna.

^b Or Valais, lying between Switzerland, the Milanese, the valley of Aost, and Savoy.

1510.

from the danger of being insulted. Whereupon Chaumont being wholly unprepared for so important a siege, was obliged to retire.

He excommunicates the French generals, and tries to surprise Genoa. Bizarro. Mezerai. The Switzers cannot enter the Milanese.

Julius II. made great noise at this insult of the French, and filled all Europe, and particularly the court of England, with his clamours. He excommunicated all the generals of the French army, and presently after, his and the Venetian gallies made a second attempt upon Genoa, but with no better success than before.

At the same time, twelve thousand Switzers began their march in order to enter the Milanese, under the conduct of the bishop of Sion. But he found the passages so well guarded, that they despaired of succeeding in their design. So, not receiving besides from the pope the money promised them, they returned into their own country.

Lewis XII. joins in a league with the emperor.

War being thus proclaimed between Lewis XII. and the pope, Lewis thought himself under no farther restraint. He had done his utmost to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the duke of Ferrara. But the pope, depending upon Ferdinand, and expecting great matters from England, had evaded all his proposals. Wherefore, to stop the fury of this impetuous old man, Lewis made a new league with the emperor, promising to put him in possession of all Italy, except Genoa and Florence. Maximilian had the good fortune, that in all his leagues he had always great advantages, though he contributed the least. On this occasion, Lewis XII. could hardly proceed without him, because it was absolutely necessary to continue the war in the state of Venice, otherwise the Venetians would have been able to give the pope too great an assistance. The league being concluded at Blois in August, Lewis called a synod at Tours, to consult how he ought to behave to the pope. The synod were of opinion, that the king should once more offer the pope a reasonable agreement, and in case of refusal, might with a safe conscience wage even an offensive war with him. Lewis wanted no more to justify his intended proceedings. Presently after, he concluded with Maximilian a new treaty, whereby they agreed to cause a general council to be summoned to Pisa to depose Julius II. To that end, they gained nine cardinals, who readily undertook to call the council in their own name. Some of these cardinals were now with the pope, but found means to leave him under divers pretences, and when he would have recalled them refused to obey.

He calls a synod, which allows his going to war with the pope. Mezerai.

Treaty with Maximilian to summon a council at Pisa. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Such

1510.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Italy during the year 1510. I have said nothing of the events of the war which continued all the while between the emperor assisted by the French king, and the Venetians, because these particulars are of little service to this history. It will suffice to observe, that Chaumont seeing Genoa and Milan in danger, had withdrawn the French troops from the emperor's army to keep them at Milan. The departure of these troops gave the Venetians some respite, who thereby were enabled to repair some losses sustained in the beginning of the campaign, and to assist the pope who still designed to besiege Ferrara.

Chaumont
retires to
Milan.

Chaumont's attempt to surprize the pope in Bologna, afforded Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, a pretence to march to the relief of his holiness. The pope's troops and the Venetians were in December joined by the Spanish army near Modena, which Fabricius Colonna had taken in his return from his Genoa expedition. Though the season was not very proper to enter upon action, the pope was absolutely bent to besiege Mirandola. That town belonged to the heirs of Joannes Picus of Miranda, with whom he had no quarrel. But as it lay convenient to favour the siege of Ferrara, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorously attacked. In spite of his age, and the rigour of the season, he came himself to the siege to animate the troops by his presence, and the town surrendering at last on the 20th of January, was pleased to enter through the breach.

The pope's
forces and
Spaniards
join.

Siege of
Mirandola.
Guicciard.

Lewis XII. complained to Ferdinand of his assisting the pope. But Ferdinand calling that a trifle, replied, that as vassal of the holy see he could not help defending his holiness's person and state: that besides, he was not concerned in the quarrels of the pope and the king of France, but his intention was to keep to the articles of the league of Cambray.

Hitherto Henry does not seem to be concerned with the affairs of Italy, though the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians had formed a design to engage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleasure, without much regarding what passed abroad. On the 1st of January 1511, he had the satisfaction to see his queen delivered of a prince, at whose birth there was great rejoicing, over all

1511.

Birth of a
prince;
Herbert.
and his
death.
Hall.
Stow.
Designs of
Ferdinand.

all the kingdom. But the joy lasted not long, since the young prince died before the end of February ^c.

Mean while, Ferdinand was seeking means to engage Henry in the league he intended to make with the pope against France. Henry was rich and powerful, and consequently his accession to the league would be of great weight, and extremely incommode France. On the other hand, his youth and small experience made his father-in-law hope, it would not be impracticable to engage him by degrees, into projects which a king of England ought not to concern himself with. It is certain, Ferdinand was now in agreement with the pope. All his proceedings render it so evident that it cannot be doubted. However, he used a profound dissimulation in this respect. He feigned to intend only the peace of Europe, that all the princes of Christendom might join together in a war against the Infidels. But as he wanted an army and fleet to execute his designs, he pretended to have very much at heart the continuance of the war he had undertaken against the Moors. He had sent last year upon the coasts of Africa a fleet commanded by Peter of Navarre. Shortly after, he reinforced it with some troops under the conduct of a son of the duke of Alva, who attempting to land at Gelves, was slain, and all his men cut in pieces. Ferdinand made use of this ill success to cover his preparations against France. Under colour of being revenged on the Moors, he assembled an army and equipped a fleet, which he pretended to send into Africa, but was however designed for Italy. As it was not yet time to discover his intentions, he carried his dissimulation so far, as to demand of the king his son-in-law a thousand English archers to serve in the present expedition. Weak aid! to be sent for so far, and at so great an expence, if he had really intended to use them. Henry not perceiving his designs readily complied with his request, and appointed Sir Thomas Darcy, on whom, at the same time, he conferred the title of baron ^d, to command that small body ^e. We find in the collection of the publick acts,

He demands
aid of Henry
for his pre-
tended war
with the
Moors.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 294.
March 8.

^c He was born at Richmond, and christened Henry. He was presented to the king by his queen as a new year's gift, but died this same year, on February 22, and was buried at Westminster. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 11.

^d He was captain of the town and castle of Berwick. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 294.—Dugdale says, the title of baron, which had ceased (6 Hen. V.)

in the daughters and heirs of Philip, lord Darcy, was revived to this Sir Thomas, by writ of summons to parliament. (1 Hen. VIII.) Baron. vol. I. p. 374.

^e There went over with him the lord Anthony Grey, brother of the marquis of Dorset; Henry Guildford, Weston, Brown, William Sydney, esquires; Sir Robert Constable, Sir Roger

acts, Ferdinand's letter of thanks to Henry ^f for this aid, and for his advice not to hazard his person in the undertaking: advice, continued he, that he could not follow, because religion was concerned. And yet it soon appeared, he had never intended any such thing, since he employed against France the very forces which seemed to be designed against the Moors ^g.

1511.

Ib. p. 297.
June.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

Nothing more was wanting to conclude the projected league against Lewis XII. but to gain the king of England. This was strenuously endeavoured during the beginning of the year 1511. The Venetians sent him an ambassador under colour of thanking him for his care to reconcile them to the pope, desiring him withal, in their credentials dated the 2d of March to give credit to what their ambassador should impart to him, which could relate only to the intended league. About the same time it was that the pope conferred the dignity of cardinal upon Christopher Bambridge archbishop of York, and ambassador at Rome, in a promotion the 11th of March at Ravenna. All the historians unanimously affirm, Bambridge was made cardinal purely for labouring to set Henry at variance with France. Matthew Skinner bishop of Sion was promoted to the same honour for his past and future services of the like nature. In those days, it was neither learning nor virtue that raised clergymen to the cardinalate, but solely their abilities in temporal affairs; joined to an entire submission to the pope.

They try to get Henry into the league against France.

Bambridge made cardinal.
Herbert.

The endeavours that were used to engage Henry in the Italian league, had at length the expected success. In all appearance, it was represented to him that he was highly concerned to oppose the progress of the king of France, who was already become too powerful by the conquest of the duchy of Milan, and the ruin of the Venetians. However this be, it appears that about the middle of the year

Henry engages with the allies.

ger Hastings, sir Ralph Elderkare, &c. They embarked at Plymouth about the middle of May, and landed at Cadiz, June 1. Hall, fol. 11, 12. Sir Henry Guildford, and — Weston, and — Brown, knights, were knighted by king Ferdinand, who gave sir H. Guildford, a canton of Granada, and — Weston, and — Brown, an eagle of Sicily, for the augmentation of their arms. This body of troops returned to England about August. Idem, fol. 13. Stow, p. 488.

^f By this letter, (writ in a most re-

ligious strain) it appears that all our historians, and Dugdale himself, is mistaken in the number of the archers sent into Spain, Ferdinand's letters calling them a thousand, whereas they are said to be in our histories fifteen hundred. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 297.

^g King Henry sent also, in July this year, fifteen hundred men into Flanders, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, to assist the duke of Burgundy, against the duke of Gueldres. Ibid. p. 302. Hall, fol. 13, 14.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 300.

Henry was now determin'd to follow the suggestions of the pope and Ferdinand. For in June he appointed commissioners to take care that the militia of the kingdom were provided with good arms, and ready to serve upon the first notice, which it was not customary to order, but when a war was foreseen. The reason alledged by the king for these orders, plainly shew what was his design. He said, though the kingdom was in perfect tranquillity, nevertheless, as the arms were commonly suffered to rust in time of peace, he wished that his subjects would be in a readiness to serve him as well against invasions, if any were intended, as in defence of his allies. These last words could respect only the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, from whence it may be inferred, that the king had now given his word. But the sequel will show it still more clearly.

He guards
against
Scotland.

Ib. p. 301.

The antient and strict union between France and Scotland gave Henry just cause to fear, that as soon as the war with France was begun, the king of Scotland as ally of Lewis XII. would interpose in the quarrel. And therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint commissioners^b with power to repair all the outrages committed since the late peace. But his precautions proved ineffectual. An accident this year afforded the king of Scotland that pretence of breach which Henry would have prevented.

Cause of
quarrel
between
England and
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

Andrew Breton a Scotch merchant, complaining to the king of Scotland that the Portuguese had killed his father and seized his ship, the king gave him letters of mart, after having in vain sought redress from the court of Portugal. Whereupon, Breton equipped two stout ships, and found means to make himself ample amends for his losses, by falling upon all the Portugal ships trading to Flanders and England. The Portugal ambassador residing at London, complained to the council, and represented that since the king of England pretended to the sovereignty of the narrow seas, it was but reasonable he should protect the foreign ships that came into the channel. Upon this complaint, the king equipped two large men of war, and appointed the two sons of the earl of Surreyⁱ to command them, with orders to take the Scotch pirate. These two lords watched him so narrowly that they met with him at last, as he was returning from Flanders to Scotland. Breton fought desperately,

^b Sir Thomas Dacre, and sir Robert Drury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 301.

ⁱ Thomas and Edward, which last was lord admiral. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 15.

1511.

but was killed in the fight, and his two ships taken and brought into England ^k. The king of Scotland hearing of this, sent and demanded the two ships, with speedy reparation of the outrage committed against the peace. The ambassadors were told, that pirates were not included in the peace, and that to punish such people according to their deserts was no breach of treaty. Probably, Breton had made himself more than amends for the damage he had sustained, as it too frequently happens on such occasions. But however king James not being able to obtain any thing from the court of England, protested against the injustice, being determined to resent it the first opportunity.

Hollingsh.

I left Julius II. after the taking of Mirandola, bent upon the siege of Ferrara, and only waiting the return of good weather. Though Lewis XII. was in part ignorant of what passed in Spain and England, he knew however enough not to doubt that the pope was endeavouring to raise him enemies on all sides. He was even satisfied, that though he seemed to have no other design than to become master of Ferrara, yet that was only the first step to some greater project. Mean while, he was very much embarrassed. He had properly nothing to gain upon the pope, unless he would seize the church's patrimony. But he had a great deal to lose, besides the troubles which the obstinate and haughty temper of the pope might create him. Wherefore he resolved to try all possible ways to be reconciled with him. To that end, whilst the pope was employed in the siege of Mirandola, he made him some overtures by Chaumont, but it was to no purpose. The pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the siege till he forced the town to capitulate. At last, Lewis seeing there was no hopes of a reconciliation, ordered Chaumont to regard him no longer, and at any rate to support the duke of Ferrara. Chaumont receiving these orders takes the field in the midst of winter. His army, joined by the duke of Ferrara, was not so numerous as the forces of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, but composed of so good troops, that the allies durst never hazard a battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while, the pope was greatly perplexed. Instead of quietly preparing for the siege of Ferrara, he was forced to keep the field during the winter, without knowing even how to save Modena, which was in danger of a siege. Ferdinand,

The pope rejects the French king's offers, Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Lewis resolves to regard the pope no longer. Sardi.

^k Though he was grievously wounded, he encouraged his men, with his whistle, even to his last breath. The

king pardoned the men, and sent them out of the kingdom. Herbert, *ibid*.

1511.

Julius II.
gives up
Modena to
the emperor.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.

who foresaw what trouble that place would give the pope, had advised him to resign it to the emperor. Nay, that affair had been negotiated but without success, because Maximilian would receive it only as a place held of the empire, to which the pope would not consent. At last, upon Chaumont's approach to besiege it, the pope was willing to deliver it as the emperor desired, because it was not to be saved without venturing a battle. The terms of the bargain are not precisely known. But from thenceforward all the emperor's proceedings gave occasion to suspect, Modena was acquired upon conditions very prejudicial to the king of France his ally.

Ferdinand's
diffimulation.

The king of Arragon pretended to be in alliance with France. He would not declare against her till he had secured the king of England, with whom he was privately negotiating a treaty which required a long discussion. Indeed, his troops which were to serve the pope but three months, according to the terms of the investiture of Naples, were still joined with those of the allies. But he pretended, the viceroy of Naples acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the pope's army longer than he was commanded. Mean while, the army was pressed by Chaumont and the duke of Ferrara, who followed them close, and deavoured to provoke them to a battle. So, to gain time, Ferdinand, who would still pass for a neutral prince, and well affected to the repose of Italy, proposed a congress at Mantua for a peace. The pope immediately accepted the overture. The emperor agreed to it likewise, and Lewis XII durst not reject it, lest he should be charged with being the sole author of the troubles of Italy. It is certain, if, in this juncture, instead of suffering himself to be amused by a negotiation, the sole aim whereof was to rob him of the opportunity of pushing his enemies, he had ordered his troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole ecclesiastical state; with so great a terror had his arms inspired the allies. But he had to manage his subjects as well as his queen, who considered a war with the head of the church as a crime, though there was but too much provocation. He had himself likewise scruples upon that account, which he could not easily surmount. But however, he was willing to try once more, whether the proposed congress of Mantua would produce some good effect. He hoped at least, that the breaking off the negotiation, in case it was not successful, would fully justify him. The congress produced the effect expected by the allies, that is, it caused

Congress of
Mantua in-
effectual.
Guicciard.

caused the French to lose a great deal of time to no purpose.

1511.

A few days before the congress of Mantua, the bishop of Gurck, who was to be there from the emperor, had a conference at Bologna with the pope, after which they pretended to part in great discontent. But what followed plainly shewed the contrary, since the emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his alliance with Lewis XII. He consented however, that the council of Pisa should be called in his name, and the summons set up at Modena, and several other places belonging to him, because it was not yet time to declare himself. The summons ran, that Julius II. having refused to call a council, pursuant to the decree of Constance, the cardinals were empowered by the same decree to summon a council in their own name. And therefore with the consent of the emperor and the king of France they ordered the council to meet on the 1st of September, in the city of Pisa, to endeavour the reformation of the church, in the head and members.

The emperor sides privately with the pope.
Guicciard.

A council summoned to Pisa in the emperor's and French king's name.

The bishop of Gurck's conference with the pope, and the breaking up of the congress of Mantua, made the king of France greatly suspect the emperor. On the other hand, he could not help fearing the king of Arragon, knowing by experience what was to be expected from him. He saw him making great preparations under colour of the African war, and knew withal, that notwithstanding his daily assurances that he would not concern himself with the troubles of Italy, he was using his utmost endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. That is, properly speaking, he was labouring to disengage Maximilian from the interest of France. In short, Ferdinand sent him brotherly admonitions to make his peace with the pope, and not draw on himself the just reproach of waging an unnatural war with the common father of Christians. Lewis could not but consider these remonstrances as a sort of protestation to assist the pope in case of need. At the same time, he could not believe he would engage in such an undertaking without being secure of the emperor. These things made him uneasy, and apprehensive that he should at last be the dupe of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand. So, for fear of being prevented, he gave express orders to Triulzi, who commanded his army in the room of Chaumont lately deceased, to take all the advantages of the allies that lay in his power.

Lewis suspects the emperor and king of Arragon.

He orders Triulzi to push the war vigorously.

1511.

Guicciard.
Mezerai.
Triulzi
takes
Concordia.
He ap-
proaches
Bologna.

Triulzi upon this order assaulted and took Concordia in the beginning of May, at the time the calling of the council of Pisa was every where posted up. Then he endeavoured by several marches to oblige the allies to a battle, without being able to succeed. At last, he resolved to approach Bologna; not that he believed himself in condition to besiege the city, but to draw the allies from their advantageous posts, and give the Bolonnois opportunity to rise in favour of the Bentivoglios whom he brought with him. The pope had now done his utmost to persuade the generals of the allies to hazard a battle without being able to prevail, so much did they dread engaging with the French. Wherefore, knowing how the army stood disposed, and distrusting the Bolonnois, who loved him not, he retired to Ravenna, leaving in Bologna the cardinal of Pavia his prime minister. He was no sooner gone, but a tumult arose in the city, during which the inhabitants called in their old masters the Bentivoglios, and put them in possession of the government. The cardinal of Pavia had taken to flight the moment he perceived their resolution.

The army of
the allies
takes to
flight of
their own
accord.

On the other hand, the army of the allies advancing to one of the gates of Bologna, and hearing the Bentivoglios were admitted, and the legate withdrawn, ran away in confusion, leaving in the camp their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Whereupon the inhabitants falling out, and joining with the peasants, completely stripped the scattered army, and rendered it entirely unserviceable for several months. The duke of Ferrara improving the opportunity, very easily recovered the places lately taken from him by the allies.

The cardinal
of Pavia
robbed by
the duke of
Urbino.
Guicciard.

Amidst all these mortifications, the pope still met with another which sensibly touched him. The cardinal of Pavia was stabbed by the duke of Urbino, who taxed him with being the cause of the loss of Bologna. The pope's concern was the greater as he durst not punish, in the person of his nephew, a crime he would have thought worthy of the severest treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being dispersed, and his designs upon Ferrara vanished, he quitted Ravenna and retired to Rome. In his way, he had the frequent mortification to see the papers posted up for the calling of the council of Pisa, wherein he was himself summoned to appear in person.

The pope
retires to
Rome.

Lewis orders
his army to
retire to
Milan.

It was universally expected that Lewis XII. would pursue his successes, and certainly in the then situation of Italy, it was his own fault that he was not master of Rome. The pope had no remedy speedy enough to free himself from

from his sad condition. The king of Arragon was too remote. The Venetians were unable to lend him a sufficient aid, and the emperor was not powerful enough to save him, had he been willing to attempt it. Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Milan, were in the hands of his enemies. But Lewis, either through scruple, or some other motive, instead of pushing his point, ordered Triulzi to retire to Milan with the army, and disband part of the troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the pope of the pretence of exciting all christendom against him, and publishing, that he intended to seize Rome and all Italy. He was justly apprehensive of this from the pope, since it was in effect the foundation, or rather the pretence of the league formed some months after against France. Triulzi was no sooner at Milan, but Ferdinand's fleet arrived at Naples, with about three thousand men, who were soon to be followed by a more considerable body.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the king of Arragon had sent his fleet to Naples to support the pope's interests, and give jealousy to the king of France. Julius II. who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he rightly judged that Ferdinand would not have been altogether assured of the king of England. Since the loss of Bologna, and the rout of his army, he had seemed willing to consent to an agreement with France, and though he had made overtures more like a conqueror than one conquered, Lewis had accepted them on condition they were approved by the emperor. But when the pope found, the Spanish fleet was at Naples, and Ferdinand began to declare himself, he added new terms to those he had already proposed, and plainly shewed he was no longer for peace. This conduct put Lewis XII. beyond all patience. So, despairing to agree with so obstinate an enemy, he ordered Triulzi to send supplies to Bentivoglio to guard Bologna, and some time after, took Bologna and the Bentivoglios under his protection. On the other hand, though he was not obliged to assist the emperor, unless he came into Italy in person, he added however to the German troops in the state of Venice a strong reinforcement commanded by la Palisse. Mean while, the pope having certain advice of the good inclination of the kings of Arragon and England in his favour, resolved to summon a general council in opposition to that of Pisa. To that end, he published a bull, wherein, having first excused the neglect the schismatic cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed

Julius II.
offers to
agree with
Lewis XII.

He falls out
again.

Lewis takes
Bologna under
his protection.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 303.
June 30.
He aids the
emperor.
The pope
calls a council
at the
Lateran
church.
Guicciard.

against

1511.

against their insolence, he called a council to be held at the Lateran in Rome, the 19th of April 1512.

Doubtful behaviour of the emperor.

Since the bishop of Gurck's conference with the pope, Maximilian's conduct was so doubtful, that it was difficult to judge certainly of it. He had agreed to the calling of the council of Pisa, which was done with his express consent. But he had not yet appointed ambassadors, neither was it known that any German bishop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promised to command in person in Italy, and led thither a strong reinforcement. But he remained unactive at Inspruck, without shewing any thoughts either of the council of Pisa, or the war of Italy. Mean while, the conquests that were expected to be made upon the Venetians were to be all his. Thus, in the present posture of the affairs of Italy, Lewis XII. saw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring almost to complain to the emperor, for fear he should join with his enemies. And indeed, Maximilian was strongly solicited by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians themselves, who offered him a good sum to induce him to desist from his pretensions to their dominions. Very probably, he was yet unresolved, and knowing the league that was forming against France, was willing, according to custom, to let the two parties proceed, in order to take afterwards that side which best suited with his interest. This doubtless was the reason of his preserving a good understanding with Lewis XII. in consenting to the calling of the council of Pisa, and withal, of reserving a means to be reconciled to the pope, in sending neither bishops nor ambassadors to the council. Thus remaining almost equally suspected by both parties, he waited till the success of the war, or the offers from both sides, should engage him to declare for one or other.

Uncertainty of the affairs of Italy.

Mean while, affairs continued still in the same situation. The pope and the Venetians were alone in open war with France. The emperor seemed to float between both sides. The king of Arragon had hitherto done nothing more than afforded hopes that he would join the league when concluded. But it was not so yet, every one fearing to engage in it unseasonably. Julius II. and Ferdinand knew one another too well to confide in each other. Each strove to make the other subservient to his designs, and was afraid at the same time of being deceived. Ferdinand had still in France an ambassador, who endeavoured to persuade the king, that the preparations in Spain concerned

Guicciard,

cerned only the Moors. On the other hand, the pope had not so quarrelled with Lewis XII. but that he had still left him some hopes, and continued a sort of negotiation with him, by means of the bishop of Murray the Scotch ambassador, who did the office of mediator. Ferdinand was afraid, in case the pope made a separate peace with France, the kingdom of Naples would be in danger. The pope had no less reason to fear, that to secure the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand would forsake the interests of the church, and leave him exposed to the mercy of the king of France. In that case, the pope would have nothing to expect from England. Thus, affairs were come to that pass, that it was necessary, either that each should quickly make a separate treaty, or both jointly declare themselves, not to remain in this state of uncertainty. And therefore, Ferdinand began at last to pull off the mask a little more, by sending to Naples, the troops he pretended to design for Africa, in order to hinder the pope from thinking of a separate agreement with France.

Ferdinand sends an army to Naples.

Whilst the pope and the king of Arragon were thus founding each other, the cardinals, who had summoned the council to Pisa and were come to Milan, thought fit to open it by commissioners. But this was only for form's sake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was general council so thin. The bishops of France were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from Germany. The pope was enraged when he heard the council was opened at Pisa. In his passion with the Florentines, for suffering the council to meet in one of their towns, he excommunicated them as well as the Pisans, and put both the cities under an interdict. But the Florentines forced the priests to celebrate divine service, leaving to private persons the liberty to observe or reject the interdict.

Opening of the council of Pisa. Guicciard.

The pope puts Pisa and Florence under an interdict. Guicciard. The Florentines make a jest of it.

It was difficult for Julius II. and Ferdinand, to continue long in their present situation, without causing mutual suspicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reason which had hitherto withheld Ferdinand, namely, his uncertainty with respect to the king of England, was now vanished. Henry, after long suspence, had at last positively promised to enter into the league against France. Whereupon the negotiation of the league advanced more in one month than in a whole year before. It was a constant rule with Ferdinand, to cover all his designs with the cloke of religion, little caring, that after the execution, his artifices were discovered. The fleet and army he had prepared in Spain, had for pretence a war with the infidels.

Henry promises to enter into the league. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

When

1511. When he was going to declare openly against France, he failed not to use the pretence of protecting the church against the outrages of Lewis. As soon as he had gained the king of England, they jointly sent ambassadors to Lewis, to require him to leave the pope unmolested, intimating that as christian princes they could not dispense with protecting the church, disturbed by his ambition. Lewis saw plainly, that their measures being now taken, it would be too late to justify his conduct, and therefore chose to return a haughty answer, which was precisely what his enemies wanted.

League against France concluded at Rome. Guicciard.

Articles of the league. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 747. Guicciard.

Shortly after, on the 4th of October, the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians concluded a league at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, who had shewn his desire to be included. Indeed, Cardinal Bamberge was concerned in the negotiation as ambassador of England. But he was ordered not to sign the treaty, because Henry expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the interests of England than that which concerned Italy only. By this treaty the pope promised to find for the service of the league six hundred men at arms, five hundred light horse, six thousand foot¹, and twenty thousand ducats a month. The Venetians were to furnish eight hundred men at arms, a thousand light horse, eight thousand foot, and to pay monthly twenty thousand ducats. Ferdinand was to provide twelve hundred men at arms, a thousand light horse, ten thousand foot, and twenty thousand ducats a month. It is true, neither the king of France, nor the duke of Ferrara, were named in the treaty as enemies of the allies. But it was easy to perceive it, since the intent of the league was to restore to the pope the city of Bologna, and whatever belonged to the holy see, and to make war upon all persons that should offer to hinder it. A place was left for the emperor in case he would enter into it, and Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, was declared general of the league.

Whilst the world was in expectation of the event of this league, the council of Pisa was solemnly opened in that

¹ In the treaty, as it stands in Rymer, it is only said, that the pope was to furnish six hundred men at arms, without any mention of light horse and foot: neither is the number of troops that was to be sent by the Venetians specified, but it is said, they were to

find a fleet strong enough to beat the enemy's: and on the day of the publication of the league, the pope and the Venetians were to pay eighty thousand ducats of gold for two months wages for their forces. Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 307. See Guicciardin, l. 10.

city, by the cardinals who had convened it, and some bishops of France and Milan. The first session was held the 4th of November, though the pope had excommunicated the cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity. The second was held the 11th of the same month. But because there was a commotion that day in the city, the cardinals and bishops were so terrified, that on the morrow they removed the council to Milan, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed, the inhabitants of Pisa could not look with a good eye upon a council, which exposed them to an excommunication and interdict, though it was not in their power to oppose the orders of the Florentines their sovereigns.

I observed that the Switzers were at variance with Lewis XII. by the practices of the cardinal of Sion, or rather of the pope himself, who set him to work. Their first attempt to enter the Milanese proving unsuccessful, they resolved this year to levy sixteen thousand men, the cardinal of Sion having positively promised them money at their entrance into Italy, and that the army of the allies would employ the French in la Romagna. As this levy could not be ready till the beginning of the winter, they began their march in November, and penetrated as far as Varese. Gaston de Foix, nephew of Lewis XII. governor of Milan, was so destitute of troops, that he knew not how to oppose their passage. However, with the few men he had, he took the field, to annoy them and obstruct the march. But it was not possible for him to hinder them from coming to the very gates of Milan. The French had now begun to furnish the castle with ammunition in order to quit the city, when suddenly the Switzers hearing no news of the pope, nor the army of the allies which they thought to be assembled in la Romagna, retired to their own country, after burning some villages. If the pope had not disappointed them of the money he had promised, and if the army of the allies had acted in la Romagna, Milan, Bologna, and Ferrara, would have been in great danger, since the French were at that time very weak in those parts. La Palisse was then in the emperor's army with a large detachment of the king's best troops.

Nothing could be more advantageous to England, than to see the forces of France turned against Italy. The conquest of the duchy of Milan was less beneficial to Lewis XII. than to England. For it procured England a settled tranquillity, whereas it exposed France to perpetual troubles,

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A more solemn opening of the council of Pisa.
Guicciard.
The council removes to Milan.

The Switzers march into the Milanese.
Guicciard.

They retire suddenly.

False policy of Henry VIII. to meddle with the affairs of Italy.

1511. bles, and an immense expence. It was therefore policy in Henry to suffer the French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards to battle it in Italy, without involving himself in a war which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am speaking of, the kings of England, had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of Italy, if we except Henry III. who being unfortunately desirous of making his second son king of Sicily, ruined his own kingdom to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a prince to be imitated by his successors. The advantages of this policy were so manifest to all the English, that it required no less than a Ferdinand, the ablest and most subtle prince of his age, to make them swerve from it.

This prince had joined with the pope ever since the beginning of the year 1510, or perhaps the end of the foregoing, and yet had been near two years without declaring himself. This delay proceeded only from his desire to secure England first, that Henry might make a diversion in France, which would oblige Lewis XII. to neglect the affairs of Italy. This diversion must have been advantageous to the king of Arragon, since it would remove from Italy, or at least weaken, a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be serviceable to England. On the contrary, there seemed to be several very strong reasons to divert Henry from such a design, without mentioning the peace he had lately renewed with France, and confirmed by a solemn oath. This probably was the cause of his so long deferring the conclusion of the league I shall speak of hereafter. Indeed it was not possible, but that some of the king's council were clear sighted enough to see that this league was no ways advantageous to England, what colour soever was given thereto.

The pope excommunicates all the adherents of the council of Pisa.

The king of Navarre is of the number. Ferdinand designs to seize Navarre.

Whilst the negotiation languished in England, new occurrences put Ferdinand upon taking fresh measures, and contriving all sorts of ways to succeed with Henry. Lewis XII. persisted in his design to hold the council of Pisa, as was said, and that caused Julius II. to convene another at the Lateran, and excommunicate by the same bull all princes and others who adhered to the first. Among these princes, was John d'Albret, king of Navarre, who being allied to Lewis XII. blindly followed the directions of the court of France. The king of Navarre, had no sooner declared for the council of Pisa, but Ferdinand upon that pretence, formed the design to seize his whole kingdom, and make Henry his son-in-law the instrument to execute it. To that end, he gave Henry

to understand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover Guienne, taken by France from one of his predecessors, since the league that was going to be concluded in Italy would find Lewis XII. so much employment, that probably, he would not be able to defend his own country. But as the distance of Guienne might deter Henry from attempting that conquest, Ferdinand out of affection, very willingly promised to supply him with troops, transport ships, artillery, provisions, ammunition, without stipulating any thing for himself, but the sole pleasure of procuring his son-in-law so great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of Henry and his council^m. The acquisition of Guienne seemed to them a thing so advantageous, and withal, so glorious in the beginning of this reign, that the king, without any farther difficulty, entered into the league proposed by the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians. Such was the real motiveⁿ that induced the court of England to break the peace lately renewed with France, without alledging other reason than the protection granted by Lewis to the Bentivoglios, and the calling of the unlawful assembly at Pisa. As if England was concerned to help the pope to Bologna, and oppose with arms a council, consisting of a score of French bishops, without power and credit even in the very place where they were assembled. We shall see presently, how Henry was the dupe of his affectionate father-in-law, and how Ferdinand politickly made use of him to serve his own ends, without giving himself the least trouble about his son-in-law's affairs.

When Ferdinand had gained Henry, he concluded at Rome, with the pope and the Venetians, the fore-mentioned league. In this treaty of Rome, it was expressly said that all the articles were negotiated and settled with the king of England's knowledge, the cardinal of York acting for him, and daily expecting orders to sign it, but that for certain reasons the conclusion of it could be no longer delayed.

^m The lord Herbert says, some of the council who more seriously weighed the business, were against a war with France, and more particularly for a reason which England should never forget. Let us therefore (says one of the council) leave off our attempts against the terra firma. The natural situation of islands seems not to fort with conquests in that kind. England alone is a just empire: or when we would en-

large ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal providence hath destined us; and that is by sea. Herbert, p. 3.

ⁿ Another inducement to Henry was the pope's promise to take away the title of most christian from the king of France, and confer it on him. Which he thought would be a perpetual glory to the nation, Ibid.

1511.

He makes a cautious proposal to Henry.

Henry resolves upon carrying war into Guienne. Herbert. Hall.

1511.

League between Henry and Ferdinand for the conquest of Guienne. A.G. Pub. XIII. p. 311. Nov. 17. Fallemotives of the league of Rome.

About six weeks after, Henry and Ferdinand concluded at London, a private league for the conquest of Guienne. This was a consequence of the first, on the supposition that the depriving the king of France of that province was a good means to serve and protect the church of God, the great and principal aim of the allies. If ever God's holy name was openly and shamelessly taken in vain, it is in the preambles of these two treaties. In the first, the pope protested that his sole aim in desiring Bologna, and the other states which belonged to the church, was, to restore Italy to her former tranquillity, that all christians might join their forces against the infidels, as he had ever wished, and still did wish most sincerely. Thus, to make war upon the infidels, it was necessary that Italy should be free from troubles, which could not be hoped till the pope had executed his ambitious projects, without which Italy was not to expect to enjoy any quiet.

Articles of the league of London between Henry and Ferdinand.

In the second treaty, Henry and Ferdinand set forth, " That they had made alliances with all christian princes, " solely to be enabled to wage war with the enemies of " Christ; and for that purpose, were now employed in pre- " paring powerful armies by land and sea; but that sud- " denly, when they least expected it, they were told, the " king of France's troops were besieging Bologna, where " the pope, old and infirm, lay seized with a grievous dis- " temper, and attended by all his cardinals: that being ex- " tremely afflicted at this news, they had besought the king " of France by letters and ambassadors, to give over his de- " sign: that the pope had offered him the pardon of all his " sins, provided only he would abstain from the patrimony " of the church, cease to inflame the schism, and adhere to " the council of Lateran: but that all this had been to no " purpose. On the contrary, he had made himself master " of Bologna, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants; " twice routed the army of the holy church of Rome, and " in contempt of the holy see, called a council, after having " bribed some of the cardinals. That since, the pope had " sent a legate to him to demand only that he would forbear " to attack the church. That the legate not prevailing, " the kings of England and Spain had sent ambassadors to " advise him amicably to desist from his attempts and be " reconciled with the pope, or else they could do no less

o The English commissioners were, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 312.

" than

“ than undertake the protection of the church ; but that their
 “ advice had been slighted. That upon all these considera-
 “ tions, the two kings perfectly knowing how detrimental
 “ such an ambition might prove to the catholick faith, the
 “ church of God, and the welfare of Christendom, had
 “ thought proper to agree upon the following articles, to
 “ the praise and glory of almighty God, our lord Jesus
 “ Christ, and the whole triumphant court of heaven, for
 “ the defence, exaltation, increase of the catholick faith,
 “ the christian religion, the holy Roman church, which was
 “ unjustly oppressed, and upon the frequent instances, exhor-
 “ tations, and admonitions of the pope, the head thereof.”
 The substance of this pious treaty was as follows :

I. The two kings took upon them the defence and protection of the holy Roman church, against all persons that should attack her ^p.

II. Ferdinand, as catholick king, and to discharge his duty to God and the church, promised to take up arms in her defence in Italy.

In the III^d article it was said, that the pope and the sacred college of cardinals had judged, that in order to deliver the church from the oppression she groaned under, it was necessary to wage war upon the king of France, not only in Italy, but in such of his provinces also as bordered upon the two allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they should carry their arms into Guienne, and conquer that province for the crown of England, and that Henry, in assisting the church, might at the same time recover what belonged to him. To that purpose, as soon as Ferdinand should have actually declared against the kingdom of France, and taken up arms in defence of the church, Henry, at a proper season, should proclaim war against the same prince in defence of the same church.

To perform this article, Henry promised to send into Guienne some time in April 1512, six thousand foot ^q commanded by a good general : to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them without the consent of the king of Arragon. Ferdinand bound himself, on his part, to find five hundred men at arms, fifteen hundred light horse, and

^p —Contra omnes illam invadentes seu oppugnantes. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 313.

^q By an additional article, dated March 16, it was agreed, that Henry

should send five hundred men more ; and Ferdinand find in all two thousand men at arms, and three thousand light horse. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 324.

1511.

four thousand foot, on the same terms. Moreover, he engaged to furnish the English troops with provisions and ammunition at a moderate price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two kings should send a fleet to sea with three thousand good soldiers, for six months besides the mariners, and that neither should recall his fleet without the other's consent.

IV. That Ferdinand should find forty ships, at a reasonable rate, to transport the English forces.

V. That in case the allies should take any places in Guienne and elsewhere, they should be delivered to him of the two kings, who had a prior title to the same.

VI. That if either of the two kings should be attacked out of Guienne, they should jointly take care of the defence of the country, of him who wanted assistance, sincerely and with all their power.

VII. That the two kings considering that the pope had called at Rome a council, which all christian princes ought to obey, and send ambassadors to, and it was affirmed that the king of France persisted in his design to continue the council summoned to Pisa, they agreed to adhere to whatever should be decreed by the council of Lateran, and oppose that of Pisa, with all its favourers and adherents.

VIII. That neither of the two kings should make peace or truce without a mutual consent.

IX. That by this, the former treaties should not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it should be ratified within four months by Henry, and Ferdinand, in his own and the name of queen Jane his daughter.

Imprudence
of Henry
and his
council.

Henry and his council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous treaty, since it was to procure them the duchy of Guienne, and Ferdinand demanded nothing for himself, as if he had acted purely from a motive of religion, and out of affection to his son-in-law, though in reality, he had consulted only his own interest. As for the pope's affairs, about which both kings seemed to be so greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not so much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared. But they wanted that pretence to dazzle the publick, though, in all appearance, the world was not so blind, as to imagine that two great kings should take up arms on purpose to dissolve a council which called itself general, composed of a small number of bishops, of one nation only, and so little regarded, that

that even at Milan, where it was removed, the government was forced to make use of their whole authority to procure its reception. 1511.

During these transactions, the emperor gave the king of France so much cause to suspect his sincerity, that necessity only obliged him to feign any further confidence in him. There was no German bishop come to the council, and when the emperor was pressed upon that subject, he replied, it was necessary first to have the approbation of the diet of the empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining: that though he should send bishops from his hereditary dominions to Pisa, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to the council, since it would give occasion to imagine, he despaired to obtain the diet's consent. On the other hand, instead of commanding in person his army in the state of Venice, as he had promised, he left all to the French troops, who were come to his aid. In short, whilst he listened to the offers of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, he told the French ambassador, he was ready to march to Rome, at the head of an army, provided his master would send him a strong reinforcement, and a sum of money, proportionable to the greatness of the undertaking. Amidst these uncertainties, Lewis knew not what to trust to. He could not look upon Maximilian but as an ally ready to abandon him, if he found it more for his interest to join with his enemies. In that case, all the emperor's conquests upon the Venetians would be so many losses to France. Mean while, the supplies he lent him were very expensive, and yet, he durst not afford him a pretence to change sides. Thus Lewis saw himself upon the point of being attacked by all the forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians, without any hope of assistance from the emperor. As for England, though he was yet ignorant of the treaty of London, and Henry's ambassador positively denied that his master intended to be concerned, all Henry's proceedings were plain indications that he would soon declare against him.

Mean while, the pope, who had ever in view the taking of Bologna and Ferrara, was very pressing with the viceroy of Naples to advance with his troops, and take the command of the confederate army. But notwithstanding all his solicitations, the junction could not be till the middle of December, and even then, the Naples artillery not being yet arrived, the army could be only employed in some trifling expeditions in la Romagna, with which ended the year 1511. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Lewis's suspicions of the emperor. Guicciard.

Lewis suspects Henry.

The king of Arragon's army joins the pope and Venetians. Guicciard.

1511.
Hall.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Though Henry had not yet proclaimed war with France, Lewis XII. knew what he was to expect. He had good intelligence by means of one Buonviso, a merchant of Lucca, who being a bankrupt, was retired into England, where he had obtained so much favour from the pope as to be made a kind of agent^r. This man being corrupted by France, discovered to Lewis the secrets, the pope was sometimes forced to trust him with; and hence it was that the court of France was informed of many things which the English would have concealed from them. It was probably by this means that the king of France had the first notice of the league concluded at London, though it was made a great secret. But shortly after, he had no more occasion for spies to know Henry's intentions.

Lewis has
notice of the
league of
London.

1512.
Henry ac-
quaints the
parliament
with his de-
sign, and ob-
tains an aid
of money.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The parliament being met the fourth of February^s, the king communicated his design of making war with France. He protested, his sole aim was to free the pope from the king of France's oppression, and especially to cause the schismatical council of Pifa, now removed to Milan, to be dissolved. Though this war, undertaken as the king himself affirmed, solely to oblige the pope, was little agreeable to the interest of England, the parliament however gave the king a large subsidy^t. In all appearance, the leading members of the house of commons being informed of the true reasons, so ordered it, that the rest came into their opinion. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to make them perceive the necessity of England's engaging in a war with France, to restore Bologna to the pope, and dissolve a council so inconsiderable as that of Pifa. Before the parliament broke up, the king was pleased to restore John Dudley, son of Edmund Dudley, to the rank and honours his family had been deprived of by the father's attainder. From that time, he had always an

John Dudley
son of Ed-
mund Dud-
ley restored.
Herbert.

^r His collector and proctor in England, says Hall, fol. 16.

^s Hall says, it met January 15. fol. 16; and Hollingshead, the 25th, p. 812.

^t Two fifteenths from the commons, and two tenths from the clergy. Hall, fol. 16. Stow, p. 490.—The most remarkable statutes enacted in this parliament were these: 1. That every captain shall have his whole and perfect number of men and soldiers, and give them their full wages, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiting all

his goods and chattels. 2. That no cloth shall be exported out of the realm, till it is barbed, rowed, and shorn, upon pain of forfeiting the same. 3. Several ignorant pretenders and quacks having taken upon them to practise physick, it was now ordained, that no person should take upon him to exercise the profession of a physician and surgeon, unless he is first examined and approved by the bishop of the diocese where he resides, or his vicar general, upon pain of forfeiting six pounds a month. See Statut,

affection

affection for him, and at length, towards the end of his reign, made him lord admiral of England.

1512.

The war Henry intended to undertake against France, having for pretence the dissolving of the council of Pisa, he could not dispense with acknowledging that of Lateran, and sending thither ambassadors. He made choice of Silvester, bishop of Worcester, with sir Robert Wingfield, and commissioned them to agree in his name to whatever should be deemed necessary for the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members. This clause was only to cast a mist before people's eyes, since nothing certainly was farther from the pope's thoughts, than to endeavour in this council, either his own or the church's reformation.

Henry sends ambassadors to the council of Lateran. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 325. February 9. Herbert.

The time being come to execute the projects agreed by Henry and Ferdinand in the treaty of London, Henry gave the command of his fleet to sir Edward Howard, son and heir to the earl of Surrey ^u, and of his army, which was to act on land, to Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset ^w. All the troops that were to serve in the Guienne expedition, being embarked about the middle of May, in Spanish vessels, arrived the 8th of June, at Passage, in the province of Guisuscoa, where the marquis of Dorset landed those he was to command. The lord Herbert says, these troops consisted of ten thousand men, but probably, he included in that number the three thousand that were to serve at sea according to the treaty ^x.

The marquis of Dorset leads an army into Spain. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 329. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingsh.

The admiral having convoyed the marquis of Dorset to Spain, put to sea again, and arriving on the coast of Bretagne, landed some troops, and plundered the country ^y. Henry hearing, the king of France was preparing a great naval armament, sent a reinforcement ^z to his admiral,

Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Pol. Virg.

^u The king, by an indenture dated April 8, granted sir Edward the following allowance. For his own maintenance, diet, wages, and rewards, ten shillings a day. For each of the captains, for their diet, wages, and rewards, eighteen pence a day. For every soldier, mariner, and gunner, five shillings a month for his wages, and five shillings for his victuals, reckoning twenty eight days in the month. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 327.

^w He was accompanied by his three brothers, John, Anthony, and Leonard; and by the lords Brooke, Willoughby, Ferrers, the baron of Burford, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Maurice

Barkley, sir William Sandes, &c. Hall, fol. 17.

^x He says farther, that it appears by the Spanish history, that there were among them five thousand archers, who carried, besides their bows, halberts, which they pitched in the ground till their arrows were shot, and then took up again to do execution on the enemy. An excellent part (says he) of military discipline, and yet not remarked by our English chronicles, p. 9.

^y About Conquet, and Brest. Hall, fol. 20.

^z Of twenty five ships which the king came and viewed at Portsmouth. Idem. fol. 21.

1512. which enabled him to make head against the French. The two fleets meeting the 10th of August, came to a furious engagement, which ended in great loss on both sides. The regent a first rate ship ^a and the Cordeliere, commanded by Primauguet ^b, being grappled, were both blown up, with loss of all their men. This accident happened by the desperate courage of Primauguet, who finding he could not save his ship, set fire to the powder ^c.

Ferdinand's private design to conquer Navarre.

The treaty of league concluded at London, seemed to be made only to pave the way for Henry to the conquest of Guienne. But Ferdinand had never any such thought. His sole aim was to conquer Navarre for himself, and employ to that end the English troops he had sent for into Spain. But as it was by no means proper to inform Henry of such a project, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering Guienne, in order to induce him to send his troops. This is the true reason why Ferdinand showed in the treaty so much disinterestedness, that all the advantage seemed to be on the side of England. But the performance was very far from answering the engagement.

His many artifices to compass his ends. Hall. Stow. Hollingh.

The marquis of Dorset being arrived in Guipuscoa, found a commissioner of the king, who paid him great respect, and told him, the duke d'Alva was taking the field, in order to join him. And indeed, the duke immediately put himself at the head of the Spanish army. But instead of joining the English who were encamped near Fontarabia with design to besiege with him the city of Bayonne, as was resolved, he kept at Logroño on the borders of Navarre. He intimated to the English general, that the king of Navarre being in alliance with France, it would be very dangerous to attack Bayonne with Navarre behind them: that whilst they should be employed in the siege, the king of Navarre might introduce the French into his dominions, join with them, and by encamping

^a Commanded by sir Thomas Knevet, master of the king's horse. The other captains of note were, sir John Carew, sir Charles Brandon, sir Henry Guildford. This engagement happened in August. Ibid.

^b Barbarously called by our chronicles, sir Piers Morgan, says my lord Herbert, p. 11. In this sea fight the English had forty five, and the French thirty nine ships. Hall, and Holl-

inghead, give a large description of the battle, fol. 21. 22. p. 815.

^c Upon the loss of the regent, the king built a ship the greatest ever known before, and called it Henry grace de Dieu. Hall, fol. 22. Though Buchanan, and Lestie say, he imitated James IV. king of Scotland, in one he had made, but built it so, that they could not make it steer. Herbert, p. 11.

between the mountains of Navarre and the sea, cut off the provisions which should be brought to the camp before Bayonne, without being obliged to give battle, if he thought proper: that therefore it was necessary, before they engaged in the siege, to try to gain the king of Navarre to the interests of their masters.

These reasons were so plausible, that the marquis of Dorset was easily persuaded to send an English officer to the king of Navarre, to require him to join with the allies. Ferdinand summoned him likewise, but more haughtily, to forsake the king of France, and come into the league ^d. The king of Navarre replied, he was resolved to stand neutral. But the English and Spaniards not being satisfied with this answer, jointly pressed him to declare himself, or deliver four of his towns for their security, which that prince would not grant. During these negotiations, a French army commanded by the duke of Longueville, approached the frontiers of Bearn. Whereupon the marquis of Dorset complained to Ferdinand, that the time lost in soliciting the king of Navarre, had served only to give the French opportunity to come and defend their borders, and withall pressed him to declare, whether he would attack Guienne pursuant to the treaty of London. Ferdinand answered, prudence would not suffer him to send his army to Fontarabia to besiege Bayonne, and leave his dominions exposed to the invasions of the French and Navarrais: that it was much more convenient to pass through Navarre, and secure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making use of that kingdom against him: that therefore he wished the English would join the duke of Alva, and his army should make the vanguard, to be exposed to the first dangers: that however the siege of Bayonne would not be retarded, because there was no question, the king of Navarre would be glad to be pressed, in order to justify himself to the king of France, when he should enter into the league. The marquis of Dorset, who did not yet see into his designs, having held a council of war replied, that by his instructions he could undertake nothing against the king of Navarre; but if the duke of Alva would pass through that kingdom, he might if he pleased, but for his part, being already near Bayonne, he could not think of taking so great a compass to join him.

^d It was called the Holy League. Herbert, p. 9.

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The duke of Alva besieges Pampeluna. Guicciard. Hall. Herbert.

The king of Navarre retires to France.

Pampeluna taken.

Ferdinand goes on with his artifices.

The duke of Alva overruns Navarre.

The marquis of Dorset perceives Ferdinand's artifices. Ferdinand gets an order for the marquis to obey him. Hall. Herbert. Hollingsh.

He has a mind to attack Bearn. Herbert.

Ferdinand was not content with this answer. He strongly insisted upon what he had proposed, that the English troops should come and join his army, and in the mean while, gave orders to the duke of Alva to besiege Pampeluna, metropolis of Navarre. During the siege, he continually amused the marquiss of Dorset with positive promises, that immediately after the taking of Pampeluna, the duke of Alva should join him to besiege Bayonne. Mean while, the king of Navarre being unable to defend himself, was retired into France, where he made a treaty with Lewis XII. for their common defence. But it cost him the town of Salvatierra, and all Bearn, which he was forced to deliver to the French.

Pampeluna having surrendered by capitulation the 25th of July, Ferdinand, according to his promise should have ordered the duke of Alva to join the English. But the rest of the fortified towns in Navarre served him for pretence to delay the junction. So the duke of Alva continued his conquests, whilst the English troops, though without stirring from their camp, served as a countenance to his designs. And indeed, though the French, who daily received fresh supplies, saw themselves sufficiently strong to withstand the duke of Alva, they never dared to enter Navarre, for fear of coming between the English and Spaniards. Wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between Bayonne and Salvatierra, they gave the duke of Alva all the leisure he wanted to subdue almost all Navarre.

Then it was that the marquiss of Dorset plainly perceived the king of Arragon acted with insincerity, and that his design from the very first was not to invade Guienne, but conquer Navarre. Ferdinand was very sensible, his artifice would at last be discovered. So, to prevent the complaints the English general might make to the king his master, he sends an express to England, to give Henry an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that country, and to desire him to order his general to act in concert with him. Henry who had received nothing to the contrary from the marquiss, readily sent Windsor herald with the desired orders to the general.

Whilst the Herald was on his journey, the duke of Alva became master of St. Juan de Pie del Puerto. Presently after the taking of that place, Ferdinand acquainted the marquiss of Dorset, that his army was ready to march into Guienne, and desired him to join the duke of Alva without delay.

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delay. But the marquis was no longer willing to be deceived. He knew, the French army was intrenched between Bayonne and Salvatierra, with the river Bidassoa in front, which must be passed within view, and besides Bayonne was so well provided, that there was no likelihood of besieging it. What Ferdinand therefore proposed was impracticable, and only a continuation of his artifices. From St. Juan de Pie del Puerto, the right-hand road led into Bearn, and the left to Bayonne, so the duke of Alva's intent was to engage the English to enter Bearn with him, under colour there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantageous post, or at least to besiege Salvatierra. But the English general having no orders to make war upon the king of Navarre, either in Bearn or elsewhere, refused to join the Spaniards. Ferdinand reaped this advantage from his refusal, that he cast the whole blame upon him, of their not invading Guienne according to the treaty. After that the duke of Alva turning back, laid siege to Estella, the only place that remained to the king of Navarre.

The marquis refuses to help him.

The marquis of Dorset, full of indignation at these proceedings, and considering that his army was daily weakened by sickness and want of provisions, which were grown scarce since the war in Navarre, desired Ferdinand to furnish him with ships for his return. It was with great difficulty that he obtained his request, Ferdinand still protesting against his departure, as directly contrary to the treaty. Mean while, he was not sorry for it, since the English were almost become useless, after the conquest of Navarre. In the mean while, the Marquis of Dorset falling sick, the lord Thomas Howard took the command of the army. At the same time, as the troops were going to embark, the herald arrived from England, with positive orders to the general, to obey the commands of king Ferdinand^e. But the army mutinying it was impossible to detain the soldiers any longer in Spain, and the embarkation being made, they arrived in England in November^f. Henry was at first very angry with his general, but being informed of all particulars during the campaign, plainly saw, Ferdinand had deceived him, and that his affected disinterestedness in the treaty of league, was only to draw him more easily into

He prepares to return to England. Hall. Herbert. Hollingsh.

He arrives in England.

Henry perceives he had been imposed upon.

^e King Henry promised at the same time to send a new supply of troops, under the command of the lord Herbert, his chamberlain. Hall, fol.

20. Herbert, p. 10.

^f In the beginning of December. Hall, fol. 20.

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the snare. He thought proper however to dissemble, for fear of giving Ferdinand a pretence to join with France, and leave him embarrassed.

Before the year was expired, Ferdinand saw himself in had full possession of Navarre, though the king of France used some endeavours to wrest that conquest out of his hands. In December, the king of Navarre, and Francis duke of Angoulême besieged Pampeluna; but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the rest of the kingdom to the Spaniards. After Ferdinand was in possession of Navarre, he sought pretences to keep it, but found no better than a bull of pope Julius II. who excommunicated John d'Albret king of Navarre, and gave his kingdom in prey to the conqueror. Mezerai affirms, this bull never appeared, but the lord Herbert says, it was dated March 1. 1512.

Ferdinand
keeps Na-
varre.

Affairs of
Italy.
Guicciard,
Bembo.

Siege of
Bologna,

raised by
Gaston de
Foix.
Bembo.

He routs the
allies, but is
killed him-
self.

La Palisse is
master of all
la Romagna.
Guicciard.

We must now see what passed in Italy whilst Ferdinand was conquerring Navarre. The confederate army of the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, under the command of the viceroy of Naples, taking the field in December, the pope caused the viceroy to be continually pressed by cardinal John de Medici, his legate to besiege Bologna. At length, notwithstanding the opposition of the viceroy, and the Venetian general, who foresaw great difficulties in the execution of that design, the pope's instances were to be complied with, and the siege of Bologna being resolved, the army of the allies[§] appeared before the city. But Gaston de Foix duke of Nemours, and governor of Milan, coming to its relief, compelled the allies to raise the siege. Some days after, he defeated a Venetian army at Brescia, and slew eight thousand men. At last, on the 11th of April finding means to give the allies battle near Ravenna, he put them to rout, and took the legate prisoner; but was himself slain after the battle, in too warmly pursuing a body of Spaniards, who were retreating in good order. After that prince's death, la Palisse took the command of the army, and the next day became master of Ravenna. Whereupon all the towns of la Romagna, taken by the pope after the battle of Agnadel, voluntarily surrendered to the cardinal of St. Severin, who was in the French army as legate of the council of Pisa, transferred to Milan.

[§] It consisted of eighteen hundred men at arms, and about ten thousand foot. Guicciard, l. 10.

1512.

The pope tries to gain time.

The consternation at Rome was so great, that the cardinals went into a body to petition the pope to make peace with France. But Julius II. had resources unknown perhaps to the cardinals. So, all they could obtain was to engage him to make some feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the French from marching to Rome, as they might easily have done, without fear of meeting any obstacle.

Lewis's affairs decline. The Switzers march to Milan. La Palisse relieves it. Guicciard.

Whilst Lewis's affairs seemed to be in the most flourishing condition, they were in reality upon the decline. The Switzers, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, preparing to exert their utmost to invade the duchy of Milan, la Palisse thought it more for his master's interest to relieve that country which was destitute of troops, than make conquests in the ecclesiastical state. So, leaving the cardinal of St. Severin in la Romagna, with five or six thousand men, he hastily marched into Milan. The retreat of the French, when it lay in their power to march to Rome, inspired Julius II. with fresh courage. From thenceforward he would no more hear of peace, though Lewis XII offered him the same terms as before his victory. At this juncture it was that the council of Lateran was opened the 3d of May, which had been delayed by reason of the battle of Ravenna.

The pope refuses a peace. Opening of the council of Lateran.

All hope of peace vanishing, the pope excommunicated Lewis XII. and put France under an interdict ^h. He used for pretence the captivity of his legate, who was detained at Milan, where, though a prisoner, he performed however the functions of the pope's legate, the inhabitants of Milan refusing to own the authority of the council held in their city. It was a great mortification to Lewis, to see his council contemned by his own subjects, but this was only a small part of the misfortunes to which he was exposed the same year. After la Palisse had quitted la Romagna, all the towns of that country submitted to the pope. At the same time, Ferdinand became master of Navarre, and Lewis was forced to send an army into Bearn to hinder the English and Spaniards from invading Guienne. On the other hand, the emperor concluded a truce with Venice, and secretly promised to withdraw from the French army a body of German troops, lent the king for the defence of

Lewis XII. is excommunicated. Bembo. Guicciard.

The council is contemned at Milan.

La Romagna returns to the pope.

The emperor's truce with the Venetians. Bembo.

^h It is said, Lewis caused several medals to be coined with this inscription, Perdam Babylonem, I will de-

stroy Babylon. Which if true, shews that Rome was not called Babylon first by protestants.

the

1512.

the Milanese. And yet upon the assurance of this aid it was that Lewis recalled from Milan part of his own troops, not doubting that with those he left there, and the Germans sent him by the emperor, he should be able to resist his enemies. Thus, the French finding themselves weak in the duchy of Milan, la Palisse was obliged to recall the cardinal of St. Severin, with his troops, which was the cause of the loss of la Romagna.

The emperor
lets the Swit-
zers pass
through
Trent.
Guicciard.

Mean while, the Switzers, to the number of sixteen thousand, began their march about the End of August, or the beginning of September. But instead of taking the direct road to the Milanese, the passes whereof, they did not question, were strongly guarded, they marched to Trent, with Maximilian's permission. Though this, if any, was an enemy's act, he was still desirous to hide his intentions, by telling the French ambassador, that his alliance with the Switzers suffered him not to refuse them a passage through his dominions, as if his treaty with Lewis XII. was to be less observed. The Switzers having passed unmolested through Trent, proceeded to Verona, and joining the Venetians, they marched together towards Milan. Whereupon the French entirely disconcerted, and not having above ten thousand men, resolved to retire into the fortified towns, in order to waste the enemy's army by sieges, till the king sent them supplies, or the approaching winter stopped the progress of the allies. But they were soon deprived of this refuge, by the emperor's orders for his troops to retire immediately.

They ap-
proach Mi-
lan.

The emperor
withdraws
his troops
from the
French,
Guicciard.
who return
home.

The council
removed to
Lyons.
Cardinal
de Medici
makes his
escape.

Bologna left
to the pope's
mercy.
Guicciard.

These orders being punctually obeyed, la Palisse found himself so weak, that despairing to save the Milanese, he resolved to repass the mountains, and return into France. The prelates of the council seeing Milan was going to be abandoned, by a sudden decree, removed the council to Lyons, and followed the French troops. They would have carried the cardinal de Medici with them, but went away in such confusion, that his friends found means to secure him. After the French were retired, all the towns of the duchy readily surrendered to the Switzers and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which submitted to the pope. On the other hand, Alexander Bentivoglio, not thinking himself safe in Bologna, departed from thence with all his family, leaving the city to the pope's mercy. Thus Julius II. who, about a month before, saw himself in a very ill situation, was arrived at the height of his wishes by this surprizing revolution, which restored him Ravenna, Bologna, all la Romagna, and drove the French out of Italy.

There

1512.

The duke of Ferrara goes to Rome, and escapes, Guicciard.

There remained still four things to do to complete the pope's happiness, namely, to dispossess the duke of Ferrara, to restore the Sforzas to Milan, and the Medici to Florence, and lastly, to expel the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. As for the duke of Ferrara, he voluntarily delivered himself to the pope, upon the faith of a safe conduct. An imprudence which would have cost him dear, had he not been freed by Fabricius Colonna his friend, who forced the guard, set at the gates of Rome to hinder his departure.

Congress of Mantua between the allies. Ibid.

The French were no sooner out of Italy, than the allies began to discover their different ends in acting against France. Upon this occasion they judged proper to meet at Mantua, where they could agree but upon two articles, namely, that Maximilian Sforza eldest son of Lodovico the Moor, should be restored to Milan, and the House of de Medici to Florence. In consequence of this last resolution, the army of the allies approaching Florence compelled the Florentines to consent to a treaty, whereby the Medici were restored to their country as citizens only, and not as governors. But the cardinal de Medici entering the city by virtue of the treaty, whilst the army of the allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many officers and soldiers, and raise a sedition which made him master of the city. Whereupon, the government was settled upon the same foot, as before the banishment of the Medici.

Florence submits to the Medici, Guicciard,

It was a great matter for the pope to have restored the Medici to Florence, and Sforza to Milan. But this did not suffice to content him. The duke of Ferrara was still master of his duchy, and the council of Pisa sitting at Lyons. The allies therefore must be brought to turn their arms against Ferrara, and procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, that the emperor might without difficulty abandon his council. To that purpose, the pope obtained a second meeting at Rome, where he could gain nothing with respect to Ferrara, because the duke was protected by the king of Arragon. Besides, the Venetians could not agree to find men and money to render the pope master of that duchy. As for the peace between the emperor and Venice, he found still greater difficulties, though he passionately wished to accomplish that project, for fear one or other of the two powers should recall the French into Italy. But the intolerable terms proposed by the emperor to the Venetians hindered him from succeeding. In short, the pope seeing his

Another congress at Rome, Guicciard,

labour

1512.

The pope's league with the emperor against Venice. Guicciard. Articles of the league.

The emperor renounces the council of Pisa. Guicciard.

Sforza is put in possession of Milan.

Remarks on the year 1512.

labour was in vain, and desiring at any rate to dissolve the council of Pisa, and prevent the return of the French into Italy, concluded with the emperor a league offensive and defensive against Venice. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to become a principal party in the league of Rome, and agreed, that the pope should keep Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, saving however the rights of the empire. He promised to renounce the council of Pisa, and forsake the duke of Ferrara and the Bentivoglios. The pope engaged on his part to aid the emperor with all his power, thunder his censures against the Venetians, declare them excluded out of the league of Rome, and drop the prosecution of the Colonnas for aiding the duke of Ferrara to make his escape. The treaty being signed and ratified, the bishop of Gurck, as the emperor's lieutenant renounced in the next session of the council of Lateran the assembly of Pisa, and revoked whatever had been done by the emperor towards the calling and supporting it.

About the end of December, Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Lodovico the Moor, was put in possession of the duchy of Milan, pursuant to the agreement of the allies at Mantua.

I have now run over the occurrences of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the several changes in the affairs of Italy, and still more, for the conduct of the princes concerned, which discovers their different characters. Lewis XII. was the dupe of his scruples, which made him lose the opportunity of disabling the pope to hurt him, and in the end occasioned the loss of the Milanese. Julius II. made religion subservient to his immoderate ambition, by using the glory of God and the good of the church for a cloak to gratify his passions. Having formed a league to restore the Venetians to their dominions, to the glory of God and exaltation of the christian faith, he concluded another, on the same pretence, to dispossess them of all they had recovered. Ferdinand drew Henry VIII. into a war for the pope's defence, and to procure Guienne for the crown of England, but artfully made it subservient to the conquest of Navarre for himself. The emperor Maximilian acted with no more sincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was solely indebted to Lewis XII. for all he had conquered in Italy after the league of Cambray. Nay, the very preservation of his conquests was wholly owing to that prince's continual supplies. And yet, he no sooner saw him upon the decline, but he most ungratefully helped to hurl him down the

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the precipice. It is said he had a book wherein he marked in red letters the injuries received from the king of France. But I do not know in what colour Lewis XII. should have writ in his book the wrong done him by Maximilian on this occasion. As for Henry VIII. he was certainly the dupe of the king of Arragon and the pope. But what is more strange, after Ferdinand and Julius II. by their artifices had engaged that prince in a league against France, as soon as affairs had taken such a turn that they no longer wanted his assistance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no such person in the world. In all the negotiations between the allies, whether at Mantua or Rome, after the retreat of the French, cardinal Bambridge was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the king of England. The pope and the king of Arragon, satisfied with expelling the French, forsook Henry without troubling themselves about his concerns. It even appears that he was not informed of these negotiations. We see in the collection of the publick acts, that the 10th of November he still gave full powers to his ambassadors¹ at several courts, to treat of a league in favour of the pope, at the very time the pope was entirely neglecting the interests of England. About the same time, Henry signed letters patents, declaring he entered into the league concluded at Rome a year before, though since that Julius II. was in possession of Ravenna, all la Romagna, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and his desires had been accomplished by Lewis's loss of Genoa and Milan, and by the emperor's renouncing the assembly of Pisa. Thus, he was evidently the dupe of all these intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his troops to Ferdinand to conquer Navarre. On the other hand, the terror of his arms was greatly subservient to the pope's designs, as it hindered Lewis XII. from keeping in Italy troops, which he believed necessary for the defence of his kingdom against the English. This was the real aim of Julius and Ferdinand, and Henry was so blind as to engage, without necessity, in a war with France for their interest, imagining he was acting for his own.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 341.

Ib. p. 342.

Who would not have thought that Henry's experience should have rendered him wiser and more circumspect? And yet, he was farther amused by these very princes, who told him that having nothing more to fear in Italy, they were going to join all their forces to invade France, and if he

Henry suffers himself to be farther imposed upon.

¹ Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.

Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 341.

would

1512.
Ib: p. 344.

would likewise act, he might easily recover Guienne and Normandy. Henry being persuaded of their sincerity, immediately sent ambassadors to Brussels^k, to conclude a league against France with the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, Charles of Austria sovereign of the Low Countries, and Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy his aunt, who governed his dominions during his minority. Henry reckoned that the execution of the treaty would immediately follow the conclusion. But it will hereafter be seen, that if they concluded the league, it was only to draw money from him, and leave him to make war all alone. He was young and unexperienced, but withal so self-conceited as to think himself wiser than his council. Besides, he had plenty of ready money in his coffers. What could persons so subtle as Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, desire better than to have to deal with such a prince as Henry? We have already seen this year 1512, how artfully they improved so favourable a disposition, and we shall see in the following years, how very little he himself profited by what he might have learnt by experience, during the course of the present. However this be, being resolved to carry war into France, he assembled a parliament the 4th of November, to demand an aid of money. Shortly after, the commons, without examining too closely the reasons which induced him to take up arms, granted him a subsidy^l, and a poll tax^m upon all his subjects, for the expences of the warⁿ.

The parliament gives the king money. Herbert. Stow. Hollingsh.

During the session of the parliament, Henry received a bull from the pope, who to encourage him to push the war

^k Sir Edward Poynings, controller of the household, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir Richard Wingfield, and John Yonge, doctor of laws, and master of the rolls. Ibid. p. 344.

^l Two fifteenths and four demies. A fifteenth or quinzime, is a tax of money laid upon a city, borough, or other town through the realm, and so called, because it amounted to a fifteenth part of that which the city or town had been valued at of old; and therefore every town knew what a fifteenth for themselves did amount to, which was in proportion to the land or circuit belonging to it. Thus Camden says of Bath, *geldabat pro viginti hidis*. Whereas a subsidy was raised upon every particular man's goods or lands, and therefore was uncertain, because the estate

of every particular man is uncertain. Cowel's Dict.

^m Every duke was to pay ten marks, an earl five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks; and so after that rate down to him who had forty shillings in wages, who paid twelve pence; after which every one above fifteen years of age, paid four pence. Herbert, p. 12.

ⁿ In this parliament, the benefit of clergy was taken away from persons committing murder or felony in any church, chapel, or hallowed place; and from those that rob or murder any persons in the king's highway, or in their houses. See Statut.

vigorously

vigorously against France; granted a plenary indulgence to all his subjects that should aid him with their person or purses. This was all the assistance he had from the pope for a war, the sole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the church.

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Bull in favour of the king.

A&T. Pub. XIII. p. 343.

Nothing more remains to finish the account of the occurrences of this year, but briefly to mention the measures taken by Henry with regard to Scotland.

Whilst Henry resolved to carry war into France, he used his utmost endeavours to preserve a good understanding with the king of Scotland. But it was almost impossible that England should be in war with France, and Scotland not interpose. However, Henry imagined that by the assurances he gave the king of Scotland of his intention to observe punctually the treaty of peace, he should prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. James suffered him to think what he pleased, and in the mean time was preparing to assist France by a powerful diversion, in case that kingdom was attacked. Upon the first report that the king of England was going to quarrel with Lewis XII. James took care to be provided with pretences to break with him: The affair of Breton furnished him with one, and he moreover sought others. But the true reason of his acting was, that for some ages past the kings of England were grown so powerful, and had shown so great a desire to unite all Great Britain under their dominion, that the Scots could little expect to resist them but by the assistance of France, which had ever protected them. It was therefore more necessary than just for Scotland to continue firm to the interests of France, and not suffer that crown to be disabled to assist her allies. So, not to swerve from this maxim, James IV. who had determined to go to Jerusalem, laid aside his design when he heard there was like to be a rupture between France and England. He equipped a fleet, which he intended to send into France, under colour of presenting it to queen Anne, wife of Lewis XII. But the fleet, in which was the largest ship that had yet been seen on the sea, was lost or disabled by a storm, and the admiral's ill conduct.

Henry tries in vain to prevent a rupture with Scotland. Herbert.

Herbert.

The king of Scotland prepares to aid France.

At last, Henry having proclaimed war with Lewis XII. James concluded a league against him with France the 22d of May this year. Shortly after, he prepared an army, but without divulging for what it was designed. His intent was to make an inroad into England, as soon as Henry had sent his forces into France. Henry having notice of this armament,

James concludes a league with Lewis XII.

1512. mament, sent two ambassadors ^o into Scotland, under colour of adjusting some little differences, but in reality to sound the king's intentions. The ambassadors acquainting king James that their master suspected this armament was made in favour of France, James replied, That being equally an ally of both crowns, his design was to observe an exact neutrality. The ambassadors prayed him to give that answer in writing, but he refused, on pretence it would breed a suspicion in the king of France. Shortly after, Henry learnt by his spies that a league was concluded between France and Scotland, and he even procured a copy of the treaty ^p. So, perceiving that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, he sent the earl of Surrey into the northern parts, with power to levy an army, and act against Scotland in case of necessity ^q.

Act Pub.
XIII. p. 332,
333. 347.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

1513. The occurrences of the year 1512 made great alterations in the interests of the princes concerned, and consequently in their designs and measures.

Views and
interests of
the princes.
Of Julius II.

Julius II. pleased with having expelled the French out of Italy, and so greatly increased his power by the acquisition of so many places, was thinking however of seizing Ferrara. After that, he hoped, with the assistance of the Venetians and Florentines, to be able to drive the emperor out of Venice, though he had lately leagued with him. As for the rest, he had no thought of making conquests in France, his sole aim was to find Lewis XII. employment at home, and entirely dissolve the remains of the council of Pisa, which however was not very formidable to him, since the emperor's disengagement.

Of Ferdi-
nand.

The king of Arragon's sole view was to preserve his late conquest of Navarre. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep Lewis XII. elsewhere employed, or prevail with him not to disturb him. To that purpose it was necessary to use the terror of the arms of the allies, and particularly of the king of England, that the king of France being attacked from several quarters, might be induced of himself to desire a peace, and leave him in possession of Navarre. Ferdinand would not have scrupled to abandon his allies, provided he could obtain such a peace as he wanted.

^o Thomas, lord Dacre, of Greystok, and dr. Nicolas West, dean of Windson. Rymer's Fœd.

^p See the articles in my lord Herbert, p. 12, of the Compl. Hist.

^q This year, a great part of the king's palace at Westminster, and the chapel in the Tower of London were burnt. Stow, p. 490.

The emperor fought only to draw money both from his friends and enemies. He was very sensible, that with his own forces alone it would be difficult to make conquests upon the Venetians, and that the pope, though his ally, did not wish it. But he was extremely reserved to them, in order to procure the larger sums in making a peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as possible, and make new leagues, because in all the treaties of that kind, money was still given him to maintain imaginary troops, which he never raised, at least not so many as he promised.

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Of the emperor.

The Venetians were extremely desirous to end a destructive war, by which they were drained. Their sole aim was to induce the emperor to be satisfied with a good sum of money for the restitution of their towns, and thereby put their state upon the same foot as before the league of Cambay. But as the emperor could not think of depriving himself of an entrance into Italy by the restitution of these places, it was their business to compel him in some measure by new leagues, which might make him apprehensive of losing them without any advantage. But as this was the senate's sole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as soon as the emperor would hearken to reason.

Of the Venetians.

The Switzers thought only of supporting Sforza at Milan, to have always in that duchy a prince who should rely on their assistance. Consequently, it was their interest to keep the king of France at a distance, and oppose all his attempts to recover it.

Of the Switzers.

Lewis XII. extremely mortified at the success of his enemies in Italy, ardently desired to recover Genoa and Milan. To succeed, the aid of the Venetians, the emperor, or the Switzers was necessary. It was also requisite so to hasten the conclusion with one or other of the two last powers, that the expedition of the Milanese might be made in the spring, for fear it should be prevented by the war, the king of England was preparing against him in Picardy.

Of the king of France.

Of all Lewis's enemies Henry alone thought of making conquests in France, preposterously imagining, his allies would make diversions in several places to facilitate the execution of his designs. But he did not yet sufficiently know them. The Venetians had been excluded out of the late league. The pope and king of Arragon had no desire to attack France, but only to create Lewis troubles, which might hinder him from thinking of Italy. It was solely with

Of Henry VIII.

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this view that they feigned a willingness to second the king of England. As for Maximilian, Henry and his council must have voluntarily deceived themselves, to hope for any assistance from him.

Of the king
of Scotland.

James IV. king of Scotland, seeing France upon the point of being attacked by the king of England, was preparing to assist her, deeming his own and that kingdom's interests to be inseparable. He easily perceived, Henry courted him only to hinder his interposing in the quarrel, and was willing to seduce him with hopes of succeeding in his design. But he was however determined to break the peace, rather than leave a kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a speedy and powerful protection in case of need. It is true, he had made a peace with Henry VII. and renewed it with Henry VIII. But it was when these princes had no quarrel with France, his antient and constant ally. In his opinion, Henry by wantonly attacking France on frivolous pretences, violated indirectly the peace made with Scotland. At least, James pretended that in signing a peace with England, he was not bound to forsake France whenever the king of England should think of attacking her.

Such were the dispositions of all these potentates in the beginning of the year 1513. We must see now by what means each endeavoured to attain his ends. This new scene will discover to us no less variety, artful managements, devices and artifices than the former, since the actors and personages will still be the same.

The emperor offers a league to Lewis XII. in order to deceive them.
Guicciard.

Whilst Henry was seriously preparing for the war with France, his pretended allies were minding their own affairs, without regarding his interests. Since he had entered into the league of Rome, the allies, it seemed, should have done nothing without his knowledge. And yet Julius II. had leagued with Maximilian, and excluded the Venetians, without informing him of it.

In the beginning of the year 1513, the emperor had no farther regard for his new allies, since he sent and proposed a fresh league to Lewis XII. upon new terms. He offered to assist him in recovering the Milanese, provided Lewis would aid him against the Venetians. Moreover, he demanded René, Lewis's second daughter, for Charles of Austria his grandson, and that for her dower Lewis should assign him all his pretensions to Milan and the kingdom of Naples. But that the performance of the treaty might not entirely depend upon the faith of the king of France, he required that the princess should be immediately sent to
him,

him, and Cremona and all Gierradadda delivered to him as soon as the duchy of Milan was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the emperor's assurance in making these proposals. He had not hitherto been able to continue the war against Venice, without the assistance of Lewis XII. nay, he thought he still wanted it, and yet made him an offer of his aid to recover the Milanese. But upon what terms? Why, after Lewis should have been at a vast expence to recover that duchy, he was to resign it to the emperor's grandson, with his pretensions to Naples. This is called using people like true dupes. But after the ill turn Maximilian had lately served Lewis XII. it is not very likely that he believed his proposals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder Lewis from joining with the Venetians. At the same time he intended to inspire these with jealousy, and a fear of his uniting with France, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantageous conditions.

Lewis XII. hearkened to these proposals, as if he had some design to accept them, because he thereby hoped to create suspicions in the Switzers and Venetians, and incline them the sooner to join with him. As for the Venetians, they desired nothing more than a strict union with France, and if any thing retarded the negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the emperor, in which case they would have gladly renounced all sorts of leagues. As for the Switzers, it was not possible for Lewis XII. to gain them to his side, though he offered them more than at first was demanded. Besides, their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, since the restoration of Sforza to Milan. Whilst that prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether in good policy they ought to engage in a war with France for his sake. But since he was by their assistance in possession of the duchy, their honour and interest required their utmost endeavours to support him. However this be, Lewis's negotiation with the Switzers not succeeding, he was under a necessity to join in a league either with the emperor or with Venice, otherwise he could little expect to recover Milan.

Lewis tries
in vain to
win the
Switzers.
Guicciard.

In the mean time, the Venetians sent and proposed a league to him upon the same terms with that of the year 1498, namely, that they would assist him to recover Milanese, pro-

Proposals of
the Venetians
to
Lewis XII.

† He had promised to pay them one thousand yearly, for five and twenty hundred and fifty thousand ducats upon his restoration to Milan, and forty years. Guicciard, l. II.

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vided he would resign Cremona, and Gierradadda. Lewis readily listened to their offers, but the Venetians themselves did not hasten the conclusion, by reason of their circumstances presently after.

Guicciard.

The king of Arragon having good intelligence of what passed between Lewis XII. and the Venetians, informed the emperor, and advised him to offer Verona to the Venetians, for a sum of money. This was the subject of a long, though fruitless negotiation.

Death of
Julius II.
Guicciard.

Whilst the affairs of Italy were in this state of uncertainty, Julius II. who was preparing to besiege Ferrara, in the beginning of the spring, died the 21st of February, having kindled a flame which his death could not extinguish^s.

Parma and
Placentia
submit to the
duke of
Milan.

As soon as the news reached the viceroy of Naples, who was still with his army in Lombardy, he approached Placentia, and entering without opposition, restored that place to the duke of Milan. Parma quickly followed the example of Placentia, and was likewise delivered to the same prince. No one was in haste to send assistance to the future pope to preserve these places for him. On the contrary, the princes of Italy could not see without uneasiness, that the popes had footing in Lombardy, under a pretence which might upon occasion, be used against most of them.

Leo X. pope.
Aët. Pub.
XIII. p. 349.
Guicciard.

On the 11th of March, cardinal John de Medici, who eleven months before was taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Leo X. He was but thirty seven years old, but had however great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs in the late pontificate. He was neither so hot nor so haughty as Julius II. his predecessor, but was much more artful and politic. I shall have occasion hereafter to add to his portraiture some strokes, which will more fully show his genius and character.

Truce for
one year be-
tween Lewis
and Ferdi-
nand.
Guicciard.

Before the death of Julius II. Ferdinand was employed in framing a scheme perfectly answering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year he had sent two monks into France to make some overtures to Lewis XII. by means of queen Ann, to whom they had access. But as Lewis perceived it was not possible to make a peace, or even a truce with Ferdinand, without leaving him in possession of Navarre, he had appeared at first very cold. But at length,

^s He took the name of Julius from his inclination to war, in memory of Julius Cæsar. He commanded his army in person against the French; and,

it is said, as he marched over a bridge on the Tiber, he threw St. Peter's keys into the river, and called for St. Paul's sword.

considering

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considering that he could hardly expect to recover the duchy of Milan, whilst the king of Arragon was his enemy, because it was he that excited the king of England his son-in-law, he determined, though unwillingly to conclude with him a truce, for a year, on condition the king of England was included, and Italy excepted. He reckoned, that during this truce he should with ease be able to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, after which, he should be sufficiently strong to defend his own kingdom against the English. Nothing was farther from Henry's thoughts than such a truce, which would have broke all his measures, and yet, Ferdinand doubted not to act in his name, as if he were sure of his consent. The affair was began in January, and the 8th of February, Lewis impowered Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, to treat with Ferdinand's commissioners. In short, the treaty was concluded at Orthez in Bearn, the 1st of April. The treaty ran, that there should be a truce for a year, out of Italy, between the king of France, the king of Scotland, the duke of Guelders on the one part; and on the other the emperor, the king of Arragon, the queen of Castile, and the king of England. Lewis XII. undertook to procure the king of Scotland's and the duke of Guelders's consent, and Ferdinand engaged for the king of England. But as Ferdinand knew he should not easily obtain Henry's consent, he caused it to be inserted in the treaty, that it should be ratified within a month by himself and Lewis XII. but that the other parties should be allowed two months, with express declaration, that with regard to the emperor, the king of England, the king of Scotland, and the duke of Guelders, the truce should take place, but from the day of the exchange to the ratifications. Never perhaps was seen any thing so bold as what Ferdinand did on this occasion. He perfectly knew that Henry would never agree to the truce, and yet took upon him to procure his consent, as if he had been fully impowered to that end. The last article, concerning the ratification, plainly discovers his thoughts. But it is still more visible, in that he not only took no step to persuade Henry to do what he seemed to desire, but even concealed from him the truce as far as possible.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Ferdinand took care to publish his complaints, that he had been very ill used by the allies of the league, that the pope and Venetians had acquired many places, but for his part he had gained nothing at all, and yet the allies refused to continue the supply to which they were bound, though the king of France still possessed

Ferdinand includes Henry without his knowledge. Guicciard.

A. Pub. XIII p. 350.

Ferdinand complains of the allies. Guicciard.

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several towns in Italy, and the Spanish army was still in the service of the league. But this was only to prepare people to see with less surprize and indignation, the private truce he had just made with France, without the participation of his allies.

The eyes of the publick were fixed upon the new pope, to see what course he would take. But he did not long leave the politicians in suspence. Though whilst a cardinal, he did not entirely approve of Julius II's conduct, he pursued however his plan as soon as he was in his place. He was doubly concerned to keep the French out of Italy: first, as pope, since neighbours so powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as head of the house of the Medici, he had cause to fear, that if Lewis XII. recovered the Milanese, he would undertake to restore the Florentines to their liberty. In a word, he wished to put an end to the council of Pisa, which could be done only by engaging Lewis XII. in wars, which should compel him to make his peace with the church. Ferdinand had likewise the same views, to keep the king of France at a distance from Navarre, Roussillon, and the kingdom of Naples. As for the emperor, it was his interest to disable France to assist the Venetians. But they had none of them any desire to carry war into France, but only so to manage, that this diversion might be made at another's expence.

The allies try to engage Henry in a war with France.

To that purpose they unanimously cast their eyes upon Henry VIII. as a prince extremely proper to execute their designs. He had ready money, warlike subjects, and could with ease transport troops into some part of France remote from the borders of Spain and Italy. In fine, he was very desirous to signalize himself by illustrious actions, and scrupled not to show it publickly. So, each of them laboured with all his power to confirm him in his design, to wage war with France, by putting him in hopes of being vigorously supported, though nothing was farther from their thoughts. Leo X. was no sooner in the papal chair, but under colour of notifying his promotion, sent him a letter, assuring him, that he was fully determined to adhere to the league formed by Julius II. his predecessor, and even to conclude a new one with England. But at the same time, he pressed the emperor to make a peace with Venice, and negotiated with the Venetians to hinder their union with France, promising to use all his interest with the emperor to procure them an honourable and advantageous peace. All these practices could not be managed so privately but the king of France had some intelligence

intelligence of them, so that he soon grew very jealous of the new pope. 1513.

Henry did not want much sollicitation to carry his arms into France. His thoughts were already bent upon war. So, finding, the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, promised him to act vigorously, he did not question the favourableness of the opportunity to recover good part of what his predecessors had formerly lost. And therefore, he readily agreed to form a new league with them, not for the affairs of Italy, with which he was probably disgusted, but to attack France from several quarters. And that the league might be the more secret, it was agreed, that it should be negotiated at Mechlin, between Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, authorised by the emperor her father, and the ambassadors of England †, and that afterwards it should be approved and ratified by the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand. This was another snare laid for Henry, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though Ferdinand was then upon the point of concluding the truce with the king of France, he made himself however one of the principal parties in this league, as repugnant as it was to the truce. The substance of the new league concluded at Mechlin the 5th of April, about the same time the truce was signed at Orthez, was as follows.

League concluded at Mechlin between the allies and Henry.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 354, &c.

That within thirty days after the date of this treaty, each of the confederates should proclaim war with the king of France, and within two months invade him, viz. the pope in Provence or Dauphiné: the emperor in some place out of Italy: the king of Arragon in Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc: the king of England, in Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and that their armies should be strong and well provided with all things. The terms of the league.

That the emperor (if he had not yet done it) should revoke all his proceedings in favour of the council of Pisa. [This shows how little Henry or his plenipotentiaries knew of what passed at Rome, since it was now three months or more, that the emperor had abandoned that council.]

That the pope should thunder his censures against all the opposers of this league and abettors of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the war, the king of England should give the emperor a hundred thousand crowns of

† Which were sir Edward Poynings, and sir Richard Wyngfield. Rymer's controller of the household, John Yonge, Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 354. master of the rolls, sir Thomas Boleyn,

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gold, at three payments, thirty five thousand presently after the declaration of the war, as much more when the war was begun, and thirty thousand within three months after.

That the emperor meant not to enter into this league as guardian to Charles, his grandson.

That the emperor and king of England should ratify the treaty within a month, and the pope and king of Arragon within two months, with this express declaration, that in case the pope and the king of Arragon, should not ratify the treaty by the time appointed, it should however be in force between the emperor and the king of England.

Lastly, the confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's stipulating for them.

Never perhaps was seen more insincerity than in this whole negotiation, since of all the confederates Henry alone intended to keep his word. Leo X. ratified not the treaty, Ferdinand, as will be seen presently, disavowed his ambassador; as for the emperor, he received the money from the king without troubling himself to perform his engagements. Thus Henry was the constant dupe of these princes, who were a little too politick for him.

Ferdinand's
ambassador
at London
ratifies and
swears to
the league of
Mechlin.
A&T. Pub.
XIII. p. 358.

The treaty being brought to London, Lewis Carroz de Villaragud, Ferdinand's ambassador, approved and ratified it by letters patents of April 18th. He declared in these letters, that though he had a sufficient power from the king his master, to conclude the league with the plenipotentiaries of the confederate princes he had not been able, for certain weighty reasons, to be present at the signing at Mechlin. But being very sure, the treaty contained only what was agreeable to the king his master, who desired nothing more earnestly than its execution, he approved and ratified, in the said king's name, all the articles of the treaty. And to remove all occasion of disputing the validity of his ratification, he inserted the treaty word for word, in his letters of ratification, and concluded it again with the earl of Surrey, the king of England's commissioner, by virtue of a full power received for that purpose. Afterwards, the 25th of the same month, he swore to the observance of the articles upon the souls of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Jane, queen of Castile. It is uncertain whether the ambassador was himself deceived, or whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impose upon Henry. All that can be said is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being suspected of insincerity

p. 363.

insincerity, are not very common with those who intend to act fairly.

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It must doubtless be thought strange, that a pope, an emperor, and a king of Spain, should thus join, to lay such a snare for a young prince of twenty one years of age, and who was even son-in-law to one of them. And yet it is scarce to be doubted, that the league concluded at Mechlin, in the absence of the pope's and king of Arragon's ambassadors, was thus projected to entangle Henry, under colour of keeping it the more secret. They succeeded so well, that Henry relying upon the diversions, his pretended allies would make in Guienne, Bearn, Provence, Dauphiné, Burgundy, flattered himself that he might easily extend his conquests in Picardy. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by sea and land, which put him to a vast expence. But whilst we leave him employed in preparing, for the next campaign, it will be necessary to relate what passed in Italy.

Henry is imposed upon.

A St. Pub. XIII. p. 364. Hall.

The Venetians not being able to obtain a peace from the emperor, who pretended to subject them to very unreasonable terms, solicited afresh the negotiation they had begun with France. On the other hand, Lewis XII. to whom time was precious, readily accepted their proposals. Thus the league between that monarch and the Venetians was quickly concluded, upon the same foot as that of the year 1498. This was transacted by Andrew Gritti, who being then prisoner in France, was commissioned to conclude it in the senate's name. Presently after he was released, as well as Alviano, who returning to Venice, was made general of the forces of the republick.

League between Lewis XII. and the Venetians. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

Guicciard.

When Lewis XII. had concluded his treaty with the Venetians, he ordered his troops to march into Italy, where they arrived in June. As, by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, Henry was allowed two months to send his pretended ratification, and as that term was not yet expired, very probably Lewis still flattered himself that Henry would perform what the king of Arragon had promised for him, otherwise he would not doubtless have sent his best troops into Italy. Mean while, the preparations which were continued in England, and the hostilities already begun at sea since April, between the French and English, should have convinced him that Ferdinand had deceived him. However that was, the French army commanded by la Trimouille, being arrived upon the borders of the Milanese, Maximilian Sforza quitted his capital, and retired among the Switzers, who were to the number of seven or eight thousand men, at

Lewis sends Trimouille into Italy with an army. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Como

1513. Como and Novarra, where they expected supplies from their own country.

Ferdinand's general goes from Milan. Upon the approach of the French, Raymund de Cardona, who was still in Lombardy with the Spanish army, retired without making the least motion to assist the duke of Milan, though Italy was not included in the truce of Orthez. Very likely Ferdinand was not displeas'd, that the French should make some progress in the Milanese, to keep them employ'd there, whilst Henry carried war into Picardy. At least, any other reasons of his general's conduct can scarce be imagin'd.

Sforza loses all Milan, except Como and Novarra. Guicciard. The duke of Milan having no other forces but the Switzers to oppose to the French, Milan and the rest of the towns of the duchy, except Como and Novarra, submitted to la Trimouille without offering to resist, whilst the Switzers, who were not strong enough to take the field, remained immur'd within the walls of these two places. Whilst the French were making these conquests, Alviano took for the Venetians, Peschiera, Brescia, Valeggio, and at last Cremona, after a fruitless attempt to become master of Verona by intelligence.

Genoa is restored to France. Guicciard. About this time the faction of the Adornos, who in Genoa sided with France, found means to become superior, and put the city again under the dominion of the king.

La Trimouille is repuls'd by the Switzers at Novarra. Lewis XII. was now in possession of the whole Milanese, except Como and Novarra. La Trimouille knowing, that the Switzers expected a strong reinforcement from their own country, thought he should make haste and besiege Novarra, before the arrival of those troops. He march'd therefore to the town, and in the expectation of taking it immediately, furiously storm'd it. But whatever bravery the French show'd upon this occasion, they were repuls'd with a very great loss, which even oblig'd the general to retire to Riotta, a village about two miles from Novarra. Mean while, the Switzers proud of repulsing so terrible an assault, and beginning to despise the French, before whom they had not yet

The French army defeated by the Switzers. Guicciard. dared to appear in the field, suddenly resolv'd to sally out of Novarra, and attack the enemy in their camp. This resolution was immediately execut'd, to the astonishment of the French, who not being able to resist the unexpected

The French retire home. Genoa is lost; attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all. Their consternation after the defeat was so great, that they thought it their only safety to repass the mountains, and with all possible diligence return into France. The news of their flight reaching Genoa, the Adornos quitted the city to the Fregosas their enemies, who chose for doge Octavian Fregosa, head

head of their family and faction. Thus, within the space of a month, Lewis XII. got and lost Genoa and Milan, and Maximilian Sforza, who had been expelled out of his duchy, took possession again. But it was the latter end of the year before he recovered the castles of Milan and Cremona, kept by the French and Venetians.

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and Sforza is restored to Milan.

The revolution in the king of France's affairs, occasioned the like in those of the Venetians. Alviano their general no sooner heard of the French army's misfortune, but he hastily retired into the territories of Venice, and besieged Verona. But Raymund de Cardona, who had affected a sort of neutrality whilst the French were in the Milanese, knowing they were out of Italy, turned his forces against Alviano. He not only forced him to raise the siege of Verona, but even pursuing him from place to place, obtained over him a signal victory, which obliged the Venetians to refer their differences to the pope, though he had declared against them by assisting the emperor. The necessity of their affairs compelled them to take that step in order to gain time. They had lost all their towns in the Milanese, and their own country had been horribly ravaged by the Spanish troops, even within sight of Venice.

Alviano retires. Guicciard.

He is defeated by the Spaniards.

The Venetians make the pope umpire.

Whilst these things passed in Italy, Henry was preparing to go into France with a numerous army. But before I speak of the success of his first campaign, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed at his own court, and which it will be worth while to insist upon a moment. Thomas Wolsey had been introduced to court by the bishop of Winchester. Presently after, he was made privy-counsellor, and as such, had opportunity to make himself better known to the king, and gain his esteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the interest of the bishop his benefactor, who ceased not to cause the king to admire the strength of his genius, and observe how fit he was for the greatest affairs. Wolsey on his part neglected not what he thought capable of increasing the king's good opinion of him. To an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence in all the affairs he was charged with, he added a blind condescension for all his master's passions. The king was highly pleased to see in his court and council a churchman, less rigid and scrupulous than the archbishop of Canterbury, or the old bishop of Winchester. Wolsey danced, sung, laughed, and played with the young courtiers who were most in favour; and if Polydore Virgil is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reason to love him, he carried his complaisance

Thomas Wolsey becomes prime minister. Cavendish. Fiddes. Burnet. Pol. Virg. Stow.

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plaisance so far as to lend the king his house for his most secret pleasures. However that be, his condescension, joined to his talents for business, and to his knowledge in divinity which he had acquired, as well as the king, by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas, soon gave him the advantage over all the other courtiers, When he saw himself well fixed, he made it his particular business to shew the king his errors since his accession to the throne, and how his youth had been abused. By this method he insinuated to him by degrees, that he was ill-served, and wanted an able minister, capable of easing him in the administration of the most weighty affairs, and of shewing him the consequences. In a word, he so managed, that he became himself that minister which he advised the king to seek, and by degrees was intrusted with the care and conduct of the king's principal affairs. His credit rendered him haughty, proud, insolent, and ungrateful to his old friends. In short, he was taxed with all the failings which favourites are usually charged with, and which indeed few favourites can avoid. Wolsey, like most others, grew extremely odious, chiefly because his counsels were always self-interested, which the event discovered to all but the king, who was blind in that respect. His favour and credit, caused the most potent princes of Europe, to strive to gain him to their interests, and to glory, at least outwardly, in being of the number of his friends. The reason is, because during this reign, the affairs of Europe were in such a situation, that England was capable of making the balance incline to the side she espoused. Wolsey knew how to improve this advantage, to render himself the richest and most powerful subject that ever was, but laboured not with the same ardour for his master's honour, as for his own interest. After he was declared prime minister, he managed, during the space of seventeen years, all the king's affairs both foreign and domestick ^u.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingh.
Herbert.

Before the king was ready to pass into France, the war was begun at sea. In April, admiral Howard had put to sea with thirty two ships of war ^w, whilst the French fleet

^u In the present war, the king committed to him the direction of the supplies and provisions to be made for the army; which Wolsey took care not to neglect the advantage of. The victualling of his army was not, without a sarcasm to his birth, recommended to Wolsey, says the lord Herbert, p. 15.

^w Hall, and the lord Herbert say,

forty two, fol. 22. p. 13. The admiral was accompanied by Walter Drevreux, lord Ferrers, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edward Ichyngham, sir Anthony Poyntz, sir John Wallop, sir Thomas Wyndham, sir Stephen Bull, William Fitzwilliam, Arthur Plantagenet, sir William Sidney, esquires, &c. Hall, fol. 22. Stow, p. 491.

remained

remained at Brest, expecting six gallies, which Pregent * was to bring from Marfeilles. The English admiral approaching Brest, resolved to attack the French ships as they lay at anchor. But upon notice that Pregent was arrived at Conquet, he failed that way, to endeavour to take the six gallies, and attacked them indeed with great bravery. But during the fight, his ship being grappled with Pregent's galley, he entered it sword in hand, and at first caused great disorder. Unhappily, the galley being afterwards disengaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants, and, being unknown, was knocked over-board with a half-pike. The loss of the admiral caused such a consternation in the English fleet, that they durst not continue the fight ^y. The news being carried to court, the king conferred the office of lord admiral upon Thomas Howard, brother of the deceased. Mean while, as the French fleet, by receiving a strong reinforcement, was become superior, the English returned to some port in England, expecting the arrival of the new admiral. The French, encouraged by the retreat of the English, sailed to the coast of England, and even made a descent in Suffex, and carried away some booty.

1513.
Sea fight wherein admiral Howard is lost.

Hall.
Stow.

Mean time, Henry was preparing to carry war into France, though none of his pretended allies had yet made the least step towards performing the treaty of Mechlin. Leo X. had not ratified the treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the sending of an army into Provence or Dauphiné. The emperor began to seek excuses not to enter Burgundy with an army, though he had positively promised it. As for the king of Arragon, he had not only concealed from Henry his one year's truce with France, but was even trying to amuse him with hopes, that he was instantly going to make a powerful diversion in Guienne. He so artfully acted his part, that it was June before Henry was fully informed of the truce of Orthez. Provoked at such a fraud, he dispatched an ambassador to the king his father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of faith, and summon him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, or rather, that signed by his ambassador in his name at London. Where-

Henry prepares to pass into France.
Hall.

He comes to know of Ferdinand's one year's truce with France.
Herbert.

* Called by our historians, prior John.

y. This sir Edward Howard was not eldest, but second son of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk, slain at Bosworth field, and attainted in the parliament of Hen. VII. The said Thomas was restored

(4 Hen. VII.) to the title of earl of Surrey, and to the lands which were his wives inheritance. Sir Edward was constituted admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain, 4 Hen. VIII. March 19. Dugdale's Baron.

1513.

Ferdinand
disowns his
ambassador.

upon Ferdinand, seeing he could no longer wear the mask, disavow'd his ambassador, and said, he had exceeded his instructions. He confessed however, he had concluded a truce for a year with Lewis XII. being forced by the necessity of his affairs, but promised to do wonders when it was expired, and advised his son-in-law to accept of the truce, that they might afterwards unite their forces and jointly attack the common enemy. But Henry could no longer rely upon such promises. Thus, by the artifices of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand, he saw himself engaged to carry war alone into the enemy's country, which was to have been invaded in four several quarters. He was not convinced of their insincerity till it was almost too late to recede, the greatest part of his army having already passed the sea, and just entring upon action. Happily for him, Lewis XII. deceived by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, had now sent his best troops into Italy, imagining Henry would accept of the truce according to the king of Arragon's engagement.

The emperor
breaks his
word with
Henry.
Herbert.

Henry re-
solves upon
the war
alone.

He passes his
army over to
Calais.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

The earl of
Suffolk be-
headed.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert,
De Bellay.

Shortly after Henry received a letter from the emperor, with many excuses, that it was impossible for him this year to lead an army into Burgundy, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year. Mean while, to shew, he meant not to forsake him, he said, he would come and serve as volunteer in his army. Thus, of the four allies who were to act at once against France, Henry alone was charged with the burden of the war. Edward IV. his grandfather had been formerly in much the same case, and thought it no dishonour to make a speedy peace with Lewis XI. when disappointed by his allies. If Henry had followed his example, he would have terribly embarrassed those by whom he was deceived, but being greedy of glory, would shew he had no occasion for them. He had so relied on the sincerity of his allies, that though the treaty of Mechlin was not to be ratified by the pope and the king of Arragon, till the 5th of June, he had caused the best part of his army to pass over to Calais in the middle of May. It is evident, the ratification of the treaty of Mechlin had been so long retarded, only to engage Henry beyond a possibility of receding.

Before the departure of the first troops^z, Henry had beheaded the earl of Suffolk, prisoner in the Tower ever since the reign of Henry VII. who gave Philip I. king of Castile, a positive promise to spare that lord's life. But probably,

^z On April 30. Stow, p. 491.

he gave the prince his fon orders like those given by king David to Solomon with respect to Joab. The historians have endeavoured to discover Henry's inducement at such a juncture, to put the earl of Suffolk to death, who was not in condition to hurt him. But they have said nothing satisfactory ^a.

The two bodies of troops transported to Calais departed thence the 17th of June ^b, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury ^c, and the lord Herbert ^d, in order to march to Terouenne, to which they laid siege ^e. But the king departed not from England till the 30th of the same month, having constituted queen Catherine regent ^f. He arrived the same day at Calais, being attended by Thomas Wolfey his

1513.

The English besiege Terouenne. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 367, 372. p. 370. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingth.

^a The chief reason, as my lord Herbert and others say, was for fear, in case of the king's death in France, the people being well affected to the house of York, should take him out of the Tower, and make him king. Edmund de la Pole, was son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. But this reason seems weak, since Margaret, queen of Scotland, the king's sister, was the undoubted heir of the house of York, in case the king died without issue. The French writers say, Richard, his younger brother commanded six thousand French at the siege of Terouenne, which some have thought hastened his brother's death. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 190. Hall, fol. 26.

^b Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, was general of all the king's forces, both by sea and land, and Thomas, lord Howard, admiral. Rymer's Fœd.

^c George Talbot, high steward of the king's household, accompanied with Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, Thomas Docwra, lord prior of the order of St. John, sir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, the lord Hastings, the lord Cobham, sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachiverell, sir John Digby, sir John Askew, sir Lewis Bagot, sir Thomas Cornwall, &c. This body consisted of above eight thousand. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 372. Stow, p. 491.

^d Charles Somersets, natural son by Joan Hill, of Henry duke of Somersets (who lost his life in 3 Edward IV.)

married Elizabeth, daughter and heir, of William Herbert, earl of Huntington, by reason whereof he bore the title of lord Herbert, and as such had summons to parliament, 1 Henry VIII. 3 Henry VIII. He was lord chamberlain to Henry VII. and continued in the same office to king Henry VIII. From him are descended the present Somersets, dukes of Beaufort. He was attended by the earls of Northumberland, Kent, and Wiltshire, the lords Audley, and De la Ware, the barons Carow, and Curfon, sir Thomas West, sir Edward Hufey, sir Robert Dimocke, sir David Owen, &c. He commanded six thousand men. The baron of Carow, master of the ordinance, was killed the first night before Terouenne, in the lord Herbert's tent, which came so near him, that the French writ he was slain there. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 372.

^e June 22. There were within the town six hundred horse, and two thousand five hundred foot, besides the inhabitants. Hall, fol. 24. Hollingth. p. 817.

^f She was also general of all the forces in England, and had power, with five noble personages, to take up money upon loan, as occasion should require, and to give security of the sums for maintaining and raising of forces, if need should require; as it is more particularly set forth in the patent rolls of these times. Bacon, p. 148.

1513.

prime minister, Charles Brandon another favorite lately made viscount Lisle ^g, with many other lords ^h. Whilst the troops continued the siege of Terouenne, he remained at Calais with nine thousand men, ready to march upon the first occasion.

Henry comes to the siege.

The emperor serves in the English army.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

At last, having certain advice that the duke of Longueville was approaching to relieve the town, he hastened from Calais to the siege, where he arrived the 4th of August. On the 9th, the emperor came and conferred with him between Aire and Terouenne, and three days after repaired to the camp and served as volunteer under the king, making no scruple to receive a hundred crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of esteem, and the imaginary honour he did the king, he meant to make amends for his breach of faith, and the hundred thousand crowns received for an expedition which he had never intended to make.

The battle of spurs.
Herbert.
Mezerai.
Hall.
Aug. 16.

Mean time, the duke of Longueville who commanded the French army, approaching Terouenne, Henry passed the Lys with the greatest part of his troops, in order to meet him. The two armies engaged, but not long. For the fight was hardly begun, when the French, by what accident is unknown, ran away in confusion without any possibility of their being rallied. But the principal officers chose rather to be taken prisoners than follow so dishonorable an example. The duke of Longueville was of the number, with chevalier Bayard, la Fayette, Buffi d'Amboise, and some others of the greatest distinction. This battle, if such a rout may be so termed, was called, the battle of Guinegaste, and by some, the battle of spurs, because the French made more use of their spurs than their swords. Whilst the two armies were in view, before the engagement, a body of French attempted to introduce a convoy of provisions into the town, but were repulsed by the lord Herbert, who was left to guard the trenches. After the battle, the besieged

^g May 15th, 1513. His uncle William Brandon, standard bearer to Henry VII. at Bosworth field, was slain by king Richard III. himself. Dugdale's Baon. vol. II. p. 299.

^h The king divided his own forces into three bodies. The vanguard, consisting of three thousand men, was commanded by Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle; the right wing by sir Richard Carew, and the left by Thomas, lord Darcy; Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, was lieutenant general of the spears, and sir John Pechy command-

ed the horse. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, with six hundred men, was on the king's left hand; and on the right, sir Edward Poynings, with the same number. George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, followed with eight hundred men; and sir William Compton, with the retinue of Fox, bishop of Winchester, and of Wolfsey, which amounted to eight hundred men, brought up the rear. The king's forces were in all eleven thousand three hundred men. Stow, p. 491.

despairing

despairing of relief, surrendered the city the 22d of August, and the king, in company with the emperor, entered the 24th. 1513.

It seemed to be Henry's destiny to be always the emperor's dupe. After the taking of Terouenne, Maximilian, who had only served at the siege as volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and immediately ordered it to be demolished. It is hard to conceive what induced Henry to this condescension. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the capitulation, some article against the razing of the place, but that altering his mind, he was willing to save his honour by delivering it to the emperor. Though this were the case, there would be no less reason to be surprized at his management. 'Tis easy to perceive it was very advantageous to Charles of Austria, grandson of Maximilian, that Terouenne belonged neither to the French nor the English. But what interest could Henry have to lose so many men, and so much time, to take a place in order to have it razed in favour of Maximilian, who had not merited such a condescension ⁱ?

As the season was not yet far advanced, Henry resolved, before the end of the campaign, to besiege Tournay, whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the emperor's intrigues had again influenced his council. For, the conquest of Tournay, which lies at some distance from Calais, was much less advantageous to Henry than to the archduke Charles, whose dominions it secured; whereas Boulogne would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the king, by reason of the neighbourhood of Calais. Nevertheless the siege of Tournay was resolved, probably because the emperor hoped the king would give him that place as he had done Terouenne. But he found against him interests stronger than those of the king himself, which opposed his designs.

Whilst preparations were making for the siege, Henry paid a visit to Margaret governess of the Low-Countries, who was at Lisle, and staid three days with her. Then he returned to his army which was marching to Tournay ^k, but

ⁱ It bordered, it seems, upon his territories, which had been much infested by irruptions from thence, and therefore by his intreaty, it was razed, save only the cathedral, and religious houses. But the French repaired it soon after. This could not but seem

strange, since it cost so much, as Guicciardin doubts not to call it intolerable and infinite expence. Herbert, p. 16.

^k The king, about a mile or two from Lisle, lost himself in a great mist, neither could he nor any of his train resolve which way to turn, till a victualler coming

Terouenne
surrenders.
Hall.
Stow.
Henry gives
the place to
the emperor,
who razes it.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Siege of
Tournay.
Mezerai.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Henry visits
Margaret of
Austria.
Hall.
Herbert.

1513.

Tournay
taken.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 377.
Sept. 23.
Herbert.
Hall.

but the emperor left the king upon some disgust, the reason whereof is unknown. Next day the 15th of September, the army arrived before Tournay, which held out but seven or eight days¹. Henry entered the city on the 24th^m, a month after his entry into Terouenne. By the capitulation, the inhabitants were to have their antient privileges, upon paying to Henry a small annual acknowledgment of four thousand livres Tournois, for ten years onlyⁿ.

Henry keeps
Tournay.
Herbert.

After the taking of Tournay, the king calling a council of war, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which seemed to be difficult, by reason of its distance from Calais. But after a long debate, it was resolved to keep it, and leave for governor sir Edward Poyning's with a strong garrison. The contrariety of the two resolutions with respect to Terouenne and Tournay will, perhaps appear strange. The first of these places which was nearest Calais, and secured the road from Calais to Tournay, was demolished. The second, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed necessary to be kept. This contrariety could proceed only from Wolfey's interest, who influenced the council as he pleased. He had cast his eyes on the bishoprick of Tournay, as a thing very convenient for him, whereas that of Terouenne was nothing in comparison. Accordingly he afterwards found means to obtain the administration of that see, under colour, that the bishop refused to swear fealty to the king. This is the true reason why it was resolved to keep Tournay, and perhaps of undertaking the siege^o.

Margaret
and Charles
come and see
Henry at
Tournay.

Next day after the king's entry into Tournay, the princess Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy, and the archduke Charles her nephew, came to congratulate him upon his

coming by chance from his army, both informed him where his army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great joy of them all. Herbert, p. 16. Hall, fol. 35.

¹ Though the gates bore this inscription, thou hast never lost thy virginity. Hall, fol. 44.

ⁿ Hall says, it was the 2d of October. The king knighted upon this occasion, Edward Guildford, William Fitzwilliam, John Dauncey, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Husey, John Savage, Christopher Garnyshe, &c. — The number of inhabitants in that city was eighty thousand. Hall, fol. 45.

^a And present payment at fifty thou-

sand crowns de soleil, (or ten thousand pounds sterling. Hall, fol. 44.) The city surrendered to the king by the name of Roy Tres Chrestien, [most christian king.] Herbert, p. 17.

^o Wolfey represented to the king, that it was fit Tournay should be kept as a trophy of his victories, and the rather, as Cæsar (in his commentaries) acknowledges he no where met with so brave a resistance. However, it cost Wolfey no small trouble and opposition before he could obtain the possession of this bishoprick. Herbert, p. 17. Strype's Mem. Eccl. Henry VIII. p. 15.

new conquest. The fortnight they staid with him, he took care to entertain them with all sorts of diversions, as justs, tournaments, running at the ring, balls, masquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidst all these diversions, the ministers of the two courts began a treaty, which was concluded a few days after.

Margaret and Charles being returned to Lisle, Henry repaid their visit, and was received with all imaginable respect and civility. Some days after, on the 15th of October they signed a treaty, importing, That though Henry had bound himself not to repass into England till the war was ended, he should however have liberty to return thither with his army.

1513.
Hall.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Henry re-
turns their
visit.
New treaty
at Lisle.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 379.
October 15.
Herbert.

That during the winter, the emperor should keep in Artois and Hainault four thousand horse and six thousand foot, for the defence as well of Tournay and the Tournaisis, as of the archduke's dominions.

That for the maintenance of these troops, Henry should pay the emperor two hundred thousand crowns at several payments.

That before the 1st of June the next year, Henry should carry war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and the emperor into some other province of France.

That before the 15th of May, the emperor, the duchess Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catherine, the princess Mary, should meet all together at Calais to celebrate the archduke's marriage with the princess Mary, pursuant to the treaty concluded between the emperor and the late king Henry VII.

Whatever was to be done, Henry must always find money. Maximilian had already received a hundred thousand crowns of gold, without having executed any of his engagements entered into by the treaty of Mechlin, and found means to procure two hundred thousand more by the present treaty, besides the advantage of razing Terouenne, which very much annoyed his grandson the archduke's dominions. Nay, it is very probable, the disgust which made him quit the king's army, proceeded from his not being able to persuade him to promise him Tournay also when taken. This manifestly shews, he looked upon Henry as a novice easily to be insnared. Certainly Henry's many false steps in the beginning of his reign can only be excused by his little knowledge of the character of the princes with whom he treated.

Remarks on
this treaty.

1513.

Ferdinand
proposes a
new league
to Henry.

Henry re-
turns to
England.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

The Swit-
zers enter
Burgundy.
Mezerai.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

They besiege
Dijon.

It cannot be doubted, that the king of Arragon was of the same opinion concerning Henry his son-in-law. Notwithstanding the ill turn he had served him last year, he had still the assurance to send him an ambassador at Lisle to propose a new league, as if his word had been more to be relied on than some months before. But it does not appear that Henry was then inclined to trust to his promises.

Henry departed from Lisle the 17th of October, and on the 24th arrived at his palace at Richmond after a glorious campaign. I call it glorious, if the success of his arms be only considered. But in another respect it was not very honourable, since he had been the dupe of the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the war, which should have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken Terouenne and Tournay. But the first of these places being given to the emperor and razed, was to him of no benefit. As for Tournay, he never reaped any considerable advantage from it, by reason of its distance from Calais. Wolfey was the only gainer by it, the bishoprick of that city, which he obtained in the end, together with the abby of St. Amand, being of a much greater revenue than what the king himself received from Tournay and its territory.

The ill success of the Italian campaign had put Lewis XII's affairs in a bad situation, and the loss of the battle of Guinegaste with the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, had entirely disordered them. But this was a trifle in comparison of the danger France was in by a Swiss invasion, after the French were driven out of the Milanese. The warlike Switzers, excited against Lewis by the pope and the emperor, not being satisfied with their advantages over him in Italy, resolved to attack him in his own kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reason of the several fore-mentioned junctures. To improve the opportunity therefore, the Switzers levied fifteen thousand men^p, to whom the emperor joined all the nobility of Franche Comté, and some German horse under the command of Ulric duke of Wirtemberg. This army entering the duchy of Burgundy, encamped before Dijon, where la Trimouille lately returned from Italy, had shut himself up with some troops^q; but that place was so weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping

^p Twenty five thousand, says P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 320. — Guicciardin says, they had twenty thousand foot, and that the emperor sent them

a thousand horse and artilley, l. 12.

^q A thousand lances, and six thousand foot. Guicciard.

it. He defended it however six weeks. But at last, seeing that by the loss of Dijon not only Burgundy, but all the rest of France would be in great danger, he thought he should prevent it without waiting the king's orders, which might come too late. By a capitulation with the Switzers, he bound himself to pay them four hundred thousand crowns †, of which he paid down twenty thousand, and promised in the king's name, that he would desist from all his pretensions to the duchy of Milan. The Switzers, pleased with their expedition, retired into their own country, carrying with them four hostages, who found means to escape when they knew the king refused to ratify the capitulation.

La Trimouille treats without the king's knowledge. Guicciard. Du Bellai.

Lewis XII. finding himself attacked in so many places, and not doubting that the pope and the king of Arragon created him all these troubles, resolved at last to be reconciled with the pope. This reconciliation was the more easy, as Leo X. had not like Julius II. a personal enmity against him. Since the French were out of Italy, he had nothing to demand of the king but the dissolving of the council of Pisa, without which indeed he could not consent to a peace. The council was grown so thin, that Lewis in forsaking it made no great sacrifice to the pope. It is true, the submitting in a point he had hitherto openly maintained, seemed to be a little dishonourable. But as the council of Pisa had been properly summoned against Julius II. he thought he might without reproach yield to another pope. However, Lewis perceiving that by his reconciliation with Leo X. he should take from the kings of England and Arragon the pretence to make war upon him, was at length induced to renounce his council, and acknowledge that of Lateran. This renunciation was solemnly made in the tenth session, held about the end of December.

Lewis makes a peace with the pope. Guicciard. Mezerau. Herbert.

Leo X. in the beginning of his pontificate writ to Henry as to all the rest of the princes, earnestly exhorting him to peace. In this manner he was to talk, in order to discharge the duty of the common father of christians. Henry, who saw plainly, and was afterwards still more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, replied, he could not make peace without his allies, and that a separate peace would be directly contrary to all his engagements. This answer displeased not the pope, who then sought only to raise enemies to France. But when he was sure of his agreement with

The pope exhorts Henry to peace. Aft. Pub. XIII. p. 349. March 16. Guicciard.

Aft. Pub. XIII. p. 386.

† Six hundred thousand. Idem.

1513.

Lewis XII. he took occasion to send another letter to Henry, telling him, he never intended to persuade him to make a separate peace, but as he had taken up arms solely for the defence of the church and the holy see, and had by his late victories attained the end he had proposed, it was reasonable he should lay them down, since the prince who oppressed the church was returned to his obedience. The letter was dated December the 17th, about the time of the tenth session of the council of Lateran, wherein the French ambassadors made a solemn submission in their master's name.

Henry sees
he is abused.

Nothing contributed more to open Henry's eyes, than this second letter. He imagined, when he protested that he took up arms in defence of the church, his allies knew, he did not mean for all that to neglect his own interest, that language being properly only to amuse the publick. He had the more reason to believe it, as even in the treaty of league each of the allies had evidently proposed to himself temporal advantages. And yet, he saw, the pope had no sooner obtained his desire, but he took the words of the preamble of the treaty in the literal sense, as if there had been indeed no other design than to labour for the church, and under that colour, pretended to dissolve a league formed by himself. This convinced him, that the pope in drawing him into a war with France, had only his own interest in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleased with the king of Arragon, nor had reason to be so. As for the emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promised. All these considerations, having at last opened his eyes, produced a peace with France, which was concluded the next year. But before we close this, it will be necessary to relate what passed during the campaign between the English and Scots.

He resolves
to make
peace with
France.

War be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

James IV. seeing Henry ready to carry war into France, called his parliament, and represented to them the indignities, Scotland had suffered from the English since the last peace. Breton's affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the best reason, he alledged to induce the Scots to a war was, that France, the ancient and faithful ally of Scotland, being about to be invaded by the king of England, he could not dispense with assisting her. This reason, though very plausible, was not however univerversally approved. Many thought it strange that the king should thus wantonly, and without any urgent necessity, break a peace advantageous to Scotland, solemnly sworn to, and even lately renewed. But the king's creatures and the pensioners of France, whom Lamothe the French ambassador had now prepared to serve the

king

king his master upon this occasion, carried it by a great majority, so that war was resolved.

1513.

Henry was in France, when James assembled his army to invade England, pursuant to the foregoing resolution. But to keep some sort of formality, James writ him a letter, and sent it by a herald, who found him at the siege of Terouenne. The letter dated the 26th of July contained the grievances, James believed to have cause to complain of, and a declaration of war in case he desisted not from his invasion of France. Henry could not send his answer till the 12th of August, the substance whereof was, "That he was not at all surpris'd to see him break the peace upon frivolous pretences, since he therein only imitated the insincerity of his ancestors and progenitors. Then he upbraided him, that whilst he knew him to be in England, he never shew'd, either by letter or ambassador, that he intended to espouse the king of France's quarrel, but waited for his departure to execute his unjust designs. He added, that knowing him perfectly, he had foreseen his breach of faith, and for that reason, before he pass'd into France, had taken such a course, and so well provided for the defence of his kingdom, that he did not question by God's help to frustrate all the endeavours of schismatics, excommunicated by the pope and council of Lateran. That besides, he hoped to have it very soon in his power to requite him, and in the mean time would not fail to take the most effectual methods to deprive him and his posterity of all hopes of ever inheriting the kingdom, he was going so perfidiously to invade. After that, he set before his eyes the example of the king of Navarre, who for taking part with France was dispossessed of his kingdom, without hopes of being ever restored. As for the pretended grievances alledged in his letter, he said, they had been so often answered, that all farther mention of them was entirely needless. But for the king of Scotland's summoning him to desist from the war with France, he told him, he did not acknowledge him for competent judge in his affairs with Lewis XII. and notwithstanding his threats would continue the war. He concluded with saying, that he might be assured he would omit no opportunity to be revenged, wherein he hoped to succeed with the help of God and St. George."

James IV.
enters Eng-
land.
He sends a
defiance to
Henry.
A^d. Pub.
XIII p. 382.
Hall.

Henry's
answer.

James staid not for an answer to his letter to take the field. On the 22d of August, he entered Northumberland, and

James takes
Norham.
Herbert,
&c.

1513.

Hall.

The earl of Surrey marches towards him, and offers him battle. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Hollingsh.

It is endeavoured to divert James from fighting. Buchanan.

Hall.

and took several places, particularly Norham castle ^s. The English writers affirm his army to be sixty thousand strong; nay, some mount the number to a hundred thousand, which is hardly credible. It cannot however be doubted it was very numerous, considering the care Buchanan takes to show; it was extremely lessened by desertions, and by being kept unemployed for some time. The earl of Surrey was then in Yorkshire ^t with twenty six thousand men. But at the first news of the Scots entering England, he marched directly towards them, and the 4th of September came near enough to send and offer them battle by a herald, who reported, that the king of Scotland accepted it for the Friday following. James was then encamped on the edge of mount Cheviot, where it was difficult to attack him ^u. And therefore, the earl of Surrey, seeing the Scots would fight only in so advantageous a post, resolved to stay till they descended on the plain. The English not appearing on the day appointed, an old Scotch lord ^w took occasion to represent to the king, that he had done enough to save his honour: that it was not prudent to fight the English in their own country, but the best way would be to retire with his booty into Scotland, where it would be in his power to fight or avoid a battle as he pleased: that as he had taken up arms only to make a diversion in favour of France, he no less employed the English forces without fighting, than by hazarding a battle: that upon this occasion he ought not to listen to the interested counsels of the French ambassador, who only wanted to hazard some great action at another's expence, in order to free the king his master from his present streights: but in serving France, Scotland was likewise to be regarded. This advice seemed too cautious to the king. As he had determined to give battle, he fiercely answered, he would fight the English were they a hundred thousand. Mean while, the earl of Surrey to draw him from his post, marched along a river ^x which parted the two armies, as if he intended to

^s Which yielded after a six days siege. Hall, fol. 38.

^t The king had, at his departure, appointed him his lieutenant in the north of England; with orders, if the Scots made any incursions, to raise the militia of the counties of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. Hall, fol. 37. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 375.

^u There was but one narrow field to get up to him, and at the bottom of the hill was placed all his ordnance. On one side of his army was a great march, and the other parts of it were encompassed with Cheviot hills. Hall, fol. 40.

^w Archibald Douglass, earl of Angus. Buchanan.

^x The river Tyll, or else Sandyford. Hall, fol. 41.

1513.

enter Scotland through Carlisle, the road to which place he seemed to take. James having notice of it set fire to his camp, and marched along the same river on the opposite side. But unhappily for him, the smook of his own camp hindered him from seeing the English, who forded the river unperceived. Then James halting about Floddon drew up his army. Here it was the earl of Surrey attacked him, having passed with difficulty a sort of morafs between the two armies. The particulars of this battle are so variously related by the historians of both nations, that the one cannot be followed without departing from the other. But as to the success it is not the same. They all agree, the Scots lost the day after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the combatants. The two armies retiring, the English knew not they were victorious till the morning, when they saw, their enemies had quitted the field of battle with all their artillery. The English own, they lost five thousand men in the battle, which was fought the 9th of September. But they say the Scots lost ten thousand *v.* The Scots pretend, there were but five thousand slain on each side, but confess their loss was very considerable, by the great number of lords and officers of their nation killed in the battle, whereas the English lost not one person of distinction *z.* King James was never more seen after the battle. The English imagined they found his body wounded in two places, and ordered it to be put into a leaden coffin, without daring however to bury it, because he died excommunicate. But the Scots affirmed it was not the body of their king. They said that before the battle, he had caused five men of his own stature to wear the same arms with himself, and that the body which the English took for the king's was one Elphinston's, who greatly resembled him. However, they could not tell what was become of the king. One said indeed, he saw him ride

Battle of
Floddon,
where James
is defeated
and slain.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

The English
believe they
had found
his body.
Buchanan.
Hall.

y Hall says, there were fifteen hundred English, and twelve thousand Scots slain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thousand Scots.

z In this battle the vanguard was led by the lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Scrope of Upsale, Lumley, Ogle; sir Nicolas Appleyard, sir William Sidney, sir William Gascoyne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Henry Shirburne, &c. The right wing was commanded by sir Edmund Howard, and the left by sir Marmaduke Constable. The

rear was brought up by the earl of Surrey himself, who was attended by the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Tilney, sir George Darcy, sir Thomas Barkley, sir John Stanley, sir John Willoughby, &c; the lord Dacres, and sir Edward Stanley, with their horse, being appointed as a reserve. On the Scotch side there fell one archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers. See a description of the battle in my lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38, &c. Stow, p. 492.

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Buchanan.

Henry desires the pope's leave to bury the corpse.
The pope's answer.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 385.
Nov. 29.

over the Tweed after the battle. But as the fight lasted till night, this evidence is not much to be relied on. It was however the foundation of the report of his not being dead. Some suspected, he was killed in retiring out of the battle by the lord Alexander Humes, or his vassals. But this fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known for certain, whether the body found by the English on the field of battle, was the king's or not^a. Mean while, Henry supposing it to be the very corpse of James IV. writ to the pope for a dispensation to inter it in St. Paul's church^b. Leo X. answered by a brief, signifying, "That it was set forth to him from the king of England, that in a treaty concluded between the late king of Scotland and Henry VII. and renewed by Henry VIII. the first had submitted to an excommunication in case he acted in breach of it, and yet had broken the peace: that therefore he had been pronounced excommunicate by the cardinal archbishop of York, by virtue of a power granted by Julius II: that he died in a battle without having been absolved; but in consideration of his royal dignity and nearness of blood, the king of England desired permission to bury him in consecrated ground. Upon these accounts, the pope was pleased to grant his request, considering, as he was told and ought to believe, James in his last moments showed some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit. That therefore he appointed the bishop of London, or any other bishop the king should please to nominate, to enquire into the matter; and if it was found, James had shewn any signs of repentance before his death, he gave him power to absolve him: that however, the absolution should serve for no other purpose than his interment in holy ground. Moreover, he ordered the bishop to enjoin the king of England to undergo some convenient or suitable penance in the name of the deceased king."

Remark upon this brief.

Among many remarks that might be made on this brief, I shall confine myself to this one. There was no declaration of war between James and Henry before James's letter dated

^a Hall affirms, that it was found by the lord Dacres, and showed to sir William Scott, king James's chancellor, and to sir John Forman, his serjeant porter, who knew him at first sight, fol. 43.

^b Stow says, it was conveyed to

Shene monastery in Surrey; and further adds, that he had seen it there, after the dissolution of that monastery, wrapped in lead, thrown into a large room, amongst old timber, stone, lead, and other rubbish, p. 494.

the 16th of July, and received the 12th of August, nor any hostility committed before the 22d of August, when James entered England. So the king of Scotland cannot be said to have violated the truce till that time. Now, he died the 9th of September, excommunicated by the cardinal of York, who was then ambassador at Rome. Hence I think it may be inferred, that the cardinal had excommunicated James without knowing the cause, or hearing his reasons, and probably upon a bare letter sent him by Henry, that the king of Scotland intended to break the peace; I say, he only intended to break the peace, since there is no likelihood that from the 22d of August, when James entered England, to the 9th of September, the day of his death, the cardinal, who was at Rome, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an excommunication. I say nothing of the supposition that James, slain in the field, showed any signs of contrition, especially as it was even uncertain whether the body they would have interred, was the king of Scotland's. I pass over likewise the limitation set to the absolution, that it should serve only for burying the dead prince in holy ground, and the penance enjoined a living person in the name of a dead one. Every reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on these things.

1513.

Such being the situation of the affairs of Europe, at the end of the year 1513, it is not surprising that the designs and interests of the princes should be different from what they were in the beginning of the same year. It is therefore necessary, before we enter upon the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief sovereigns stood affected.

1514.

Interests and views of the princes of Europe.

Lewis XII. burned with desire to recover Genoa and Milan. But he perceived, that to succeed in that design, the allies must be divided, otherwise there was not even a possibility of undertaking it. The pope, emperor, king of Arragon, and Switzers, were equally concerned to oppose it. And yet, as they had also their separate interests, he thought it would not be impossible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or at least to some of them, advantages as great as those they could naturally expect from their union. Besides, he hoped in treating with each in particular, to breed jealousies and suspicions among them, which would induce them to make haste and treat with him for fear of being deserted. He had the more hopes of succeeding this way, as most of the princes with whom he was in war, were not over scrupulous, but rather very ready to sacrifice their allies to their own private interest. To this artifice therefore Lewis recurred

Lewis XII.

1514.

to free himself from his present embarrassment. At the beginning of the year 1514, he took care to renew the negotiation concerning the marriage of the princess René his second daughter with Charles, archduke of Austria, knowing Maximilian and Ferdinand were equally desirous of it, especially upon the terms proposed by themselves. He started however difficulties capable of continuing the negotiation without entirely breaking it off. The pope could not look upon this project without uneasiness. He was as much afraid of Milan's being in the hands of a grandson of the emperor, and of the king of Arragon, as of seeing the French king restored. His interest required that Milan should remain in the family of the Sforzas. The Switzers passionately wished it also. The Venetians too would have therein found a great advantage, if another interest had not prevailed. And that was, to oblige the emperor to make peace with them on reasonable terms. But this they could not hope without the assistance of France, and this assistance could not be obtained without aiding Lewis XII. to recover the Milanese.

Maximilian.

Maximilian found his account in his war with Venice, because it cost him little. Since the league of Cambray, he had always been powerfully aided by France, or Spain, or rather, had never made war but at another's expence. His allies were necessarily obliged to find him men or money, otherwise they might be sure he would quickly change sides. Since he had left France, the Spanish troops had done all in the war with Venice, and the king of Arragon, with all his policy, was not able to dispense with acting for him. It is not therefore surprising that he was so difficult, when a peace was on foot, or used his endeavours to inflame the divisions among the princes.

The king of Arragon.

As for king Ferdinand, since he was become master of Navarre, it was his interest to embroil affairs, and cherish in Italy, the hopes and fears of the several parties, to make himself necessary, and that a peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder Lewis from thinking of Navarre, and hoped at last to come to a treaty which should leave him in quiet possession of his conquest. For that reason, he acted all sorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while, he assisted the emperor against the Venetians, another while, he solicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the pope and Switzers not to suffer the king of France to become master of Milan; and sometimes he offered to assist the same prince to conquer that duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preserve a dissention so advantageous

to him. However, his policy began to fail him. He had so forfeited his reputation with respect to sincerity, that he was no longer trusted. It was merely out of necessity, or from a desire to breed suspicion in their enemies, that the rest of the sovereigns made any treaties with him, which, they were sensible, they could not rely on.

Henry VIII. had with glory got clear of his first campaign, but plainly saw himself indebted for his good success to Lewis's passion, who had neglected the defence of his own kingdom, by sending his best troops to recover Milan. The truth is, Henry, depending upon the treaty of Mechlin, and the diversions, his allies were to make in several provinces of France, had led into that kingdom not above five and twenty thousand men, too weak an army to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the forces of his enemy. Forsaken as he was by the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, how would he have disengaged himself, if Lewis XII. had resolved to defer his Milan expedition to another time, and march all his troops into Picardy? Thus Henry would have considered, and in effect did consider, that he was more indebted for the victory of Guinegaste, and the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, to the circumstances of the time than to his prudence or valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiscreetly embarked in, without flattering himself any longer with the imaginary assistance of his allies. It was necessary however to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from France advantageous conditions in a treaty. Such was the posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I speak of those of England in particular, it is requisite to show what steps were taken by the princes concerned in the troubles of Italy, because that was then the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend.

Leo X. being alarmed at the negotiation, Lewis XII. had renewed with the emperor, concerning the marriage of René his second daughter, used all possible endeavours to reconcile the Switzers to France, that Lewis might be less inclined to treat with the emperor and the king of Arragon. But he wished that Lewis would ratify the capitulation of Dijon, as to what concerned the duchy of Milan, and on the other hand, exhorted the Switzers to be satisfied with a less sum than was promised by la Trimouille. This was the plan he had formed for that reconciliation. In short, he had so far gained his point, that the king of France had offered a truce for three years, without however departing from his pretensions.

1514.

Affairs of
Italy.
Guicciard.

Leo X. tries
to reconcile
the French
and Swit-
zers.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

1514.

sions to Milan, and many of the principal Switzers were satisfied with it. But it was not possible to persuade that people to abate any thing of the capitulation of Dijon. They even debated whether they should make a second incurfion into France to revenge the breach of that treaty. Thus the pope's pains were fruitless, and the Switzers still remained mortal enemies to France.

Ferdinand
prolongs the
truce with
Lewis XII.
Guicciard.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 395.

Ferdinand having advice of what was transacting in Switzerland, was afraid of being deserted, whether Lewis gave up his claim to Milan, or the Switzers accepted the truce he offered them. So, without communicating any thing to his allies, he speedily sent Quintana, his secretary to Paris, who renewed for a year the truce with France upon the same foot with the former. Only by a secret article, Lewis promised not to invade the Milanese this year. In the publication of the truce in France, there was no mention of Milan. But Ferdinand published it in Spain with that article, so that the world was at a loss to know what to think of the matter. Lewis made no scruple to prolong the truce, because he could not undertake to invade Milan and Navarre, before he had made a peace with England. Besides, he was very glad the world should think, the truce, he had prolonged with the king of Arragon, would be followed by a peace.

The pope
strives to
make peace
between the
emperor and
Venetians,
who make
him umpire
of their dif-
ferences.
Guicciard.

This was a very natural consequence, and probably, it inclined Henry seriously to think of a peace. But on the other hand, Lewis was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the pope to break his measures with respect to Milan, laboured with all his power to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. He desired above all things, for the good of his see, of all Italy, and of himself, that the French should never more set foot in Italy. Whilst the French were in possession of the Milanese, Italy had never been free from troubles, the popes had been less regarded than before, and the Florentines had preserved their liberty. These were sufficient reasons to make the pope wish, they might never return. Besides, he had formed projects for raising his family, which their neighbourhood might obstruct. One great means to attain his ends, was, to deprive Lewis XII. of the assistance of the Venetians, which would infallibly happen, if it was possible to find some expedient to make their peace with the emperor. The last year the Venetians pressed by the Spanish army, had agreed to make the pope umpire, and the emperor had accepted him. But the affair had lain dormant ever since. Presently after Ferdinand's renewing of the truce with Lewis XII. the pope fearing a peace would be concluded

concluded between the two monarchs, at the expence of the duchy of Milan, strove to renew the negotiation between the emperor and the Venetians. He knew, if it succeeded, the king of France would in vain expect the assistance of the republick to conquer Milan. In short, with much sollicitation, he obtained from both parties an engagement to stand to his arbitration, and to give him power to settle the terms of the peace as he should think fit. However, by a writing under his own hand, he promised not to pronounce sentence without both their consents.

1514.

It was very difficult to make this peace, because the war still continuing in the state of Venice and Friuli, the least success was sufficient to cause the parties to rise or fall in their demands. When the Venetians found themselves pressed, they very willingly agreed, that the emperor should keep Verona; but then Maximilian would have also Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. When his affairs were not prosperous, he was ready to leave them these three places, but then they could not think of making peace without Verona. Thus the pope, finding the various success of the war was a perpetual obstacle to his projected agreement, passed a provisional sentence, ordering that both parties should lay down their arms: that the emperor should deposit in his hands, Vicenza, and whatever was possessed by the Spaniards in the territories of Padua, and Treviso: that the Venetians should do the like with regard to Crema, and pay down to the emperor fifty thousand ducats: that this provisional agreement should be deemed void, if the two parties should not think proper to ratify it; but in case they approved of it, he promised to pronounce a definitive sentence within a year. The Venetians did not think proper to ratify the sentence, being persuaded that, in their present circumstances, a truce was much more prejudicial than the continuation of the war. Thus the pope's pains were ineffectual. Such was the situation of the affairs of Italy, during the year 1514. We must see now what passed in England.

Difficulties
of the peace.The pope's
provisional
sentence,
Guicciard.rejected by
the Venetians.

Henry, at his return from his glorious campaign, thought only of mirth and diversions. The parliament however met the 3d of January, but there was nothing done of any moment with respect to the publick affairs. Before the end of the session, the king gave the earl of Surrey, the title of duke

Parliament
in England.
Herbert.

c In this parliament it was enacted, that surgeons should be discharged of constableness, ward, bearing of arms, and of inquests and juries; by reason

of the continual service and attendance they give day and night, and at all hours, to their patients.

1514.

The earl of Surrey created duke of Norfolk. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 389. Feb. 1.

Margaret of Clarence, countess of Salisbury. Thomas Wolsey, is made bishop of Lincoln, p. 390—394. and administrator of the see of Tournay. p. 584.

of Norfolk, which his father had enjoyed, and lost with his life at Bosworth field, fighting for Richard III^d. By this change, Thomas Howard, son and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surrey. Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, one of the king's favourites, was also created duke of Suffolk, and Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester. Margaret of York, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. obtained likewise the title of countess of Sarum, as heir to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII^e.

Thomas Wolsey had now been some months prime minister, without receiving other particular marks of his master's favour. But Wolsey was not forgetful of himself. The bishoprick of Lincoln being vacant, he so ordered, that the king demanded it for him of the pope, who had ingrossed the collations of all the sees, by anticipated reservations. Shortly after, Lewis Guillard, bishop of Tournay, neglecting to repair to his bishoprick, since the city was in the hands of the king of England, the pope readily supposed he had quitted his see, and gave the administration thereof to Thomas Wolsey, both in temporals and spirituals. This was suddenly and almost at once a great addition to the new favourite's income. Leo X. not expecting much, either from the emperor, or the king of Arragon, easily perceived, he might want the king of England. In order to gain his protection, he had disposed of the sees of Lincoln and Tournay, in favour of Wolsey, to win him to his interest, by presents which cost him nothing. But after having satisfied the favourite, he must testify by some mark of distinction, his esteem for the master. To that purpose, he sent him a sword and a hat,

^d For his memorable victory over the Scots at Flodden, he had a special grant from the king, to himself and the heirs male of his body, of an honourable augmentation to his arms; namely, to bear on the bend thereof the upper half of a red lyon, (painted as the arms of Scotland are) pierced through the mouth with an arrow. He was created duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1513-14. His father derived his descent (by the heirs male of Mowbray, and Seagrave) from Thomas Brotherton, son to king Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 268.

^e She was wife of sir Richard Pole, descended from an antient stock of that name somewhere in Wales. This

sir Richard was made chief gentleman of the bedchamber to prince Arthur, and knight of the most noble order of the garter. He had four sons by the lady Margaret; Henry, afterwards lord Montague, Geoffrey, Arthur, and Reginald, the famous cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the three that presided at the council of Trent. Margaret petitioned to be countess of Salisbury, from her grandfather Richard Nevil, earl of Salisbury, for all whose castles, manors and lands, she obtained a grant dated Octob. 14, which came to the crown by the attainder of her brother Edward, earl of Warwick. Idem. p. 292.

consecrated

consecrated on Christmas day, which the popes were wont to present to princes or generals who had obtained some signal victory over the enemies of the church.

Whilst the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, were labouring to accomplish their projects, Lewis XII. was not unmindful of his own affairs ^f. Among all his enemies, none gave him so much uneasiness as the king of England, chiefly for two reasons. First, Henry was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready money, and moreover always sure of supplies from his parliament, especially in case of a war with France. Secondly, the diversion he could and did make in Picardy, by means of Calais, rendered all Lewis's projects in Italy fruitless. He thereby kept the forces of France so divided, that it was almost impossible to assist one another in case of accident. Thus, it was the king of France's great interest to remove this thorn from his side, otherwise he could not undertake to recover Genoa and Milan. Accordingly, he had been very seriously endeavouring it, ever since the end of the last campaign, by the means of Lewis of Orleans, duke of Longueville, taken prisoner at the battle of Guinegaste. It was this private ambassador who, in his frequent conversations with Henry, laboured by degrees to open his eyes, by showing him how little he could depend upon his allies, and by clearly discovering their artifices to draw him into their snares. Henry was convinced, but, in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, these conversations had such an effect, that Henry told the duke he was inclined to a peace, provided it was upon reasonable terms. Lewis XII. having notice thereof, ordered the duke of Longueville privately to negotiate the affair, and try to discover the king of England's real intentions. Probably, Henry insisted some time upon his claim to the whole kingdom of France, and particularly to Guienne and Normandy, which made the duke apprehensive, his negotiation would not be successful. However, to induce Henry to abate something of his pretensions, the duke had orders to demand the princess Mary his sister, for the king his master, who had lost Anne of Bretagne his queen, the beginning of the year. This private negotiation, to which only Thomas Wolsey, bishop of Lincoln was admitted, continued some time without making great progress, by reason of Henry's excessive demands. At last, at a secret conference which

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The pope sends Henry a consecrated sword and hat.

P. 395.
Hall.

Lewis XII. makes an offer of peace to Henry.

Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.

Hollingsh.

^f This year Pregent landed on the coast of Suffex, and burnt Brightelmstone; whereupon sir John Wallop was

sent to revenge this affront, who landed in Normandy, and burnt twenty one villages and towns. Stow, p. 495.

1514.

the king himself had with the duke of Longueville, he suddenly desisted from the hardest of his demands, and plainly told him, on what conditions the peace might be concluded; adding, he was fully resolved to rest there. Here is a letter from the king to Wolfey, under his own hand, after the conference, wherein appears what was his last resolution &c.

The king's
letter to
Wolfey a-
bout the
peace.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 403.
June.

“ MY lorde of Lynkecolne, I recommande me unto
 “ yow. And lette yow wyte that I have spokyne with
 “ the duke; whyche in the begynnyng was as yll afrayde
 “ as ever he was in his lyffe lest no good effecte shulde
 “ comme to pas. Nevertheles, in farther communynge, we
 “ wente more rondly to oure matters; in so moche that I
 “ sayde to hym, feinge that the kyng yowr master hathe
 “ fought so gently unto us for bothe amyte and marryage, I
 “ aswre yow (oure honour savyd) we colde be well con-
 “ tent to gyffe herkyne therto, and yff the offers wer reso-
 “ nable agre upon thos same; but thes be nott resonable,
 “ excepte the amyte shulde no lenger contynw then the
 “ payment off money: and yett natt so, except ther wer a
 “ resonable summe of mony to be payd in hand by and by:
 “ Yff his master wyll have the maryage, I can natt see
 “ how itt can be convenyently, exceptte the amyte be made
 “ duryng our lyffes and on yer affter, to the intente that all
 “ supycyon off bothe sydes may be sett apart:
 “ Whyche maryage and amyte your master may have
 “ vnder thys maner; that is to say, paynge erly on hundred
 “ thousand crownes and att hys request I nat to styke for no
 “ redy mony in hande, but I to stande contente therwith for
 “ recompense off all thyngs.
 “ Whyche, yff your master confidere what herytaunce
 “ he holdyth from me, and what good my amyte may do
 “ to helpe forth hys mater in Italy, I thynke he wyll natt
 “ grettly styke at:
 “ Thys forther more I sayde to the duke, surly I can natt
 “ see how the amyte made for yers can any longer indure
 “ then the payment, whyche expryde shulde be occasion off
 “ new breche and demans, wherby noder he nor we shulde
 “ lyff quietly, whiche, yff ther fall alyance, I wholde be
 “ lothe to see; wherfor I see no way to eschewe all dangers
 “ and parraylles, and to recompense me for withholdinging

g The translator has thought fit to insert the original letter in the very words of king Henry, as it is to be

found in Rymer's *Fœdera*; and intends to do the same by all the original papers, which Rapin hath translated.

“ off

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“ off myne inheritance (which yff I wolde be flake in, my
 “ subjectes wolde murmure att) but to make thys amyte
 “ duryng oure lyffs and on yere affter, paynge yerly as above
 “ reherfed ; whyche amyte wons grantyd the alyance shulde
 “ natt be refufyde, nor non other thyng whyche with my
 “ honour favyd I might do :

“ Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I might demande
 “ with my honour any leffe, or take any leffe offere (seyng
 “ hys mafter is fo well mynded to the forfayd alyance and
 “ amyte) I wolde be glad to do that att hys request, but les
 “ then thys hit can nott ftonde with my honour, nor my
 “ subjectes wyll nat be content that I shulde take.

“ My lord, I shuyd him furthermore that, yff he thought
 “ we myght truff to have thys ende, I wolde be cyntent that
 “ yow and they shulde commune on all other artycylles,
 “ concernyng the amyte and maryage, tyll we myght have
 “ absolute affurance in that behalfe for lyfying off time.

“ To whyche he answarde, that he colde natt assure me
 “ theroff ; but that he trustyde, seyng my demands wer fo
 “ refonable, that hys mafter wholde agre therto.

“ On truff hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the
 “ refodue off the artycylles as foone as yow can ;

“ And thus fare yow well.”

Wrytтын with the hande off your lovyng mafter,

H E N R Y R.

Though this letter has no date, it may by several circumstances be conjectured to be written in June 1514.

Lewis XII. being informed of the king of England's last resolution, entertained great hopes of a peace. There were however two articles which troubled him. The first was to pay annually a hundred thousand crowns, as a compensation for Henry's claim to the kingdom of France. This was in some measure to own the justice of his title, and pay him a sort of tribute, which he could not resolve. The other article related to Tournay, which he desired to recover; and which however was not mentioned in the king's proposals. But as to this article, there was an obstacle which was not easily to be surmounted, and that was, Wolfey was concerned. It was not sufficient to gain Henry by flatteries, or by giving him a sum of money in lieu of Tournay; the favourite must also be made amends for the loss of a fee which brought him a considerable income. To endeavour

Lewis is not pleased with Henry's proposals.

1514.
 He sends
 ambassadors
 to England.
 Act. Pub.
 XIII. p. 405,
 406.
 July 29.
 A truce a-
 greed upon.
 Henry re-
 fuses to re-
 store
 Tournay.

therefore to agree upon these two articles, Lewis sent ambassad-
 dors to England. He chose for that purpose, Lewis d'Or-
 leans duke of Longueville, John de Selve first president of
 Roan, and Thomas Bohier, to whom du Bellai gives the
 title of general of Normandy, and the king in his commis-
 sion that of chevalier general of France. Mean while, the
 two kings agreed upon a cessation of arms during the
 treaty.

It was easier for the French ambassadors to cause Henry to
 alter his last resolution concerning the first article, than to
 obtain the restitution of Tournay. The reason is evident.
 In the first article, the king alone was concerned, whereas in
 the second, the minister's interest was properly in question.
 Mean while, since Henry was determined to make peace
 with France, Tournay could be of no farther use, and a
 sum of money would have been doubtless more advantage-
 ous than the preservation of that place. But Wolfey per-
 ceived when Tournay should be in the hands of the king of
 France, he would infallibly lose the administration of the
 see. So, the negotiation of the ambassadors upon that arti-
 cle was entirely fruitless. It was not the same with respect
 to the pension of the hundred thousand crowns demanded by
 Henry. They found means to persuade him to be satisfied
 with a million of crowns, in which were included the seven
 hundred forty five thousand contained in the treaty of Esta-
 ples, but whereof, indeed, an inconsiderable part had been
 paid. The Spanish ambassador residing at London, used all
 possible endeavours to intervene in the negotiation. But
 Henry would never suffer him, well knowing, he only in-
 tended to obstruct it. The commissioners of the two kings^h
 having settled all the articles, the treaties were signed the
 7th of August.

Henry
 would not
 suffer the
 Spanish am-
 bassador to
 have to do
 in the
 Treaty.
 Three seve-
 ral treaties
 signed at
 London.
 Act. Pub.
 XIII. p. 413.

There were three separate treaties. The first concerned
 only the renewing of the alliance between France and Eng-
 land. The second was about the marriage of the princess
 Mary with Lewis XII. The third, related to the payment
 of the million of crowns. As these treaties served for foun-
 dation to many others hereafter concluded, it is necessary to
 insert the substance, at least of the most material articles.

^h The English commissioners were,
 Thomas, duke of Norfolk, Thomas
 bishop of Lincoln, and Richard, bi-

shop of Winchester. Rymer, tom.
 XIII. p. 422.

I. T R E A T Y,

Of peace and amity between LEWIS XII. and HENRY VIII. concluded at London, August 7. 1514.

THAT the amity between the two kings should last till ^{P. 413.} a year after the death of the shortest liver. That the successor of him that died first, should give notice within the year to the other, whether he would prolong this or make a new treaty.

That all impositions laid, within fifty two years last past, by one king on the subjects of the other, should be abolished.

That the peace should not be deemed violated by the outrages committed on either side.

That neither of the two kings should afford protection or refuge to the rebels of the other.

By the 14th, 15th, and 16th articles, the two kings bound themselves to mutual assistance in three cases: 1. For defence of one another's dominions: 2. For recovery of the territories with-held by other princes: 3. In case one of the two kings should be attacked on account of the present treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cause. In each of these cases the conditions were different ^l. But in the last, they promised mutual aid, though the assailant should be relation, friend, or ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the treaty as his allies, the pope, the Switzers, and the king of Scotland ^k. On Henry's part were named the pope, Bologna, all the towns of St. Peter's patrimony, the archduke of Austria, and the Switzers ^l.

Scotland was included in the treaty, but on condition that the Scots should commit no hostilities against England after the 25th of November.

^l In the first case, Lewis was to furnish twelve hundred lances by land, and five thousand men by sea, with convenient shipping; and Henry ten thousand archers by land, and five thousand men at sea, with shipping. In the second, Lewis was to lend Henry six hundred lances only, and Henry him but five thousand archers, with the same sea forces on both sides as before mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his charge that

was invaded.

^k And the kings of Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Gueldres, and Lorraine; Venice, Florence; the bishop of Liege; the marquises of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo; and the lord of Sedan. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 419.

^l As also the dukes of Cleves, and Juliers; the Hanse Towns; and the lord de Ligny. *Ibid.*

1514.

That the treaty should be ratified and sworn by the two kings, and confirmed by the parliament of England, and the states of France.

That each of the two kings should endeavour to obtain of the pope a sentence of excommunication against the infractor of the peace.

II. T R E A T Y,

Concerning the marriage of LEWIS XII. with the princess MARY.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 423.

THAT matrimony should be contracted by proxies, and per verba de præfenti within ten days after the date of this treaty.

That the king of England [within two months after the contract] should convey at his own charge, the princess his sister to Abbeville, where within four days after her arrival the king of France should solemnly marry her.

That Mary should have in dower four hundred thousand crowns, two hundred thousand whereof should be reckoned for jewels, &c. and in case of recovery, Lewis should be obliged to restore only the jewels, &c. which should be valued at the sum of two hundred thousand crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thousand crowns, Henry should pay, by deducting the sum out of the million the king of France was bound to pay by a late treaty.

That the future queen's jointure should be as great as that assigned to Anne of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.

That in case of Lewis's death, Mary should enjoy her dower and jointure during life, whether she resided in France or England.

III. T R E A T Y,

For the payment of a million of crowns.

p. 428, 439.

BY this treaty Lewis XII. acknowledged, that by the treaty of Estaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay Henry VII. or his successors the sum of 745000 crowns, and that himself was obliged to pay the arrears of the same.

Moreover,

Moreover, that Charles duke of Orleans his father, by an obligation dated March the 7th, 1444, had owned himself debtor in a certain sum to Margaret of Somersfet, grandmother of Henry VIII.

1514.

That these two sums not being yet paid, Lewis bound himself to pay to the king of England, or his successors, a million of crowns, as well for the arrears of the said two sums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more lasting.

That this million should be paid by Lewis to the king of England, by half yearly payments of fifty thousand livres Tournois, till the whole was discharged.

Thus the war, which had been undertaken on pretence of religion, and for the glory of God, ended in a treaty, which mentions neither religion, nor the pope, nor the church.

On the other hand, though the princess Mary had been solemnly affianced to Charles of Austria, Lewis XII. and Henry VIII. made no difficulty concerning this second marriage, neither did they so much as vouchsafe to demand the pope's dispensation to absolve Mary from her first contract. Only a few days before the signing of the treaty, Mary declared in the presence of a notary publick and other witnesses, that she had been forced to plight her faith to the prince of Castile, archduke of Austria. That moreover the archduke having promised to espouse her by proxy, and per verba de presenti, as soon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that she was creditably informed, the counsellors and confidants of the prince of Castile were instilling into him, to the utmost of their power, an aversion for the king of England her brother. Upon these allegations, the two kings making themselves judges in a cause which doubtless belonged to the pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage should be consummated.

The princess Mary protests against her contract with Charles of Austria. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 409. July 30. Herbert,

I have still to remark upon the third treaty, That, though Henry had declared to the duke of Longueville, as appears in his letter to Wolsey, that he could not make peace unless the king of France would pay him a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns, as a compensation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to satisfy him with much less. The whole was reduced to Lewis's bond to pay him a million of crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the treaty. Besides, that this bond might not be considered as a compensation of the king of England's title to France, according to Henry's intentions,

Remark on the third treaty.

1514.

it was expressly said in the treaty to be in payment of the arrears of the seven hundred forty five thousand crowns, due to the king of England by the treaty of Estaples, of another sum due from the late duke of Orleans to Margaret the king's grandmother, and lastly, for Lewis's good affection to Henry. Hereby was sunk the principal foundation, on which Henry had built his demand of a pension of a hundred thousand crowns, a demand considered by him as the basis of the treaty according to his letter to Wolsey. It may therefore be affirmed, that Henry was no less over-reached by the king of France in the treaty of peace, than he had been by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, in that which had engaged him in the war. This proceeded not from his misunderstanding his own interests, since it appears in his letter, that he was very sensible of the consequence of his demand. To what then can his easiness be ascribed but to the insinuations of his prime minister, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably, Lewis XII. found means to make Wolsey his friend. We shall see still more plainly hereafter, that this minister was much more mindful of his own than his master's advantages when they came in competition, and that he lost no opportunity of enriching himself.

Death of
cardinal
Bambridge.
Herbert.
A&E. Pub.
XIII. p. 404.

Whilst Wolsey was employed with the French ambassadors in negotiating the peace, cardinal Bambridge archbishop of York died at Rome the 14th of July^m. The same day cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope by the name of Clement VII. sent the king notice of his death, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the pope not to dispose of the see of York before his pleasure was known.

Wolsey is
made arch-
bishop of
York.
p. 412,
450—455.
p. 439, 455.

Whereupon the king demanded the archbishoprick for Thomas Wolsey, which was immediately granted. This minister was then in so great favour, that he absolutely directed all the king's affairs, who had for him a very great esteem and affection. It may be presumed that he was now doing Lewis XII. some good services, since there are in the collection of the publick acts, several letters from that monarch to him, beginning with these kind words, "My lord of York, and very good friend."

^m He was poisoned by Rinaldo de Modena, his steward, or chaplain, an Italian priest, to revenge a blow his master gave him, as Rinaldo confessed at his execution. Wood, p. 104.

Stow, p. 496. There is a letter writ by one Pacc, from Rome, charging Sylvester (an Italian) bishop of Worcester, with having a hand in his death. Fiddes.

August and September were spent in preparations for the new Queen of France's journey, in the celebration of the marriage by proxies in France and England. and in the ratifications of the treaties. After which, Mary was conducted to Abbeville with a numerous train of lords and ladies, where the marriage was consummated the 9th of October ⁿ.

Whilst the peace between France and England was treating at London, the pope, Emperor, and king of Arragon omitted nothing, that they imagined would obstruct it. They plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and that the burden of the war would fall upon them. They were even afraid that Henry would join against them with France. Leo X. had sent to Henry to persuade him to a peace, and yet, when he saw it upon the point of conclusion, would have been glad, his exhortations had not been regarded. So, to cross the negotiation at London as much as he could, he proposed a new league with the king of France, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerness for a peace with England. But as Lewis took a fortnight to give him his answer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reason, made haste and concluded a defensive league with the king of Arragon for a year only.

On the other hand, Ferdinand fearing, Lewis, after making a peace with England, would invade Navarre, offered him his assistance to conquer Milan. But Lewis knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In short, the emperor and Ferdinand, desiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with England, sent him their consent in

ⁿ The king and queen conducted her to Dover, and then recommended her to the duke of Norfolk's care, who attended her to Abbeville. The other persons of note that attended her, were, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, Thomas, bishop of Durham, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and admiral, Charles Somersct, earl of Worcester, Thomas Docwra, prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, dr. Nicolas West, dean of Windsor; the lords Delawar, Barners, Monteagle; sir Maurice Barkley, sir John Peche, sir William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, &c. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 449. Hall, fol. 48. She embarked October 2. After the ceremony was over, all her retinue were dismissed, except a few officers and attendants, amongst whom, says the

lord Herbert, was mrs. Ann Bulleyn, daughter to sir Thomas Bulleyn. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the coronation was over, there were solemn jousts and tournaments held at Paris, by Francis de Valois, heir to the crown, at which the duke of Suffolk, and the marquis of Dorset came off with honour. The king and queen of France were spectators; but the king was so old and infirm, that he lay on a couch. The duke of Valois out of envy, caused, it seems, a German of prodigious strength and size, to be privately introduced into the field, in order to oppose the duke of Suffolk, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the German. Herbert, p. 21. Hall, fol. 48, 49. Stow, p. 495.

1514.

Lewis's marriage with Mary consummated.

p. 448. Hall.

Stow.

Leo X. proposes a new league to the king of France.

Guicciard. P. Daniel.

He makes one with Ferdinand.

Fruitless endeavours of the emperor and Ferdinand to hinder the peace between Lewis and Henry. Guicciard.

form,

1514.

form, for the marriage of René his second daughter with Charles of Austria their grandson, At the same time, Maximilian ratified the one year's truce made by Ferdinand with France. But all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the treaty of London; a clear evidence how little Henry valued their friendship. Notwithstanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleased with the peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

The pope tries to amuse Lewis XII. Guicciard.

It was expected that the king of France being freed from the war with England, would infallibly recover Genoa and Milan. The pope was so persuaded of it, that he writ to exhort him to that expedition, though at the same time he used all his endeavours to break his measures, by an agreement between the emperor and the Venetians. He even dispatched to Venice, Peter Bembo, afterwards cardinal, to incline the Venetians to peace. But they fearing the pope was laying a snare for them, to take off the king from their alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his holiness.

He forms vast projects for his house. Sardi. Guicciard.

Leo X. was forming at that time grand projects in favour of Julian de Medici his brother. His design was to become master of Ferrara and Urbino, and to join these two states to Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and the city of Modena, lately purchased of the emperor, in order to cast them into one state for this brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great prince. Nay, it is said, he intended to add the kingdom of Naples; and to make that conquest, had joined in a league with the Venetians. But as he saw the king of France would quickly invade the Milanese, he shewed great regard for him, lest he should make an enemy of a prince, who, if he came to be possessed of Milan, would have it in his power to obstruct his designs. Mean while, Lewis not being pleased with the pope, pressed him to declare himself, resolving to know for certain whether he was to consider him as a friend, or an enemy. Leo, who perceived his intent, amused him with fair words, without however being determined, because his purpose was to regulate his conduct by the events of the war, he foresaw. This did not hinder Lewis from vigorously continuing the necessary preparations for his expedition into Italy, where he intended to go in person the next spring. But whilst he was thinking of means to relieve the Lanthorn Tower, which he still held at Genoa, and by the help whereof, hoped to become master of the city, he received the news that it was surren-

Lewis prepares to pass into Italy. He loses the Lanthorn at Genoa.

dered

dered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the Genoese. However, this was not capable to deter him from his designs upon Italy.

1514.

Before I close the year 1514, it will not be unserviceable briefly to relate what passed in Scotland this year. James IV. left two sons, of whom the eldest, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a will, made before he took the field, he left the regency of the kingdom after his death to his queen, sister of Henry VIII. during her widowhood. The states being met the beginning of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for king, James V. son and heir to the deceased. As for the regency, there would doubtless have been great debates, if the loss of the battle of Floddon had not made the Scots apprehensive, that the king of England would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in Scotland a queen regent, and that would have been sufficient to reject the clause of the late king's will. But it was hoped, the queen would prevail with the king her brother, to leave in peace a country whereof she had the government. This expectation was not disappointed. The queen being declared regent, and writing to the king her brother, to entreat him not to disturb the minority of the young king his nephew, Henry generously answered, he was equally inclined to peace or war, and left it to the Scots to chuse which they pleased.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

The queen
dowager is
regent.
Herbert.
Hall.

After this declaration, probably, Scotland would have remained in quiet under the regency of the queen, if that princess had not married again some months after. She chose for her consort Archibald Douglass earl of Angus, one of the greatest lords in Scotland, and by this second marriage filled the kingdom with confusion and trouble. As by the late king's will she was to be regent only during her widowhood, the question was to appoint another in her room. Douglass her husband used all his endeavours to have her continued in the regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preserve peace with England; and besides, Henry would be obliged to support the queen his sister in case any one should pretend to disturb her. But this last consideration had a quite contrary effect to what the earl expected, upon those who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew, that being husband to the regent, he would always be countenanced by the king of England, and by his assistance, enabled to ingross more authority than they wished him, Alexander Hume Governor of all the country

She marries
and loses the
regency.

1514.

The duke of
Albany is
elected re-
gent.

north of the Frith, was the head of those that opposed the queen's regency. He was a proud and haughty man, who could not endure a superior. During the late king's life, he had been president of the marches bordering upon England, where he had committed such outrages, that as some say, for fear of being called to an account, he killed or caused to be killed James IV. when he was retiring out of the battle of Floddon. However that be, Hume used all his interest to break Douglafs's and the queen's measures, and proposed John Stewart duke of Albany for regent. This duke was son of Alexander duke of Albany, brother of James III. who to avoid the persecutions of the king his brother, was forced to fly into France, where he died. He left there this son, who being married, and adhering to the service of Lewis XII. ° had received many favours from that monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in Scotland, he was however the young king's nearest relation, and Hume had interest enough to have him declared regent. Whereupon the states sent deputies to offer him the regency, and to pray him to come instantly and govern the realm in the king's name. Lewis XII. dying during these transactions, Francis I. his successor, having great reasons not to displease the king of England, would not suffer the duke of Albany to depart till he had finished his affairs with Henry. For this cause the regent arrived not in Scotland before May 1515. During this interval, Scotland being without a governor, the dissensions among the great men much increased, every one having time to form his cabals against the regent's arrival.

1515.

Death of
Lewis XII.
Francis I.
king of
France.
Mezerai.
Stow.
Gulceiard.

The first day of the year 1515 was the last of Lewis XII.'s life^p. But the death of that prince made no alteration in the situation of the affairs of the kingdom. The duke of Valois, who succeeded him by the name of Francis I. plainly discovered, by adding the title of duke of Milan to that of king of France, that he intended to pursue his predecessor's designs. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had settled his affairs both abroad and at home.

° Lewis, when duke of Orleans, killed the duke his father at a tournament. Rapin.

p He died (says the lord Herbert) after eighty days possession rather than enjoying of his queen, leaving behind

him no issue male, though otherwise of that esteem among his subjects, for his care not to oppress them with impositions longer than his necessities required, that he was called father of his people, p. 22. Stow, p. 496.

By the death of Lewis XII. queen Mary his widow was at liberty to dispose of herself, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politick views of the king her brother. Before her marriage, she had conceived an affection for Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, a most accomplished lord. It is even said, the king had promised to marry her to him. But as her marriage with Lewis XII. was to be the band of the peace between France and England, she was under a necessity to sacrifice her love to the good of both kingdoms. The duke of Suffolk however waited upon her into France, though he was not of the number of those who were appointed to conduct her. Mezerai says, the duke of Valois, presumptive heir to the crown of France, caused that English lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he should give the king a successor. This shews that the queen's inclination was no secret. The death of Lewis XII. happening within three months after his marriage, the queen Dowager was not willing to run a second hazard, of being given to another husband not of her own chusing. Henry suspecting her design, writ to her the beginning of February, desiring her not to marry again without his consent. But the queen believed it would be easier to obtain the king's pardon when the thing was done, than his permission to do it ⁹. So, in March, about two months after the death of Lewis XII. she was privately married to the duke of Suffolk. The next day, she sent word of it in a letter to the king her brother, and taking the whole blame upon herself, intimated to him that she had in some measure forced the duke to this rash action. Henry seemed displeas'd at first, but his anger was soon over. Their peace being made they returned to Henry, and were very well received ^r.

The parliament was then sitting ^s, and as England was in profound tranquillity, the houses were only employed in

1515.
The queen dowager of Lewis XII. marries the duke of Suffolk. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

Parliament in England.

⁹ The lord Herbert says, she writ before her marriage to the king her brother, protesting, that if he would have her married in any place, save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious House. She set the duke of Suffolk but the space of four days to obtain her good will, and told him, if he could not do it in that time, he should be out of all hopes of enjoying her, p. 22.

^r He, with sir Richard Wingfield, and dr. West, were deputed to carry over Henry's letters of condolence to the queen, and had not been long at

Paris, before he made his addressees to her. They arrived the second of May, and were publicly married on the thirteenth at Greenwich. The queen (say the French) carried with her in jewels, plate, and tapestry, of Lewis XII. to the value of two hundred thousand crowns: amongst which was a great diamond called le miroir de Naples, which Francis would fain have redeemed at a great price. Mrs Ann Bulleyn staid behind in the French court. Herbert, p. 22.

^s It met February 5. See Statute-book.

domestick

1515.

Divers
statutes.
Herbert.

domestick affairs, which are of little or no consequence to foreigners. There were however three statutes passed this session which deserve notice. It was provided by the first, that unwrought wool should not be exported out of the kingdom, for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture. This act has been often revived by reason of its importance, and yet even now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandestine exportation of wool. The second statute declared all the king's second letters patents to be void unless mention was made of the first. This was to prevent the king from being surprized. The third was no less necessary. It frequently happened that towards the end of a session several members went home, imagining, there was nothing more of moment to be done. Then the factious took advantage of their absence, to propose and pass such bills as probably would have been thrown out, had the house been more numerous. It was therefore enacted, that the members who absented themselves before the end of the session, without the speaker's and commons leave, to be entered in the clerk of the parliament's book, should lose their wages^t. I must now interrupt for some time the recital of domestick, to speak of foreign affairs, which are to serve for foundation to what will hereafter be said with respect to England.

The alliance
between
France and
England re-
newed.
Du Bellai.
Guicciard.
Act. Pub.
XIII.p.473,
—476.

Francis I. was too much concerned to renew the alliance between France and England, to fail of performing the article of the treaty, whereby the successor of him that died first, was to acquaint the other whether he designed to prolong the time of the alliance. As he intended to pass into Italy to recover the duchy of Milan, it was absolutely necessary to secure the king of England. To that purpose, about the middle of March, he sent to the first president of Roan, his ambassador at London, a commission to renew

^t These wages were levied by the sheriffs, and the most ancient writs for knights wages extant are those of 28, 29, 32 of Edward I. The first statute concerning them is, that of 12 Richard II; namely, that the levying of the expences of knights shall be, as hath been used before this time. The wages in this reign were four shillings a day for knights of the shire, and two shillings at least for burgessees, besides the charges of going and coming, and fees for writs, &c.—In this parliament there was also another statute made,

importing, that whereas divers felons and murderers did, upon feigned and untrue surmises, get themselves removed into the King's Bench, and could not by order of law be remitted and sent down to the justices of goal delivery: that therefore for the future, the justices of the King's Bench shall have full power and authority, to remand and send down the bodies or indictments of all felons and murderers, into the counties, where the murders or felonies were committed, Stat. 6 Henry VIII, c. 6.

the alliance with Henry, as well as the bond for the payment of the million, to which Lewis XII. was obliged. This was done by a new Treaty, signed the 5th of April, and exactly like the former.

1515.
P. 476.

After all the frauds used by the king of Arragon to Henry, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendship between them. However, Ferdinand, who was not easily discouraged, sent to the king his son-in-law a new ambassador, to propose the renewing of their alliance. It is likely, he did not believe, Henry had so soon forgot his deceits, but it was for his interest that he should be known to have an ambassador in England. The ambassador arrived in May, but was suffered to wait in vain till October without being dispatched: nay, very probably he would never have succeeded in his negotiation, if Wolsey's interests had not caused the king to alter his resolution, never to have any thing to do with the king his father in-law. I shall speak more fully of this affair in another place.

Ferdinand seeks Henry's friendship. P. 494.

His ambassador is received very coldly.

Whilst the Spanish ambassador was waiting in vain at London, Henry had two at Bruffels, who made no greater progress. He had not dealt very gallantly with the young archduke, in giving the princess his bride to Lewis XII. without any ceremony. Indeed, Charles had not repaired to Calais the 5th of May the last year, as he was bound by the treaty of Lisle: but it could not thence be inferred, he had renounced his marriage, at least before he was asked, whether he intended to consummate it. Henry was afraid therefore, the archduke, having lately assumed the government of the Low-Countries, and made a treaty with France, would think of revenging the affront. So, in order to sound him, or prevent the effects of his resentment, he sent two ambassadors^u to propose the renewing of the former alliance between Henry VIII and Philip I. their fathers. But the ambassadors were suffered to wait a good while at Bruffels, without being much regarded, or receiving any answer.

Henry tries to be reconciled with Charles the archduke.

His ambassadors are ill received. p. 406.

The affairs of Europe were then in a situation, which would not allow the young archduke to engage in any party. It was necessary, in order to take just measures to wait the success of the war, which Francis I. was preparing to carry into Italy. In all appearance, it would produce events capable of altering the interests and projects of most of the sovereigns. Since Francis's accession to the crown,

Francis I. prepares to recover Milan. Guicciard. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

^u Sir Edward Poyninge, and dr. William Knight. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 496.

1515.

Guicciard.

Ferdinand
forms a
league
against
France.
Guicciard.

He deceives
the Switzers.

he had plainly shewn that he intended not to suffer Maximilian Sforza peaceably to enjoy the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, the king of Arragon was under apprehensions for Naples and Navarre. Francis I. was a young prince, full of courage and ambition, and it could not be doubted that he had formed great projects. So the eyes of all were upon him, to see in what manner he would begin his reign. He was making preparations, which discovered he had some great design in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal that he had Milan in view. Mean while, he used for pretence of his armament, the invasion Burgundy was threatened with by the Switzers. But the league he had lately renewed with Venice, and his offer to Ferdinand to prolong the truce, provided the secret article concerning the Milanese was annulled, were plain indications of his designs.

All this was not sufficient to make Ferdinand perfectly easy. He was afraid of being deceived by Francis, and that his preparations were intended for Navarre. To prevent this danger, he rejected Francis's offer, and withal made use of it to induce the emperor and Switzers to join with him for the defence of the Milanese, intimating there was no room to question, that the king of France, would turn his arms that way. As for the emperor, he did not want much solicitation. He readily entered into all sorts of leagues, because he always found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the Switzers, because Francis had among them adherents, who endeavoured to dissuade them from the league. But his enemies prevailed in the end ^w, and the league was concluded between the emperor, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the Switzers. Ferdinand played one of his usual artifices upon this occasion. He persuaded the Switzers, that to defend the Milanese, the shortest way was to attack the king of France in his own kingdom. For that purpose, he engaged to make a powerful diversion on the side of Fontarabia, whilst the Switzers should invade Burgundy, and the emperor, by continuing the war in the state of Venice, hinder the Venetians from assisting the common enemy. His chief aim was to defend Navarre, in case Francis I. had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that prince from becoming master of the duchy of Milan. His league with the Switzers was equally

^w The rest of the confederates engaged to pay them thirty thousand ducats a month. Guicciard. l. 12.

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subservient to both these ends. For if Francis I. invaded Navarre, the Switzers would divert him from his purpose, by making an inroad into Burgundy. But if he really intended to conquer Milan, the Switzers, as next neighbours, and most concerned, could not dispense with assisting that duchy. What Ferdinand had foreseen, came to pass. Francis having ordered his forces to file off towards the Alps, the Switzers sent their troops into Italy, where they seized the two passes, through which only it was thought possible to enter the Milanese. When Ferdinand was assured the king of France was marching towards Milan, he disbanded the army levied for the defence of Navarre, leaving the Milanese to be taken care of by the Switzers. The very army Ferdinand had in Italy, under the command of the viceroy of Naples, made no motion to join them. The emperor remained without acting at Inspruck. Leo X. who had also entered into the league, gave them no sort of assistance. Thus the whole burden of the war fell upon the Switzers, without even the other allies sending a penny of the money that was promised them. But this was no wonder. The Switzers were no more exempted than the king of England, and so many other princes, whom Maximilian and Ferdinand had served in the same manner.

Francis passes into Italy. Guicciard.

The Switzers are deserted by their allies,

Mean while, Francis I. having found means to march his army through a place which seemed impracticable ^x, the Switzers who guarded the passes retired to Milan, and Francis advanced also towards the same city. When he approached, he offered the Switzers a sum of money to return home. This negotiation was now in great forwardness, when they received a supply of fifteen thousand men of their nation. This aid rendering them more stout, they resolved, by the suggestions of the cardinal of Sion, immediately to attack Francis who lay encamped at Marignano, little expecting their coming. They were defeated, and ten thousand slain on the spot. After which, they retired into their country, leaving Francis, master of all the Milanese. Maximilian Sforza, who had shut himself up in the castle of Milan, surrendered it by capitulation, and was sent into France, to live as a private person.

Guicciard,

Francis gains the battle of Marignano.

Before Francis I began his expedition, Octavian Fregosa, had brought Genoa under the dominion of France, and instead of Doge, stiled himself governor for the king.

Genoa is subjected to France. Guicciard,

^x Between mount Vifo, and mount Cenis. Guicciard. l. 12. Through the valley of Barcelonnette, Roque Sparviere, St. Pol, l'Argentiere, &c. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 351.

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Leo X.
makes his
peace with
Francis.
Idem.

Leo X. had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy. He had joined in the league against him, but so privately, that Francis knew nothing of it till he came to Verceil. During the time between the king's arrival in Italy, and the battle of Marignano, the pope was under great perplexities. He had sent an army into Lombardy, to support the duke of Milan. But when he heard Francis had surmounted the difficulties of the passage, he sent orders to Lorenzo de Medici who commanded his army, to commit no hostilities against the French. At the same time, he told the king, his army was there only to guard Parma and Placentia. Mean while, as the affair of Milan was not yet decided, he durst not make too many advances to the king, for fear of displeasing the allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the king happened to be vanquished. But, after the battle of Marignano, he was immediately reconciled with him, and though he had grievously offended him, obtained however advantages which he could scarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The popes make leagues, and undertake wars as temporal princes, and when their affairs do not prosper, disentangle themselves as heads of the church, and vicars of Jesus Christ. Though Leo X's behaviour to Francis was such, that he deserved no favour from that victorious prince, he obtained however whatever he pleased, and among other things, the abolition of the Pragmatick Sanction, which the popes his predecessors had hitherto in vain demanded of the kings of France.

Guicciard.
Burnet.

Henry is
engaged in
new troubles.

Though Henry had not been able entirely to avoid the snares laid by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, he had happily got clear, but with a firm resolution never more to be thus over-reached. His affecting not to mention them in his treaty with France, plainly showed he did not much value their friendship. But he was not so fortunate as to persist in this resolution, since it was his own fault that he engaged in a fresh war with France, not so much for his own, as the interest of others. His change may be ascribed to three several causes. The first is, his jealousy

Causes of it.

y The decrees of the council of Basil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and published under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction; which Charles VII. king of France, declared he would have to be inviolably observed. It was abrogated by Lewis XI,

which was opposed by the parliament. Charles VIII. re-established it, but it was again annulled by Lewis XII. See a full account of these transactions in bishop Burnet's Hist. Ref. tom. III. p. 8, &c.

of the glorious success of Francis's arms in Italy. The second, to prevent the growing power of that neighbour. The third and principal, Wolsey his favourite's interest, who thinking he had reason to complain of the king of France, had a mind to be revenged. The two first need no farther explanation. It is well known, that princes are subject to passions like other men, and that jealousy may induce them to run counter to their interest. It is known likewise, that policy is as the hinge on which almost all their actions turn. But on this occasion, Henry proceeded upon a very wrong policy, since nothing was more capable of securing the peace of England, than the king of France's acquisitions in Italy. The third cause requires a more particular explanation.

Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, was prime minister, and chief favourite. But this does not fully express the thing. It must be added, that he so absolutely governed the king, that he turned him which way he pleased. But he managed so artfully, that the king always fancied he took his own course, when he only followed the suggestions of his minister. Wolsey had great talents for a person of his birth, but he had also great failings. He was excessively revengeful, greedy of possessions and honours, and intolerably proud. He no sooner saw himself fixed in his master's favour, but he sought means to remove from court all those that gave him any jealousy by the king's esteem for them. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been most in favour, received so many mortifications from this imperious prelate, that at length they quitted the court, not to be exposed to his insults. Fox withdrew to his diocese the beginning of this year ². The two dukes quickly followed ³, and Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, retired also at the end of the same year. These old ministers being thus removed, Wolsey became still more absolute over the king, who had only him to advise with in his most important affairs. The rest of the privy council were all the favourite's creatures. The historians unanimously agree, that Wolsey's interest was the sole rule of the counsels he gave the king, and as this interest answered his reigning passions, revenge, gree-

Wolsey's
great credit,
Pol. Virg.

Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

² Upon his going away, he desired this only of the king, that he would not suffer the servant to be greater than the master. To which the king answered presently, that it should be his care, that those who were his subjects should obey, and not command. Herbert, p. 24.

³ The duke of Suffolk had borrowed large sums of money of the king, which he hoped would have been forgiven him; but upon Wolsey's calling those that were indebted to the crown to an account, the duke withdrew from court. Hall, Hellingsh. p. 839.

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diness, ambition, and pride, the reader must not be surpris'd, when he sees him hereafter inducing the king to make so many false steps.

Francis I.
wants to
recover
Tournay.
Pol. Virg.
Herbert.
P. Daniel.

Wolsey is
afraid of
losing his
bishopruck.

Ever since Francis I. came to the crown, he had been thinking of recovering Tournay out of the hands of the English. There had even pass'd in the beginning of the year, a treaty upon that subject, but to no purpose, because Henry demanded in exchange of Tournay, some places in the neighbourhood of Calais ^b, which Francis did not think proper to grant him ^c. But the greatest difficulty came from Wolsey, who was far from advising the king his master to resign Tournay, because himself would have lost the administration of that bishopruck and the abbey of St. Amand, which brought him a great revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with Francis I. to bestow some good benefice on Lewis Guillard, bishop of Tournay, that he might suffer him peaceably to enjoy his administration. Francis had promised him, but without intending to perform his word. Instead of assisting him to keep the administration, he secretly persuad'd the bishop to sue to the pope for his restoration, and seconded his petition to the utmost of his power. He was of opinion, that when Wolsey ceased to be administrator, the restitution of Tournay would become much easier.

The pope
restores the
bishop of
Tournay.
Herbert.

Whilst Francis was still in France, employed in preparing for his Italian expedition, the pope, yet uncertain of the success of that enterprize, did not much regard the bishop's solicitations. But when he saw that prince master of Genoa, and entered the Milanese at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a bull to Guillard, restoring him to his bishopruck, and even allowed him to make use of the secular arm to obtain possession. This bull, which sacrificed the king of England's and his minister's interest, to those of the French king and the bishop of Tournay, would seem very strange, if the consideration of the time and circumstances did not make the wonder cease. Leo X. had given just cause to Francis, to complain of his conduct, and saw that monarch ready to take possession again of the Milanese, and conclude a treaty with the Switzers, in order to send them back into their own country. It was therefore his interest to appease him, by granting a favour he so earnestly desired.

^b The county of Guines or Ardres. Herbert, p. 23.

^c In May this year, king Henry sent twelve hundred carpenters and ma-

sons, and three hundred labourers, to build a castle for the defence of Tournay. Stow, p. 497.

Mean while, Henry was extremely offended at the bull, which restored to the bishoprick of Tournay, a prelate, who refused to swear fealty to him, and on which the king of France, and the bishop of Tournay might proceed, to raise a sedition in the city. He therefore gave orders to his ambassador at Rome, to expostulate with the pope, and represent to him the consequences of his partiality. Leo X. could not help owning it. But at that very time, Francis gaining the battle of Marignano, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his resentment, it was no proper season to incense him farther by revoking the bull. This convinced Wolfey, that Francis was the real author of the bishop's restoration. Mean while, the pope, being embarrassed, chose upon the king of England's opposition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to hasten the conclusion. In the mean time, Wolfey was uncertain whether he should keep the bishoprick of Tournay. And that was precisely what the king of France wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the selfish minister to find some expedient to make himself amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppose the restitution of Tournay. At the same time, Francis promises to help to preserve his friendship, which was very necessary, by reason of his credit with the king his master, he promised to assist him in procuring a cardinal's cap. Wolfey was extremely ambitious of that dignity. After the death of cardinal Cambridge, he was in hopes of succeeding him in the cardinalate, as well as in the archbishoprick of York. He had even employed to solicit it in his name, cardinal Adrian de Corneto^d, the pope's collector in England, under whom Polydore Virgil, served as sub-collector. But cardinal Adrian, instead of serving him as he had promised, had done him ill offices. Wolfey being informed of it, was so incensed, that on some slight pretence he committed Polydore to the Tower. Then he caused the king to write to the pope with his own hand, to desire him to appoint another collector in cardinal Adrian's room. The king's letter was so strong and passionate, that the pope thought fit to comply with his request. However, in his brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger against cardinal Adrian, was instilled into him by Wolfey. Mean while, Polydore Virgil continued in the Tower, till at length cardinal Julius de Medici, and the

1515.

Herbert.

Francis promises to help to make Wolfey a cardinal. Herbert.

Cardinal Adrian betrays Wolfey.

Who takes revenge, and sends Polydore Virgil to the Tower.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 515.

^d Called by our historians de Castello — bishop of Bath, and the king's orator at Rome.

1515.

pope himself, interceded for him, by letters of August the 30th, and September the 3d. As this was at the very time that Francis was solliciting a cardinal's cap for Wolsey, Wolsey did not think proper to refuse the pope a thing of so little consequence. So Polydore came out of the Tower, where he had been about a year. This ill treatment was, doubtless, one of the reasons that induced him to remember all the ill qualities of cardinal Wolsey, in his history of England.

Wolsey is made cardinal. Hall. Herbert. He persists in his design to be revenged upon the king of France. Pol. Viig. Herbert.

Wolsey having at length obtained a cardinal's cap, was transported with joy when he received the news by an express sent by the king of France^e. But though he was highly obliged to that monarch, his gratitude for the favour, did not equal his resentment for the injury done him, as he supposed, in the affair of Tournay. He resolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to set the king his master at variance with Francis, and cause him to enter into a new league against France. Herein he gratified three of his predominant passions, his pride, in letting Europe see that sovereigns themselves offended him not with impunity: his revenge, in creating Francis great troubles; and his own interest, in securing the administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. Indeed, a rupture between the two kings was an effectual means to hinder Guillard's restoration to his see. This is observed by historians as the principal cause of the alteration we are going to behold in Henry's conduct. Jealousy and policy may have had some influence too, but less as true causes, than as motives used by Wolsey to inflame the king's mind. Probably, under colour that his honour was concerned, he represented to him the necessity of humbling the pride of the French king, and insinuated, how dangerous it was for England that France should grow too powerful.

Wolsey treats privately with the emperor. Herbert. Pol. Viig.

When he had prepared Henry, he privately sent word to the emperor, that it would not be impossible to disengage the king his master from the interests of France. It may easily be guessed, Maximilian received the overture with joy. Besides that, being without aid and allies, he saw himself little able to preserve his conquests in Italy, he knew, which way soever he was treated with, he should always be furnished with money. Whilst Wolsey was projecting to negotiate with the emperor, the Spanish ambassador, who had heavily passed some months at London, was looked upon at court with a

Henry renews his alliance with Ferdinand.

^e In September. Hall, fol. 57. He was cardinal by the title of sanctæ cæcilie trans Tiberim; or, sancti ci-

riaci in terminis. Rymer's Fæd. tom. XIII. p. 529, 530.

more favourable eye. Nay, a treaty was begun with him about renewing the alliance between England and Spain, which being ended the 19th of October, contained however only a confirmation of the antient treaties of amity. 1515.

Mean while, the emperor, willing to improve the present opportunity, sent to the king a Milanese ambassador, to desire aid in the name of Francesco Sforza, who was in Germany, and had assumed the title of duke of Milan, ever since Maximilian his brother had resigned his right to the king of France. Though Wolsey had taken care to dispose Henry to a rupture with France, he was not, it seems, fully determined. Francesco Sforza's request, or rather the emperor's, seemed to him so important, that he desired to have the opinions of the bishop of Winchester, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who to that intent were sent for to court. The council being met to debate upon the affair, cardinal Wolsey speaking first, made a long speech full of resentment against France, labouring to demonstrate how much it was for the interest of England to oppose her growing power ^f. The bishop of Durham and all the new counsellors strenuously supported the cardinal's opinion. But the old ones endeavoured to dissuade the king from breaking the peace lately concluded with France, since the new king had given him no cause, and advised him rather to turn his arms against Scotland. Henry, who was already prepossessed, took a middle way, insinuated, doubtless, by his minister: and that was, privately to assist the emperor and Francesco Sforza ^g. Whereupon, he sent orders to Pace ^h, his ambassador to Maximilian, to treat with them, and, to promote the treaty, returned him large sums of money ⁱ. Thus was he gradually engaged, without foreseeing that these secret proceedings must necessarily end in an open war, as Wolsey desired.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 520 — 528.

Guicciard. Embassy of Francis Sforza to Henry. Herbert. Pol. Virg.

Henry calls a great council upon it. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

Henry resolves to aid the emperor privately. Pol. Virg. Stow. Hollingsh.

^f He likewise alledged, that Francis had broken the treaty by favouring Richard de la Pole, brother of the late duke of Suffolk, a fugitive and traitor; in assisting those Scots which opposed his sister queen Margaret. Besides that, Francis with-held some goods and jewels of queen Mary. Lastly, he said, France might be hindered from growing more powerful, without effusion of English blood, only by privately assisting Maximilian. Herbert, p. 24. Pol. Virg.

^g The lord Herbert says, the king,

after the debate was over, being inclined to the cardinal, said, he would hinder the designs of Francis without coming yet to an open rupture, p. 25.

^h Late servant to cardinal Barnbridge, who wrote the letter mentioned before, concerning Silvester's having a hand in poisoning his master.

ⁱ They were put into the hands of some Genoa merchants, who breaking, a great part of the money was lost. Hall, fol. 59.

1515.

There is in the collection of the publick acts, a paper, shewing that the cardinal did not forget himself in his negotiations. It is a promise from the duke of Milan's secretary, who, by virtue of an exprefs power from the duke his master, engaged to pay the cardinal a yearly pension of ten thousand ducats, to commence from the day of his master's restoration. It is true, this paper being neither dated nor signed, may be considered only as a draught of the contract; but it is however a proof of the cardinal's selfish temper.

The duke of Milan's promise to Wolsey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 525. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

The emperor's embassy to Henry. Hall. Stow.

The emperor no sooner heard that Henry was inclined to assist him against France, than he dispatched to England, Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, to negotiate a league with him. This is the same prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the Switzers to give battle to Francis I.

Parliament meets. Herbert.

The parliament met again the 12th of November. But as it was not yet time to lay before the houses the king's resolution with regard to France, there was no mention of war, or any foreign affair. The clergy in a synod held at the same time, returned an answer to the pope concerning his demand of an extraordinary subsidy, on pretence of an apparent war with the Turks. They alledged, that they were so exhausted by the late war with France, undertaken at the instance of Julius II. for the defence of the church, that they were not in condition to grant a new subsidy: that besides, by a decree of the council of Constance, the pope could lay no imposition on the clergy without the consent of a general council.

The clergy refuse the pope a subsidy. Hall.

Cardinal Wolfey's pride. Herbert. Hall. Pol. Virg.

Whilst the English were thus endeavouring to screen themselves from the oppressions of the court of Rome, they beheld one rising in their own body, like a new pope, whom they foresaw, it would be more difficult to resist than him at Rome, because he was supported by the king: I mean Wolfey. Since that prelate was promoted to the cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. He never stirred without a prince's retinue, always attended by a crowd of domesticks, causing the cardinal's hat to be carried before him like a sort of trophy, and to be placed on the altar when he went to the king's chapel^k. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk in his

^k He is said by Cavendish, to keep eight hundred servants, among whom were nine or ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty squires. The hat was borne by some principal person before him on a great height. He had besides, his

serjeant at arms and mace, and two gentlemen, carrying two pillars of silver, besides his cross bearer. Herbert, p. 24. Pol. Virg. See Stow, p. 501. Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 21.

vestments, and used gold in his saddles. In a word, he devised all sorts of ways to distinguish himself. Every one took such offence at his pride, that it was incessantly talked of with indignation. But no man durst open his mouth before the king, since the old bishop of Winchester for only glancing upon it, was so ill received, that shortly after he withdrew to his diocese. The archbishop of Canterbury was no less offended than the rest, to see the archbishop of York affect thus so great a distinction. But what gave him most offence was, to see the cross of York carried before the cardinal, though he was in the province of Canterbury. I have spoken elsewhere of this contest between the two archbishops, which after having caused violent quarrels, could not be decided but by the king's express commands to the archbishops of York, not to have the cross carried before them in the other province. But Wolsey, who thought himself much above his predecessors, prepared to revive the contest in contempt of these prohibitions. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, easily perceived, that though he should attempt to hinder it, he should not succeed, because Wolsey had an absolute sway over the king. So, not to have continually this object before his eyes, he desired the king's leave to resign the chancellorship, and retire to his palace. His request was immediately granted, and the same day the king gave the seals to cardinal Wolsey. In all appearance, he had created Warham so many mortifications only to oblige him to quit his office, with which he desired to be invested himself. To support the splendour of his dignity with more state than any other before him, the king loaded him every day with fresh favours, prebends, wardships, and the like, which continually increased his revenues. Besides the archbishoprick of York and the chancellorship, he had in farm upon easy terms the bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford¹, held by Italians residing at Rome. But this was not sufficient to satisfy him. I must now, before I close the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland, the knowledge whereof is requisite for the better understanding the events related hereafter.

¹ The bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, the incumbents whereof, Adrian de Corneto, Silvester Gyles, &c. being strangers, who had been sent here upon legations, king Henry VII. a frugal prince, chose rather to reward them upon their return with preferments that cost him no

thing, than to impair his treasure by making them presents in money. And now living abroad, to save the charge of agents, and trouble of making returns by them, were willing to let the cardinal have the revenues at easy rates, with the disposal of the ecclesiastical preferments annexed to them.

John

1515.

He is made
lord chan-
cellor.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 529.
Dec. 22.
The king
loads him
with favours.
P. 507, 530.
Hall.
Herbert.

1515.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

John duke of Albany, who had been declared regent in 1513, arrived not in Scotland till May 1515. He found the kingdom full of factions and divisions, which made him sensible, the administration committed to him would prove very troublesome. But what gave him most uneasiness was, that the king of England was but too much concerned in what passed in Scotland, and fomented these dissensions to the utmost of his power. Under colour that Scotland had been sometime without a regent, Henry VIII. as uncle of the young king, had taken the title of protector of Scotland, and by virtue thereof his ambassadors at Rome demanded of the pope the ecclesiastical preferments of that kingdom, which he bestowed on his creatures. But as soon as the duke of Albany was arrived, he writ to to the pope in the young king's name, sharply complaining of the king of England's incroachments, and the court of Rome's condescension. He even threatened the pope in his letter not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatsoever, if this grievance were not speedily redressed ^m.

Ast. Pub.
XIII. p. 513.
July 3.

Buchanan.

The duke of Albany, though of Scotch extraction, was a stranger to Scotland ⁿ, from whence the duke his father had retired in 1483. As he desired in the beginning of his regency to be informed of the state of the kingdom, he unhappily applied to Hepburne bishop of Murray, a hot and revengeful man, who took this occasion to be revenged on his enemies. The bishop, being prior of St. Andrew's, had been elected archbishop of that church in the beginning of the present reign. But he was forced to resign the archbishoprick to Forman bishop of Murray, who was armed with the pope's bull. However, Forman would never have ventured to use the bull, had he not been supported by Alexander Hume a potent lord before-mentioned. By his credit and authority, Forman was installed in St. Andrews, having resigned the bishoprick of Murray to Hepburne, and promised to pay him a certain pension. Hepburne finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the regent such a character of Hume, that when he came to court he was looked upon with a very ill eye. Hume being naturally very proud and haughty, resolving to let the regent see no man should slight him with impunity, went over to the queen

^m He also writ to the king of France, desiring to be included in the treaty concluded at London, April 5, 1515. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 508, 511.

ⁿ He was born in the time of his father's banishment, and such a stranger, that he could not speak the country language. Herbert, p. 26.

dowager, and persuading her that the king her son was in danger, advised her to carry him into England. The regent hearing of this plot, suddenly went to Sterling castle and secured the young king's person. But to hinder his enemies from putting an ill construction on this action, he renewed his oath of allegiance to the king, and committed the care of his education to three persons of great credit.

Alexander Hume and his brother William seeing their plot was discovered, fled immediately into England, and were quickly followed by the queen and her spouse the earl of Angus. Whereupon, the regent sent ambassadors to Henry to justify his conduct, and at the same time so artfully treated with the fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into Scotland. But the queen being big with child was forced to stay at Harbottle castle in Northumberland, where she was delivered of a daughter called Margaret *p.* The sequel of this affair shall be related in another place.

The death of king Ferdinand *q* in February 1516, broke the measures taken by cardinal Wolsey to engage all Europe in a war with France. Thus, notwithstanding the cardinal's projects, Henry was forced to remain in peace, because the interests of the rest of the princes were not agreeable to his, or rather to the passions of his minister. But though Europe was peaceable for some time, it will be however necessary to relate in each year of this peace, the situation of the affairs of the principal states, in order to shew the occasion of the following wars.

Nothing remarkable passed in England in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princess, whom the queen brought into the world the eighteenth of February, and called Mary *r*. Cardinal Wolsey, commonly called the cardinal of York, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, caused those who had managed the king's money to be called to a strict account. The most part however were spared. But those were severely punished who had not the address to make the minister their friend *s*.

After

q October 7.

p Her-husband, the earl of Angus, left her, and returned into Scotland. She staid about a year in England. Hall, fol. 58.

q In the sixty third year of his age. He left the stile of catholick to his successors. Though he had vast possessions, was much enriched from the Indies, prosperous in almost all his at-

tempts, and of a frugal disposition, yet there was hardly found in his coffers money enough to discharge his interring, though not very sumptuous. Herbert, p. 26.

r She was born at Greenwich 1515-16.

s He so severely punished perjury, that in his time it was little practised: he also called to account persons guilty of

1515.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 531.

1516.

Ferdinand
king of
Arragon's
death.
Herbert.
Hall.

Birth of
Mary,
Henry's
daughter.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

1516:

Charles of
Austria suc-
ceeds Ferdi-
nand.
Mayern.
Mezerai.
Affairs of
Spain.

After Ferdinand's decease, the kingdom of Arragon came of course to Joanna his eldest daughter, already queen of Castile. But that princess was incapable of governing her dominions by reason of her defect of understanding, which had obliged the king her father to keep her confined. So the administration of these two kingdoms with all their dependencies could not be disputed with Charles of Austria, Joanna's eldest son, and sovereign of the Low-Countries: But as that prince lived in Flanders, Ferdinand had left by his will the regency of Arragon to Alphonso his natural son bishop of Saragossa, and that of Castile to cardinal Ximenes, till Charles should come himself and assume the government. Mean while, when Ximenes would have taken possession of the regency of Castile, Adrian Florentio doctor in divinity, who managed the prince of Austria's affairs in Spain, produced letters patents from his master, constituting him regent of that kingdom. But Ximenes refused to acknowledge him as such, pretending that Charles had not power to appoint a regent before he was received for governor. The contest was however adjusted by this expedient, that the orders should be signed by both. But the cardinal left the doctor the bare name of regent only, and discharged all the functions himself. Mean while, Charles took the title of king of Castile, with the consent of the states of that realm. But the Arragonians, more jealous of their privileges than the Castilians, refused to give him the title of king of Arragon, whilst his mother Joanna was alive. Nay, there was a party in the kingdom who maintained, that Joanna herself could not pretend to the crown of Arragon, because the daughters were excluded by the laws of the realm, and therefore Charles could not derive from his mother a right she never had. But others affirmed, that the exclusion of the females extended not to their male heirs. This was much the same case as happened formerly in France, in the dispute between Edward III. and Philip of Valois. I shall enter no farther into the affairs of Spain. What I have said is sufficient to show the necessity Charles was under of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him to engage in a war against France, in the beginning of so unsettled a reign. Accordingly, he neglected nothing to renew the treaties of peace and alliance as well with France as

of riots, vexing, oppression, and the like; and erected four under courts to hear complaints by bill of poer people: whereof the first was kept in Whitehall; the second before dr. Stokelly,

the king's almoner; the third in the lord treasurer's chamber; and the fourth at the rolls. Hall, fol. 59r. Hollinghead, p. 838.

England,

England, but with liberty to take other measures when his affairs should be in another situation. Just before the king of Arragon's death, he had as sovereign of the Low Countries renewed the alliance with England, by a new treaty concluded at Bruffels the 24th of February this year^t. About a month after, Henry, who was contriving to form a league against France, ordered his ambassador to treat with Charles upon that head. But Ferdinand's death so changed the face of affairs, that Henry was forced to be satisfied with a bare defensive league, which I shall presently mention, having first related the success of an expedition made by the emperor into Italy.

1516.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 533
—545.
p. 545.

It was not without reason that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by cardinal Wolsey of making war upon France. There was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his conquests in the state of Venice, since Francis I. was become master of the Milanese, and had joined forces with the Venetians. Besides, he could expect no farther assistance from the pope, who had lately agreed with Francis. As for the Spanish army which was retired to Naples, it was not easy to cause them to return, since they were necessarily to march through the ecclesiastical state. On the other hand, king Ferdinand's death had changed the posture of affairs, and quite destroyed the emperor's hopes. So far was the new king of Castile from having any thoughts of a war with France, that it highly concerned him to keep peace with that kingdom, in order to have time to settle his affairs in Spain. Thus the emperor, contrary to his usual method, was forced to act alone during this year, in the expectation of so embroiling affairs, that other potentates should at length be constrained to join with him. He had already received some of the king of England's money, and cardinal Wolsey put him in hopes of still larger sums. With this aid, he assembled an army of about twenty thousand men, Germans and Switzers, and in march entered the state of Venice, whilst the Venetians, assisted by a body of French troops commanded by Lautrec, were besieging Brescia. Upon his approach, the French and Venetians raised the siege, and after making a show of opposing his passages of the rivers, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Thus the emperor approached Milan without much difficulty.

The emperor's expedition against Milan. Guicciard, Mezerai. Pol. Virg. Herbert.

^t The English commissioners were doctors of law. Rymer, tom. XIII. Cuthbert Tunstall, and William Knyght, p. 533.

1516.

The French were in so great consternation that they were like to abandon both the city and duchy, and retire into France. If the emperor had made all the haste he could, he would doubtless have forced them to execute that resolution. But having spent two or three days to no purpose, by the time he came before Milan the French had received news, that ten thousand Switzers of the Cantons in alliance with France were coming to their assistance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of the ten thousand Switzers at Milan threw both sides into an equal consternation. The French, who considered these troops as a sure aid, were struck with astonishment when they heard that they absolutely refused to fight against the Switzers in the emperor's army. These, on their part, demanded their pay with such boldness, that Maximilian was afraid, it was a pretence not to join battle with their countrymen newly arrived at Milan. He had no money for them, and was apprehensive the French had but too much to corrupt them. So, when it was least expected, he suddenly retired, after which, having no money to pay them, the army disbanded of themselves.

The emperor makes as if he would resign the empire to Henry. Herbert.

Having thus missed his aim, the emperor was forced upon new trials to engage the pope, the king of England, the young king of Castile his grandson, in a league against France. But this project was not easy to be executed. The pope had his private views, which suffered him not to break openly with Francis. Charles's council were better advised than to agree that their master should engage to gratify his grandfather's passion at a time when he was necessarily obliged to go into Spain, and take possession of his kingdoms. Thus the emperor's whole refuge lay in the assistance he could expect from England. But as there was no likelihood, that Henry would undertake a war of which he was to bear all the expence, Maximilian bethought himself of a device to preserve his good disposition towards him, or at least to draw money from him, and that was, to declare to Robert Wingfield the English ambassador at his court, that he was tired with the burden of the empire, and having a particular esteem for the king his master, intended to resign it to him. For that purpose, he charged him to write to the king, that if he would come to the Triers, he would call a diet and settle that grand affair, after which, he offered to wait upon him to Rome, to see him receive the imperial crown. Moreover, he put him in hopes, he would resign to him his right to the duchy of Milan, and assist him

to

to conquer it. Henry easily perceived Maximilian's aim in making such an offer, and therefore writ to his ambassador to thank the emperor for his good intention, desiring him to defer the execution of the project to a more convenient season, when the French should be expelled out of Italy. Mean while, in return for his good will, he sent him some money, excusing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a Genoa banker ^u.

Whilst the emperor was endeavouring to imbroil the French affairs, Francis was forming new projects. He had good reason to be pleased with his glorious campaign, which in a short time had regained him the duchy of Milan. Mean while, Ferdinand's death inspiring him with fresh hopes, he formed the design of seizing the kingdom of Naples, imagining, the new king of Spain would be unable to defend it, before he was thoroughly settled in his kingdoms. Besides, he believed he had so attached the pope to his interests by the treaty of Bologna, that he did not doubt to find in him all the assistance necessary to his undertaking, looking upon him as his best friend. But he did not know Leo X. That pontiff did by no means desire, the French should become more powerful in Italy, and if he testified to the king that he was in his interests, it was only to prevent his opposing the projects he had himself formed in favour of his own house. The emperor's invasion of the Milanese this year interrupted the execution of Francis's design upon Naples, and what afterwards happened, caused him to lay aside all thoughts of it. However, his desire to conquer that kingdom occasioned a defensive league against him towards the end of the year, as will be related after a word or two more of the Italian affairs.

Leo X. was no sooner reconciled with Francis I. than he deprived upon a frivolous pretence the duke of Urbino of his duchy, and invested Lorenzo de Medici; who assumed from thenceforward the title of duke of Urbino, and the dispossessed duke retired to Mantua.

It was in order to accomplish this design, that the pope had flattered Francis with the hopes of assisting him in the conquest of Naples. But after he was become master of Urbino by that monarch's connivance, instead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the French out of the duchy of Milan. To that end, he held secret intelli-

Francis I. forms the project of invading Naples, but does not do it. Mezerai. Guicciard.

The pope dispossesses the duke of Urbino. Cimarelli. Guicciard.

He endeavours to drive the French out of Italy.

^u The empire was then so bare of money, that Maximilian was nick named Pochi Denari, i. e. Few Pence. Herbert, p. 25.

1516.

Francis tries
in vain to
gain him.

Treaty of
Noyon be-
tween
Francis and
Charles.
Mezerai.
Herbert.
Du Bellai.
Guicciard.

Interests of
the princes.

gence with the emperor, the king of England, and the new king of Spain, and used his utmost endeavours, by the help of his emissaries, to persuade the Switzers to break their alliance with France. Though he acted with all possible precaution, he could not treat so privately but that his secret practices came to the king's knowledge, who pretended however to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the pope in reality to his interest, otherwise he was sensible his attempt upon Naples would never succeed. Leo X. desired nothing more than to amuse him, whilst he was secretly acting against him. But at length, Francis perceiving his insincerity, dropped all thoughts of the conquest of Naples, and resolved to treat with the king of Spain, who in the present situation of his affairs, could not but wish to live in a good understanding with him. Thus the two kings being equally inclined to a peace, sent their plenipotentiaries to Noyon to conclude it. The treaty was signed the 26th of August, the substance whereof was, That Charles should espouse Louisa, Francis's daughter, then about a year old. That he should have with her the king of France's pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and till the marriage should be consummated, he ^w should give for the young princess's maintenance a hundred thousand crowns a year. That within six months he should resign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret son of John d'Albret, and Catherine, king and queen of Navarre, who were dispossessed by Ferdinand, and in case Charles should not perform this article, Francis should be allowed to assist the king of Navarre. Lastly, That the emperor should restore Verona to the Venetians, who in return should pay him two hundred thousand crowns, and give him a full discharge for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns lent him by king Lewis XII. to maintain the war against Venice. It is very visible, that in a treaty so advantageous to France, Charles meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could desire, for fear of being hindered from going to take possession of his kingdoms. Accordingly, the treaty was afterwards very ill observed.

The peace of Noyon was directly contrary to the designs of the pope, the emperor and the king of England. The pope was extremely desirous the French should be expelled out of Italy. Maximilian was wholly intent upon raising enemies to Francis, to hinder his assisting the Ve-

^w That is Charles.

netians. He saw, he must resolve either to ratify the treaty of Noyon, and consequently restore Verona, or defend his conquest without the assistance of any ally. To avoid both these extremes, he tried all possible ways to embroil affairs and kindle a new war which might occasion a league against France. He hoped thereby to be able to reject without danger the treaty of Noyon, which he believed very prejudicial to his interests. It is true, the restitution of Verona would be worth to him five hundred thousand crowns. But out of that sum were deducted the three hundred thousand, he owed the king of France, but never intended to pay him. So for the sum of two hundred thousand crowns, he was bound to restore Verona, that is to say, he was to be shut out of Italy, the only thing that made him considerable in the present situation of the affairs of Europe. Henry VIII. was no less desirous of a war with France, being prompted thereto by cardinal Wolsey, or by his jealousy of Francis. But it was not the same with the archduke, to whom a peace for some time was very advantageous.

This was the subject of the several negotiations, set on foot from the conclusion of the treaty of Noyon to the end of October. The chief aim of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, was to disengage the eight Swiss Cantons in alliance with France, from the interest of that crown, that their troops might serve to invade the Milanese. Mean while, they were labouring to form a league, wherein they passionately desired to engage the new king of Spain. But all they could obtain was, his consent to a defensive league, in case Francis attacked any of the confederates. Leo X. according to his usual custom, would not openly declare himself, but intimated, he would freely join in the league when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the Switzers, it was resolved to include them, though they desired it not, upon the hopes of engaging them by means of some of their nation, who had been gained.

This league was therefore concluded at London the 29th of October, about two months after the treaty of Noyon. It ran, that the emperor, the kings of England and Spain, engaged to defend one another against any prince that should attack one of the three, and the number of troops, each was to find, was settled *. That all princes, potentates, republicks, and states, which desired to enter

Negotiations
against
France,
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 547.

which end
only in a de-
fensive
league,
Ib. p. 556.

Articles of
the league of
London,
Ibid.

* Each of them was to find, upon twenty thousand foot. Rymer, tom. occasion, five thousand horse, and XIII. p. 558.

1516.

into the league, should be admitted: that as the confederates had reason to hope the pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the league. Finally, that all the Swiss Cantons should be deemed included in the league, provided they ratified it, and to that end the pensions, which should be agreed upon with them, should be assigned them. By a private article, signed two days after, it was agreed what each of the allies was to pay towards the pensions, which should be distributed to the Switzers, as well to the publick as to private persons ^y, (which are the very words) in order to induce them to come into the league. This shews there was no certainty of gaining them, and that the chief reliance was upon the cabals of some private persons of their nation.

p. 569.

The emperor
makes peace
with Venice.

To this league, so inconsiderable in itself, tended all the motions of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, during the course of this year. The emperor had been in hopes of something more; and though by the treaty the allies were, in some measure, bound to assist him, if the king of France continued to aid the Venetians, he soon dis-relished a league which procured him no money. Before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the treaty of Noyon. At the same time, he concluded with the Venetians a truce for some months, and with one consent they put the rest of their differences to arbitration. The emperor's resolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as will be seen the next year. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that presently after the league was signed, Henry sent Richard Pace to the Switzers, to persuade them to come into the league; but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, the emperor resolving to make peace with the Venetians, agreed, that the five Cantons who had refused to join with France should come into the treaty made by the other eight with that crown.

A& Pub.
XIII. p. 570.

Affairs of
Scotland.

Before I end the occurrences of the year 1516, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed in Scotland. Henry having formed great projects against France, and knowing how much the duke of Albany had at heart the good of that kingdom, resolved to compel the Scots to remove him from the regency. To that purpose, he desired them to send ambassadors, to whom he might impart certain matters advantageous to both kingdoms. This negotiation tended only to press the great men of Scotland

Ib. p. 549,
566.

^y — In publico ac privato & particulari—Ibid. p. 569.

to expel the duke of Albany. He even writ to the parliament of Scotland, that the best way to preserve peace between the two nations, was to send back the regent into France, under colour that it was dangerous to trust the presumptive heir to the crown, with the guardianship of the young king; intimating withal, that in case of refusal, he should be obliged to take care himself by proper methods, of the safety of the king his nephew. He also gave to understand, that he claimed the regency as uncle to the young king. But the parliament returned such an answer, as fully convinced him, the Scots were by no means inclined to comply with his will ^z.

1516.
Henry tries to have the duke of Albany removed. Ib. p. 550.

Ib. p. 550.

Whether Hume was concerned in the king of England's proceedings, or was only suspected, the parliament summoned him to come and answer to the accusations against him. Hume not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon the sentence as unjust, and in revenge committed hostilities upon some of his enemies. Whereupon the parliament granted to the viceroy, a levy of ten thousand men to chastise the rebel. But his friends advising him to submit, he cast himself upon the regent's mercy, who sent him to Edinburgh, and committed him to the custody of James Hamilton ^a his brother-in-law. Shortly after, Hume persuaded the lord Hamilton to escape with him, and claim the regency, as son of James the third's sister ^b, and consequently as nearly related to the king as the duke of Albany. He said, if the duke could alledge, he was descended from the male line, it might be objected, he was son of a fugitive, born out of the kingdom, and hardly able to speak the country language. The regent hearing of their flight and contrivance, marched against Hamilton castle and took it in a few days. Then Hume perceiving it was time to throw off the mask, raised troops, and taking Dunbar, utterly destroyed the town.

Hume's rebellion. Buchanan.

^z They told him, "The hall three estatis of the realme, had elestit and nemmit, with ane consent, the duc of Albany protector to their souvereane lord the king and his realme; quhilkis ordinans and electionn was affermit and approbate in parliament nevir impugnit be person. — And this ordinains of parliament was conforme to imperiall, cannon, and their awin civile lawis: be quhilkis lawis is decernit that the nerrest and lauthful personage of the agnatis side sall have the cure, tutoury, and

"governance, &c." See Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 550, 551.

^a Earl of Arran, Buchanan. He was created so August 10, 1503.

^b His mother was Mary, daughter of James II, wife first of Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, but divorced from him, and married next, in 1474, to James Hamilton, a favourite, from whom the dukes of Hamilton are descended. Others say, that he married her after Boyd's death. See Anderson's Tab.

1516.

Truce between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XIII p. 574, 578.

prolonged. P. 577.

The council of Lateran sets about reforming the calendar.

p. 552. July 10.

1517.

The emperor restores Verona to the Venetians, and prolongs the truce for five years. Guicciard.

Mean while, the ambassadors sent by the regent into England in May, had concluded a truce the first of June. But as Henry had granted the truce only to promote the execution of his designs; he appeared little inclined to observe it; after receiving the forementioned answer. But to avoid a war which must have been fatal to Scotland, the regent sent him by Francis de la Fayette, certain articles desiring his approbation, for which he offered to come in person and pay him his respects. At that time the affairs of the rest of Europe having, as hath been said, taken a new turn, Henry agreed to prolong the truce to the end of the year 1517.

These are the most considerable events which passed in the several states of Europe during the year 1516. I shall only add a word concerning the council of Lateran, which still continued its sessions without having much to do. As the council meddled neither with the reformation of the church, though they seemed to be called for that very purpose, nor with the extirpation of heresy, they resolved, in order to keep themselves employed, to reform the calendar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the pope causing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the christian princes, inviting them to send their best astronomers to Rome, or at least to order them to examine what had been proposed upon that subject. We find in the collection of the publick acts, the brief addressed to Henry VIII. where the pope says he had adjourned the next session to December to give the mathematicians time to send in their opinions.

The emperor having ratified the treaty of Noyon, as far as it concerned him, restored Verona to the Venetians, the 15th of January 1517, having received two hundred thousand crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the king of France. Moreover, to give the arbitrators time to adjust the differences he still had with Venice, he agreed that the truce should be prolonged for five years, but on condition that, during the truce, the Venetians should pay him yearly twenty thousand crowns. It was almost impossible to make a treaty with him, and money not accrue to him from it. Thus ended at length a war which may be deemed a consequence of the league of Cambray. The Venetians were engaged in it from the beginning to the end, and expended no less than five millions of ducats of the publick treasure, besides the infinite damages sustained by the subjects.

Maximilian,

Maximilian having thus desisted from his designs upon Italy, went into the Low Countries to see his grandson Charles before he departed for Spain. During his stay there, he concluded with him and the king of France a league against the Turks, wherein a place was reserved for the king of England. The pope and the council of Lateran earnestly pressed all the princes of Christendom to join in the league, on pretence of the progress the Turks were making in Egypt against the Mamalucks, after which, he pretended, their design was to attack the christians. But what followed shewed the pope's sole view was to heap up money for his own use, and to enrich his family.

1517. He concludes with Francis and Charles a league against the Turks. Herbert. Leo X. excites the christian princes to war upon the Turks. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 473. Jan. Guicciard,

Mean while, Charles the new king of Spain thought only of speedily going to take possession of his kingdoms. He had just made with Francis I. a peace so advantageous to France, that he did not fear that prince would break it, because it would not be for his interest. So, when the English ambassador pressed him to ratify the London league, he deferred it some time on divers pretences, because deeming it needless, he was afraid of offending the king of France. He ratified it however after some alterations, and at length in August departed for Spain, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Upon his arrival, he dismissed cardinal Ximenes, who died with grief. After that, he so gave himself up to the Flemings, whom he had brought with him, that the Spaniards conceived such a jealousy as carried them afterwards to great extremities.

Charles ratifies the league of London. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 571. He arrives in Spain, and dismisses Ximenes.

The pope, as I have observed, continually amused Francis with the hopes of a strict alliance with him, at the very time he was raising him enemies on all sides. Francis was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all. So, in expectation of really attaching him in the end to his interests, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his best friend,

The pope and Francis dissemble their thoughts of one another.

c The word mamaluck signifies in Syriac, a hired soldier. Jovius says, they were Circassian slaves, sold by the Tartars, and Podolians, to the merchants, and being trained up at Cairo, in military exercises, were picked out for the Soldan's guard, and preferred to the highest posts, who in 1255, resolved to obtain the kingdom of Egypt for themselves. The government was elective, and the son could claim no inheritance but his father's personal estate. Every Mamaluck, whose num-

ber in all was about sixteen or eighteen thousand, had a vote in the election, and required a gold ducat of the Soldan, as soon as chosen. There were in all of this race sixteen kings, from the year before mentioned, to the present year 1517, when Tonombeius II. their last king, was conquered in the first year of his reign, by Selimus I. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkish empire, as it still continues. Heylin, &c. Guicciard,

1517.

when he most suspected him. But as the pope knew in his conscience, he had not deserved Francis's friendship, he could not believe his advances sincere. Mean while, it was for his interest that Francis should publickly appear to be his friend, and therefore he kept very fair with him, and not without cause. In the beginning of the year 1517, la Rovere, who had been dispossessed of the duchy of Urbino, prepared to recover his dominions. When by the truce concluded between the emperor and the Venetians, the Spanish troops in the state of Venice were become useles, la Rovere found means to gain and employ them in his service. With these supplies he took Urbino, and carried terror into Tuscany and the ecclesiastical state. Lorenzo de Medici, the new duke of Urbino, or rather the pope his uncle, being then unable to recover that duchy, he was forced to have recourse to the assistance of the christian princes, under colour that the church was grievously oppressed, the interests of the house of the Medici being then the same with those of the church. Francis I. who had the gaining of the pope ever in view, made use of this opportunity to do him a signal service, in sending him a good body of troops, under the command of Lescun brother of Lautrec. This war however lasted seven or eight months, during which the pope never ceased to press all the christian princes to contribute to the charges of a war, which, according to him, ought to have affected all the world. Henry VIII. being sollicitated like the rest, refused to interpose. But the pope found means to engage his subjects, by levying a tenth upon the clergy, of which cardinal Wolsey was appointed collector. The War of Urbino ended in a way la Rovere did not expect. The pope bribed the Spaniards in his service, who came to an agreement for him, which he was obliged to accept. Thus being once more constrained to relinquish his dominions, he retired to Mantua.

Whilst the pope was employed in the war of Urbino, he discovered a plot against his person, contrived by the cardinal of Sienna, who had bribed a surgeon to poison him. The cardinal being absent from Rome when the discovery was made, the pope, who passionately desired to have him in his power, scrupled not to use fraud to compass his ends. He sent him a safe conduct, and moreover, promised the Spanish ambassador that he would do him no hurt. The cardinal being so weak as to come to Rome upon the faith of the safe conduct, was immediately confined in the castle of St. Angelo, and afterwards strangled in prison. The Spanish

La Rovere gets possession of Urbino. Guicciard,

Francis I. aids the pope. Mezerai,

The pope levies a tenth upon the clergy. Act Pub. XIII. p. 592. June 10. P. 596, 598. La Rovere is driven from Urbino. Conspiracy against the pope. P. 589. Guicciard.

nish ambassador complained of this breach of faith, but was told by the pope, a safe conduct was never reckoned to extend to high treason, without express mention of the case. Some other cardinals accused or suspected of being concerned in the plot, were deposed, imprisoned, or severely fined.

Francis I. never ceased courting the pope to gain his friendship, fearing that by his secret practices he would rekindle the war, to deprive him of Milan. He imagined to have found at last an infallible means to attach him to his interests, in procuring Lorenzo de Medici a very advantageous marriage, with Magdalen heiress of the house of Boulogne. This proposal was gladly accepted, and Lorenzo repairing to Paris for that purpose, stood godfather in the pope's name, to the French dauphin, born the beginning of this year. In acknowledgment for the king's favour to Lorenzo, the pope granted him tenths upon the clergy, under colour of the war to be waged with the Turks. But he took care to assign fifty thousand livres for the charges of the wedding, which was to be solemnized at Paris.

Marriage of Lorenzo de Medici with the heiress of Boulogne. Guicciard.

The pretended war Christendom was to undertake against the Turks, seemed to the pope to be a fair opportunity to enrich himself by the contributions of the christians. To that end, he granted plenary indulgences to all that would contribute, and caused them to be publickly sold at so moderate a price, that a man must have been very careless of his salvation not to purchase them. But it was this that made the pope expect to reap an immense profit, for probably, there would not be a christian without them. Mean while, that the money arising from the sale might be regularly collected, all christendom was parted into so many divisions, and in each were appointed collectors to receive the money, and preachers to extol the benefit of indulgences ^d. But,

Sale of indulgences on pretence of the war with the Turks. Guicciard. Sleidan.

^d It had been still taught and believed for a good while, that the pope, out of the inexhaustible treasure of the church, arising from the merits of Christ, and works of supererogation of the saints, had a power of distributing indulgences on certain conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate of sinners, for a plenary remission of sin, (as it is practised at this day in Portugal, &c.) These indulgences, are supposed at first to reach only to relaxation of penances or eccle-

siastical discipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the XIth century, was the first that granted a full remission of all sins, to those who should take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. Which custom was kept up by his successors, some of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to such persons who being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a souldier in their room. At length these spiritual favours were distributed to those who took the field against the enemies

1517.

by an accident, which at first seemed of no consequence, the archbishop of Mentz, who was commissioned to appoint the preachers in Germany, happened to assign Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in the former crusades, the Augustines had been employed in that office. The injury done to these last, roused their jealousy. They narrowly examined the behaviour of the preachers as well as collectors, ridiculed them, and afterwards publicly complained of them. At length, Martin Luther, an Augustine friar and professor in divinity in the new university of Wirtemberg, published some writings against them, not without satirical remarks upon the indulgences themselves. This boldness drew upon him enemies, who, by their opposition, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the grounds of those indulgences. In short, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the holy scriptures. From thenceforward, he used his utmost endeavours to undeceive the publick concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal power. Hence sprung the reformation which spread itself afterwards through Germany, and several other states of Europe.

Martin Luther begins to appear. Sleidan.

The pope continues to solicit a crusade.

The pope at first did not much regard Luther's representations. He never imagined that the papal power, which seemed to stand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a single friar. So despising this inconsiderable opposition, he continued without interruption to sell his indulgences. He every where published, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the infidels, and exhorted all christians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards so necessary a war, which would procure them, besides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of purgatory, provided they would qualify themselves for the indulgences. There was however one thing which very much cooled the zeal of many christians for the crusade. It was discovered that the pope had beforehand disposed, for his temporal concerns of the money which was to arise from the sale of the indulgences. For instance, he had assigned

enemies of holy church, or hereticks. Great sums were raised by this means, but seldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. Leo X. resolving to follow so good precedents, opened a general mart for indulgences, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the dead, whose souls, upon payment of so much money, were imme-

diately redeemed out of purgatory. People had likewise the liberty of eating eggs and white meats on fast days, and of choosing their confessor, and the like. Guicciardini says, that the powers for releasing souls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns. B. 13.

to Magdalen de Medici, his sister, wife to Francisco Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII. part of the money to be raised in Germany. Mean while, he continued his solicitations in all the states of Europe. He forgot not to write to Henry VIII. exhorting him to join his forces with those of the other christian princes, and to excite him to this good work, by great commendations of his constant zeal for the defence of the holy see, and the exaltation of the faith. All these encomiums ended in demanding two hundred thousand ducats for the pretended war against the infidels. But it does not appear, the king complied with his request. The Turks were then employed in Egypt and Persia, and the crusade was founded only upon a bare conjecture that after ending these wars, they would invade Christendom. A man must have wilfully shut his eyes, not to see, it was but a pretence to fill the pope's coffers. Besides, in the present situation of the affairs of Europe, Henry had no great occasion for the pope.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 592.

He demands
money of
Henry,
who denies
him.

Mean time, cardinal Wolfey perceiving, the league of London would come to nothing, because Francis was not disposed to commence a new war with any of the confederates, dreaded his using this time of peace to move the affair of the bishoprick of Tournay. On the other hand, he plainly saw by the time passed since that business had been put into the hands of the commissioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an absolute sway over the king his master. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the king but through his means, and for that reason all the princes studiously made their court to him, to gain him to their interests. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that Charles, king of Spain, assigned him this year an annual pension of three thousand livres, though he had yet received no services from him. And therefore it was for those he hoped to receive for the future. Mean while, Wolfey was uneasy about Tournay. As the pope and the king of France regarded him only for the sake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of losing that regard in case they should come not to want him. He began therefore privately to intimate to Francis I. that it would not be impossible to persuade Henry to restore Tournay for a sum which should be agreed upon, provided he himself was recompensed for the administration of the bishoprick. I shall relate the next year the success of this negotiation.

Wolfey is
uneasy about
the bishop-
rick of
Tournay.

ib. p. 591.

He begins to
treat with
Francis a-
bout restor-
ing that
place.

Henry enjoying this year great tranquillity, resolved to see what the emperor intended with respect to the resignation of the empire, which he had caused to be mentioned to him.

Maximilian

1517.

Negotiation of Henry with the emperor about the cession of the empire comes to nothing. Herbert.

Maximilian being in Flanders with the king of Castile, his grandson, Henry sent the bishop of Winchester, with doctor Cuthbert Tunstal, to renew the negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him in person. The emperor, who had never intended to resign the empire to him, and still less at that time, very civilly answered, that to save the king the trouble of crossing the sea, he would come himself and confer with him in England. But when the ambassadors pressed him upon the affair they were charged with, they found he sought only to evade his own offer. One while he said, he would resign the empire to Henry, but first would try to obtain of the diet, that himself and posterity might preserve the title of king of the Romans. Another while, he talked of making Charles his grandson emperor, Henry, king of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother to Charles, king of Austria, and himself only marshal of the empire. These variations convinced the ambassadors, nothing was to be expected from the negotiation, and acquainting the king therewith, he was satisfied Maximilian had no other design than to draw money from him.

Insurrection at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

There was this year an insurrection of the London apprentices against the foreign merchants, wherein some persons lost their lives. But it was appeased by the punishment of some of the seditious, who were hanged in the principal streets of the city ^e.

The sweating sickness. Hall. Stow.

This same year the sweating sickness made great ravages in the kingdom, and especially at London. Most of those that were seized with it, died within three hours, and no cure could be found. As this distemper was peculiar to England, it was called *fudor Anglicus*, or the English sweat ^f.

^e The chief author of this insurrection (which began April 21) was one John Lincoln, a broker. He drew up a paper full of complaints against the foreign merchants, which he got doctor Bele, a noted preacher, to read in his pulpit on Easter Tuesday; whereupon the mob assembled, and committed several outrages. The reader may see a full account of this insurrection in Hall, fol. 59—63. Hollingsh. p. 820, &c.

^f This distemper continued from July till the middle of December. Many knights, gentlemen, and officers of the

king's court died thereof, as the lord Clinton, lord Grey of Wilton, and of the common sort of people so many, as in some towns it swept away half, in others a third of the inhabitants. Hall, fol. 63. Herbert, p. 28.— There was also so great a drought this year, that it did not rain from the beginning of September, till the May following. And the frost was so hard in the winter, that horses and carts could pass over the Thames on the ice between Westminster and Lambeth. Stow, p. 505.

The affairs of Scotland were still in great disorder, by reason of the factions in the kingdom. Alexander Hume, and his brother William, after several pardons, were at last beheaded ^z. After the death of the two brothers, the duke of Albany, hoping Scotland would be in perfect tranquillity, resolved to take a journey to France, promising to return in few months. But being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of Scotland fell into great confusion, because of the dissensions of the nobles, which were inflamed by those who designed to take advantage of them.

1517.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Pol. Virg.

Mean while, the pope earnestly pushed the affair of the pretended war, contriving with the ambassadors residing at his court, projects which would have required more zeal than princes usually have, as well as more union among them. To execute his designs, it was necessary to raise immense sums of money, and that was the secret intent of the league proposed by the pope, of which he was to be the head and director. To that end, he exhausted, if I may so say, the church's treasures, to encourage the faithful to exchange their perishing riches for everlasting advantages. This affair was carried so far, that he sent legates to all the courts, to excite the sovereigns to join their forces together, for the destruction of the infidels. There was not one but what outwardly showed an extreme desire to apply himself to so holy a work, provided he could be secured from being disturbed by his neighbours. But that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, because they had no confidence in one another. They had no more for the pope himself, who, since the beginning of his pontificate, had but too plainly discovered, that the concerns of religion were not what affected him most. So, in seeing him act with that zeal, they could not help suspecting, that the desire of enriching himself by the voluntary contributions of christians, by the sale of the indulgencies, by the tenths of the clergy, and by the bounties of the sovereigns, was what most fired his zeal. Nevertheless, not one of them showed any aversion to the design, lest he should be taxed with not having a due regard for religion. But they gave only words, whereas the pope wanted deeds. Hence the pope's project of an universal league had not, as will hereafter be seen, the success he expected. However, the project, though chimerical,

1518.

Leo X. sends
legates to
solicit the
crusade.
Guicciard.
Hollingsh.

^z On the 16th of October, 1516. Herbert, p. 27. The 11th, says Buchanan,

1518.

The project
of the cru-
sade is of
use to the
house of
Austria.
Mezerai,

served for a cloak to many other designs. The emperor, desiring to have one of his grandsons chosen king of the Romans, used the pretence of the imaginary Turkish invasion of Christendom, to show the necessity of continuing the imperial dignity in the house of Austria, there being no other in Germany, able by its own strength to withstand their arms. Charles king of Spain made use of the same pretence for the same purpose. Besides that, as he wanted some years of peace, he strenuously insisted upon the project of a general truce, that the christian princes might be free to unite their forces against the Turks. Francis I. plainly saw, by the defensive league made against him, that a pretence was only sought to invade him, and take away the duchy of Milan. So, a general truce could not but be advantageous to him in his present circumstances. Besides, he had in view the recovery of Tournay, which could not be accomplished but during a peace. Henry VIII. knowing that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, had joined in a league against the Turks, was apprehensive that league covered some design against him. For that reason, he would not refuse to enter into the same engagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus the chief potentates of Europe, being concerned to promote the crusade, or at least not to reject it, the lesser powers were also obliged to follow the torrent. This gave the pope great hopes he should at last effect his designs. But 'as in truth, not one of the princes thought the thing practicable, the project was still very far from being executed.

Negotiation
about Tour-
nay.
Herbert.
Stow.
Pol. Virg.

Whilst Leo X. fed himself with these hopes, Francis was thinking much more seriously of means to recover Tournay, than of the affairs of the crusade. On the other hand, cardinal Wolfey was afraid of losing the administration of the bishoprick, because he saw no likelihood of sowing discord between France and England, at a time when all the princes of Europe expressed a desire to live in peace. He could not therefore keep the administration, if Guillard, the true bishop, would take the oath to the king, to which he seemed inclined. This made him embrace the secret offers of Francis, to make him amends, if he could induce the king his master to restore that place to France. Francis was very sensible, that before all things the cardinal was to be satisfied, not only in order to recover Tournay, but to procure it as cheap as possible. This was the subject of a private negotiation between them, before Henry was informed of it. To succeed, Francis spared neither flatteries nor promises, nor presents,

presents. If Polydore Virgil may be credited, these presents were very considerable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the cardinal should be recompensed for the loss of the administration, with an annual pension. That the king of France should give Henry six hundred thousand crowns for Tournay. But as this sum was a little too large, an expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it to a much less. Upon these two conditions, the cardinal undertook to obtain his master's consent to the king of France's desires. One of less assurance than the cardinal, and not so secure of the king's confidence, would doubtless, have been greatly embarrassed, since the business was to convince the king of the contrary, to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to make him believe, namely, that Tournay was no longer necessary. When Francis I. would have treated of the restitution of Tournay, Wolfey had represented to the king, that both for his own and England's interest, it was of very great consequence to keep that place, which was moreover a perpetual monument of his victories, whilst it should be in his hands. Now altering his tone, he undertakes to persuade, and indeed does persuade him, that the place is of no use, and the maintenance of the garrison far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence. That it was better to yield it to the king of France, who earnestly sued for it, and, to obtain it, scrupled not to condescend to make presents to a minister. That nothing could be more honourable for the king, than to see that monarch make the first advances to procure his friendship, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Mary, which also he proposed. That therefore the present opportunity should be improved to receive a good sum of money in lieu of Tournay, which being so remote from Calais, would infallibly be lost upon the first rupture between the two crowns. That hereby the king of France would be obliged to be his friend, and their union would render them umpires of Europe. That this union was the more necessary, as it was time to think of opposing the growing power of the house of Austria, who possessing the empire, Spain, the Low Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, were infallibly going to render themselves very formidable to all the sovereigns. The strength of these reasons was too manifest for Henry to resist them. All he could think strange was, that the cardinal had not sooner proposed them, but till then had rather used arguments, to hinder the restitution of Tournay. But, as it has

been

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been remarked, Wolsey had such an ascendent over him, that he could persuade him pro and con as he pleased ^h.

Embassy of
France to
Henry.
Herbert.
Hall.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 608,
611.

Henry having agreed to what the cardinal proposed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As soon as Francis I. was informed of it, he sent a solemn embassy to England, consisting of admiral Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, and M. de Villeroy, secretary of state ¹. For form's sake, some time must be spent in the negotiation, though the king of France, and the cardinal, had already agreed upon the chief articles, by the mediation of Villeroy, who had been in London ever since the beginning of July, whereas his colleagues arrived not till two months after. The French ambassadors had full powers to treat of the renewing of friendship between the two kings, of a league with the pope and all christian princes who desired to be included in it, for the defence of religion and the church, of a marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter of Henry, of the restitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne, and of an interview of the two kings. Moreover, they brought Francis's letters patents, whereby he promised to pay to his good friend the cardinal of York, an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, in consideration of his relinquishing the administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. As the treaties concluded upon these articles were not ready till the beginning of October, I shall briefly mention another affair, transacted about the same time.

p. 611.

p. 613-616.

p. 616.

p. 610.

The pope was ever intent upon the affairs of the crusade, from whence he hoped to draw great sums. He writ last year to all christian princes, to notify the victory of Selim, emperor of the Turks, over the Mamalucks of Egypt, whose empire he had utterly destroyed. The beginning of this year, he caused the college of cardinals to send a letter to Henry, representing to him, the danger Christendom was in, after the victory by the Ottoman emperor, over the Soldan of Egypt, who, according to the best advices, was slain in battle. The cardinals exhorted the king to undertake the defence of religion jointly with all the other christian sovereigns,

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 603.

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^h Polydore Virgil observes, how artfully the cardinal managed this affair: he began with making the king a present of some part of what Francis had given him, that he might thereby incline the king to accept of the friendly overtures of the French king. Having thus prepared the way, he used the arguments above mentioned for the resti-

tution of Tournay. Whereupon the king said, he saw plainly now, Wolsey would govern both himself, and the king of France. Pol. Virg.

ⁱ And Francis de Rochecavard. With no less than twelve hundred persons in their train. Septemb. 30. Herbert, p. 31. Hall, fol. 65.

with

with the pope and sacred college, who were ready to sacrifice to that end, their own, as well as the church's treasure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the king ought to contribute largely towards the crusade, his country being too remote from Turkey to send forces thither.

Some time after, the pope sent legates a latere ^k to several courts ^l, with orders to exhort the sovereigns to accept and preserve a five years truce, enjoined by his apostolick power. They were likewise to use their endeavours to persuade them to unite all their forces, and make war upon the Turk. Cardinal Laurentius Campejus was appointed for England, and was already departed from Rome in the beginning of May, to go and execute his commission. But Wolfey deemed it a very great affront, that the pope had not thought of him for the legateship. So, whilst Campejus was on the road, he sent a trusty messenger to Rome, to represent to the pope, that by showing so little regard for a cardinal, actually in England, and the king's prime minister, he put it out of his power to do him any service: that whatever he should say to support what the pope required, would be of no weight, since he should be considered as one whom the court of Rome durst not trust with the legateship: that it was rather the pope's interest to make use of him to obtain his desires considering the confidence the king honoured him with, and that, without his assistance, the present affair would be in danger of miscarrying. Leo X. easily perceived by this representation that Wolfey must be contented. So by a bull of the 17th of May, he joined him with Campejus in the same commission ^m, giving them both an equal authority, knowing (says he in the bull directed to Wolfey) your great credit with the king, and how easily you can persuade or dissuade him. Mean while, Campejus arriving at Boulogne, Wolfey found means to detain him there till he had received the pope's answer. For which reason it was the 29th of July before the Italian legate made his entry into London. As

Campejus is sent as legate a latere to England. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606, 609. Hall.

Wolfey gets himself joined in the legateship. Stow. Hollingsh. Pol. Virg.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 606. May 31.

Campejus's entry into London. Hall.

^k There are four sorts of legates. 1. They whom the pope sends to preside at general councils. 2. The pope's perpetual vicars in countries remote from Rome; thus before the reformation, the archbishop of Canterbury was legatus natus apostolicæ sedis. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene synods for restoring church discipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of legate

is given to the pope's extraordinary ambassadors, to emperors and kings, who are called legati a latere. At present none but cardinals have this character.

^l To England, France, Spain, and Germany. Hall, fol. 64.

^m At the request of king Henry, and the king of France. Hollingsh. p. 842.

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he had but a very poor train, Wolfey sent him twelve mules with coffers richly covered. But some of these coffers happening to fall, during the procession, and being overturned and broken, were found to be emptyⁿ, to the great sport and laughter of the people, who derided this external pageantry. There is in the collection of the publick acts, a bull of Leo X. with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authorising them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both sexes, who should be present at the mass, which either of the legates should celebrate in the presence of the king and queen, or at least at the benediction, provided they confessed their sins, or desired to confess, and were penitent.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 609.

The legates
commission.

The legates commission consisted of two points. The first was, to try to obtain of the clergy an aid of money for the war against the Turk. But the clergy withstood all their attempts. The second was, to persuade Henry to join in the projected league with all the christian princes for the defence of religion and the church. The pope's design was not to undertake a war against the Turk, but only to heap up money on that pretence. Thus the league he was meditating was solely to make the world believe he really intended to war against the infidels. After which, he had a very plausible excuse to lay impositions upon all the clergy, and draw money from the sovereigns and their subjects, to bear the charges of the pretended war. With this league therefore he was to begin, and upon that the legates were commissioned to treat with the king, who seemed inclined to agree to it, though he might easily foresee the league would signify nothing.

Cardinal
Adrian de-
posed.

As cardinal Wolfey's credit increased in England, it became likewise greater at the court of Rome. He had caused, as was before observed, cardinal Adrian de Corneto to be removed from the office of the pope's collector in England. But this slight punishment not sufficing to satisfy his revenge, he had so ordered it, that the king writ to the pope, desiring him to deprive Adrian of the cardinalate, and of the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him. Leo X. could not help thinking it very strange, that the king should make such a request, without alledging any reason. However, without giving him a positive denial, he

ⁿ In Cheapside one of the mules broke loose from her leader, and overturning her own, and two or three of the other mules carriages; which fell with such violence, that several of them

unlocked, and there fell out of them, old hose, torn shoes, pieces of roasted meat, bits of bread, eggs, and such vile baggage. Hall, fol. 64.

contented himself with saying, he would give him satisfaction at a more proper season. In 1517, there was a conspiracy against the pope, wherein cardinal Adrian being concerned was committed to prison. Guicciardini affirms, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him °. But there is in the collection of the publick acts, a letter of cardinal Julius de Medici, dated the 5th of July 1518, notifying to the king, that in a consistory held that day, cardinal Adrian was deposed and stript of all his preferments, intimating withal to the king, that it was on his account. But it is more probable, he was punished for his crime against the pope. However, a few days after, the pope gave cardinal Wolsey the administration of the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, supposing he wanted it to maintain the dignity of cardinal.

The negotiation of the two cardinals proceeded very slowly, since it was not sufficient to incline Henry to the league, but the rest of the sovereigns were also to give their consent. Accordingly, the pope solicited to the utmost of his power all the potentates, magnifying the danger to which the christian religion was going to be infallibly exposed. In short, every prince returning him the same answer, namely, that it was necessary all the sovereigns should unite in the affair, he sent a bull to his legates in England, empowering them to conclude between the emperor and the kings of France and Spain a league against the Turk. His intent was, that the league should be offensive, else it would be of no advantage to him, unless the Turk really intended to invade Christendom, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But Leo was too well known for the princes to be thus taken in a snare which tended only to render the pope master of their own and their people's money. So, pretending zealously to enter into his project, they contented themselves with concluding together a defensive league for the protection of the pope, the holy see, and their respective dominions, against all invaders, and particularly against the emperor of the Turks ^{p.} The pope was declared head of the league, provided he ratified it within such a

1518.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 607.p. 609, 622,
623.Leo X.
wishes to
make an
offensive
league a-
gainst the
Turk.

p. 621.

° Polydore Virgil says, Adrian bequeathed a magnificent palace in Rome, to the king of England his patron, which was called the English palace, and is now possessed by the family of Colonna.

^p Lord Herbert says, this treaty is

singular in its kind, and an excellent precedent for peace to future ages; and therefore recites it more at large, because (as he says) it seems to have been the rule by which Henry framed his actions many years after. See p. 31, of the Comp. Hist. vol. II.

1518.

time. But, the treaty made no mention of what each of the allies was to furnish. All which shows, this league according to the intention of the parties, was only to cast a mist before people's eyes, to give the pope some satisfaction, and perhaps to frighten the Turks.

The pope
ratifies the
league.
Ib. p. 681--
691.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

This was not what the pope desired. He could have wished, all the princes of Christendom had joined together in an offensive league against the Turk, and engaged to send their forces to Constantinople, to attack the Ottoman emperor in his metropolis. In that case, he knew, the most remote would have been easily induced to furnish their quota in money. Since the frantick zeal for crusades was over, the popes had lost no opportunity to rekindle the same zeal, which had formerly procured so many advantages to their predecessors. But the people as well as the princes were entirely discouraged, because it was too visible that the crusades had been profitable to none but the popes. So, for once, the christian princes were contented to make a defensive league, to show only, they were ready to defend Christendom against the attacks of the infidels, deferring to take other measures till they should be obliged. Leo X. seeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the league the 31st of December, after which it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the Turks against the christians entirely vanished, as soon as the pope found, his artifices could not produce the desired effect.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 691.

Several
treaties
between
France and
England.

Whilst these things passed, cardinal Wolsey, jointly with the French ambassadors, was employed in preparing the treaties they had agreed upon, to be signed.

I. Treaty of
marriage
between the
dauphin and
Mary.
p. 624-641.

The first related to the marriage between the princess Mary and the dauphin, which was to be solemnized as soon as the young prince should be full fourteen years old, each of the two kings promising to pay five hundred thousand crowns, in case it was his fault that the marriage was not completed. Mary's dower was to be three hundred thirty three thousand crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been assigned to any queen of France, and particularly to Anne of Bretagne, and Mary of England, Wives to Lewis XII.

II. Treaty
about Tour-
nay.
p. 642.
Hall.

The second treaty was upon the restitution of Tournay, for which Francis I. engaged to pay Henry six hundred thousand crowns of thirty five pence Tournois each, besides fifty thousand

thousand livres Tournois due to him from the inhabitants ^d. But out of these two sums Francis was to keep back the princess Mary's dower. As to the payments, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand livres upon taking possession of the place, and then twenty-five thousand livres every six months, till the whole was paid ^r.

1518.

The third treaty concerned the outrages which might be committed for the future against the peace by the subjects of either king, and contained certain regulations to procure speedy reparation.

III. Treaty about outrages. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 649.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview in the village of Sandinfelt, between Ardres and Guifnes.

IV. Treaty about an interview. p. 679.

These treaties being signed the 14th of October, the French ambassadors gave cardinal Wolsey their master's letters patents, whereby he bound himself to pay him an annual pension of twelve thousand livres Tournois, to satisfy him for the loss of the bishoprick of Tournay.

Cardinal Wolsey is made amends. p. 611.

As soon as the two kings had ratified the treaties, and solemnly swore to the peace at London and Paris, the king and queen of France, acting in the name of the dauphin their son, affianced the princess Mary, represented by the earl of Worcester ^s her proxy. This ceremony was performed at Paris the 21st of December ^t.

Espousals of the dauphin with Mary. p. 666-678.

Europe enjoyed then a profound tranquillity. But upon the death of the emperor Maximilian ^u the 12th of January 1519, new troubles arose. By his death, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low Countries,

1519.

Death of the emperor. Guicciard, Herbert.

^q The whole was but fifty thousand, whereof part was paid. See Rymer, p. 642. Our historians say, the arrears that remained due, were twenty three thousand livres. Hall, fol. 65; and Stow, p. 507.

^r Tournay was delivered up to the king of France, on Febr. 8, 1519. Hall, fol. 67.

^s Rapin mistaking the name for the title, says Somerset.—He was accompanied in his embassy to France, by Nicolas West, bishop of Ely, the lord St. John, sir Nicolas Vaux, sir John Pechy, and sir Thomas Bulleyn. Hall, fol. 66.

^t This year was instituted the college of physicians, in London. King Henry's charter for that purpose bears date October 23. By the appointment,

in this corporation, or college, are included the physicians in London, and seven miles round that city. The physicians named in the charter, are, John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Ferdinand de Victoria, Nicolas Hallsewell, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 654.

^u He was king of the Romans, and called emperor, though never crowned by that title. Some say, the reason was, because he declined the charge and hazard of going into Italy, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands. He spent his leisure hours in poetry, writing the history of his life, in Dutch verse. As knight of the garter, his obsequy was solemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that order. Herbert, p. 34.

1519.

Francis and Charles aspire to the empire.
Mezerai.
Guicciard.

were engaged in wars no less fatal to them than the former. As soon as Maximilian was in his grave, the kings of France and Spain openly declared themselves candidates for the empire, and began to cabal among the electors to obtain their desires. This threw the electors into great perplexity. On which side soever they turned, they saw for themselves, for Germany, for all Europe, advantages and inconveniencies which deserved their whole attention. It would have been the interest of Germany to keep the ballance even between the two monarchs who aspired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both. But by choosing one of the competitors, such superiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all Europe, and particularly to Germany. I shall not farther insist upon the reasons which the electors had to choose one or reject both. It is well known, on these occasions, the publick good does not always serve for rule and foundation to form decisions of this nature. Leo X. wished, as it was indeed his interest, the electors would agree to choose one of their own body. Charles being possessed of the kingdom of Naples, and Francis of the duchy of Milan, the election of one of these monarchs could not but one day disturb the peace of Italy, and prove destructive to the papal power. Accordingly, the pope used his utmost endeavours to persuade the electors to take that course. But however, he was forced to act privately for fear of making the two candidates his enemies, by openly declaring against them.

The pope's Interests.

Death of Lorenzo de Medici.
Guicciard.

Whilst the resolution of the electors was impatiently expected, Lorenzo de Medici the pope's nephew was seized with a distemper that laid him in his grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the family of Medici was reduced to the person of the pope, sole lawful descendant of Cosmo the great, who first acquired the sovereignty of Florence. Some endeavours were used to persuade the pope to restore his country to liberty, but he did not love the Florentines well enough to suffer them to enjoy so valuable a blessing, of which he had taken so much pains to deprive them. Resolving therefore to keep that state, he sent cardinal Julius de Medici, natural son of Julian his uncle, to govern in his name. Shortly after, he annexed the duchy of Urbino to the church, and razed the walls of the capital, for fear La Rovere should think of recovering it.

The pope keeps Florence, and governs it by a legate.

He annexes the duchy of Urbino to the church.
The electors meet to choose an emperor.
Guicciard.

The electors being assembled to proceed to the election of an emperor, Francis and Charles sent ambassadors to the assembly to manage their concerns. The pope would have a nuntio there too, who had orders privately to endeavour to

cause

cause them both to be rejected, but however, to conform themselves outwardly to the disposition of the electors. Henry VIII. perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the candidates, sent Richard Pace to the diet to try whether there was any thing to be expected for him. But as he thought of it too late, his ambassador found the affair so advanced, that he did not think fit to expose the king's honour. He writ to him therefore, that indeed some of the electors ^w showed an inclination to favour him: that the pope would have likewise supported him to the utmost of his power, had he declared sooner; but that matters were so ordered, that the election would infallibly be over before proper measures could be taken to accomplish his project. And indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of June, Charles king of Spain was declared emperor by the name of Charles V. or rather of Charles Quint, as he was then, and still is called to this day ^x.

1519.
Pol. Virg.
Henry aspires to the empire.
Herbert.

Charles king of Spain is elected.

Guicciard.

The election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis I. All the world immediately thought, the jealousy between these two potent princes would infallibly occasion bloody wars, and this opinion was but too well confirmed by experience. Besides the king of France's jealousy, which was doubtless one of the chief causes of the following rupture, there were differences between them of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjust. Francis I. had pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. Moreover, by the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to restore Navarre to Henry d'Albret, within four months after signing the treaty, and this article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, Charles, as heir of the house of Burgundy, believed he had a right to the duchy of that name. He pretended that after the death of the last duke his great grandfather, Lewis XI. had unjustly seized it upon a bare allegation that it was a male fee, though the contrary was evident. He had suffered his title to lie dormant during his minority. But after he was of

Jealousy of Francis I. Several occasions of quarrel between Charles and Francis.
Guicciard.

^w The electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, stood so affected, that Pace thought if our king had put in sooner, he would have carried it. Herbert, p. 33.

^x Instead of spending his money in bribing the electors, as Francis did, particularly the marquis of Brandenburg, he laid it out in raising numerous forces, which he brought to France. Whereupon the majority of the electors (viz. the archbishops of Mentz

and Cologne, the count Palatin, and the duke of Saxony,) being thereby terrified and over awed, agreed to choose him. There were then but seven electors, which, together with the four just now mentioned, were the archbishop of Treves or Triers, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia. See Guicciard. l. 13. The electorate of Bavaria was appointed in 1648, and that of Branſwic-Lunenburgh-Hanover, in 1693.

1519.

age he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial dignity lately obtained helped very much to confirm him in that resolution. The duchy of Milan was another cause of dispute, which would naturally produce a war between the two monarchs. It could not be denied that it was a fief of the empire, and yet Lewis XII. had seized it, and Francis I. reconquered it, and was now in possession, without either's being invested by the emperor Maximilian, or so much as desiring it. Charles therefore could alledge it was his duty to maintain the rights of the empire, and endeavour to dispossess the king of France of that duchy. The duke of Gueldres afforded another occasion of quarrel between these two monarchs. He was a professed enemy to the emperor, and France protected him openly. Finally, the treaty of Noyon gave Charles another cause of complaint. He pretended, Francis had extorted from him so disadvantageous a treaty, by threatening war when his affairs necessarily required his presence in Spain, to take possession of his kingdoms: that therefore the resignation of the kingdom of Navarre, and the pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to which he had been engaged under the specious pretence of a maintenance for the princess his future spouse, were nothing else but the price of a peace he had been made to purchase.

Interests of
the princes
of Europe.

But though the two monarchs looked upon each other with a jealous and envious eye, and wanted not pretences for a war, neither of them durst however begin before he had sounded the rest of the sovereigns. And how they stood affected will also be necessary to know, for the better understanding the sequel, the interests of princes giving to history a light, which without that assistance is sought for in vain.

Of Leo X.

Leo X. was equally afraid of the two monarchs, being sensible to which side soever the ballance inclined, Italy must be in danger. If he could have set them at variance without making Italy the seat of the war, he would freely have done it. But that was not possible. Much less was it in his power to stand neuter. The reason is, because he could not hinder the contests about Naples and Milan from being decided by arms, and therefore could not avoid interposing in a quarrel, which would so nearly concern him. He took therefore the course which best agreed with his temper, and that was to be reserved and manage both the monarchs, till he found it his interest to declare himself. But through all his disguises he discovered however some partiality to the emperor, in the grant of a dispensation to hold the empire with the kingdom of Naples, though that was directly contrary to the

Mezerai.

the terms on which he had given him the investiture of that kingdom. Francis complained of it, but the pope excused it as he could not refuse, without involving himself in troubles from which it would not have been easy to be delivered.

As for Henry VIII. the posture of affairs between Charles and Francis might have rendered his reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himself up to the interested counsels of cardinal Wolsey. He had it in his power to preserve the peace of Europe, by keeping the ballance even between the two rivals, without suffering it to incline too much to either side. This was his grand interest as well as the kingdom's, and accordingly this was his resolution. Hence it was that he frequently engaged in one or other side, but not always as the interest of Europe, the welfare of his realm, and his own glory required. Thus whilst he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he helped without perceiving it to gratify the passions of his minister, as will be seen hereafter.

Charles and Francis were so convinced of the advantages to be reaped from the king of England's friendship, that they neglected nothing which they thought would procure it. The best or rather the only means to that end was to gain cardinal Wolsey to their interests. And therefore, they spared neither flatteries nor promises, nor presents, to make him their friend. They took occasion sometimes to write to him, on purpose to stile him their friend, their father. In their letters they extolled his virtue, his prudence, his capacity, in such affecting terms, that he must have been blind not to see, they had farther views than to express their esteem for him. Wolsey made good use of these testimonies of their friendship, to observe to his master how formidable he was to these monarchs, since they did not disdain even to care for his minister. But withal, it served him to insinuate how far his own merit excelled that of other ministers, since it was universally known. All this produced the effect he expected. Henry deemed himself the arbiter of Europe, and remained so persuaded of his favourite's capacity, that he no longer saw but with his eyes, nor acted but by his advice.

Thus Wolsey was then at the top of the wheel. He was favourite, prime minister, lord chancellor, administrator of the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, archbishop of York, sole legate a latere, Campejus his colleague being recalled. He had a pension from the emperor, and the king of France, and received an immense profit from his chancellorship, by the privileges annexed thereto by the king. Besides this, the

Of Henry VIII.

Both monarchs try to gain Henry by means of Wolsey. Herbert.

Their care to increase Wolsey's credit.

The cardinal's preferments.

1519. king never ceased making him presents, and giving him continual occasions of increasing his incomes. On the other hand, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republick of Venice, strove with emulation to gain his goodwill, and seemed, as I may say, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, Francis I. sent him letters patents, whereby he consented, that he should alone regulate the ceremonies of his interview with Henry, giving him thereby an authentick testimony of his confidence in his probity, upon a point of which kings are commonly very jealous. Mean while, the advances such great princes made the cardinal, did not argue so much their esteem for him, as their fear of losing the friendship of the king his master. Francis I. to give Henry a fresh mark of his respect, desired him to stand godfather to his second son, afterwards king of France, by the name of Henry II. These things demonstrate Henry's happy situation, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wisely improved these advantages. But unfortunately for him, instead of acting for himself and his own glory, he laboured in effect for his favourite's interests.

Aët. Pub.
XIII. p. 691.

Henry is
godfather to
Francis's
second son.
Herbert.

Cardinal
Wolsey's
extreme
pride.

Aët. Pub.
XIII. p. 734.
Pol. Virg.
Burnet.

It would have been hard to conceive to what height the cardinal's pride was carried, if all the historians had not taken care to describe it, and all in the same colours. The legateship of Campejus setting that cardinal upon a level with him, he could not long bear that equality. By his credit at Rome, he caused him to be recalled ^y, and himself appointed sole legate, with power to visit the monasteries, and all the rest of the clergy ^z. To obtain this commission, he had taken care to defame to the pope all the clergy of the kingdom, intimating, how necessary it was to commit the reforming of them to his care ^a. But this was only to increase

^y John Clarke, doctor of law, was sent to Rome for this purpose. The pope's commission to Wolsey is dated June 10, 1519. Herbert, p. 32.

^z By virtue of his legatine commission, he might summon the archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops within the king's dominions, to assemble at his convocation. He might superintend and correct what he thought irregular within their jurisdictions; appoint all officers in the spiritual courts, and present to all ecclesiastical benefices; constitute masters of faculties, and masters of ceremonies, to ad-

vance his dignity, and exercise a visitatorial power over monasteries and colleges, and all the clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and this for one whole year, from the date of the bull. Fiddes life of Wolsey, p. 100. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 734.

^a The clergy were so defamed by the cardinal's information, that they were termed, *dati in reprobum sensum*, given up to reprobate sense, and the like, in the original bull among our records, which lord Herbert says, he should have inserted at large, but that it is too long and infamous to the hierarchy and

crease his authority, and subject the whole church of England to his orders. When he saw himself invested alone with the dignity of legate, he let loose, if I may so say, the reins to his vanity. He said mass after the manner of the pope himself, not only bishops serving him therein, but earls and dukes giving him water and the towel. When he walked into the city, two crosses were carried before him by two of the tallest priests that could be found, mounted on the highest horses. One of these crosses was that of legate, and the other that of York. At first these things served only for diversion to the people, who passed their jests upon this external pomp ^b. But presently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the power assumed by the legate. A new court of justice was erected, called the legate's court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, that is, properly speaking, to all the actions of life, since there is scarce any but where conscience may be some way concerned. John Allen, doctor of law, being made judge of this new court, committed numberless rapines and extortions, under colour of reforming the manners of the people, though he was himself a person of an infamous character ^c. Strict enquiry was made into the life and manners of every body, which gave occasion to the new judge to oppress all that obstinately refused to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that this jurisdiction reached to all suits arising from wills or marriage contracts, and drew to his court numberless causes, without the king's judges daring to oppose it ^d. On the other hand, the legate treated the clergy with inconceivable rigour, and conferred all the benefices of the kingdom on his creatures, without troubling himself about the rights of the churches, the monasteries, or the patrons. This is what had ever occasioned violent quarrels between the kings of England and the court of Rome, and given birth to the famous statute of præmunire, daily violated

1519.

He opposes
the clergy
and people.
Pol. Virg.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

The legate's
court erect-
ed.
Hall.
Pol. Virg.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Herbert.

and all religious persons, p. 32. Compl. Hist.—The cardinal intended to visit all the monasteries in England, that discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishopricks, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges; but was diverted from his design. However, he led the way, to the total suppression of them that followed afterwards. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 20.

^b Infomuch, that Polydore Virgil

says, it drew to a jest, as if one cross did not suffice for the expiation of his sins.

^c He was thought to be guilty of perjury. Herbert, p. 33. Pol. Virg.

^d He had a great number of spies and informers dispersed every where, to let him know what livings became vacant, that he might fill them up immediately; and what persons of note died in every town or parish, that he might cite their executors to prove the wills in his court, *Ibid*.

1519.

by the legate, the king suffering in him things which he would not doubtless have allowed in the pope himself, and being informed no farther than the cardinal pleased. At last, the archbishop of Canterbury, seeing so many oppressions, thought it his duty to acquaint the king, who seemed surpris'd, and charged the archbishop to tell the cardinal, that it was his pleasure he should amend whatever was amiss ^e.

Herbert.
Pol. Virg.
Hollingsh.

The effect of this remonstrance was, that the cardinal still more hated the archbishop for whom he had already conceived an aversion, for subscribing himself in one of his letters, your brother of Canterbury ^f. But shortly after, John London, a priest ^g, boldly accusing the judge of the legate's court, it was not possible to hinder the affair from coming to the king's knowledge. As the judge was convicted of numberless misdemeanours, the king so reprimanded the cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at least.

Cardinal
Wolsey aspires to the
popedom by
means of the
emperor.
Herbert.

The grandeur, riches, power, and authority enjoyed by Wolsey in England, were not capable of satisfying his ambition, whilst there was still one step higher to which a churchman could ascend. He had begun some time since to take measures to become pope, when the see should be vacant, and the king of France had now offered him the votes of fourteen cardinals. But since Charles was elected emperor, Wolsey thought him most capable to procure him the papacy, and probably, continued a private negotiation with him. For that purpose, he gradually disengaged the king his master from the interest of France, to turn him to the emperor. Mean while, he believed he could not, without too much discovering himself, hinder the interview of Francis and Henry, which had been deferred till the year 1520 ^h. But he well knew how to prevent the ill effects this interview might produce against the emperor his new friend. Besides, he could not think of losing the pleasure of appearing before the court of France with a magnificence little inferior to that of a king, and of seeing himself in the presence of the

^e Polydore Virgil says, the king replied to the archbishop, that he should not have heard of these things but by him; adding, that no man is so blind any where as in his own house; therefore, I pray you, (says he) father, go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss that he amend it. Herbert, p. 33.

^f When the bearer of the letter informed the archbishop what offence

the cardinal had taken at his subscription, he said, with some shew of resentment, peace, knowest thou not that the man is inebriated with prosperity. Hollingsh. p. 848.

^g Rapin, by mistake, calls him a priest of London: See Herbert, p. 33.

^h Both kings in the mean while agreeing, not to cut off their beards till they saw one another. Herbert, p. 34.

English,

1519.

English, honoured and caressed by the king of France, and his whole court, as he would probably be. This was an opportunity which a person so fond of pageantry and ostentation could not neglect.

The emperor had reason to care for cardinal Wolsey. He had met in Spain with unexpected difficulties. The Castilians and Arragonians were bent to preserve their privileges, which were continually attacked by the emperor's Flemish counsellors. On the other hand, the emperor, on pretence of the crusade published by the pope, having demanded a tenth of the clergy, that demand had caused throughout Spain troubles which very much embarrassed that prince. There had been also an insurrection in Austria, which was not appeased without difficulty. In short, the king of France was privately labouring to raise the emperor's troubles in Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and to withdraw his allies from him. All this made Henry's friendship so necessary to him, that it is no wonder he should endeavour to win the cardinal to his side, since the minister's credit was the only way to gain the master. The king of France used the same method, which greatly increased the cardinal's pride; who seeing himself courted by these two monarchs, had it in his power, if I may so say, to set what price he pleased upon his services.

Affairs of Spain.

The emperor and king of France equally court Wolsey's Friendship.

Whilst all the world was impatiently expecting the effect of the jealousy between the emperor and king of France, the affairs of Scotland still remained in the same situation, that is, in extreme disorder because of the regent's absence. When he went from Scotland, he hoped to return in few months, but was not suffered to follow his inclination. Francis I. foreseeing the want he might have of England, had made a private treaty with Henry, promising to detain the duke of Albany in France. Thus Henry obtained by another way, what the parliament of Scotland had plainly refused him. It was very easy to conceive, why he opposed the duke of Albany's return. His design was to throw Scotland into trouble and confusion, to have an opportunity to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, under colour of supporting the interests of the young king his nephew. He could not therefore execute it better, than by fomenting discord among the nobility, which the regent's presence might have remedied. But the war which afterwards broke out between Charles and Francis, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the prosecution of his designs against Scotland. Probably this saved the kingdom, which otherwise was in great danger of being conquered by the English.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

France engages to detain the duke of Albany in France. Herbert.

Before

1519. Before I close the year 1519, I must not forget to remark, that this year the emperor received the news of the discovery, and beginning of the conquest of Mexico, and New Spain. The mention of this particular is the more necessary, though it seems foreign to our history, as it was the gold and silver wherewith the new world furnished Spain, and contributed most to render Charles V. so powerful as he will hereafter appear. Besides, money growing more plenty, by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader must not be surpris'd to find hereafter more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the dowries of princesses much larger than before. But Spain first improved the gold and silver of the new world, and was thereby enabled, in the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. to aspire to universal monarchy ⁱ.

1520. The confidence plac'd by Francis I. in cardinal Wolsey, in giving him power to regulate his interview with Henry, would have been very honourable for that minister, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not shown his little esteem for him, as believing him liable to corruption. Be this as it will, Wolsey, by virtue of powers received from the two kings, made the 12th of March 1520, a regulation, importing, among other things, "that the interview should be on the 4th of June^k, between Ardres and Guifnes; that the king of England should go towards Ardres, as far as conveniently he could ^l, without passing however the English pale, and the king of France should meet him at the place where should stop." Hence, he so order'd it, that Francis paid the first visit to Henry. But he assign'd for reason, that the king his master having cross'd the seas, on purpose to do his friend honour, it was very just, Francis should in some measure make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the limits of his own territories in some open place appointed by deputies on either side. The rest of the regulation concern'd the safety of the two monarchs, their queens, the queen dowager of France, sister

The regulation of the interview between the two kings by Wolsey. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 705. March 12. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

ⁱ Hernando Cortes, undertaker of the expedition to America, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field pieces, into many populous but diversly affected kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that playing the part sometimes of an ambassador, and sometimes of a soldier, he prevail'd himself of all. And in con-

clusion, notwithstanding the opposition of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Herbert, p. 34. See Don Ant. de Solis, Hist. of Mexico.

^k Within four days after the end of May. Rymer, p. 707.

^l A mile. *Ibid.*

of Henry, Louisa of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, mother to Francis I. the trains of the princes and princesses who were to assist at the interview, the place where the two kings were to meet and confer together, and lastly, the diversions which the two courts were to take.

During the time between the regulation and the interview, Francis caused the cardinal to be founded, to know whether, by his means, he could not prevail with Henry to restore Calais for a sum of money. This proposal was, doubtless, attended with secret promises to the cardinal, answerable to so great a service, since he did not think fit to reject it. He durst not however speak of it directly to the king, but tried so to manage, that others should inspire him with the thought, that in case the king advised with him upon it, he might give his opinion more freely. To that end, in his conversation, he would frequently turn the discourse upon Calais, and say, as it were accidentally, what have we to do with this Calais, that lies on the continent and costs us so much? it were to be wished we were honestly rid of it! this artifice failing, he never ventured to make the king so extraordinary a proposal, and the rather as, being resolved to engage with the emperor, he was not so desirous to oblige the king of France.

The time of the interview approaching, Henry^m came to Canterbury the 25th of May, in order to pass his Whitfuntide there, and then proceed to Calais. But the next day news was brought him, that the emperor was landed at Dover. This arrival surpris'd the whole court, and perhaps the king himself. But the cardinal had no reason to be surpris'd, since the emperor had the 29th of March, promised by letters patents dated from Compostella, to give or cause to be given him by the pope, the bishoprick of Badajosⁿ, within two months after the conference he was to have in person with the king of England, as appears in the collection of the publick acts. Hence it is plain, the emperor's journey to England, had been resolv'd ever since March, at least between the emperor and the cardinal. But it is uncertain whether the king was inform'd of it. However, the cardinal was commission'd to go and welcome the emperor at Dover, where the king came also on the morrow. Then the two monarchs went together to Canterbury, where Henry sent

Francis gains
Wolsey to
get Calais
given up.
Herbert.

But he dares
not propose
it to the
king.

Henry sets
out for the
interview.
The emperor
arrives at
Dover.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 714.

^m He set out from Greenwich, May 21. Stow, p. 508.

ⁿ In Estremadura; worth five thousand ducats yearly. The town of Ba-

dajos is deemed one of the bulwarks of Spain. The earl of Galloway, who commanded the British troops in those parts, had his right hand shot off here.

1520.
Hollingsh.
Pol. Virg.

for his queen, who was extremely glad to see her nephew the emperor, having never seen him before^o. The emperor's aim in this visit was to dissuade the king from the interview with Francis, but he could not succeed, Henry making him sensible, he could not recede with honour. But very likely he had also in view, the securing of cardinal Wolsey, in order to gain, by his means, the king to his interest. It is the common opinion, his journey was not fruitless, but that he could obtain the cardinal's favour, only by promising to use all his credit to raise him to the papacy, in case Leo X. died before him. Though the emperor had not obtained all his desires, he departed however very well satisfied with his visit, Henry having promised not to enter into any engagement with the king of France to his prejudice^p. On the 30th of May, Charles proceeded to Flanders, and Henry to Calais^q.

He promises
the pontifi-
cate to
Wolsey.

Hall.

The inter-
view of
Francis and
Henry.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

I shall not stay to describe the interview of the two monarchs between Ardres and Guisnes, as regulated by the cardinal. Whilst it lasted, there was nothing but entertainments, tournaments, balls, masquerades, and other diversions, wherein the two courts mixed to their mutual satisfaction. Every thing on both sides was so magnificent, that the assembly was called, the camp of the cloth of gold^r. But amidst all the pleasures which the two courts took together, the affairs however were not neglected. The following articles were agreed upon by the two kings at their conferences: that after Francis should have paid the million of crowns, according to the late treaty, he should give Henry an

Treaty be-
tween them.
Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 719.
June 6.

^o The emperor saw likewise the queen Dowager of France, Henry's sister, once proposed for his wife, at the sight of whom (says Polydore) he was so sad, (she being a celebrated beauty) that he could not be persuaded to dance. Herbert, p. 36.

^p The treaty of commerce made between England and Germany, in 1506, was also now confirmed. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 714, &c.

^q See the lists of the noblemen and others that attended the king and queen, in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 710, 711.

^r The king caused a building 328 foot square to be erected, from which a private gallery reached to the castle of Guisnes. The parts of this great building were artificially framed in England, and afterwards taken asunder

and brought home. The model whereof, lord Herbert says, was at Greenwich in his time. The two kings met, on the 7th of June, in the vale of Andren, and alighting, walked hand in hand to a tent of cloth of gold. On the 9th, they came and viewed the camp or place of exercise, 300 yards long, and 106 broad, with scaffolds on the sides for the beholders. There were also set up two artificial trees, with the arms of the two kings and their assistance, on which were affixed the articles of the justs, &c. June 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, the two kings, with seven assistants each, encountered all comers, and came off with applause. June 16th, was spent in feasting and dancing with the queens and other ladies. June 17th, being Sunday, and the 18th, being foul weather

an annual pension for life of a hundred thousand livres Tournois^s, that in case the dauphin should become king of England by his marriage with the princess Mary, the pension should be continued to Mary and her heirs for ever; that the differences between the kings of England and Scotland, should be referred to the arbitration of Louisa of Savoy, the king of France's mother, and the cardinal of York. The two kings parted not till the 24th of June, after passing about three weeks together in continual diversions.

Henry being returned to Calais, was pleased before he repassed into England, to repay the visit received from the emperor at Canterbury. To that end, he came to Graveling the 10 of July, and returned the same day to Calais. On the morrow, the emperor, with the lady Margaret his aunt, governess of the Low Countries, came to see Henry at Calais, and stayed three days with him. These mutual visits made Francis extremely jealous, and not without reason. Probably, in these conferences were laid the first foundations of the alliance afterwards concluded between the emperor and Henry. In a few days after, Henry returned into England.

The greatest princes very justly courted cardinal Wolsey. He absolutely governed his master, who, in the present situation of his affairs, could make the ballance incline to which side he pleased. The senate of Venice foreseeing that a war would soon break out in Italy, endeavoured beforehand to make Wolsey their friend, by shewing a great esteem for him. There is in the collection of the publick acts, a letter from the doge to the cardinal, to congratulate him upon the interview of the two kings, as a work of his consummate wisdom^s.

Henry goes to see the emperor at Graveling.

The emperor returns his visit. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Letter of the doge of Venice to the cardinal. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 724. July 6.

But

weather, they reposed. The 19th, they continued their courses. On the 20th the tourney began, where our king particularly got that honour, that a brave French nobleman, with whom he fought, presented him with his horse, as a gage of his being overcome. On the 21st, the sport was so rough, that four of the assistants were hurt. On the 22d, the barriers began. The 23d, our king, with his sister queen Mary, went in masquing habits to see the French queen at Ardres, Francis likewise going to the English queen. On the 24th, after many compliments, embraces, and rich presents, they took

leave of one another. Herbert, p. 37. See Hall, who seems to have been an eye witness, fol. 73, &c.

^s This sum was not to be paid till the marriage was solemnized, per verba de presenti, between the dauphin and the princess Mary; and then, every year afterwards to king Henry during his life. See Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 719, 720.

^t In this letter, the doge compliments him in the strongest terms, and stiles him all along dominatio vestra reverendissima, and in one place, majestatis ejus pars altera. But it seems the university of Oxford was wont to outdo

1520.

The pope grants the cardinal pensions upon Spanish fees.

P. 714, 725.

Troubles in Spain.

But this was only words, whereas the pope, who found he should quickly want the cardinal, thought he must gain him by something more substantial. He granted him, as appears in the collection, on the 29th of July, a pension of two thousand ducats upon the bishoprick of Palencia in Spain, and constituted him perpetual administrator of the see of Badajos, without prejudice to the benefices he had or should have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the emperor's consent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain so powerful a minister, whose credit was very necessary in the present situation of his affairs. He had left Spain full of troubles, occasioned by the greediness of the Flemings, who only sought to enrich themselves at the expence of the Spaniards. This had even obliged him to depart with some precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs which might have prevented his going to receive the imperial crown. He had left for governors in Spain, Adrian Florentio bishop of Tortosa, and the constable of Castile. But he was no sooner gone, than several lords, and some cities of Castile joined in a league for the defence of their liberties, and expulsion of the Flemings. This league was followed by an open rebellion, which very much embarrassed the two governors. Mean while, having drawn together a body of troops, consisting partly of the garrisons left in Navarre, they formed a good army, and at length defeated and reduced the male-contented to obedience.

The emperor is crowned.

Whilst these things passed in Spain, the emperor was preparing for his coronation, which was solemnized the 21st of October^u.

The pope solicits the elector of Saxony against Luther.

Luther's defection made then great noise in Germany. Leo X. endeavoured to excite all the princes of the empire against the doctor, who had boldly appealed to a general council, notwithstanding pope Pius the second's bull. In short, after fruitless trials to win him by promises, or frighten him by threats, he published a bull of excommunication against him and his followers. But Luther, regardless of these thunders, renewed his appeal to a council in very harsh terms. The pope exasperated that a single monk

He excommunicates him,

outdo the doge, and not scruple to bestow absolutely on the cardinal the title of majesty, as appears from several letters to him, from that university. But it seems that appellation was not then appropriated to kings. See Fiddes, p. 178.

^u At Aix, the same day that Solyman was crowned at Constantinople; and it is observable, that as Charles was the XIth from Albertus, in whose time the house of the Ottomans began, so Solyman was the XIth prince of his race.

should

should thus dare to brave him, desired the elector of Saxony, then at Cologne, to put him to death, or send him to Rome. The elector refusing, the pope's nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publickly burnt at Cologne, and Luther, in revenge, caused the pope's bull and the decretals to be openly burnt at Wirtemberg, and published a manifesto in defence of his proceedings. He found himself supported by the elector his sovereign, who earnestly desired to see a reformation in the church.

1520.

who appeals
to a council.
Sleidan.
Herbert,

Mean while the duke of Wirtemberg, who at the instance of Francis I. had forsaken the league of Swabia, was driven out of his dominions, and the emperor purchased them. As the king of France was not then in condition to protect him, he was forced to submit to the emperor's terms, without hopes of being restored.

The duke of
Wirtemberg
loses his do-
minions.

The troubles still continued among the Scots, who were divided in two factions, whereof Andrew Hamilton, and George Douglafs ^w earl of Arran were the heads. During the year 1520, the Hamiltonians found means to constrain Archibald Douglafs earl of Angus, one of those left by the regent to govern in his absence, to relinquish his post. After which they would have taken away his life. But with fourscore men he beat, in the streets of Edinburgh, above a thousand of his enemies, and drove them out of the city. All this served only to exasperate more and more the factions against one another, so that at last Douglas received into his party all the friends of the two Humes, beheaded by the regent, in order with their assistance to withstand his enemies. These were the sad effects caused by the regent's absence, whom the king of England hindered from returning into Scotland. Mean while, the truce between the two kingdoms was farther prolonged to the 9th of April this next year, by the king of France's mediation, and the council of Scotland positively promised to send an honorable embassy to the king of England to desire a peace ^x.

Troubles in
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 727
—737.

The posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promise a long continuance of the peace of Europe.

1521.

^w Rapin by mistake calls him earl of Arran; whereas at this time the earl of Arran was James Hamilton. See above, p. 131. note ^a.

^x This year the earl of Kildare was discharged from the office of deputy, or lord lieutenant of Ireland, which was conferred on Thomas Howard,

earl of Surrey, and lord admiral. He went over to his government in the beginning of April, with about a thousand men, and remained there two years, in which time he had many engagements with the natives, and reduced the earl of Desmond to reason. Hall, fol. 70. Stew, p. 308.

1521.

Characters
and tempers
of the prin-
cipal sove-
reigns of
Europe.
Of Francis I.

Four sovereigns enjoyed almost the whole, and had a great influence upon the dominions they were not possessed of. They were all four young, able and ambitious enough to form vast projects, which could not be executed without putting all Europe in combustion.

Francis I. secretly envying Charles V. sought occasion to shew his concern at seeing him on the imperial throne, and was thinking to use the pretence of recovering the kingdom of Naples for himself, and Navarre for Henry d'Albret. But his design of attacking the emperor was founded upon another and more powerful motive, namely, policy, which required his utmost endeavours to humble this formidable rival, otherwise France might be in great danger. To execute this grand project, it would have been necessary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good oeconomist, in order to support the expence in which he was going to engage. But unhappily for him, he was too much addicted to his pleasures, and very often applied to other uses, the money designed for the war. Moreover, he was too easily governed by his ministers, and still more by the duchess of Angoulême his mother, whose interests were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affairs in such a posture, as promised a happy success of his undertakings. Spain was disaffected and agitated with intestine troubles, which probably would greatly embarrass the emperor. On the other hand, the Turks threatened Hungary, which the emperor could not abandon without endangering his Austrian dominions. In the next place, Francis flattered himself with having in the king of England a faithful friend, who would not forsake him, and who seemed to be almost equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the house of Austria. In a word, he imagined to have reason to expect that the pope, with whom he was in treaty for the conquest of Naples, instead of helping to increase the emperor's power, would use his utmost endeavours to humble a neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him, All this was strengthened with Francis's alliances with the Venetians and Switzers, who joining with the pope and the king of England, would of course render him superior to his enemy, whose kingdoms remote from each other, were less capable of giving mutual assistance. Thus Francis, flattered by these appearances, formed extraordinary projects suitable to his ambition and age, being then but twenty seven years old.

As

1521.

Of Charles V

As for Charles V. he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous Idea of him. His youth had been spent under the guardianship of the emperor Maximilian his grandfather, or of Margaret of Austria his aunt, and since he had assumed the administration of the Low Countries, his governor Chievres did all in the name of the prince. His first proceedings, after the death of king Ferdinand, begot no great opinion of him, for he had scarce set foot in Spain, before the country was all in commotion. His advancement to the empire was owing, perhaps, to the little esteem the world had for him. However, he was then the most potent prince in Europe. Besides the imperial dignity, he possessed all Spain, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Low Countries, the archduchy of Austria, and many other provinces and lordships in Germany. So, with his own forces alone, he was able to withstand Francis I. assisted by all his allies. Henry VIII. was the only sovereign that had at first embarrassed him, by reason of his union with France. But he had artfully drawn that thorn out of his side, by means of cardinal Wolfey. With this he began, as I may say, to discover his ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that he diligently applied himself to gain the pope, and succeeded to his wish. Thus at the time I am now speaking of, he was become very formidable not only by his forces, but also by the proofs he had given of his capacity. As soon as he was raised to the empire, he rightly judged he should find in Francis I. an enemy that would spare nothing to make him feel the effects of his envy. For that reason he thought early of means to screen himself from his attempts, not only by a just defence, but even by attacking him first. He had two plausible reasons: one was, that the crown of France withheld from him the duchy of Burgundy, since the death of his great grandfather Charles the last duke of Burgundy. The other concerned the duchy of Milan, whereof Francis ought to have received the investiture from the emperor, since it was a fief of the empire, and yet he had never vouchsafed to ask it. He believed moreover to have cause of complaint for Francis's extorting from him the treaty of Noyon as was before related.

In vain therefore do the historians of both sides strive to cast the blame of the rupture upon one or other of the two monarchs. It is certain, both thought at the same time of making war, and took measures beforehand to execute their

1521.

designs, though each privately endeavoured to engage his rival in something that should make him be deemed the aggressor. So, as the beginning of a rupture is not to be judged of by the first act of hostility, but rather by the cause, one can hardly be mistaken in affirming Charles V. and Francis I. to be equally authors of a war which set all Europe in a flame. Charles was not above one and twenty years of age, but of a very different character from that of his enemy. Francis was too much addicted to his pleasures, whereas Charles was too intent upon his affairs, having been used to it from his youth. Francis was of a free and open temper, but Charles was much more reserved. He maturely thought of what he had to say or do, and readily made use of artifice and evasion to accomplish his ends, framing his conduct by that of Maximilian and Ferdinand his grandfathers.

Of Leo X.
Guicciard.

Leo X. had reason to be satisfied with his lot, could he have resolved to live in quiet. He was absolute master of the whole ecclesiastical state, to which he had lately added all la Romagna, Modena, Reggio, and the duchy of Urbino. His own, the church's, and all Italy's grand interest, was therefore to endeavour by all sorts of means to keep the ballance even between the emperor and the king of France, and to manage so, that neither of these two monarchs should become too powerful in Italy. This was very practicable, since his dominions being situated between those belonging to these two princes in Italy, they necessarily wanted him, in order to invade Naples or Milan. Thus, by keeping a strict neutrality, he would have probably freed Italy from a war, and preserved the papal power in its full lustre. But he was of too active a spirit to remain in peace. As he had a great opinion of his address, he ventured to engage in all sorts of affairs, how difficult soever they appeared, because, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by some artifice. Besides, he had this in common with all the popes his predecessors, that the respect for his character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in case his undertakings were not crowned with success. As to the rest, he was entirely addicted to his pleasures, spending most of his time with musicians and Buffoons, and in some still less innocent diversions. This, added to his liberal temper, threw him into such excessive expences, that he was poor amidst his vast incomes, and always contriving means to procure money. Hence his extraordinary zeal to form a league against the Turks, because it afforded him

him a pretence to levy tenths upon the clergy, and sell his indulgences to the great scandal of all Christendom.

Had this pope been of a more narrow genius, he would have doubtless maintained the tranquillity of Italy. But as he found himself capable of forming and executing great designs, he had a mind to render his pontificate illustrious by some signal actions. Unfortunately for him and his successors, he resolved to drive the French, Spaniards and Germans out of Italy, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accomplish it, he was necessarily to make use of the one to ruin the others, and by thus causing the ballance to incline all to one side he could not but give masters to himself and all Italy, which he would have avoided by standing neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his desire to seize the duchy of Ferrara, and recover Parma and Placentia, which he could not hope to effect, whilst the French were possessed of the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, he was a little uneasy with respect to Florence. He could not help fearing that Francis would think of restoring the Florentines to their ancient liberty. He resolved therefore to begin with the French, but took care not to discover his designs. On the contrary, he continued private negotiations with the king of France as well as with the emperor, and put both equally in hopes of his friendship. Mean while, as his intent was not always to remain in this situation, he ordered six thousand men to be levied in Switzerland, and sent for them into the ecclesiastical state, having demanded a passage through the Milanese, under colour of providing for the defence of his towns.

Guicciard.

Henry VIII. was then more advantageously situated than any king of England had ever been before him. He was at peace with all Europe except Scotland, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now consumed all the money found in the king his father's coffers, he was however assured of being always supplied, since he was in a good understanding with his parliament, and had the art of managing the two houses with a very singular address, Thus being able to raise numerous forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleased, it was doubt-

Of Henry VIII.

y This is the pope of whom Bembo his secretary reports this saying: it has been long and well known how be-

neficial this fable of Jesus Christ has been to us and our predecessors.

1521. less in his power to render himself umpire of Europe. For that reason Charles and Francis with equal ardor courted his friendship, being sensible, he could invincibly obstruct their designs, and cause the ballance to lean to the side he should please to espouse. It was his interest to keep always in this situation, till obliged to interpose in their differences, to hinder the one from rising to the prejudice of the other. And indeed this was his aim and intention. But unfortunately for him, his weakness for his prime minister the cardinal was beyond all imagination. This favorite had such an ascendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleased, always under the specious colour of carrying his glory to a greater height, though in reality he had only his own interests in view. We have already seen sensible proofs of his great influence over his master, in what passed during and after the late war with France. He had persuaded him to deliver to the emperor Maximilian the city of Terouenne, which might have been of great service to him, and to keep Tournay, which was of little or no advantage. Afterwards, when he was in possession of the bishoprick of Tournay, he had artfully persuaded him that the keeping of that place would be an everlasting monument of his glory. But when he saw, he was like to lose the bishoprick, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reasons to convince him that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him, We shall see presently that he led him also to make a very false step in espousing the emperor's part against France, whereas his true interest was to keep the ballance even between the two potentates. All this was done for the sake of cardinal Wolsey, who having the ambition to aspire to the popedom, thought to succeed by the emperor's means. The pension procured him by Charles upon the bishoprick of Palencia in Castile, and the administration of the see of Badajos, at a time when he had not yet received any publick service from him, are incontestable proofs that the cardinal had engaged with him, as being sure of governing his master as he pleased. These things afforded no very advantageous Idea of Henry's penetration.

Such were the characters, interests, and designs of the four principal sovereigns concerned in the new war I am going to speak of. The king of Scotland was yet too young to be reckoned among the directors of the affairs of Europe. The Venetians fought only to live in peace, being, as I may say, exhausted by the former war. However, they could not avoid

avoid entering into this also. As for the Swizzers, they were satisfied with their pensions from France, and generally inclined to observe the articles of their alliance with that crown. But they were not entirely secured from the secret practices continued by the pope's and the emperor's agents with some of their magistrates, to try to persuade them not to take part with France.

Francis I. having formed a design to make war upon the emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, resolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated design to quarrel. By the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to resign Navarre to Henry d'Albret within four months, in default whereof Francis was free to assist Henry to recover his kingdom. The affairs of Spain being extremely imbroiled since the emperor quitted that country, Francis believed it a fair opportunity to invade Navarre. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two regents of Spain had been forced to draw troops from Pampelsonia and other places of that kingdom, to reinforce the army which was to act against the fore-mentioned league. He sent therefore into Navarre in the beginning of March an army under the command of Lesparre of the house of Foix, elder brother of Lautrec and Lescun. This general finding the kingdom without troops and almost deserted, became master of it in the space of a fortnight. Had he stopped there, perhaps Navarre would have been still at this day annexed in deed, as it is in name only, to the crown of France, since the Spaniards were unable to expel Henry d'Albret, from whom the kings of France of the house of Bourbon are descended. But the desire of acquiring fame, or procuring the king's advantage, carried Lesparre to enter the province of Guipuscoa, and besiege Logrogno. The regents of Spain had no thoughts of recovering Navarre. But when they saw the French invading Spain itself, they assembled their forces to stop their progress. The malecontents themselves lately vanquished, accepting a general pardon, led all their troops to the regents. Lesparre seeing an army much stronger than his coming against him, would have retired, but was so closely pursued that he was forced to come to a battle, wherein he was defeated and taken prisoner. The loss of this battle occasioned the loss of Navarre, which the Spaniards recovered in less time than the French had conquered it. Thus the king of France had the mortification to lose his army to no purpose, and flagrantly discover to the emperor how he stood affected towards him.

1521.

Francis I.
invades Na-
varre.
Du Bellai.
Mezerai.

Lesparre
becomes
master of
that king-
dom.

He enters
Spain.

Guicciard.
Herbert.

Is beaten,
and taken
prisoner.

1521.

Francis stirs
up Robert
de la Mark
against the
emperor.
Bellai.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

The same time that he invaded Navarre, he raised Charles an enemy from another quarter, namely, Robert de la Mark prince of Sedan and sovereign of Bouillon, who believing to have cause to complain of the emperor, for a denial of justice to the young princes of Chimay ², whose guardian he was, implored the king of France's protection. Very probably, Francis had offered it before it was desired. However, Robert de la Mark, seeing himself supported by the king, was so bold as to send a defiance to the emperor, who was then at the diet of Worms. Shortly after, the earl of Fleuranges, eldest son of la Mark, put himself at the head of four or five thousand men ³ levied in France, and besieged Vireton, a place in Luxemburg belonging to the emperor.

The emperor
calls upon
the king of
England to
aid him
against
France.
Herbert.
Henry sends
an ambassa-
dor to
Francis.
Bellai.
Mezerai.

Then it was that Charles, who had with reluctance agreed to the league of London, thought proper however to make use of it in summoning the king of England to assist him, as obliged by the treaty, since it was evident, the king of France had raised him this enemy. Henry, prepossessed by the cardinal, was glad of a pretence to cast the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Mean while, to proceed according to the articles of the league, he sent an ambassador to require him to forbear all hostility against the emperor, not only in Luxemburg but also in Navarre. Francis replied, he was not author of the war between Robert de la Mark and the emperor, and all he could do was to forbid his subjects to serve or assist la Mark. As to Navarre, it would have been needless to answer, since it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promise with regard to the war of Luxemburg, and Fleuranges disbanded his army. Francis took care not openly to support the duke of Bouillon, for fear of affording Henry, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the emperor. I shall pursue this affair, when I have spoken of those of Italy, which are of no less importance.

Who causes
la Mark to
lay down his
arms.
March 22.

Leo X. joins
with France
for the con-
quest of
Naples.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.

In the beginning of this, or perhaps before the end of the last year, Leo X. concluded with the French ambassador residing at Rome, a treaty whereby he joined in a league with Francis for the conquest of Naples. The treaty ran, that all that part of the kingdom of Naples lying between the eccle-

² A lord named d'Aimeries, had seized the town of Hierge, in Ardennes, belonging to those princes; and d'Aimeries was supported by the emperor,

P. Daniel, tom. VII, p. 437.

³ Three thousand foot, and four hundred horse. Ibid.

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fiastical state and Gariglian should remain to the pope: and the rest should be for Henry the king's second son; but during his minority, the kingdom should be governed by the pope's legate, who should reside at the city of Naples. Whatever the pope's intention was in making this treaty, it may be almost affirmed, he acted with insincerity, because it must have been very disadvantageous to him for the same prince to hold Milan and Naples. What may most probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by Francis I. as Ferdinand king of Arragon had done by Lewis XII. when he made much the same partition with that prince. At least Francis, who had often experienced what the pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to assist him in that conquest. Wherefore he delayed the ratification of the treaty, to gain time to consider seriously of the affair.

Francis puts off the ratification of it.

Leo X. finding the time for ratifying the treaty was expired, suspected the king of projecting with the emperor some agreement prejudicial to the holy see. They who act not sincerely, are ready to think others like themselves. However, the king of France's affected delays afforded the pope a motive or pretence to conclude another treaty with the emperor, to drive the French out of the Milanese, and restore the Sforzas. As he continued at once secret negotiations with the emperor and the king of France, it would be very difficult to know his real intent, if there was not a notable difference between the two treaties just mentioned. That with the French ambassador concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof was almost impracticable in the present juncture of affairs, and besides, really contrary to his true interest, whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed. So, probably the first was made only to procure better terms from the emperor. Besides, he had been ever wont to have, as they say, two strings to his bow, which he considered as the grand mystery of politicks. His treaty with the emperor was no less advantageous, than that he would have made with the king of France. The chief articles were these:

The pope leagues with the emperor. Mezerai. Guicciard.

That the pope and emperor should join their forces to expel the French out of the Milanese, and restore Francesco Sforza. That prince was then at Trent, having retired thither a little before his brother Maximilian was dispossessed of his dominions,

Article of the treaty of the league. Guicciard.

That

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That Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church.

That the inhabitants of the Milanese should provide themselves with salt only at Cervia, a town in the ecclesiastical state.

That the emperor should aid the pope to conquer Ferrara.

That the sum the emperor gave the pope for the kingdom of Naples should be augmented.

That the emperor should protect the family of Medici.

That he should grant to the cardinal de Medici a pension of ten thousand ducats, upon the archbishoprick of Toledo.

That Alexander de Medici, natural son to Lorenzo late duke of Urbino, should have in the kingdom of Naples, lands to the value of ten thousand ducats a year.

They prepare for war.
Guicciard.

The treaty was kept so private that it came not to Francis's knowledge, till the two allies were going to invade the Milanese. Mean while they concerted proper measures to accomplish their designs. The pope, who had already six thousand Switzers in his service, took care to augment his forces on divers pretences. The emperor ordered the viceroy of Naples to keep the troops of that kingdom ready to march upon the first notice, and at the same time caused levies to be made in Germany to reinforce his army in Italy. Prosper Colonna was declared general of the league.

Colonna
general of
the league.
Attempts
upon Genoa,
Milan, and
Como.
Guicciard.

Whilst Francis continued in a fatal security, and left the Milanese destitute of troops, never imagining he should be attacked in Italy, because he thought himself sure of the pope, the two allies were contriving to seize at once, Milan, Genoa, and Como, before they proclaimed war against him. For the first of these projects they employed Hieronimo Morone senator of Milan, who being suspected by the French, was banished the city. Morone having assembled a great number of exiles^b in the neighbourhood of Milan, Lescun, who commanded in the absence of his brother Lautrec the governor, sallied out of Milan with some troops, and pursued the exiles to Reggio, where they had retired, and even demanded of the governor, to deliver them into his hands. The governor refusing, Lescun withdrew, and posted himself about ten miles from Reggio, within the pope's territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve days. Then the pope,

^b These were some of the emperor's adherents that had been banished by the French. Guicciard.

who only wanted a pretence to declare against France, called a consistory, greatly aggravated Lescun's affront, and declared that in revenge he was resolved to join with the emperor. But he had already done so, and the affair of Reggio was a mere pretence to delude the cardinals.

Whilst Lescun was at Reggio, Adorno banished from Genoa attempted to surprize that city with some gallies supplied by the pope and the viceroy of Naples, but could not succeed. A few days after, Lescun discovered a plot to surprize Como, and was fully informed that the pope and the emperor were the authors. It is therefore evident, that in case they had succeeded in their designs, they would have made no scruple to appear the aggressors.

Lescun no longer doubting that there was a design to invade the Milanese, acquainted the king, and withal sent for the four thousand Switzers, intended for Milan, who were ready to march. Francis surprized at the danger the Milanese was in, speedily ordered a levy of twenty thousand Switzers, and sent Lautrec to Milan, promising he should want for nothing. But this promise was but very ill performed.

Mean while, Prosper Colonna having assembled at Reggio the army of the allies, besieged Parma, where Lescun had now thrown in some troops. But before he could take the place, Lautrec having received the supplies he expected from Switzerland, forced him to raise the siege, and pursued him even beyond the borders of the Milanese. As he imagined Parma to be out of danger, he had drawn out Lescun with the garrison to strengthen his army. But no sooner was Lescun out of the city, than the inhabitants declared for the pope, and erected the church's colours on the walls.

But this was not the only misfortune Lautrec was to be exposed to during the campaign. Presently after, he was deserted by the twenty thousand Switzers he had lately received, and constrained to retire to Milan, where Prosper Colonna pursued him in his turn with all possible diligence. Whereupon Lautrec despairing of defending Milan, quitted the town, after supplying the castle with ammunition, and withdrew to Como, where the four thousand Switzers he still had forsook him and returned home, because he had no money to pay them. So, Colonna, taking possession of Milan, went from thence to make other conquests which Lautrec could not oppose. In a word, Francis lost the whole duchy of Milan except a few places,

Guicciard.

Francis orders a levy of Switzers, and sends Lautrec to Milan. Guicciard.

Colonna besieges Parma. Bellai. Mezerai. He raises the siege. Parma declares for the pope.

Lautrec is deserted by the Switzers. Colonna pursues him closely. Guicciard. Lautrec quits Milan,

and Colonna takes it.

Probably,

1521.

Death of
Leo X.
Guicciard.
The army
of the allies
disband.

Probably, Lautrec would not have been able to support himself long in Italy, had not the pope's death on the 1st of December afforded him some respite. Leo X. is said to die with joy at the news of the good success of the league. Some however affirm, his death was hastened by poison ^c. However this be, the news of the pope's death was no sooner spread, but the troops he maintained disbanded themselves. Of the twelve thousand Switzers he had in the army of the allies, but fifteen hundred remained, and the Florentines retired to their own country. Thus Prosper Colonna found himself in a few days in as ill a situation as Lautrec. The college of cardinals, not knowing what course to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the election of a new pope. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara recovered some of his towns in la Romagna, and Francesco Maria della Rovere took possession again of the duchy of Urbino. If Lautrec had then been supplied with the men and money he was promised, he would have doubtless expelled the imperialists out of Milan. But Francis I. entirely neglecting the affairs of Italy, thought only of defending himself in Flanders and Picardy, where he was vigorously attacked. He still held however in Italy, Genoa, Cremona, the castles of Milan and Novarra, with some small places on the lake Gorda.

The duke of
Ferrara re-
covers his
towns.
La Rovere
takes posses-
sion of Ur-
bino.
Guicciard,

Campaign of
the Low
Countries.
Bellai.

Whilst these things passed in Italy, the war at length was begun in the Low Countries, in a manner very disadvantageous to France. The troops raised by Robert de la Mark to besiege Vireton being disbanded, Francis thought he had satisfied the emperor and the king of England. It was indeed sufficient take from Henry all pretence of declaring against him, since by the treaty of league, in case one of the allies was invaded, the rest were not to declare against the aggressor, till being summoned to desist from the war, he should have refused. Francis was summoned and had desisted, consequently Henry had no cause to complain. But it was otherwise with the emperor, who was not contented with so slight a satisfaction. He forbore however to complain of the king of France, but was resolved to be revenged of Robert de la Mark, who had dared to send him a defiance. Besides, he considered, if France undertook to defend that prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of

^c Guicciardini says, it was secretly whispered, but upon conjectures only, that the French king had him poisoned by means of one Barnabo Malaspina, his chaplain, who was imprison-

ed on suspicion; but the prosecution was dropped, and he was discharged, by the cardinal de Medici, out of respect for the king of France. l. 14.

the rupture, and this was what the emperor and cardinal Wolsey chiefly desired, in order to use that inducement to persuade Henry to declare against France. So, Charles having prepared an army, gave the command to Henry count of Nassau, who entering the territories of Robert de la Mark, took and razed several places. Francis was patient, choosing rather to forsake his ally, than give the king of England a pretence to arm against him. Then Robert seeing himself without refuge, made his submission to the emperor, who granted him a truce for six weeks. Mean while, though the emperor had to deal only with a petty prince unable to resist him, and of whom he had been sufficiently revenged, he continued to reinforce his army. Francis seeing so many troops in the neighbourhood of Champagne, easily perceived, they were not solely designed against Robert de la Mark, and that he might be taken unprovided, unless he prepared for his defence. Mean while, he represented to the king of England, that he could not avoid taking up arms, in order to resist the emperor, who was preparing to attack him. Henry answered, he would side with neither, but as a common friend offered to be their umpire. Adding, if they would both send their plenipotentiaries to Calais the beginning of August, cardinal Wolsey should be there to act in his name as mediator. Charles readily accepted so advantageous a proposal, since he and the cardinal understood one another. As for Francis he durst not reject it, though he had no reason to be pleased with the king of England. But he did not yet know that Wolsey was wholly devoted to the emperor. It was therefore agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal mediator, should meet at Calais the 4th of August.

The king of France's representation to Henry; who offers to become mediator. Bellai. Herbert. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 748.

A congress at Calais agreed upon.

Mean while, the lord of Liques^d having levied an army at his own charge, as he affirmed, surpris'd Mortagne, and St. Amand, in the Tournaisis, on pretence of some claim of his house. The emperor affected to consider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, though Liques's army was composed of his subjects. His aim was to oblige Francis to take some step which might give occasion to accuse him of being the aggressor. Herein he only imitated that prince who had attacked him under the name of Robert de la Mark. But some time after, the governor of Flanders besieging Tournay in form, it was not possible to put so favourable a construction upon that siege, especially as what

The emperor tries to lay the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Bellai.

He discovers himself by causing Tournay to be besieged.

^d Lord of Hainault.

1521. passed then in Italy left the emperor no room to dissemble any longer. It is certain, Francis had been surpris'd as well in Italy as in Champagne and Flanders. He had intended no doubt to attack the emperor, but did not expect to be invaded first. For that reason he wanted time to prepare his army. Mean while, the imperialists took and razed the town of Ardres.

Conference
at Calais.
Mezerai.
A&T. Pub.
XIII. p. 748,
750.

p. 749.

p. 750.
Hall.
Stow.
Henry and
the cardinal
a&t not with
sincerity.

The time appointed for the congress of Calais^e being come, cardinal Wolfey repaired thither with a numerous retinue^f, and carried the great seal with him^g. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that he was furnished with several of the king's commissions, to be used as he should think proper. By the first, he was constituted the king's lieutenant general to adjust, as mediator, the differences between the emperor and the king of France. By a second, he was impow'ed to treat and conclude with Francis I. a renewal of the alliance. But probably this was only to show the French ambassadors Henry's impartiality, and pretended design to join with that prince, who should be found to be unjustly attacked. By a third, he had power to conclude a league between England and the emperor, the pope, the king of France, or any other potentate whatever. Thus Henry, without having yet examined on which side the blame lay, left it to his lieutenant to engage him in which party he pleased. But very probably, his resolution was taken already, and the congress of Calais intended only to show he was not resolv'd, till after a strict information, and to cause the blame of the rupture to be thrown on the king of France. All the proceedings of the cardinal mediator, discovered, that he meant not to procure a peace between the two monarchs, but only to find the king his master a pretence to declare for the emperor.

Whilst these affairs were negotiating at Calais, the imperialists besieged and took Mouzon in Champagne. Then they ravaged the country, and plundered the little town of

^e Which was July 25. In the mean time a six weeks truce was appointed between the emperor and king of France. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 748.

^f He was attended by Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, the lords St. John, Ferrers, and Herbert, the bishops of Durham and Ely, the primate of Armagh, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir John Peche, sir John Hufsey, sir Henry Guildford, and many others.

He came to Dover the 8th of July, and sail'd to Calais the 10th. Hall, fol. 86.

^g For which reason, many English were forced to go to him to receive their dispatches, and at home the constituting of sheriffs was suspended, &c. Which things were urged against him afterwards in his trial. Herbert, p. 44. Hall, fol. 88.

Aubanton, where the count of Nassau suffered his soldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which he laid siege to Mezieres. Francis wanting time to assemble his army, could not be ready till the end of September: which however was soon enough to throw succours into Mezieres, and thereby force the count of Nassau to raise the siege. The earl of St. Pol recovered Mouzon shortly after, and the count of Nassau, retired into the earldom of Namur. Champagne being thus freed, Francis ordered his army to march into Flanders, where the imperialists still continued the siege of Tournay. When his troops were drawn together, he assaulted Bapaume, Landrecy, Bouchain, and carried them. Afterwards hearing, the emperor, who had headed his army, was retiring towards Valenciennes, he resolved to go and attack him, but lost the opportunity by his own fault. It is said, if he had been as speedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the emperor, who giving all over for lost, was retired with a hundred horse only, quitting his army, not to be a witness of their destruction. Upon this occasion, Francis I. gave the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, great cause of disgust, by setting the duke of Alençon at the head of the vanguard, though that post properly belonged to the constable, when the king was in the army. It is said, the king gave the constable that mortification, to oblige his mother the duchess of Angoulême, who hated him. But he had too much reason afterwards to repent his complaisance to his mother.

At the very time Francis I. was attacked in Champagne, he sent an army into Navarre, under the command of admiral Bonnavet, who arrived about the end of September, at St. John de Luz. At first, he pretended to march towards Pampelona. Then, after several marches and counter marches, he suddenly approached, and besieged Fontarabia. When the breach was made, he ordered the town to be furiously stormed, but however was bravely repulsed. But the garrison, being little able to stand a second assault, surrendered by capitulation. This conquest was of very great importance, Fontarabia being one of the keys of Spain.

Whilst the war was vigorously continued in Italy, Champagne, Flanders, Picardy, Navarre, cardinal Wolfey was busy at Calais in treating with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the king of France. The congress lasted ten weeks, and the parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the mediator, instead of closing, helped rather to widen, the breach. It was long debated to know which

1521.

The emperor's army takes Mouzon, and ravages Champagne. Bellai. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Siege of Mezieres raised. Hall. Herbert. Conquests of Francis in the Low Countries. He misses the opportunity of defeating the emperor. He disoblige the constable Bourbon.

Campaign in Navarre. Bellai. Hall. P. Daniel. Bonnavet takes Fontarabia. Oct. 18.

Account of the congress of Calais. Hall. Herbert.

1521.

which had begun the war. This was the chief point with respect to Wolsey, who intended to throw the blame on the king of France. Afterwards, when the differences themselves came to be considered, the proposals of the emperor's plenipotentiaries showed a peace was still very remote. They demanded restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, and abolition of the homage due to the crown of France, for Flanders and Artois. The only reason they alledged to support their last pretension was, that it was unbecoming for an emperor to do homage to a king. These two propositions were of such a nature, that Francis would hardly have accepted them, even after the loss of many battles. On the other hand, the French ambassadors having notice of what passed in Italy, earnestly demanded restitution of Milan, and that the emperor should withdraw his troops from before Tournay. They insisted moreover upon the restitution of Navarre, to which the emperor was bound by the treaty of Noyon. If the emperor had been afraid of Henry's joining with the king of France, he might have granted part of these demands without being forced to dismember his dominions. But Francis could not resign Burgundy, without letting the enemy into the heart of his kingdom, nor the homage of Flanders and Artois, without dishonour. But as the emperor was secure of the king of England, he persisted in his demands, without any abatements.

Wolsey declares he despairs of a peace. Treaty of little consequence. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 752. Hall. Stow. Herbert.

After the mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a peace, he declared, he saw no way to succeed. Then, he presented to the plenipotentiaries a treaty to sign, containing articles of little importance, namely, that the French and Flemings should have liberty to fish for herrings till the end of January: that the two contending monarchs should enjoin their subjects to pursue no vessel into the ports or harbours belonging to the king of England, and commit no hostilities within the territories of the said king, during the war: that the pope's nuncio, and the plenipotentiaries at Calais might freely retire with all their train, without receiving any injury from the troops of the two monarchs: that the king of England, and the cardinal legate his lieutenant should be the conservators of these articles, to be ratified within ten days. We have here a very sensible proof of the cardinal's insolence, who, in a treaty drawn by himself, presumed thus to set himself upon a level with his master, by being declared conservator with the king. These conventions were ratified by the two monarchs the 2d and 11th of October, and there appears not in the collection of the publick

The cardinal's pride.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 755.

lick acts, the least trace of any other treaty made at Calais at that time. 1521.

Du Bellai^h however says in his memoirs, that the king of England having sent ambassadors to Francis I. during the congress of Calais, they laboured so effectually, that at length it was agreed, the emperor should raise the siege of Tournay, and withdraw his troops out of the Milanese; that Francis should retire into France with his army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the king of England. He adds, after these conventions, each thought the peace concluded, but that upon the emperor's receiving news of the taking of Fontarabia, he demanded, before the treaty was ratified, the restitution of that place, and upon Francis's refusal, the treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illustrious author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the war, than of the negotiations, was misinformed. First, because the collection of the publick acts, mentions not this pretended treaty, though we see there another of much less consequence concluded at the same time. Secondly, we do not find in the collection, any embassy from the king of England, either to the French king or the emperor, in the time which must have preceeded this treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood, the emperor would have withdrawn his troops out of the Milanese, that is, would have restored Milan to France, and lost the hopes of acquiring Tournay, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of seeing Francis retire into his own kingdom. In short, it may have been easily perceived, Henry was very far from the thoughts of forcing the emperor to yield to these terms, and it will still be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all these considerations, that seeing the regard the emperor and the king of France had for cardinal Wolsey, it is not likely they should conclude a treaty without his knowledge, and by the ministry of other ambassadors, whilst he was at Calais to do the office of mediator. It may be, these proposals were made to Francis, and he was so blind as to imagine they would take place, because he was yet ignorant of the secret engagements of the king of England and his minister, with the emperor, and because such a report was spread in the court of France. Be this as it will, after the taking of Fontarabia, the war continued without inter-

Remark on
a passage of
Bellai's
memoirs.

^h Martin du Bellai, brother to cardinal John Bellai, was much esteemed by Francis I, and employed by him in his wars, and in important embassies.

He writ memoirs, containing the most memorable transactions under the reign of Francis I. to the reign of Henry II.

1521.

Mezerai.

Herbert.

Wolfey goes

to the em-

peror at

Bruges.

Hall.

Stow.

Herbert.

and makes a

treaty with

him againſt

France.

Herbert.

The princeſs

Mary promiſed

to the

emperor.

Henry's

faſte poli-

ticks,

Hall.

Herbert.

miſſion, and with great animoſity. Francis I. became maſter of Heſdin about the beginning of November, and Tournay ſurrendered to the emperor by capitulation.

Mean while cardinal Wolfey ſtill remained at Calais, under colour of ſearching for ſome farther expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs. He frequently ſent expreſſes to both, with propoſals which he knew they would not accept. At laſt, feigning a deſire to gain time, he went himſelf to the emperor at Brugesⁱ, where he was received with as much reſpect as if he had been king of England^k.

Here he concluded with the pope and the emperor a league againſt France, by virtue of the powers he had brought with him. By the treaty the pope engaged to thunder the church's cenſures againſt the king of France. Henry was to invade him with an army of forty thouſand men. The emperor and Henry obliged themſelves to break all their engagements with him. Moreover, Henry promiſed to give in marriage to the emperor the princeſs Mary, affianced to the dauphin. Theſe were the chief articles agreed upon by the emperor and the cardinal the 24th of November 1521, which were to be ratified within three months. But they engaged to be ſecret till the time of performance. Thus was Henry perſuaded by his miniſter to oppreſs his ally the king of France, who had done him no injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that Francis had lately permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, doubtleſs becauſe he perceived the cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him.

It is in vain to inquire what intereſt Henry had to declare againſt France, and cauſe the ballance to incline to the emperor's ſide: no other can be found but the cardinal's, who wanted to be pope at Francis's coſt. The death of Leo X. haſtened by poiſon; as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect that Wolfey was concerned in it, and the more, becauſe he aſpired to be ſucceſſor to a pope much younger than himſelf; but no proof was ever produced. Certainly Henry would have acquired more glory in continuing umpire of the peace between the two contending monarchs, and in procuring tranquillity to all Europe, than by all the conqueſts, his miniſter flattered him with^l.

ⁱ On Auguſt 12, being attended by four hundred and ſixty horſe. Hall, fol. 87. Stow, p. 514.

^k The emperor met him a mile out of town. Hall, fol. 87. Herbert,

p. 43.

^l Wolfey ſtaid thirteen days at Bruges. He returned to England, and landed at Dover, Novemb. 27. Hall, fol. 88.

Hitherto cardinal Wolfey had pushed his fortune to such a height, that it seemed difficult to make any addition to it. And yet all this was not capable to satisfy him. His legateship had been prolonged for two years, the beginning of this year. But he thought himself to be too much above all other legates, not to have a different commission from theirs. In April he procured from Leo X. a bull, impowering him to make fifty knights, fifty count palatines, as many acolyths^m and chaplains, forty notaries apostolick, who should have the same privileges as those made by the pope; to legitimate bastards, give degrees in arts, law, physick, and divinity, and grant all sorts of dispensations. In a word, not content with all the riches he possessed, or with the means he had to increase them incessantly, he caused also the rich abbey of St. Albans to be given him this year in commendam.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to so high a degree of grandeur and riches, his pride increased in proportion. Though the king's blindness for him was inconceivable, it was not so with the courtiers, who saw but too plainly how grossly he misled his master, who placed so great confidence in him. But none dared to take notice of it, such was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper. The duke of Buckingham, son of the duke of the same name, who in the reign of Richard III. lost his head on the scaffold, for endeavouring to procure the crown for Henry VII. sadly experienced how dangerous it was to discover what was thought of that proud prelate. He happened one day to say, in the hearing of one who betrayed himⁿ, that in case the king died without issue, he thought he had a right to the crown, and if ever he ascended the throne, his first care should be to punish the cardinal according to his deserts.

^m An inferior church servant in popish countries, who, under the subdeacon, waits on the priests and deacons, lights the candles, carries the bread and wine, and pays other servile attendance.

ⁿ 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 the duke, and told the cardinal all the particulars which were alledged against him. The first thing that incensed the cardinal, was his speaking against the interview of the two kings

as an idle expence, though no man made a greater figure there than himself. Herbert, p. 41. The rest of the witnesses against the duke were, Gilbert Perke, his chancellor, and John Delacourt, his confessor. Hall, fol. 86. The words above mentioned, were spoken by the duke, to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, who, for concealment, was committed to the Tower, as was also Henry Pole, lord Montague; and sir Edward Nevil, the foresaid lord's brother, was forbid the king's presence. Hollingsh. p. 863.

1521.

Bull to enlarge the legate's power. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 734, 739.

Abbey of St. Albans given to Wolfey. p. 760, 775.

Disgrace and death of the duke of Buckingham. Herbert. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

1521.

The duke's title was not altogether groundless, since he was descended from Anne of Gloucester, granddaughter to Edward III. Doctor Morton, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, pressed the duke his father to endeavour to seize the crown; but the duke chose rather to act for the earl of Richmond, than for himself, as was shown in the reign of Richard III. What the son had said concerning his title, was therefore rather imprudent than criminal, since he pretended not to the crown unless the king died without heirs. Indeed, his title might be ill grounded; but he had done nothing to support it. His crime then consisted only in what he had said against the cardinal, who, for that reason, resolved to dispatch him. For that purpose, he gained some of his domesticks, and learnt by their means that he had consulted a certain monk ^o, who pretended to foretell things to come, and had conferred with him several times since April, 1512. Probably, the duke, fond of his title, had inquired of the monk whether the king would die without children. And that was sufficient to give the cardinal occasion to misconstrue all his proceedings. When he believed he had sufficient evidence against him, he began with depriving him of his two principal supports; namely, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, whom he sent to the Tower on some pretence ^p, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey ^q, his son-in-law, on whom he conferred the government of Ireland to remove him from London. Presently after the duke was apprehended ^r, and accused of high treason. The substance of his impeachment was, that he had several times consulted the monk concerning the succession to the crown, and affected to make himself popular. The duke confessed he had talked sometimes with the monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the sentence was pronounced ^s. My lord of Norfolk, cried he, you have said as a traitor should be said unto, but I was never one. My lords, continued he, addressing himself to the peers his judges, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me, but

Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Hall.

^o One Nicolas Hopkins, prior of the Carthusian monastery of Hinton, near Bristol. Hall, fol. 85, 86.

^p For claiming certain wards, which he was forced to relinquish. Herbert, p. 40.

^q The cardinal bore the earl of Surrey a grudge, for having drawn his dagger at him on some occasions. Hol-

lingsh. p. 855.

^r By sir Henry Marney, captain of the king's guard; and brought to the Tower, April 16. Hall, fol. 85.

^s By the duke of Norfolk, who was for the time constituted high steward. He was brought to his trial May 13, Hall.

1521.

the eternal God forgive you my death, and I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. My lords and all my fellows I desire you to pray for me. When he said he would not sue to the king for life, his meaning was, he thought it would be fruitless, knowing he was the cardinal's victim, who had an absolute sway over the king. Indeed, the minister had so ordered it, that though all the peers of the realm had a right to assist at the trial, there were present only one duke, one marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons^t; and probably, he had secured the majority. All the favour the duke received was to be beheaded, instead of dying the death of a traitor^u. This execution was attended with loud murmurs among the people, and satyrical libels against the cardinal, wherein was said among other things, that it was not strange the son of a butcher should delight in shedding blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken for this injustice. He was too deeply rooted in the king's mind, to fear these murmurs, which besides never reached the king's ears, all about him being either spies or creatures of the cardinal.

The king was then wholly intent upon one affair, namely, the war he had resolved to make upon France, as if his glory and grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that kingdom, whereas his true interest was to support France against the emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all Europe, even without the assistance of England, how much more by his union with that kingdom? this was owing to cardinal Wolfey's ambition, whose counsels to his master were always self-interested. Probably, France was going to be reduced to a very sad condition, it being hardly possible for her to resist so potent enemies, who were to invade her from several quarters. Francis I. imagined however he had still one refuge by means of the Scots,

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

^t Namely, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset, the earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford, and Derby; the lords St. John, Delaware, Fitzwarren, Willoughby, Broke, Cobham, Herbert, and Morley. Hall.

^u He was executed on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, and was buried in the church of the Augustines, in Broadstreet, London. Edward Stafford, descended of Edmund, earl of Stafford, who married Anne, daughter of Tho-

mas of Woodstock, son of Edward III. left (by Alianore his wife, one of the daughters of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland) one son, Henry, and three daughters; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Catherine, to Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; and Mary, to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny. With this duke of Buckingham, ceased that great place of high constable of England, hereditary in his family. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 171.

1521.

who could make a considerable diversion in England. The congress of Calais having plainly discovered Henry's partiality to the emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, though he had engaged to detain the duke of Albany in France, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himself bound to perform a promise, the motive whereof was now no more, namely, the mutual friendship between him and Henry. He permitted therefore the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, or rather sent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the English forces on the borders of the two kingdoms. He very justly expected this service from a prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his settlement in France as much more solid than that in Scotland, where his regency was to last but few years. The duke therefore departed for Scotland, and arriving the 30th of October 1521, after a four year's absence, resumed the regency. As he intended to serve France to the utmost of his power, his first care was to oblige the earl of Angus, the queen's spouse, to quit the kingdom, deeming him one of the king of England's principal adherents, and yet the earl took refuge in France.

Buchanan.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Progress of
the reformation
in Germany.
Sleidan.

Whilst the christian princes were all employed in their temporal concerns, the reformation made great progress in Germany by means of Luther's writings, which were read with great eagerness. Luther was satisfied at first with attacking the sale of indulgences, then the indulgences themselves, and the pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and being persuaded there was nothing to support it in scripture, he writ upon that subject without any regard to the Roman pontiff. He attacked likewise in his writings the celibacy of priests, monastick vows, and private masses. Though at the time I am now speaking of, namely, the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote against the pope but three years, he had gained many followers, and still more enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but also by his sharp and satyrical stile, wherein he threw off all ceremony with respect to the church of Rome. The book that made most noise was entitled, concerning the Babylonish captivity. In this book the popes were not spared.

In the several answers which appeared as well against this as the other books of Luther, the decretals of the popes, and the works of Thomas Aquinas were urged in favour of the papal authority. This gave him occasion, in his replies, to ridicule those, who in defence of the papal power, al-

ledged

1521.

ledged the decisions of the popes themselves, and the testimony of Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized for carrying the pope's authority as high as possible. Besides, he did not shew much regard for that author's writings; which probably, was the chief thing that incensed Henry VIII. against him. As Henry had much studied the works of Thomas Aquinas, and from thence properly had acquired all his theological knowledge, he could not bear to see his favorite author thus contemned ^w. He thought himself therefore a match for Luther and able to confute his writings. But as Leo X. had by a bull expressly forbid the reading of his works, and as an answer necessarily supposed the perusal, cardinal Wolsey, applied to the pope for a power to permit such to read them, as desired it with intent to confute them. This was granted him by a brief dated the 17th of April 1521, the pope little thinking who the person was that was going to support his cause. A& Pub. XIII. p. 742.

Henry finished in September his book against Luther, entitled, concerning the seven sacraments. He defended indulgences, papal authority, the number of sacraments, and other articles combated by Luther, proceeding upon Thomas Aquinas's principles as upon undeniable truths. Very probably he was assisted by cardinal Wolsey in composing this work, which was presented to the pope in full consistory ^x. Leo X. who was still living, received it with great joy, and spoke of it in the highest strains of flattery. making no scruple to compare it to the works of St. Augustine and St. Jerom. This is no wonder. A book composed by a great king in defence of the papal authority, could not be too much esteemed by a pope. A few days after, Leo assembled the cardinals, to consult with them, after what manner he should requite the king of England's service to the church. After a long debate, they resolved at last to honour that monarch Henry VIII's book against Luther, Herbert. Hall. presented to the pope;

^w Wolsey also much read Thomas Aquinas, and was therefore called Thomisticus. Pol. Virg.

^x The manner of delivery was thus: dr. John Clarke, dean of Windsor, our king's ambassador, appearing in full consistory, the pope knowing the glorious present he brought, first gave him his foot, and then his cheek to kiss; after which he received the book, and made a speech. This copy, richly bound, is kept in the Vatican, where lord Herbert says, he remembers to

have seen it. The book is dedicated to the pope. "In this address your holiness may be surpris'd (says the king) to find a person bred to war, and the business of state, engaged in a controversy of this nature, with a man that has spent his whole time in the improvements of learning." Some have thought that this book was composed, at least in part, by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Stephen Gardiner, and sir Thomas Moor. Herbert, p. 38. Fiddes, p. 251.

1521.

who gives
Henry the
title of de-
fender of
the faith.
Act. Pub.
XIII p. 756.
p. 758.

with the glorious title of defender of the faith ^y. In consequence of this resolution, the pope ordered a bull to be drawn, conferring that title on Henry, and all the kings of England his successors ^z. I shall not repeat here the magnificent encomiums the pope gave the king in this bull, and in a letter of thanks for his book ^a. It may be easily imagined, he spared not the most extravagant expressions to flatter a prince, who was so fond of being flattered, and of whom he stood in need, his nuntio being then at Calais, negotiating with cardinal Wolsey a league against France ^b.

1522.

Henry's
reasons for
making war
upon France.

I have already spoke of this league which was really concluded at Bruges. Henry founded his joining with the emperor upon Francis's having been the aggressor, by encouraging Robert de la Mark to take up arms. But besides that Francis denied he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged Robert to desist, it was evident the emperor had prevented him, by joining in a league with the pope, though their league was not so soon made known. The secret attempts upon Como, Milan, Genoa, and the

^y It was debated whether he should be stiled protector, or defender of the Roman church; or, of the apostolick see; or, the apostolical, or orthodox king. But defender of the faith was at last pitched upon: This title had formerly been enjoyed by some of our kings his predecessors. Spelman. Fuller, in his church history says, there went a tradition, that Patch, the king's fool, perceiving the king very jocund one day, asked him the reason, and when the king told him it was because of his new title, defender of the faith, the fool made this arch reply, prithee, good Harry, let thee and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself. Fiddes life of Wolsey, p. 248.

^z The beginning and end of this bull is engraven from the original, with the very hand writing of the cardinals to it, in the XIIIth volume of the Fœdera, p. 756.

^a Among other expressions in this letter, there are these words: quasi reputantes, non sine permisso divino, erupisse adversus Christi ecclesiam, luterianam hanc impietatem, ut ipsa majore sua cum gloria talem propugnatorum & defensorum fortiri possit. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 758.

^b This year 1521, muskets were invented, which du Bellai says, were first used in this war. — This year also, it being observed there was a great decay of tillage and husbandry, occasioned by the many inclosures made by the nobility and gentry, who, within fifty years, had turned most of their lands into pasture, and kept them in their own hands; from whence, among other inconveniencies, it followed, that the number of husbandmen, and persons capable of defending the country, was very much lessened; many towns and villages were depopulated; and the prices of wool and meat were very much enhanced, as being engrossed by persons who were not obliged to sell: to remedy all this, the king revived the statutes made against inclosures, and issued out his commissions to justices of peace, and other magistrates, to see them put in execution. Stow, p. 512. Hollingsh. p. 862. — The sea overflowing the dikes of Holland, drowned seventy two villages, and above a hundred thousand people. — Also there was so great a dearth in England, that wheat was sold for twenty shillings a quarter. Stow, p. 514.

open war in the Milanese, by which the king of France lost that duchy, were clear evidences that the league was concluded before Robert de la Mark's affair. Henry pretended also to have against Francis another cause of complaint, which however had no better foundation; namely, that contrary to his promise, he had permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland. But if it is considered that the duke arrived not in his own country till the 30th of October, and that the league of Bruges was signed the 24th of November, it will be easy to perceive the league was already resolved before Henry could know that the duke of Albany was returned into Scotland. But though, upon the first notice, he had taken a hasty resolution to join with the pope and the emperor, was that a just cause to proceed to a war, which would probably ruin France? The truth is, these were only pretences to cover the injustice of a war undertaken by Henry for the cardinal's interest, and perhaps without knowing himself the real motives of that minister's proceedings.

1522.

Hall.
Stow.
Buchanan.

Mean while, Henry perceiving the duke of Albany would embarrass him if he continued in Scotland, attempted a second time to drive him from thence. To that purpose, he sent Clarenceux his herald, with orders to upbraid him with breach of promise, and with returning into Scotland to marry the queen dowager, and deprive the young king of the crown. The pretended reason of this last charge, was, that the queen dowager being desirous to have her marriage with the earl of Angus annulled, the duke of Albany had seconded her suit at the court of Rome ^c. The duke answered he was returned into Scotland, by the invitation of the great men: that he had never done any thing to give occasion to suspect him of aspiring to the crown, neither had he ever any such thought: that indeed, he had countenanced the queen's suit, but without any design to marry her having a wife of his own.

Henry sends to the duke of Albany to go out of Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

Henry was not satisfied with summoning the regent, but sent also a letter to the parliament of Scotland, containing the same accusations against the duke of Albany, and a charge to the states to expel him the kingdom. The substance of the parliament's answer was: that what had been reported to his majesty concerning the duke of Albany's return into

He writ to the parliament upon the same account. The parliament's answer.

^c She was offended, it seems, at his leaving her at Harbottle, and very much nettled at the love he bore to a certain Scotch lady. She alledged, among other things, at the court of

Rome, that she heard her husband James IV. was living three years after Flodden field, and therefore not dead when she married the earl, so much did that report prevail. Herbert, p. 50.

Scotland,

1522. Scotland, to take forcible possession of the king's person, was utterly false: that the duke did nothing with regard to the king, that could breed the least suspicion, since he did not so much as offer to change any of his domesticks, without the consent of the states, and that it was with the queen's advice and consent, that they had taken care of the guardianship and education of the king: that they could not believe the duke had ever intended to put away his wife and marry the queen, or that the queen had any thoughts of espousing the duke: that as for the treaty with the king of France, to hinder the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it: that they could not help thinking such a treaty very strange, since they rather imagined, his majesty should have solicited the duke to return to defend the king his nephew against his rebellious subjects, whereas they saw with grief, it was he who fomented the rebellion: that if it continued thus, they did not see how it was possible to keep a good understanding between the two kingdoms: that however, if he would be pleased to send away the bishop of Dunkeld from his court, and without interposing in the affairs of Scotland, leave to the regent and states the care of governing the kingdom, a truce might be concluded till the embassy that was to be sent to him, was ready. But that, in case he would have no truce, unless they expelled the regent, they would endeavour to defend themselves in the best manner they could.

The queen of Scotland's letter to the king her brother.
Herbert.

Queen Margaret, to whom the king her brother had likewise writ upon the same subject, sent an answer, sharply expostulating with him for giving ear to the report concerning her marriage with the duke of Albany. She freely owned, it was with her consent and advice that the duke was recalled, adding, if he had not been so unkind a brother, she should have had no occasion to seek the protection of a stranger.

Henry finds means to avoid a war with Scotland.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Henry could not expect any other answer, since he was conscious to himself, that his accusations against the regent of Scotland were only affected pretences to complain indirectly of the king of France. He ordered however the lord Dacres^d to march into Scotland with five hundred men, and proclaim on the borders, that if the Scots made not peace with him by such a time^e, it should be to their peril. But

^d Warden of the West marches.
Herbert.

^e By the first of March. Hollingsh.
head, p. 372.

he did not support this bravado ^f. His sole aim was to furnish his party in Scotland with a pretence to refuse to serve the regent, in case he attempted to make a diversion in England in favour of France. And in this he was not disappointed. In October following, the regent of Scotland raising an army to make an inroad into England, was no sooner come to the borders, but many of the lords refused to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the kingdom in an unnecessary war with England. The opposition the duke of Albany found in his army, convincing him he should be able to do nothing considerable, he proposed a truce, which the English gladly accepted. For, Henry's aim was only to terrify the Scots with a dread of the success of a war with England during the minority of their king. So, the duke of Albany seeing it was not in his power to serve France as he desired, returned about the end of October to Paris, in order to take fresh measures with the king. Thus Henry attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with Scotland, as a war with that kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his present circumstances.

The regent goes back to France.

Mean while, Francis I. having had some intelligence of what passed at Bruges between the emperor and the cardinal, and desiring to convince Henry how directly contrary to the league of London his proceedings were, sent him letters patents inserting the article of the treaty, whereby they were engaged mutually to assist one another. Then he recited what the emperor had done against him, as well in Italy, as in Champagne and Flanders, and summoned him to perform the treaty he had solemnly sworn. Henry in answer sent a herald to proclaim war against him ^g, alledging he was obliged to it by the same treaty of London, because Francis had first attacked the emperor, and moreover had disappointed him with respect to the duke of Albany ^h. Thus war was once more declared between France and England, upon very frivolous, not to say unjust occasions. But Wol-

Francis calls upon Henry to aid him against the emperor. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 764. Feb. 23.

Henry proclaims war. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Pol. Virg.

^f King Henry fitted out also six ships, under the command of Christopher Coe, to guard England against the insults of the Scots and French. Stow, p. 514. Hall, fol. 91.

^g In the end of March. Whereupon king Francis ordered all the effects of the English merchants at Bourdeaux, and elsewhere, to be seized. And Henry did the same by the French

and Scotch merchants in London, and moreover caused them to be imprisoned. Hall, fol. 92, 93.

^h At this time, Anne Bulleyn, who had lived in the French court ever since her going over with Mary, king Henry's sister, and wife of Lewis XII, returned to England. Herbert, p. 46. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 44. Fiddes, p. 268. Du Tillet, p. 397.

1522.

sey had the art of persuading the king his master to whatever he pleased.

A tax imposed on England.
Herbert.
Stow.

Hall.

Henry having without cause proclaimed war against France, did not dare to call a parliament to demand a subsidy. For he could alledge neither any just cause, nor any necessity for undertaking a war destructive to the English merchants. However, money must be raised, and it was the cardinal's business, who had embarked him in the war, to find means. The expedient he thought most proper was, to order the sheriffs to send a list of their names of all above sixteen years old, with an exact account of what each person was worth in land, stock, moveables, and money. This was such a survey as was formerly taken in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had given so great cause of complaint to the nation¹. This was followed by a general loan of the tenth of his lay subjects, and a fourth of the clergy, according to the true value of their estates, besides twenty thousand pounds which the king borrowed of the city of London. Thus one injustice commonly draws on another. The war was manifestly unjust, and became still more so by the means employed to maintain it. These kinds of involuntary loans, to which certain kings of England have sometimes forced their subjects, are a manifest violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the king may oblige his subjects to furnish him with money, when he shall think necessary, though it be by way of benevolence or loan, it may be assured, he will very seldom, or perhaps never think himself obliged to call a parliament. It is true, Henry was neither the first nor last that used this extraordinary method to raise money. But, though he was so fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, some of his

Hall.
Hollingsh.

¹ Stow gives an account of this survey from an original warrant directed to the constable of a hundred, who was commanded to charge the constables of every parish within the said hundred to appear personally before certain commissioners, and to bring with them the names of all persons above sixteen years old, dwelling within the said hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain place assigned, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is lord of every town or hamlet, and who stewards, and who parsons of the town, and what their benefice is

worth, and who owners of every parcel of land within the said precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, what stock on the lands, and who the owner thereof; also what strangers dwell there, and what business they follow; also the value and substance of every person above sixteen years of age; also what pensions go thence to religious and spiritual men. Which being certified, the king rejoiced, finding his kingdom so wealthy (says Polydore Virgil.) See Stow's Ann. p. 515. This warrant was dated at Brentwood, March 27, 1522.

successors

successors who were pleased to imitate him, were not so happy. 1522.

The general loan made a great noise over all the kingdom. Every one openly exclaimed against the cardinal, who was the author. But he little regarded the people's clamours, because he was supported by the king. However, though at first he had given orders to exact loans with the same rigour, as if they had been a tax imposed by the parliament, he met with so many obstacles, that he was apprehensive of raising in the kingdom commotions not to be appeased at his pleasure. So, the tax was levied much more gently than at first was intended. This caused so great a mistake in the cardinal's calculation, that the king was forced at last to recur to the usual method of a parliament to maintain the war, as we shall see presently. The London merchants were the most strenuous opposers of the levying this tax. They were required to declare upon oath the real value of their effects; but they firmly refused it, alledging, it was not possible for them to give an exact account of their effects, part whereof was in the hands of their correspondents in foreign countries. At length by agreement, the king was pleased to accept of a sum according to their own calculation of themselves.

Murmurings
against the
cardinal.

The London
merchants
oppose the
tax.

Cardinal Wolsey's concern at not succeeding in this affair according to his wish, was not comparable to his trouble at being disappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which he had spared neither money nor pains. I mean his election to the papal dignity, of which he thought himself sure. Leo X. dying the beginning of December the last year, when his obsequies were over the cardinals entered the conclave, where they were not a little embarrassed concerning the election of a new pope. Julio cardinal de Medici aspired to the papacy, and had many votes for him. But the emperor's party and some cardinals gained by Wolsey, openly opposed the election of Julio. Mean while, as it is required to have two thirds of the voices to be chosen pope, if the cardinal de Medici had not enough for himself, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this long detained the cardinals in the conclave^k. Though the emperor

The cardinal
is disappointed
of his
hopes of the
papacy.

Management
of the
conclave.
Guicciard.
Pol. Vi.

^k The conclave is in the vatican, where there is a long gallery full of cells, which are chosen by the cardinals by lot. The funeral of the deceased pope lasting nine days, on the tenth each cardinal goes to his cell,

and are shut up in the conclave with one servant, called a conclavist, with each a secretary and gentleman to attend them, carry their messages, and manage their intrigues. The conclave is guarded by the militia of the city,

1522.

ror had promised Wolsey his interest, he intended not to keep his word. His design was to cause Adrian Florentio bishop of Tortosa, native of Utrecht, and formerly his preceptor, to be chosen, reckoning when he should be pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed so artfully, and withal so privately, that the cardinals of his party, without discovering their intent, were satisfied with breaking the cardinal de Medici's measures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Mean while, Wolsey left no stone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the emperor's interest, he writ to him to put him in mind of his promise, representing the advantages to have a pope at his devotion. At the same time he ordered Pace, who was then at Venice, instantly to repair to Rome, and do him what service he could. The emperor was very much embarrassed in relation to Wolsey. He had promised to use all his interest in his favour, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his interest to have a pope at his devotion. But he knew cardinal Wolsey too well, to imagine such a pope would be guided by his counsels. It was necessary therefore, in order not to lose Wolsey's friendship, to cause Adrian to be chosen without the emperor's appearing to be concerned in the election. As he had gained that Minister to his interest, solely by the promise of procuring him the papacy, he could not doubt, that if he saw himself deceived, he would turn his master against him. Wherefore the emperor concealed his designs, and was so faithfully served in the conclave, that they could not be discovered, neither had Adrian ever one vote in the daily

Guicciard.

to prevent their receiving any letters; and the dishes of meat (which are received in at a window by the conclavist) are searched by the master of the ceremonies for the same reason. The cardinals meet every morning and evening in the chapel for a scrutiny, which is done by writing their suffrages in the billets done up in two folds, and sealed with two seals. In the first fold, the conclavist writes the name of the cardinal his master votes for, because the cardinal's hand would be known. In the second, the cardinal writes his own name; and on the outside, the conclavist writes any motto the cardinal pleases, as *deo volente*, by which they know their own billets when they are read, for the fold containing the elector's name is not opened till the pope

is chosen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the billets are ready, they put them, after a short prayer, into a chalice upon the altar, and appoint two of their number to read the names of the cardinals aloud, and keep account of the votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the votes fall upon one person; and if they do not, the billets are all burnt. The court of Rome consists at present of the pope and seventy cardinals; viz. fifty cardinal priests, fourteen cardinal deacons, and six cardinal bishops, who are for the most part of the pope's privy council. See Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe; and Relig. Customs, vol. I.

scrutinies.

1522.

scrutinies. Mean while, he kept cardinal Wolfey in hopes, and threw upon the cardinal de Medici's faction, the obstacles which occurred in the performance of his promise. At last, when they that were in the emperor's secret, and managed his affairs in the conclave, were secure of a sufficient number of votes, one day as the cardinals were met to make a scrutiny, some one proposed cardinal Adrian bishop of Tortosa then in Spain. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that cardinal, and the advantages which would accrue to the church by his promotion. Whereupon they who were of the party voted one after another for Adrian, as if they had been inspired, and perhaps without knowing one another's design, so dexterously had the business been managed. The rest that were not in the secret, seeing two thirds of the voices for Adrian, voted the same way, lest a fruitless opposition might turn to their prejudice. Thus the election was made with unanimous consent, and passed for a miraculous inspiration of the Holy Ghost. It is not likely that Wolfey was such a dupe, as to believe the emperor was not concerned in Adrian's election, since the thing was so plain. The new pope, who assumed the name of Adrian VI. had been his preceptor, and upon his recommendation was made cardinal, and was now regent in Spain. Besides, there is no likelihood that the cardinals would have thought of choosing a Barbarian, for that's the honourable appellation the Italians bestow on those that are not of their nation, if the election had not been managed by the emperor. However this be, Wolfey showed no resentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be openly revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the emperor against another vacancy. For it was probable there would be one very soon, the new pope being old and infirm. Adrian VI. was elected in January 1522, but it was Midsummer before he came to Rome.

Adrian VI.
chosen pope.
Hollingsh.

Wolfey hides
his resentment.

The emperor having made a pope at his devotion, and settled his affairs in Flanders and Germany, resolved to return into Spain, where his presence was necessary. But as he had cause to fear some change at the court of England, on account of what had passed in the late conclave, he thought proper to visit Henry in his way. This visit was necessary, as well to confirm with that prince the articles agreed on at Bruges, as to try to preserve cardinal Wolfey's friendship, without which he could not expect to preserve the king's. He landed the 26th of May at Dover, where the cardinal waited on him with a magnificent train, and Henry came himself

The emperor
sets out for
Spain, and
goes by Eng-
land.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

He is receiv-
ed with great
honour.

1522.

Act. Pub.
XIII. p. 767.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

He is made
knight of
the garter.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

He signs
with Henry
the treaty
of Bruges.
Herbert.

himself two days after ^l. From thence, he conducted the emperor to Greenwich, and then to London ^m, where he was received with all the honour and respect usual on such occasions. The cardinal legate forgot not to show his grandeur by saying high mass ⁿ before the two monarchs, assisted by several bishops, and served by dukes. As he had resolved to hide his resentment, the emperor had reason to be satisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his desires. After some stay at London the king invited him to Windsor, where he was installed of the order of the garter, into which his brother Ferdinand also had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing April ^o. This done, the two monarchs received the sacrament together, and swore to the treaty of Bruges.

The preamble of the treaty ran, that the emperor and king of France had referred their differences to the arbitration of the king of England, who had sent the cardinal of York to Calais to decide them: that in these conferences it was long debated to know, which of the two monarchs had been the aggressor, and after mature deliberation the cardinal had declared, it was the king of France, as well by means of Robert de la Mark, as by invading Navarre: that therefore the king of England was obliged by the treaty of London, to assist the prince attacked against the aggressor. That moreover, he had himself cause to complain of the king of France for breach of promise, in sending back the duke of Albany into Scotland, and for discontinuing the payments of the sums due to him. Upon all these accounts, Charles and Henry deeming themselves free and clear from all engagements with the king of France, had resolved to contract a strict alliance, and seal it with a marriage between the emperor and the princess Mary, Henry's daughter, upon the following terms. Of these terms I shall recite such only as may be of service to the sequel of the history. Those concerning the marriage were to this effect:

^l See the names of the noblemen and others, that attended the king and the cardinal to Canterbury, in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 767. Hall says, Wolsey set out for Dover the 20th of May; being accompanied by two earls, thirty six knights, a hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbots, thirty chaplains, all in velvet and fatten, and seven hundred yeomen. He came to Dover the 26th. In the mean time,

Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, with the lord Delaware, and a large retinue of knights and gentlemen was sent to Calais, to wait on the emperor. fol. 93.

^m On the 6th of June. Stow, p. 516.

ⁿ On Whitsunday. Ibid.

^o On St. George's day, and had the order and habits sent him to Noremburg. He was afterwards emperor. Herbert, p. 47.

That the emperor should espouse by proxy Mary, daughter to Henry, as soon as she should be twelve years old:

That her dowry should be four hundred thousand crowns, out of which should be deducted what the emperors Maximilian and Charles had borrowed of the king of England.

That in case the marriage should not be accomplished by the emperor's fault, he obliged himself to pay four hundred thousand crowns to the king of England, who bound himself in the same sum to the emperor, in case the marriage was hindered on his part.

The terms of the league were :

That before the end of May 1524, the emperor should enter France on the side of Spain, and the king of England in Picardy, each with an army of thirty thousand ^p foot, and ten thousand horse.

That they should make neither peace nor truce without a mutual consent.

That if any places should be conquered upon France, they should be restored to him of the two allies, who had a right to them ; and to prevent all disputes, each should declare his pretensions before the first of May 1524.

That if the king of England intended to subdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to an entire obedience, or the emperor to recover Gueldres or Friseland ; if the Scots invaded England, or the duke of Gueldres made war upon the emperor ; in all these cases the two monarchs should be bound to assist one another.

That they submitted to the spiritual jurisdiction of the cardinal of York as legate, and required him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him of the two that should first violate the treaty.

That the treaty should be kept private, so that the common enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the pope should be entreated to enter into the league as a principal contractor, and reputed as such, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the Venetians should be likewise admitted, provided they renounced their alliance with France.

That the two monarchs should use their utmost endeavours to persuade the Switzers to forsake the French, or at least to be neutral.

1522.

Articles of
the treaty.
Herbert.

^p Rapin by mistake, says forty thousand. Whereas in the original it is only thirty thousand or more. See Herbert, p. 48.

1522.

The same day the treaty was signed, the emperor signed also letters patents, promising to pay Henry whatever was due to him from Francis, in case Francis, on account of the present league, should refuse to continue the payments to which he was obliged.

The emperor's bounty to Wolfey. Aët. Pub. XIII. p. 769. June 8. P. 770. July 4.

But cardinal Wolfey had not waited to do his own affairs till the king's were finished, for on the eighth of June the emperor by letters patents had engaged to pay him the pension of twelve thousand livres ^q, which the king of France gave him for the bishoprick of Tournay. Some days after, he obliged himself to pay him a pension of two thousand five hundred ducats, till the like pension was assigned him upon the vacant churches in Spain, in lieu of that he received out of the bishoprick of Badajos, which the emperor desired to discharge. But the emperor's bounties to cardinal Wolfey were amply recompensed by a great sum lent him by the king before his departure.

Henry lends him money. Ibid. Guicciard. Herbert. The emperor makes the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

During the emperor's stay in England, which was about five weeks, he so won the affection of the whole court by his civilities, careffes and presents, that he was almost sure of leaving none but friends about the king. He gained the good will of the English, chiefly by constituting the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet ^r. The commission was drawn whilst the emperor was at London, before his journey to Windsor. As he was to make some farther stay in England, the earl of Surrey taking with him both the English and Flemish fleets, made two descents into France, and carried away a rich booty ^s. Then he returned and convoyed the emperor to Spain ^t.

Affairs of Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Herbert.

I must now briefly relate the success of the wars which were waging in several places. The death of Leo X. had put the affairs of the allies in Italy in a very ill situation.

^q Or nine thousand crowns of gold de soleil, Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. P. 769.

^r Lord Herbert has inserted the patent, (which is dated June 8.) as well for the rareness of it, as the honour of the person, p. 49. Comp. Hist. vol. II. — The earl returned to England, Jan. 25, 1522, from his government of Ireland, wherein he was succeeded by Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 766. Hall, fol. 90. — And on December the fourth this year, the said earl of Surrey was made high treasurer. Rymer, tom.

XIII. p. 777.

^s He landed June 13, near Cherbourg, and after having destroyed the adjacent country, returned to Portland: he landed a second time on July 1, near Morlaix, in Bretagne, with seven thousand men, and burnt and plundered that town; from whence he brought away a great booty. Herbert, p. 50. See a list of the most remarkable English gentlemen in this expedition, in Hall, fol. 99, 100.

^t The emperor embarked at Southampton, July 6. Hall, fol. 99.

1522.

The troops of the church and of Florence had relinquished the army, immediately after the news of the pope's death. Besides that, Prosper Colonna receiving no more supplies of money, either from Rome or the emperor, was forced to disband most of his remaining troops, and to keep but what was absolutely necessary for the defence of Milan. Mean while, the emperor ordered a levy of six thousand Landsquenets ^u, which Francesco Sforza, and Hieronimo Adorno a Genoese, were to lead into Italy. Shortly after, Lautrec received a reinforcement of sixteen thousand Switzers, which rendered him superior to the allies, and yet he could not hinder the Landsquenets from joining the emperor's army. His only refuge was to try to bring the imperialists to a battle, and for that purpose he besieged Pavia; but Prosper Colonna found means to throw succours into the place without running any hazard. Whereupon Lautrec despairing of success, raised the siege and encamped at Monzas and Colonna, who was afraid for Milan, posted himself at Bicocca, a country seat with a large park, capable of being easily fortified as surrounded with a deep ditch. Here Colonna intrenched himself in such a manner, that he could not be attacked without rashness. Lautrec had no inclination to attack the imperialists in that post, but could not possibly help it. His Switzers would have money, and he had none to give them. Louisa of Savoy the king's mother having applied to other uses the four hundred thousand crowns designed for the army in Italy. Mean while, the Switzers pressed their general either to give them money, or lead them to battle, else they were resolved to return home. This put him at length upon assauling the camp at Bicocca, where he was repulsed with great loss ^w; after which, the Switzers quitting him, he was constrained to repass the mountains, not being able to withstand the imperialists. Presently after Colonna became master of Genoa. This rich city being taken by surprise, whilst a capitulation was negotiating, was miserably sacked. In short, Francis had nothing left in Italy but the castles of Milan and Cremona, and even these were very closely blocked up.

Issue of the
campaign in
1522 in
Italy.

The Switzers in the French army oblige Lautrec to fight. Lautrec is defeated at Bicocca. He returns to France. Colonna takes Genoa. Bizan.

In other parts where the war was carrying on during this campaign, France was more prosperous. After admiral Bonnavet had taken Fontarabia, the Spaniards invested that

The Spaniards raise the siege of Fontarabia. Mezerau.

^u So German foot soldiers were called formerly. Hall calls them lance knights.

^w There were three thousand Switzers slain. Guicciard, l. 14.

1522.

place, and continued the siege, without being able to accomplish their enterprize. At last, marshal de Chabanes being sent into Bearn to take the command of the French army in the room of marshal de Chatillon, who was dead, raised the siege, and appointed one Frauget governor of Fontarabia, who afterwards behaved very ill.

The imperialists and English do no great matters in Picardy. Bellai. Mezerai. Hall. Hollingsh.

In Picardy and Champagne, the imperialists and English having joined their forces performed nothing of moment. The two armies, commanded by the count de Bure for the emperor, and by the earl of Surrey for the king of England *, were so superior to those of France, that the duke of Vendôme who commanded in Picardy was not able to resist them. So, having furnished the towns with ammunition, he contented himself with incessantly annoying them with a small body of troops. In September the two generals besieged Hesdin, but after having been five or six weeks before the town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to Doullens, and finding the place deserted, and the gates pulled down, set fire to it. Then intending to approach Corbie in October, the bad weather, and the care the French had taken for the defence of the place, hindered their undertaking the siege. After that, the imperialists retired into Artois, and the English returned home †.

Francis's fault in leaving Lautrec without money.

Thus all the efforts of the emperor and the king of England would have done Francis no great mischief this campaign, if he had not himself been the cause of his ill success in Italy, by neglecting to find the Switzers money. Indeed, if Lautrec had not been forced to attack the imperialists at Bicocca, probably he would have been master of Milan before the end of the campaign. Charles V. then perceived, that to gain any considerable advantages upon France, much greater efforts were to be used, and for that reason continued to carefs cardinal Wolsey, in order to secure the king his master's assistance. In the collection of the public acts, there is a letter of his to the cardinal, full of obliging expressions, plainly denoting his want of him. "I return you thanks (said he to him) for the good affection

The emperor carefs the cardinal very much. Aft. Pub. XIII. p. 776. Nov. 11.

* The earl of Surrey had about sixteen thousand men. The foreward of his army was led by Robert Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter; the rear by sir William Sandes, and sir Richard Wingfield; and the main body by the earl himself. Sir Edward Guildford, was captain of the horse. Hall, fol. 101,

103.

† After having burnt and plundered several villages. They took fourteen thousand sheep, fourteen hundred oxen and cows, thirteen hundred hogs, and six hundred mares and horses. Hall, fol. 102, 103.

" you

“ you have always shown me, desiring you to continue it,
 “ as I firmly believe you will, for you are sensible that I
 “ place my whole confidence in you.” Again, “ I entreat
 “ you to give the same credit to my said ambassadors as to
 “ myself, and shew yourself, on this occasion, as I take you
 “ to be, my good and faithful friend, for I shall have a
 “ grateful remembrance of it.”

1522.

The extraordinary method used by the cardinal to raise money having been very disagreeable to the English, he judged it more proper to proceed for the future in the usual way; and therefore the king assembled a parliament the 15th of April 1523^z. The convocation meeting at the same time according to custom^a, the cardinal resolved to establish a good precedent in favour of the king, by exacting from the clergy a considerable subsidy. His character of legate gave him such an interest with that body, that he was almost sure of obtaining whatever he was pleased to demand. But to find less difficulties, he removed on divers pretences some of those from whom he feared to meet opposition, and gained others by promises or threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the clergy a subsidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. Richard Fox bishop of Winchester, John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and a proctor of the inferior clergy, one Philips, would have opposed this exaction; but the cardinal treated them in such a manner, as discouraged the rest from supporting them. So the subsidy was granted, though the clergy privately murmured, that the pope's legate who ought to maintain their rights was the first to violate them.

1523.

The cardinal demands of the clergy a subsidy for the king.
 Herbert.
 Hall.
 Burnet,
 Stow.

This affair being thus ended with respect to the clergy, the cardinal repaired to the house of commons, where he made a long speech, endeavouring to show the necessity of the war the king had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had suffered from the king of France. He concluded with demanding a subsidy of the fifth part of the goods of every lay subject to be paid in four years^b. This demand caused warm debates among the commons. Several represented, that if the kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the king require such a subsidy, much less for a war

He receives a mortification in the house of commons.
 Herbert.
 Hall.
 Stow.
 Hollingsh.

^z Which met at the Black Friars, in London. Herbert, p. 55.

^a See a particular account of this convocation in Burnet's Hist. Ref. tom. III. p. 24.

^b The charges of the war with

France, were computed at eight hundred thousand pounds; and the sum demanded was four shillings in the pound. See Hall, fol. 100. Herbert, p. 55. Stow's Survey, B. III. p. 177.

1523.

wantonly undertaken, and rather for the interest of the emperor than of England. However as the court party were very numerous in the house, it was resolved to grant the king a subsidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The cardinal, who was used to be complied with, was extremely offended at the opposition of the commons. He went again to the house, and told them, he desired to reason with those who opposed his demands. But the commons replied by their speaker ^c, that it was the order of that house to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves. At this reply, the cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he could only prejudice the king's affairs, in attempting to treat the commons with the same haughtiness he treated the rest of the world. His sollicitation however had some effect, since there was an addition made to the subsidy ^d.

Herbert.
P. 56.

Act of
attainder
against the
duke of
Buckingham.
Herbert.

Besides this affair, for which properly the parliament was called, nothing remarkable passed in the session, except an act of attainder against the late duke of Buckingham, who had been condemned by a sentence of his peers. As all the world was satisfied this sentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the cardinal publicly accused of having sacrificed that lord to his vengeance, he had the credit to obtain this act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the parliament shewed that the act was passed out of mere condescension, since by another, Henry Stafford son of the deceased was restored to his estate and honours ^e. A statute was made also this session, empowering the king for his life to repeal all attainders of high-treason by his letters patents under the great seal ^f.

The king
has power
to repeal
attainders.
Herbert.

These

^c The famous sir Thomas Moor.

^d At first every man of twenty pounds a year was to pay two shillings in the pound; and from twenty pounds downward to forty shillings a year, one shilling in the pound; and under forty shillings, every head of sixteen years old or more, four pence in two years. But afterwards, by the liberal motion of some, particularly of sir John Huse, a knight of Lincolnshire, those of fifty pounds a year and upwards were induced to give one shilling more for three years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth year, and extended to those who were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtained. Hall, fol. 110. Herb. p. 56.

^e He was only restored in blood, and not to honours and lands. However, the king by letters patents, bearing date the 25th of September this year, granted to him and Ursula his wife, daughter of sir Richard Pole, by Margaret of Clarence, part of the lands of the late duke his father, among which was the castle and manor of Stafford, Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 171.

^f This parliament was, on July 31, adjourned to Westminster, where it sat till the 13th of August, and then was dissolved. The most remarkable statutes enacted now where these: 1. That no foreign artificer in England shall take any apprentice, but what is born under the king's obedience; or have

1523.

Character of
Wolfey.

These were the first attempts made in this reign to render the king master of the debates of the parliament. Cardinal Wolfey was the first author, and unfortunately for the subjects, the king too well improved his minister's instructions. Such favourites as this have but too much cause to fear the parliament, and therefore strive to the utmost of their power to lessen its authority, by enlarging that of the sovereign who supports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail at last of falling into the hands of that authority they have endeavoured to destroy. Wolfey is one of those who have the most openly abused their favour, not only against the nation's but also the king's interest, which was much less dear to him than his own. He was never contented with estates or honours. The 24th of March this year he procured for himself the bishoprick of Durham, one of the richest in the kingdom in lieu of Bath and Wells, which he was willing to resign, Two months after, Adrian VI. prolonged his legateship for five years, after the expiration of the term granted by Leo X. Thus estates and honours were incessantly heaped upon him, without however any possibility of satisfying his greediness. Indeed, he carried his desires much higher, since he still aspired to the papacy, Adrian's age and infirmities giving occasion to think his pontificate would not last long. He still expected to be raised to that high dignity by the emperor's means, and therefore forgot nothing to preserve his favour. To this doubtless must be ascribed the honourable reception given this year to Christiern king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's sister. This prince having by his cruelties rendered himself odious to his subjects, and for that reason been expelled his dominions, arrived in England about Midsunmer with his queen and was received as a king unjustly oppressed, and not like one that had by his barbarities drawn his misfortunes upon himself. Henry was not contented to do him all possible honour, but moreover renewed with him the treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, as if that prince had still been in possession of his dominions.

Adrian gives him the see of Durham, and prolongs his legateship.
Act. Pub. XIII. p. 783, p. 788, 795.
Wolfey still aspires to the papacy.

Christiern king of Denmark is received in England.
Hall. Hollingsh.

Henry renews the alliance with Christiern.
Act. Pub. XIII. p. 795.
Jan.

This was the fruit of cardinal Wolfey's interested counsels, who never regarded either honour or justice in gratify-

have above two journeymen that are not so; and that they shall have a proper mark for their wares, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds. 2. There is one confirming the college of physicians. 3. By another, the marriage of the six clerks in chancery is allowed. 4. It

was ordained, that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, shall kill any hare in the snow, with a dog, or otherwise, upon pain of forfeiting six shillings and eight pence for every offence. For the rest see the Statutes,

1523.

ing his passions. He expected every thing from the emperor, and therefore used his utmost endeavours to increase that monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promise. It was not the cardinal's fault that France was not utterly ruined. At least he formed this year in conjunction with the emperor projects tending to the entire dissolution of that antient monarchy.

Project a-
gainst France
founded on
the constable
of Bourbon's
rebellion.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.
Stow.

Though by the treaty of Bruges, ratified by the emperor and Henry at Windsor, they were not to enter France till 1524, an opportunity which offered causing them to take other measures, they resolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the king of France in three different places. The emperor was to have a strong army on the frontiers of Spain, to become master of Fontarabia and Bayonne. Henry was to employ his forces in Picardy jointly with those of the Low Countries, and the constable of Bourbon, who had suffered himself to be corrupted by the emperor or perhaps by his own offer, was to make an inroad into Burgundy. As most of the events of the following years turn upon that prince's disgust, it will be requisite briefly to mention the reasons.

Causes of the
constable's
disgust.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Hall.

The duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood royal of France, had received the constable's sword ever since the first year of Francis I. He had all the qualifications necessary for that high post. Perhaps he had too much merit, since, if we believe Mezerai, Louisa of Savoy mother to Francis wished to have him for her husband. But as he feigned not to understand what she desired, he made her his irreconcilable enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the king, over whom the duchess his mother had too great an ascendant. The first mentioned in history was when in 1521 the king commanding the army in person, gave the conduct of the van to the Duke of Alençon, contrary to the prerogative annexed to the office of constable. But this was nothing in comparison of another, which however is related in the history of France only upon uncertain reports. The king telling the constable he should be glad to marry him to the duchess his mother, received an answer so injurious to the duchess, that he gave him a box on the ear. This fact is not perhaps sufficiently attested. But however, it is certain the duchess's affection for the constable turned to hatred. From thenceforwards he was looked upon with an evil eye at court, and no more trusted with the command of the king's armies. This was sufficient to

Mezerai.

‡ Reflecting on her loose behaviour, P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 501, 504.

give him great disgust. But his enemy not being satisfied with these mortifications, which seemed to her too slight a revenge for her contemned love, commenced a suit against him for his whole estate. The cause was natural to be tried by the parliament of Paris but the dukes put it into the hands of the chancellor and some other commissioners her creatures, which convinced the constable that his ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid so fatal a blow, his despair caused him to throw himself into the emperor's arms. A Flemish lord ^b was the manager of the negotiation, wherein the king of England interposed, as being equally concerned with the emperor to create troubles in France. It is hard to know exactly when the negotiation began; but we find in the collection of the publick acts of England, the treaty was advanced the 17th of May 1523. We see there Henry's commission to Richard Sampson and Richard Jerningham, to treat with the duke of Bourbon ^l in order to draw him into the league. This commission empowered the envoys also to receive of the same prince a promise or engagement to own Henry for king of France, to do him homage and swear fealty to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the constable entered into any such engagement but only that Henry intended to draw him into it. However, by the treaty made by the duke with the two monarchs, after the conquest of France he was to have for his part Provence, to be erected into a kingdom, and was to marry Leonora the emperor's sister widow of don Emanuel king of Portugal ^k. The duke was to bring into the field an army of his friends and vassals, to whom the emperor promised to join seven or eight thousand men. This army was to act in the bowels of the kingdom, whilst the emperor and Henry invaded Bearn and Picardy.

1523.

P. Daniel.

He enters into engagements with the emperor, Du Bellai. Herbert. Hollingsh.

and Henry. Act. Pub. XIII. p. 794.

P. Daniel. Herbert.

Mean while, Francis I, ignorant of the designs of his enemies, was solely employed in preparing to recover the duchy of Milan, where he intended to command his army in person. He hastened his preparations the more, because the Venetians were strongly solicited to join with his enemies, on pretence that he amused them with the vain hopes

Francis prepares to go into Italy. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

^b The count de Rœux. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508. Together with William Knight, doctor of law, the English resident with the lady Margaret, and sir John Russel. Herbert, p. 58.

^l The name of Bourbon is in blank, but it is certain that it is the constable

which is there meant. Rapin.

^k The emperor promised to appoint her his heir, in case he and his brother Ferdinand died without issue; and to give her a dowry of two hundred thousand crowns. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508.

1523.

The Venetians declare against him.

of seeing him speedily in Italy with a powerful army. But notwithstanding all his diligence, it was not possible to avoid that misfortune. The Venetians seeing no French army arrive, and dreading to be exposed to the emperor's indignation, entered at last into the league against France about the end of July¹.

Adrian suffers himself to be deceived by the enemies of France. Guicciard.

On the other hand, pope Adrian VI. laboured with all his power to procure a truce between the christian princes, fancying after that there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a war against the Turks. But as his genius was mean, and very different from that of Leo X. and Julius II. his predecessors, instead of making the princes subservient to his designs, he was himself without knowing it instrumental to those of others. The emperor told him he heartily desired the truce, but intimated the necessity of its being for some time, in order to reap the intended advantage. He thereby laid an invincible obstacle in the way, because the king of France being lately dispossessed of the duchy of Milan, would never hearken to a long truce, which would afford his enemies time to secure their conquest. That monarch's opposition gave the emperor and the king of England occasion to engage the pope to proceed farther, by hinting to him that after the example of some of his predecessors, he should exert his apostolick power, which no christian prince would presume directly to oppose. Pleased with these hopes. Adrian published a bull dated the 30th of April, enjoining by virtue of the power committed to him by God, a three years truce between all christian princes under pain of excommunication and interdict, against those that should refuse to observe it. But the king of France disregarding such a truce continued his preparations for the Milan expedition, and ordered his troops to march towards Italy. Then the pope was told, that Francis alone, by his non-compliance and obstinacy, hindered the christians from joining their forces against the Turk. By these secret practices the good pope was gradually brought to conclude a league against France with the emperor, the king of England, Ferdinand archduke of Austria the emperor's brother, the duke of Milan, the Genoese, and the Florentines. This league was signed the 3d of August, a few days after the Venetians had deserted France.

Italy seemed by this league to be secured from all invasions. And indeed, Prosper Colonna, who commanded in Milan,

¹ June the 28th, according to P. Daniel, p. 499.

He enjoins a three years truce among christian princes. Aët. Pub. XIII. p. 790. May 1. Herbert. Francis rejects it.

The pope joins with the enemies of France.

so little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take necessary measures for the defence of that duchy. Mean while, Francis pursued his project, and the more, as he heard there were no preparations at Milan. The emperor seemed wholly to neglect the defence of that State, on purpose to draw Francis into Italy, reckoning that his absence would promote the duke of Bourbon's designs. Nay, it is said, that to induce Francis to absent himself from his kingdom, Henry had caused him to be privately told, there was no danger from him that year in Picardy.

1523.
Francis is induced by the affected carelessness of his enemies to pass into Italy.

Affairs being in this situation, Francis departed for Lyons in order to pass into Italy. In the mean while, the emperor was preparing an army in Spain to besiege Fontarabia and Bayonne. But the army was raised very slowly, because it was not to act till Francis was engaged in the war of Milan. On the other side, the count de Bure^m his general in Flanders, remained quiet, waiting to join the English, who the better to deceive the king of France were not to land at Calais till the end of September. In short, the emperor ordered eight thousand Landsquenets to march in small divisions into Franche Comté, who were to join the duke of Bourbon as soon as he was ready. Upon that prince's revolt the allies built all their hopes, imagining that Francis being in Italy, France thus unexpectedly invaded in so many places at once would make no great resistance. These hopes were the better grounded, as Francis having no intelligence of the duke of Bourbon's plots, had no troops at all in Burgundy, few in Guienne and Bearn, and Picardy was in an ill state of defence.

He sets out for Lyons. Du Bellai. Mezerai. Project of the allies. Herbert.

Mean while, the constable, not to be obliged to attend the king, pretended to be sick at Moulins. But Francis, whilst on the road to Lyons, happened to be informed by two of the constable's servants, that their master held private correspondence with the emperor. Surprized at the news, he turned out of his way to go to Moulins, where he told the duke, who still feigned to be sick, what had been discovered to him. The duke freely owned, the emperor had sounded him by the count de Rœux, but that he had refused to hearken to his proposals: that he designed to inform his majesty of it, but being prevented by his illness from coming to court, he durst not trust any person with the secret. Whether the king believed what the constable said, or thought he could not arrest him in his own territories, he was contented with

The constable feigns sickness at Moulins. The king is informed of the conspiracy. He goes to Moulins. The constable owns he was sounded by the emperor. Du Bellai. P. Daniel. Herbert. Stow. Hall.

^m Florentius, of Egmont.

ordering

1523.

The king orders him to come to Lyons.

He flies into Germany.

The king stays in France, and sends Bonni-
vet to Italy.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
The war is begun in four several places.
Hall.

Campaign in Italy.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.
Herbert.

ordering him to follow him to Lyons. The duke set out indeed as if he had intended to follow the king, being carried in a litter on pretence of his sickness, and travelling by very easy journies. But upon notice that two of his confidants were arrested at court, he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking with him only Pomperan one of his gentlemen, he escaped through by-ways, and safely arrived at Trent in Germany.

The constable's flight convincing the king, there was some grand plot in France to be executed during his absence, he relinquished his design of going into Italy, and contented himself with sending his armyⁿ under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who passed the Alps about the end of August or the beginning of September. About the same time the emperor assembled his army in Spain, the Landsquenets arrived in Franche Comté, and the English landed at Calais, to act in Picardy in conjunction with the Flemings. It will be absolutely necessary briefly to relate what passed during this campaign in these four several places.

The castle of Milan, where Lautrec had left a garrison, surrendered the 14th of April. So the French had no place of importance in the Milanese, except the castle of Cremona, which too was so closely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other hand, as France could expect no farther assistance from the Venetians, and as all the rest of Italy was joined in a league against her, Prosper Colonna who commanded in Milan did not doubt that the king would desist from his design of carrying war into the Milanese. For that reason, he had neglected to repair the fortifications of the capital city which were in an ill state, the ramparts being fallen down in several places. However upon advice that admiral Bonnivet was going to pass the Alps, he drew together all his forces to try to defend the passage of the Tesin; but he came too late. The French had made such speed, that he was forced to retire to Milan in the utmost disorder. Nay, he resolved to abandon that city, if by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him some days time to repair the works. He had but fifteen thousand Men, with which he could not expect to defend against an army of above forty thousand so large a city, which also was open in several places. However, as he had learnt by long experience, that it must not always be thought the enemies will do what is most for their advantage, he never

ⁿ Consisting of three and thirty thousand men. Guicciard, l. 15.

ceased repairing the places which wanted it most, deeming he could but withdraw at last in case the French were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If Bonnavet had marched directly to Milan, he would have found the gates open. But after taking Novarra and Vigerano, and passing the Tesin without opposition, he preposterously imagined a few days more or less would signify nothing. So having lost to no purpose four or five days, he gave the emperor's general time to put Milan in a posture of defence °. At last, approaching the city when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked by the good management of Colonna. Whereupon he resolved to encamp at Chiaravalla, in hopes of cutting off the provisions of Milan, and of having the imperialists at his mercy. But he took his measures so ill, that after persisting in his design till the end of November, he was forced himself to remove from Milan for want of provisions. All he did during that time was to relieve the castle of Cremona, reduced to the last extremities P. Such was the success of Bonnavet's campaign, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantageous for the king his master, had he taken juster measures and improved his superiority. Colonna died shortly after, and Lanoy viceroy of Naples took the command of the imperial army. The season was so far advanced, that nothing remarkable passed in those parts till the end of the year, when the duke of Bourbon came and took the command of the emperor's troops, not without Lanoy's great disgust, who unwillingly resigned his post to a foreigner.

The allies, as I said, were resolved not to invade France till September, because it was to be presumed, the king would then be employed in Italy. For this reason it was the beginning of that month before the emperor assembled his army in Spain. Lautrec, who commanded in Guienne, hearing the Spaniards were drawing together, hastened to the frontiers, to provide for the defence of Bayonne and Fontarabia, which were most exposed. Frauget, an officer of note, was governor of Fontarabia, having been left there the last year by marshal de Chabanes. Lautrec relying upon Frauget's

Campaign in
Bearn.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.

° Galeazzo, viscount of Milan, meeting him, and desiring him to stay till he had raised a tumult in the city, (which he assured him of in two or three days) made Bonnavet lose the opportunity, Herbert, p. 59. According to others, Galeazzo put Bonnavet in hopes, that this city would surrender

by capitulation, whence he might reap great advantages, and at least get a large sum of money. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 516.

P And which Janot d'Herbouville, the governor, had kept for the French near two years together, after the taking of the town. Ibid.

1523.

bravery and experience, left him in the same post, after having reinforced the garrison, and laid in some ammunition. After that, he did not question, the place would be able to maintain a long siege. These precautions being taken with regard to Fontarabia, he repaired to Bayonne. He was no sooner arrived, than the Spanish army appeared before the walls, supported by a fleet, which threw the inhabitants into great consternation, the town being weak towards the sea. But Lautrec so managed it, that the Spaniards were disappointed, though they had expected to carry the place without opposition. Perceiving therefore, that the siege would employ them too long, they suddenly raised it, and invested Fontarabia, which was basely surrendered by Frauget, in very few days. ^q. He was like to have lost his head for a fault of that consequence. But though he preserved his life, he saved not his honour being publickly degraded.

The Spaniards become masters of Fontarabia. P. Daniel.

Campaign in Champagne. Du Bellai.

The emperor was not so successful in Burgundy and Champagne. Lamothe of Noyers, the duke of Bourbon's officer, was gone some time since into Germany, to conduct into Burgundy, count de Furstemberg, who, with seven or eight thousand Landsqnenets, was to join there the duke of Bourbon. Though this project seemed to be frustrated by the duke's flight, count de Furstemberg however entered Champagne with his army. He immediately took Coiffy and Monteclair, small places which made no great resistance. But the duke of Guise, who commanded in that province, knowing Furstemberg had no cavalry, assembled all the nobles of the country, and forming some squadrons, closely followed the Germans. Furstemberg finding himself too weak in the heart of the enemy's country, and having no horse to oppose to those of the duke of Guise, resolved to retire into Lorraine. He could not however make his retreat without receiving a terrible check near Neuschâtel, where the duke of Guise defeated the best part of his troops.

Furstemberg defeated by the duke of Guise.

Whilst the war was carrying on in Italy, Bearn, and Champagne, Henry embarked his troops under the command of the duke of Suffolk ^r, who landing at Calais, joined the count de Bure, the 20th of September. These two bodies made

^q Being desirous to save his goods, Herbert, p. 59. But P. Daniel lays the blame on don Pedro, son of the marshal of Navarre, who held intelligence with the Spaniards, tom. VII. P. 529.

^r Charles Brandon. He was attend-

ed by several lords and gentlemen, whose names see in Hall, fol. 113. The vanguard was commanded by the lord Sandes; the right wing by sir William Kingston; the left by sir Everard Digby; the rear by sir Richard Wingfield; and sir Edward Guildford,

made together an army of twenty five, or thirty thousand foot, and about six thousand horse. The duke de la Trimouille, who commanded in that country, was so inferior in number of troops, that he durst not keep the field. All he could do was to throw succours into the places most exposed, and speedily inform the king of what passed in those parts. Francis I. being then at Lyons, was extremely embarrassed to withstand so many unexpected invasions. 'Tis said, that deceived by false advices from England, he had been in hopes Picardy for this year would be unmolested, and yet, he saw it was there his enemies intended to make their greatest effort. In this perplexity, he immediately dispatched the duke of Vendôme, with all the troops he could assemble, both to defend Picardy, and secure Paris, where he did not question, the alarm was very great. Indeed, the duke of Suffolk, and the count de Bure passing by Terouenne, Hesdin and Dourlens, had taken Roye and Montdidier, and were advanced as far as Corbie. But the news of the duke of Vendôme's march causing them to be more circumspect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather because the season began to be very incommodious, and they were afraid of being engaged between the dukes of Vendôme and la Trimouille. These considerations induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became masters of Bouchain, the governor whereof brought him the keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the place. Then leaving an English garrison in Bouchain, they retired into Artois. But presently after, the French recovered that town. Thus the progress of the confederate army was not so great as Francis had reason to fear. Had the army taken the field sooner, he would have been greatly embarrassed. But, as I said, the hopes the emperor, and the king of England had conceived of the duke of Bourbon's undertaking, was the cause of their not beginning the campaign in any place, till about the end of September.

When Adrian VI. came into the league, he had no design to ruin France, in order to compel Francis to wage war with the Turks, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that prince to consent to the truce. Mean while, without the pope's knowing any thing of it, the em-

was captain of the horse. This army consisted of six hundred demi lances, two hundred archers on horseback, three thousand archers on foot, five thousand bill men, two thousand six hundred pioneers and labourers: to

whom were added seventeen hundred men out of the fortresses of Guisnes, and Calais. So that his whole army was thirteen thousand one hundred strong. Hall, fol. 174.

1523.
Campaign in Picardy, where the Imperialists and English make no great progress. Bellai, P. Daniel. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Hall.

Death of Adrian VI. Guicciard.

1523.

His charac-
ter.
Guicciard.
Cimar.
Sardi.

peror and Henry had combined to invade France, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have seen that their designs did not correspond with his, but he died about six weeks after signing the league against France. He was a good man, of a character very different from those of his predecessors. Instead of thinking to enlarge the ecclesiastical state by unjust confiscations, he had given the duke of Urbino the investiture of his duchy. He had done the same by the duke of Ferrara, knowing that the former popes had quarrelled with these princes only to gratify their desire of enriching their own relations. He would have even restored Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, if the clamours of his council, who could not understand that justice ought to be the foundation of policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewise of reforming the court of Rome, but death suffered him not to execute his design. All these proceedings, so remote from those of his immediate predecessors, who had used the courtiers and people of Italy to see the popes pursue the loose maxims of temporal princes, caused it to be said, that he was indeed an honest man, and a good christian, but an indifferent pope. Accordingly the Italian writers speak of Adrian VI. in terms importing no great esteem for him.

Guicciard.

Julio de
Medici,
prime mi-
nister to
Adrian VI.

The beginning of this year, cardinal Julio de Medici, who retired to Florence upon the death of Leo X. returned to Rome, and was very civilly received. In a short time, he gained the good will of the pope to such a degree, that he supplanted the cardinal of Volterra, the prime minister, and caused him to be committed to the castle of St. Angelo. From thence forward he had the sole management of the pope's affairs, gaining more and more his esteem, by putting on the devout, and expressing a great zeal to unite all the christian princes against the Turk. By this artifice he led him to publish the bull for a triennial truce, and at length to sign the league against France. A minister like this was doubtless, too politick for such a pope. Adrian VI. died the 14th of September, at the very time the armies began to take the field. Had he lived any longer, he would without doubt, have perceived, the league he had imprudently engaged in, was by no means proper to procure the union, he so much desired among the christian princes.

Cardinal Wolfey having notice of the pope's death, writ to the king to inform him of it, desiring his assistance and protection.

protection^s. The next day he writ to him again, praying him to recommend him to the emperor, by a letter under his own hand. He flattered himself that the emperor would have a grateful sense of his late service, in causing the king his master to declare against France, and would now at least keep his word with him, since he had no preceptor to be elected as in the former conclave. But if the Italian historians are to be credited, the emperor little thought of procuring him the papacy, and the conclave much less, who met presently after Adrian's decease. Of the thirty nine cardinals which were in the conclave, Julio de Medici had fifteen or sixteen at his devotion, besides three who had promised not to be against him, if he was like to succeed in the conclave; so that he had only seven or eight to gain, in order to have two thirds of the voices. But this was not easy. Cardinal Colonna, his adversary, was at the head of a much more numerous party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the cardinals of that faction could have as readily united in chusing a pope, as in preventing the election of Julio. This made the conclave hold fifty days. As for Wolfey, if he had any cardinals for him, they could not be many, since he had against him the Frency party, and the emperor's adherents were the same with those of Julio de Medici. In short, Colonna's faction not agreeing upon the choice of a pope, because the head would have one elected who was not liked by his friends, his indignation at their obstinacy caused him to be reconciled with the cardinal de Medici. Guicciardini says, Julio gave him a promise under his hand to make him his vice chancellor and present him with his palace, one of the most magnificent in Rome. Be this as it will, Colonna giving him seven or eight votes which were at his disposal, there was no farther obstacle to his election. It being reported in the conclave, that the cardinal de Medici would be elected the next scrutiny, most of the cardinals stayed not till day appeared, but went and made their court to the person who was soon to be their master. Their example drew in the rest, who finding it not in their power to hinder the election, were willing also to shew, they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of November, all the cardinals went and paid obeysance to the new pope, and the next

1523.

Cardinal
Wolfey en-
deavours to
obtain the
papacy.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Fiddes.

Recital of
what passed
in the con-
clave.
Guicciard.

^s He protests, in that letter which is dated September 30, that he thought himself unfit for the papal dignity, and that he desired much rather to end his

days with the king. Which was strange dissembling. See Burnet's Ref. tom. III, p. 19.

1523. morning his election was confirmed by a solemn scrutiny, wherein he had all the voices. Thus it is that the holy ghost influenced the cardinals in the choice of a pope, who, contrary to their intention, was to be the cause of the deepest wound the church of Rome had ever received. The new pope assumed the name of Clement VII. on account of St. Clement's day, which was to be very shortly solemnized. He was natural son of Julian de Medici, uncle to Leo X. But this defect of birth, though contrary to the canons, was not considered. Leo X. who made him cardinal in the beginning of his pontificate, took care to have it legally attested, that Julian promised his mother marriage. So, taking for granted that a bare promise was equivalent to a marriage, he declared Julio legitimate. Alexander VI. took the same course when he made Cæsar Borgia his bastard son cardinal. He produced witnesses, who deposed, that Cæsar was born of a married woman, whence it was inferred the child was to be deemed the husband's son. In this manner did the vicars of Jesus Christ abuse laws divine and human to gratify their passions. ▷

Wolfey hides his disgust. The news of Clement's election was a great mortification to Wolfey, who, after the promotion of Adrian VI. had expected to be pope upon the first vacancy. He must have been extremely incensed with the emperor, who had twice deceived him. So, it may be assured, considering his vindictive temper, he resolved from that moment to be revenged. But as he could not execute this resolution without his master's assistance, he was to take care not to discover that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwise he would have run the hazard of being disappointed. He concealed therefore, under the mask of a feigned moderation, the resentment he harboured in his breast, and contented himself with telling the king, that several had voted for him in the conclave, but his absence had turned to his prejudice, and the situation of the affairs of Italy caused the cardinals to chuse Julio de Medici. A few days after, the king's ambassador at Rome had orders to notify to the new pope, the king's and Wolfey's joy at his promotion^t. At the same time, Wolfey desired the continuance of his legateship, affirming, that by reason of the king's prerogative,

Fiddes Coll. p. 82. tion, the resentment he harboured in his breast, and contented himself with telling the king, that several had voted for him in the conclave, but his absence had turned to his prejudice, and the situation of the affairs of Italy caused the cardinals to chuse Julio de Medici. A few days after, the king's ambassador at Rome had orders to notify to the new pope, the king's and Wolfey's joy at his promotion^t. At the same time, Wolfey desired the continuance of his legateship, affirming, that by reason of the king's prerogative,

Fiddes, *ibid.* p. 96. He demands the continuance of his legateship, affirming, that by reason of the king's prerogative, Herbert.

^t A dispatch was sent for that purpose to John Clarke, bishop of Bath and Wells, secretary Pace, and dr.

Thomas Hanyball, master of the rolls, and resident at Rome. Herbert, p. 59.

it was not worth to him a thousand ducats a year. Clement VII. was entirely of the emperor's party, and knowing of what consequence the king of England's assistance was at the present juncture of affairs in Europe, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify cardinal Wolsey, and make him his friend, by whose means he might gain the favour of the king his master. In this disposition, he granted the cardinal more than he desired. By a bull of the 9th of January. 1524, he gave him the legantine power for life. This is the first and perhaps the only instance of a perpetual legateship.

Wolsey was now raised to the highest point of grandeur that a subject can aspire to. He was archbishop of York, bishop of Durham, Abbot of St. Albans, cardinal legate a latere for life, lord chancellor of England, prime minister and favorite, caressed by the emperor, respected by the pope, regarded by all the princes of Europe, with almost an absolute power in England, where nothing material was transacted, either in spirituals or temporals; but by his sole direction. It is easy to see, so many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and insolent. He looked upon the king's subjects as slaves, and unfortunately for them, inspired the king by degrees with the same principles, and insinuated to him, that he ought to consider the parliament only as an instrument to execute his will. These insinuations were but too effectual, as will be seen in the sequel. In order to render him independent of the parliament, he persuaded him to exact from his subjects ⁿ at once, the subsidy given by parliament, and payable in four years. Every one ascribed to the cardinal this illegal proceeding, which established a very dangerous precedent. But he little regarded the complaints of the people, since he was secure of the king's countenance, and the pope's protection.

He undertook this year a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully satisfied that the pope could not be without the king's assistance. And that was, to cause several religious houses to be suppressed, in order to appropriate the revenues to two colleges, which he intended to found at Oxford and Ipswich. If the pope had reaped any advantage, his consent would not have been very strange. But that he should agree to the suppression of several monasteries to gratify a private person, is what could

1523.

Clement grants it for life.
Herbert.
A&S. Pub. XIV. p. 18.
Wolsey becomes every day more proud.

He causes the subsidy payable in four years to be paid at once.
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.

He forms the project of founding two colleges.
Herbert.
Stow.
Fishes.

ⁿ From all persons worth forty pounds. Hall. Herbert, p. 60.

1523.

hardly be expected, and perhaps had never happened. Accordingly, the pope would never have granted it, had not the satisfying the passion of this ambitious minister been absolutely necessary to his designs. The cardinal's project was to found a magnificent college at Oxford by the name of cardinal college, which was to consist of one hundred eighty six persons, with salaries. The other college was to be founded at Ipswich, the place of his birth, but only for grammar, and to qualify young scholars for his college at Oxford. But as these projects were not accomplished this year, I shall speak of them on another occasion, and close the year 1523, with an account of what passed in Scotland, where affairs were no more undisturbed than elsewhere.

Henry forms designs destructive to Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall. He foments their divisions; and would remove the duke of Albany;

and make his sister regent.

Henry being engaged in a war with France, justly dreaded the diversion the Scots might make on the frontiers. On the other hand, the king of Scotland's minority frequently tempted him to become master of that kingdom, after the example of Edward III. his predecessor, who dispossessed the king his nephew at a like juncture. The factions in Scotland increasing his hopes, he never ceased to foment them by means of his adherents, who were very numerous, because he had wherewithal to give pensions. He used for pretence his being obliged by nature to take care of the king his nephew's concerns, who was not of age to distinguish what was advantageous from what was prejudicial. So, as an affectionate uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the duke of Albany, under colour there was danger of that prince's seizing the crown. He knew he should never accomplish his designs so long as Scotland was guarded by such an Argus. The queen his sister had made him very uneasy in joining with the regent, because he was thereby deprived of all pretence of saying the king was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the parliament of Scotland wisely intimated in their answer, that the queen should join with the regent to destroy the king her son. Henry however, to give some colour to the accusation, was pleased to suppose, the queen his sister designed to marry the duke of Albany. But finding at last, this supposition had not the desired effect, he had recourse to another expedient, which was, to gain his sister by promising to procure her the regency. That done, he pressed yet more earnestly the parliament of Scotland to remove the duke of Albany, and confer the regency on the queen. But, to render his instances more effectual, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to hinder the duke's return into Scotland. To that end, he sent out a fleet to take him in his passage.

sage ^w. At the same time, he ordered the earl of Surrey to march into Scotland ^x, to show the Scots what they were to expect in case they did not give him speedy satisfaction. The Scots being without a leader, and unprepared against this invasion, sustained great damages during the campaign. The earl of Surrey took Jedworth, and carried fire and sword into the country ^y, without meeting any opposition. Mean while, Henry's adherents ceased not to cry, that a peace must be made with England, since it was the only way to save Scotland from utter destruction. Henry supported them by offering to the king his nephew his only daughter Mary in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the Scots would receive from the alliance. But withal, he required of them that they should break all their engagements with France. It was however very unlikely, he should seriously think of giving his daughter to the king of Scotland, since she was affianced to the emperor, and he strictly united with that prince. Besides, such a marriage would have been of no advantage to himself or the nation. To this the opposite party replied, the king of England sought to disengage Scotland from France, only the more easily to ruin the kingdom, and that to make an alliance with England by abandoning France, was the ready way to be slaves to the English: that this was not the first time the kings of England by such marriages had attempted to become masters of Scotland, and the worst was to be feared from neighbours who had ever aspired to the possession of all Great Britain. In a word, the destroying with fire and sword a country whose friendship was courted, was a strange way of desiring an alliance, and proposing a marriage. All these reasons were answered by the other party. But it tended only so to increase disorder and confusion among the Scots, that it was impracticable for them to come to any resolution. Mean while, Henry, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his arms, ordered the earl of Surrey to quit Scotland,

1523.

He invades
Scotland;
Buchanan.
Herbert.

and offers
his daugh-
ter in mar-
riage to the
king his
nephew.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

Opposition
of the con-
tra-y party.
Pol. Virg.

The English
army retire.
Buchanan.

^w Sir William Fitzwilliams, with thirty six great ships cruized on the coasts of France, and Anthony Pointz, with a good fleet, guarded the western seas. As Fitzwilliams was cruising about, he discovered twelve French ships, in which the archbishop of Glasgow, and other persons of quality were, whom the duke of Albany had sent before him into Scotland. Giving chase to these ships, two of them were lost

near Dieppe and Boulogne. Herbert, p. 56.

^x With six thousand men. And ordered Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset, warden of the East and middle marches, and the lord Dacres, warden of the West marches to join him. Herbert, p. 56. Hall, fol. 114.

^y He took all the castles in Merch and Teviotdale. Buchanan.

1523.

and return into England. But he had scarce sent his men into winter quarters, when the Scots made inroads on the borders of England, which obliged him to march a second time into Scotland, where he became master of Jedburgh.

The duke of Albany deceives the vigilance of the English, and goes to Scotland. Buchanan, Hall,

Mean time, the duke of Albany hearing what passed in Scotland, burned with desire to repair thither, to appease by his presence the troubles caused by the king of England's adherents, and to strengthen the French party which was in danger of being surmounted 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. But it was not possible to transport these troops into Scotland, whilst the English fleet kept the sea to hinder their passage. Policy therefore was to be recurred to. For that purpose, he feigned to desist from his design of going into Scotland, and sent his troops into quarters remote from the coast, with orders however to be ready to march upon the first notice. The transport ships were likewise sent away to certain ports, from whence they were ordered to sail to the appointed rendezvous the moment they heard from the duke. This stratagem deceived the English admiral, who being informed by his spies, that the duke of Albany was returned to court, and had dismissed his troops and vessels, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and so returned with the fleet into England. The duke was no sooner informed of it, but he assembled his troops and ships, and embarking about the middle of September, arrived in Scotland the 24th^z, the same day the earl of Surrey became master of Jedburgh.

He marches with an army to the borders. Buchanan, Pol. Virg. Hall.

The regent's arrival revived the courage of the French party, who began to be greatly dismayed, and drew from the king of England several persons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the regent summoned the nobility to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to convince them that the kingdom would be in great danger, unless the king of England's designs were timely and vigorously opposed. But all his eloquence was not capable of causing a change of opinion in those who preferred Henry's pensions to all the arguments that could be alledged. However, he assembled an army, and advanced towards the borders, where he arrived the 22d of October. But when he came

^z With Richard de la Pole, brother of the earl of Lincoln, beheaded in the 5th of this reign, and three thousand French. Herbert, p. 57.

to march into England, he met with the same obstacles that had stopped him the last year. That is, the generals and officers of the English party refused to follow him, maintaining it was manifestly against the interest of Scotland to provoke the English, and therefore it was sufficient to be upon the defensive. They added, if the design was to serve France, it could not be done better than by keeping an army on the frontiers, which would oblige the English to have the like in those parts. But in the present circumstances of Scotland it was too much to hazard a battle, the loss whereof would prove the ruin of the kingdom. In short, the regent seeing it was in vain to persuade them to follow him, ordered Werk castle to be assaulted by the French troops; but they were vigorously repulsed. Mean while, upon notice of the earl of Surrey's approach at the head of a numerous army ^a, he did not think proper to expect him, but chose to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle with an army wherein the English had so many favourers. The season being no longer proper for one or other to keep the field ^b, the earl of Surrey, content with having stopped the Scots, sent his troops into winter quarters, and the regent followed his example.

1523.

They refuse to follow him into England.

Hall.
Hollingsh.
The earl of Surrey approaches.

The regent retired.

Whilst the flames of war were kindled in almost all parts of Europe, the reformation made great progress in Germany, and began even to spread in Switzerland, France, and England. In the beginning of this year the canton of Zurich, moved by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers articles of religion they had hitherto professed, though Zuinglius and Luther differed about the eucharist ^c. Many likewise in France and England began to dislike a religion, that seemed to be founded more upon the pope than upon Jesus Christ. Adrian VI. hearing of the daily progress of Luther's doctrine in Germany, dispatched a nuntio to the diet of Nuremberg, to exhort the German princes to destroy Luther

Progress of the reformation. Sleidan.

^a Forty thousand men. There were besides six thousand in Berwick. Buchanan, l. 14. Hall, fol. 115.

^b It was about the middle of November. See Hall, fol. 116.

^c Their differences about consubstantiation much hindered the progress of the reformation. And not being able to be composed, Zuinglius's party were called Sacramentarians, and Luther's, Ubiquitarians. Calvin succeeded Zuinglius, who by his doctrines of predestination, &c. so widened the breach

between the Lutherans and Calvinists that they became irreconcilable. In so much that the Lutherans at Leipfick, where they are very rigid, have set up in their great church the picture of Ignatius Loyola, Calvin and the Devil in one frame, with this inscription, the three great enemies of Christ and the Christian religion. Such enmity does the differing in opinion preposterously breed among Christian sects, especially where both sides are in the wrong!

1523.

and his followers. He confessed however, in a letter to them upon the same subject, that many abuses and disorders were crept into the church ^d, throwing the blame upon those who had governed before him. But he said, to reform all at once, would be the way to spoil all, and therefore it was necessary to proceed by degrees in this reformation. Luther having seen the letter, published it in German with notes of his own, wherein he said among other things, that the degrees the pope mentioned were so large, that there was a hundred years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the diet taking advantage of the pope's confession, demanded a free council in Germany, where every one should be obliged upon oath to speak his real opinion, and that numberless abuses under which Germany had so long groaned, should be reformed.

Luther
answers the
king of
England's
book.
Sleidan.

Mean while, Luther still continued to write in defence of his doctrine. Among other things he published an answer to the king of England's book, wherein he used no ceremony. This behaviour obliged Henry to complain of him to the princes of the house of Saxony. At the same time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of Luther's German bible, for fear the translation should be prejudicial to the truth. But his letter had no great effect.

1524.

Affairs of
Italy.
Guicciard.

The progress of the reformation was not yet considerable enough to be regarded by the chief sovereigns of Europe, whose thoughts were wholly intent upon war. Clement VII. refused to renew the league, though himself had engaged his predecessor in it, and declared he would stand neuter. This declaration at first extremely embarrassed the duke of Bourbon, because the emperor not having provided for the payment of his troops, it was not possible for the duke to satisfy them, since the pope and the Florentines withdrew their usual supplies. He found means however to draw some money from the inhabitants of Milan, and at last persuaded the pope to give him twenty thousand ducats, and cause the Florentines to furnish him with fifty thousand, on condition of secrecy.

Capella.
P. Daniel.

Not long after, the duke of Bourbon receiving a supply of six thousand Landsquenets, and the Venetian army under the command of the duke of Urbino joining him, he took the field with thirty-five thousand men. Mean while, Bonniwet was greatly embarrassed. He had not above twenty thou-

^d His words are, In hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis Multa Abominanda fuisse.

1524.

land men, having lost the rest of his army by death or desertion during the last campaign. But what was worse, he had no money to pay his troops. This was a misfortune common to both sides. It is true, he expected ten thousand Switzers, and five thousand Grisons, but foresaw they would be of little service, because he had not wherewithal to content them at their arrival. This made him resolve to go in quest of the imperialists, and give them battle. But as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it, though they were superior in number, in the expectation of dispersing his army without an engagement. And indeed, the five thousand Grisons who were coming to join the admiral, and were advanced as far as Bergamo, not receiving the money promised them, immediately returned. As for the ten thousand Switzers, they arrived indeed at Jurea, and even advanced to the banks of the Sesia; but it was not possible to persuade them to continue their march for want of money to pay them. Mean while, the imperialists became masters of several towns, which very much annoyed the French camp, and at last forced the admiral to retire to Novarra. In the mean time, the castle of Cremona, which the French had hitherto kept, surrendered to the imperialists.

Bonnivet, finding that the Grisons were returned, that the Switzers would not stir without being secure of their pay, and that his men deserted in great numbers, resolved at last to repass the Alps. As soon as the duke of Bourbon had notice of his march, he pursued him with all speed, to compel him to a battle. There were even between the two armies several sharp skirmishes, in one of which the brave Bayard was slain. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the imperialists, Bonnivet retreated in good order. When the French had repassed the mountains, the places they still had in the Milanese surrendered by capitulation to the imperialists.

The French army repass the Alps. Guicciard. Bellai.

The French lose the Milanese.

The French were no sooner out of Italy, but the emperor and the king of England thought of means to invade Francis in his own kingdom. They had expected great matters from the duke of Bourbon's revolt, but hitherto it was not possible to make any use of it, because the conspiracy was discovered too soon. The affairs of Italy having prospered beyond expectation, they resolved to make use of the duke of Bourbon to carry war into France, imagining if he could have some considerable advantage, he would cause part of the kingdom to rebel. The duke himself fed them with these hopes, because that was the thing which rendered

The emperor's and Henry's designs upon France. Guicciard. Bellai. Mezerai. Herbert.

1524. rendered him considerable. He would have been glad to act in some place near his own territories, from whence he expected great supplies. But it was thought more proper that he should enter Provence with an army, by reason he could easily be assisted by the Spanish fleet, which kept at Genoa; whereas by engaging in the middle of the kingdom, the fleet would be of no service. This resolution being taken, Henry readily promised to find the duke a hundred^e thousand crowns a month, on condition that after the first month, he should be free to discontinue the payment, provided he acted himself in Picardy at the head of a royal army, from the first of July to the end of December.

The duke of Bourbon prepares to enter Provence. Henry binds himself to find him money. Aët. Pub. XIII. p. 794. 795. Guicciard. The duke of Bourbon marches into Provence. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Mezerai.

He besieges Marfeilles. P. Daniel. Pol. Virg.

Francis I. flies to its relief;

and forces the duke to retire into Italy. Bellai. P. Daniel.

Though the emperor had put the duke of Bourbon in hopes he would lend him all his army in Italy for his expedition into Provence, he could not however dispense with leaving a good part at Milan, and other places of that duchy, under the command of Lanoy viceroy of Naples. On the other hand, the Venetians withdrew their troops, because they had promised by their private treaty only to defend the Milanese. So, the duke of Bourbon began his march the 24th of June much weaker than he expected^e, and entered Provence the second of July. He presently became master of Aix and some other places, and at last came before Marfeilles, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, Renzo de Ceri an Italian captain in the French service had entered with a strong garrison. Whereupon the duke found he should meet with more resistance than he had imagined, but however he opened the siege.

Mean while Francis I. having intelligence of Bourbon's march, ordered his forces to be assembled, and some troops sent to Avignon, for fear the enemy should seize it. There he resolved to assemble his army, and came himself to command in person. It is needless to speak either of the siege of Marfeilles, or of the king's great diligence in assembling his troops. It suffices to say, that the very day he departed from Avignon, in order to fight the imperialists, namely, the 10th of September, the duke of Bourbon raised the siege of Marfeilles, and retired into Italy. Whilst the king was at Avignon, he received the news of his queen's death, who died at Blois in July.

^e According to the computation in Rymer, it amounted to one hundred and twenty four thousand crowns. tom.

XIII. p. 795.

^f He had thirteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Rapin.

The duke of Bourbon's retreat entirely changed the face of affairs. Francis I. who had been in danger of losing Provence, saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking. So, perceiving that the imperialists took a great compass to retire into Italy, he resolved to improve that advantage, and the superiority of his army, to recover the Milanese. This resolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach Milan before them. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon having notice that the king was taking the shortest road to Milan, made incredible speed not to be prevented, perceiving that thereon would depend the preservation of the duchy. Thus the two armies marching by different routs, arrived the same day, one at Albe, the other at Vercelli. A few days after the duke of Bourbon joined the viceroy of Naples at Pavia.

1524.

The king marches into Italy another way.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

The two armies arrived on the same day.

Whilst the imperial army was in Provence, the court of England was otherwise disposed than before, and seemed to intend to follow new maxims. Henry made no diversion in Picardy, though he had paid but one month of the subsidy he was to give the duke of Bourbon. This was sufficient to create suspicions in the emperor, which were confirmed by Henry's unseasonable demand of the money lent him at his departure from England. He could not believe, Henry would demand his money at so improper a time, instead of performing his own engagements, unless he intended to seek an occasion of quarrel. His uneasiness still increased upon advice from his ambassador in England, that a person ^h was come from France to London from the duchess of Angoulême regent of that kingdom, and had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolfey. All this added to the cardinal's revengeful temper, whom he had vainly amused with hopes of the papacy, made him justly apprehensive that the king of England was thinking to abandon him and join with his enemy. However, in the present situation of affairs, there was no other measure to take, since all depended on the success of the war which was going to be renewed in Italy, where his generals were not a little embarrassed.

Henry alters his designs, and forsakes the emperor.
Herbert,
Guicciard.

Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.

As soon as the duke of Bourbon and the viceroy of Naples were joined, they consulted upon what was to be done at so ill a juncture. At first, they resolved to leave strong

The imperialists abandon Milan.

^g And likewise the yearly pension that used to be paid Henry by France, (see above, p. 194.) as also the cardinal's pension of two thousand five

hundred ducats, &c. Guicciard. l. 15.

^h John Joathim, a Genoese. Hall, fol. 135.

1524.

Guicciard.
P. Daniel.
Hall.

garrisons in Pavia and Alexandria, and take refuge in Milan. But the plague had made such ravage in that city, every thing there was in so great confusion, and money and provisions so scarce, that they were forced to desist from their design and abandon Milan: So, having well stored Pavia and Alexandria, they withdrew to Soncino, where Francesco Sforza also repaired with them.

The French enter the city. The castle is besieged. Guicciard. Bellai. False step of Francis I. He besieges Pavia.

Mean while, Francis I. continuing his march towards Milan, and hearing the imperialists were retired, caused his troops to enter the city, and ordered the castle to be invested. If, instead of going to Milan he had marched directly to the imperialists, who were little able to withstand him, he would have infallibly dispersed them. But Bonnivet's unfortunate advice induced him not only to march to Milan, which must have fallen into his hands if he had defeated or routed the imperialists, but also to resolve to besiege Pavia.

The imperialists raise troops in Germany.

When he appeared before that place, the generals of the imperialists began to take courage, in expectation that the length of the siege and the winter season would afford them time to take some measures. Mean while, they speedily sent for a supply of ten thousand Germans. The pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines failing them all at once upon the French king's coming into Italy, their only refuge was the length of the siege of Pavia which began in November.

The pope treats privately with the king. Guicciard. Herbert.

Clement VII. who in the late pontificate had openly declared against the king of France, being in great perplexity, sent a nuntio to the two armies to procure a truce; but not succeeding, he made his peace with the king of France. Moreover, he proposed to him the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and concluded with him a private treaty, promising free passage to the French troops.

Francis sends a detachment to Naples. Bellai. Mezerai. Clement distemblers with the emperor,

Presently after, Francis detached five or six thousand men under the command of the duke of Albany, who had left Scotland the beginning of the spring, with orders to march towards Naples. As they were necessarily to pass through the ecclesiastical state, Clement VII. pretended for some time to oppose it, to make believe it was against his will. When the French were in the middle of his dominions, he published his agreement with the king of France, as if newly made, and sent the emperor notice, excusing himself on the necessity and constraint he was under. Though the emperor was very slegmatick, he could not help showing, on this occasion, an extreme resentment against the pope. He said, it was solely at the instance of Leo X. that he had undertaken the defence of Italy: That Clement himself had pressed

who is much incensed against him. Guicciard.

sed

1524.

fed Adrian VI. to fight the league, and now he was become pope, forsook him in his greatest need, and left him to prosecute alone a war kindled by himself: that however he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confusion of those who so basely deserted him. The event showed however, the pope had done him signal service, in persuading his enemy to carry war into the kingdom of Naples, since he thereby caused him to divide his forces. But it is uncertain whether the pope had any such intention.

Another accident farther contributed to deprive Francis of his great superiority over his enemies. Renzo de Ceri, who defended Marseilles, having received the king's orders to embark ten thousand men on the galleys, and join the duke of Albany, who expected him in Tuscany, took Savona in his way. This success which seemed very advantageous for Francis, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon sending a fresh detachment to Savona, under the conduct of the marquis of Saluzzo, to take against Genoa what advantages should offer. The two detachments for Naples and Savona¹, so weakened the French army, that the imperialists no longer feared to take the field, in order to prolong the siege of Pavia, till the arrival of the German succours, which the duke of Bourbon himself was gone to hasten. And indeed, within a few days Pescara became master of Cassano, a post very convenient for his purpose. With this event ended the year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be necessary briefly to mention what had passed this year in Scotland.

The duke of Albany returning into France in May, the queen dowager and the earl of Arran of the house of Hamilton, advised the young king, who was between thirteen and fourteen years old, to assume himself the reins of the government. This advice was very interested, but James was too young to perceive it. He followed it, and summoning the states, declared the authority of the regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the king himself. After that, the queen and the earl of Arran governed in the king's name. This change was not made with universal approbation. The earls of Lenox and Argyle, concerned to see the earl of Arran in possession of the government, under colour of the king's anticipated majority, sent for the earl of Angus from France, to support themselves by his interest, because he was entirely fallen

Francis sends another detachment to Savona. Guicciard.

The imperialists take the field.

They annoy the besiegers.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall.

End of Albany's regency.

¹ Both which were sixteen thousand men. Herbert, p. 62.

1524.

Hall.

The earl of
Angus is
declared
regent.

A^ct. Pub.
XIV. p. 20,
21, 23--28.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Clement
confirms
Henry's
title of de-
fender of
the faith.
P. 13.
Hesuppresses
monasteries
for the car-
dinal's col-
leges.
p. 15.
Bull granted
to the car-
dinal.
p. 18.

Another
bull.
P. 23.
Hall.
Stow.

out with the queen his wife. Upon that lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of freeing the king from the pretended captivity, the queen and the earl of Arran held him in, levied troops and took Sterling, after which they marched to Edinburgh where the king was. At their approach, the queen and the earl carried the king into the castle, but as they had not taken care to lay in provisions, were forced in few days to deliver the king to the three lords, who assumed the title of regents. Thus the king was again put in guardianship under these three lords, who agreed to rule by turns, four months each. The earl of Angus begun, and as he was in the king of England's interest, sent ambassadors to treat of the king of Scotland's marriage with the princess Mary, according to Henry's own scheme. To facilitate this negotiation, the truce which was to expire the 1st of December, was prolonged to the 26th of January 1525.

As England was very quiet during the whole year 1524. the affairs of that kingdom will not take me up long. I shall only observe, that Clement VII. finding himself in a very ill situation between the emperor and the king of France, shewed great regard for the court of England, whose assistance. he thought, he might want. To that purpose, he confirmed the king's title of defender of the faith, conferred on him by Leo X^k. and, to please cardinal Wolsey, suppressed St. Frideswid's priory in Oxford, on the ground whereof the cardinal intended to build his college, and appropriated the revenues to the new foundation. But as this was not sufficient for the maintenance of the college, the cardinal procured powers to visit all the religious houses, notwithstanding their immunities, and particularly those of the Franciscans, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain list of such as might be suppressed, in order to transfer the revenues to his colleges. The bull which gave him these powers, was dated the 21st of August. On the 11th of September following, the pope granted him another bull, empowering him to suppress as many monasteries as he pleased to the value of three thousand ducats a year for the same use^l.

In the beginning of December, cardinal Laurentius Campejus, who had been the pope's legate in Germany, was

^k This bull is dated March 5, and has a golden seal appendent to it, which is engraved in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 14.

^l In this bull the pope says, there were some monasteries which had not above five or six persons. Ibid. p. 24.

made bishop of Salisbury with the king's consent. We must now return to the siege of Pavia, to behold an event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned ^m.

Francis I. still persisted in the siege, though without making much progress, because of the rigour of the season, and the imperial army, which being posted at Cassano, annoyed his convoys very much. Besides, he had made three detachments, one to besiege the castle of Milan, another for Naples, and a third for Savona. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon came from Germany about the end of January, with a supply of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse ⁿ, which made the imperial army two and twenty thousand strong. As the generals wanted money, and for that reason were not sure of hindering the army from disbanding, they resolved to attempt the relief of Pavia. To that end, they began to march the 3d of February towards the town, bent to improve what opportunities should offer. But as the camp of the besiegers was strongly intrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed so dangerous a resolution, which might be attended with terrible consequences. Mean while, the Grisons having recalled their six thousand men in the French service, and these troops departing, notwithstanding all the king's endeavours to detain them ^o, the duke of Bourbon thought he should no longer defer attacking the enemy's camp. This resolution was executed the even of St. Matthias ^p, with a success very fatal to Francis, since his army was routed, and himself unfortunately taken prisoner ^q.

1524.

Cardinal
Campejus
made bishop
of Salisbury.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 29.

1525.

Guicciard.
Bellai.
Mezerai.
The duke of
Bourbon
brings
troops from
Germany.

The French
are attacked,
and their
king made
prisoner.
Guicciard.

The

^m In the beginning of the year 1524, sir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, sir Ralph Egerton, and dr. Denton, dean of Litchfield, were sent commissioners into Ireland; where they reformed several abuses, and constituted Gerald Fitz-

gerald, deputy of that kingdom, of which the earl of Ormond was appointed treasurer. Hall, fol. 130. Hollingsh. p. 883. — About this time also, divers things were newly brought into England, whereupon this ryme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel and Beer,
Came into England, all in one year.

ⁿ Five hundred men at arms, and six thousand Landsquenets. Guicciard. l. 15.

^o Besides, three thousand Italians, whose commander Genovanni de Medici was hurt, disbanded themselves. Herbert, p. 62.

^p Being the emperor's birth day. Guicciard.

^q In this battle Richard de la Pole, often mentioned before, was slain. Stow, p. 522. It appears from Du Tillet, that June 20, 1523, king Francis concluded a treaty with some male-

1525.

The emperor becomes formidable to all Europe.

The Venetians propose a league against the emperor. Guicciard.

The pope durst not venture upon it. He treats with the emperor. Guicciard.

The emperor's generals at a loss. They disband part of their army. Guicciard.

The success of this battle filled all Europe with consternation and dread. The emperor was without a rival, and in condition to overrun Italy with his victorious army, whilst the king of England his ally, had it in his power to give France a mortal wound on the side of Picardy. Consequently, the balance of Europe being taken away, the sovereigns, for the most part had great reason to dread falling at last into slavery. The Venetians alone, perfectly knowing the danger, proposed to the pope a league against the emperor, not questioning the king of England would also join in it, because it was his interest. This league added to the forces France could still bring into the field, and the supplies which might be received from the Switzers by paying them well, would have been sufficient to keep the emperor in awe, if it could have been speedily concluded. But the pope preferring his own interest to that of Europe in general, hastened his treaty with the viceroy of Naples, who acted in the emperor's name. By this treaty, the emperor, among other things, was to give the investiture of Milan to Francesco Sforza. There were also three separate articles concerning the pope in particular, namely, 1. That the inhabitants of the Milanese should furnish themselves with salt from the pope's territories. 2. That the emperor should compel the duke of Ferrara to restore to the church the town of Reggio, seized after Leo X.'s death. 3. That the pope should have the disposal of the benefices in the kingdom of Naples. By this treaty, which was of no force till ratified by the emperor, the politick viceroy found means to defer the project of league against the emperor, proposed by the Venetians, and to render the other powers jealous of the pope. This was the greatest service he could possibly do his master on this occasion.

Mean while, the emperor's generals were greatly embarrassed after so glorious a victory, for want of money to pay their troops. They had indeed received a hundred thousand ducats from Florence, but that not sufficing to pay the arrears and subsistence of the army, they were forced to disband the best part of the troops, when by the treaty with the pope, they were sure of having no league to fear. Besides Triulzi, who was besieging the castle of Milan, had

malecontents in Ireland, wherein he engaged to send over fifteen thousand men, not only to conquer part of that kingdom, but also from thence to invade England, and procure the crown

for the said Richard de la Pole, who had some pretensions to it, as being son of Elizabeth, sister of king Edward IV. Du Tillet, p. 397, 412.

now repassed the Alps, and the duke of Albany was only thinking of retiring into France with his army. This disbanding of troops, would have been of very great consequence to the emperor, whose interest it was to prevent by his moderation the measures which the alarmed states of Italy might take against him, if his generals had proceeded accordingly. But prosperity causing them to be wanting in policy, they treated the states of Italy, and especially the Venetians, with a haughtiness that gave them occasion to think their liberty in danger, and made them resolve to use all possible endeavours to avoid the threatened slavery.

1525.

The emperor could better dissimble his sentiments. He received the news of the victory of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any demonstrations of joy, and saying, christians ought to rejoice only for victories over infidels. He seemed to sympathise with Francis's misfortune, and, as I may say, to put himself in his place, by acknowledging it to be a mere chance, and no prince, how brave soever, exempt from the like accident. Presently after he called his council to debate what was to be done with the prisoner. His confessor, who spoke first, was for releasing him without terms. He represented to him, that by such a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal fame, but also make the king of France his real friend, who, not to be outdone in generosity, would doubtless strive to express his gratitude: that with his help, he would give law to Germany and Italy, without being obliged to demand the assistance of other inferior princes. But the duke of Alva answered all these arguments, and concluded it was best to reap from this victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly shows, that his pretended moderation was but a disguise to hinder the princes of Europe from being alarmed, and from concerting measures to oppose the execution of his ambitious designs.

The emperor's moderation at the news of the victory of Pavia. Guicciard.

He debates about what is to be done with his prisoner. His confessor's advice. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

The duke of Alva's opinion, which is followed.

To continue this disguise, he sent the count of Beaurain into Italy with certain terms, on which he was willing to release his prisoner. He was very sure Francis would not accept them. But it was his interest to make the world believe it was not his fault that the French king was not released. Wherefore, it was every where industriously reported, that the emperor had sent the king very reasonable terms. But great care was taken not to publish them. Among other things, he demanded for himself the duchy of Burgundy †.

The emperor offers terms for Francis's liberty. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert.

† And that Francis should renounce all pretensions to Italy. Guicciard. l. 16.

1525.

Moreover, he had a mind to join to the duke of Bourbon's territories, Provence and Dauphiné, and erect the whole for that prince into a kingdom independent of the crown of France. Lastly, he demanded that Francis should give the king of England entire satisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The first of these conditions in justice and equity, contained nothing strange. King Lewis XI. took possession of the duchy of Burgundy, after the death of the last duke, under colour of a title which was contested, and of which however he made himself judge. It could not therefore be taken ill, that the emperor should demand restitution of what was wrested from Mary of Burgundy his grandmother, at least, till the cause was legally decided. But what was surprising, and very hard in the emperor's proposals, was, his desire to establish in the heart of France, an independent kingdom, to gratify a rebellious subject, the prime author of the king's misfortune. Probably, he insisted on this article only to make the first pass the better, or to give occasion for a rupture, Francis I. rejected these conditions with the utmost indignation^s, and swore, he would rather be a captive all his life than accept them^t. But he offered, in his turn, conditions which he thought very advantageous to the conqueror, namely, that he would marry Leonora queen dowager of Portugal the emperor's sister, and give the duke of Bourbon his sister the duchess of Alençon, who had lately lost the duke her husband: that he would agree to hold the duchy of Burgundy as the queen dowager's dowry, and leave it to their male heirs: that he would restore to the duke of Bourbon, all his confiscated estates: that he would renounce all claim to Naples and Milan: that he would satisfy the king of England concerning what was due to him: finally, that he would pay the same ransom as king John, when taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. But the emperor

The king
rejects them.

He offers
others,
Guicciard.
Herbert.

The emperor
rejects them.

was not satisfied with these offers. He still insisted that the duchy of Burgundy should be restored to him without condition. Moreover, he affirmed that Francis had no right to Naples and Milan, and therefore his offer to relinquish it, was needless and chimerical.

^s Adding, that it was not in his power to alienate any of the demesns belonging to the crown of France, without the consent of the parliament, and other persons vested with the government of the kingdom. Ibid.

^t When the articles were presented

to Francis, he was so displeas'd at them, that he is said in a fury to draw his dagger and cry, it is better for a king of France to die thus: upon which Hernando de Alençon who was present, hastily took the dagger from him. Herbert, p. 66.

It was not without reason that the emperor persisted in his demands. It is easy to judge the consternation of France, after the loss she had lately sustained, the king was a captive, and almost all her generals taken or slain in the battle of Pavia. The kingdom being exhausted by continual wars under this and the former reigns, was destitute of men and money. The Switzers were disheartened. The canton of Zurich which had refused to furnish the king with troops for the war, was still in the same disposition from a principle of conscience. Zuinglius, who had great interest in that canton, persuaded the senate, that to barter the blood of their citizens for money, and serve the ambition of princes, was an infamous thing. But though all the cantons had been equally inclined to find troops, it was well known, they would not do it without being paid; and to procure the money was no easy thing. On the other hand, there was reason to fear, the king of England would improve the opportunity to invade France through Picardy, whilst the emperor attacked the provinces bordering upon Spain. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from Italy, since the pope had made his peace with the emperor, it being impossible the Venetians would alone maintain the war for the sake of France. Thus was seen on all sides just cause of alarm. Certainly, had the emperor and Henry renewed their league, and vigorously attacked France, that kingdom in its present ill circumstances, must have been ruined. But at the time the regent, and all true Frenchmen were under these apprehensions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their courage from sinking entirely. The pope and the emperor could not agree, though outwardly they seemed willing to unite. The Venetians were inclined to join in a league with the other states to oppose the emperor's progress. In short, the king of England, instead of taking advantage of the king of France's misfortune, generously took his part. On the other hand, Francesco Sforza, seeing himself as it were the emperor's slave, strove to throw off his yoke, and though he miscarried his attempt however produced a good effect, as it shewed the emperor the disposition of the princes who entered into the plot, which it will be necessary to explain, in order to give a distinct idea of the affairs of those times, wherein England was concerned. But first it must be seen what became of the captive king.

The unfortunate prisoner was kept in the castle of Pizzighitone till Easter, but with so much uneasiness on the part of the imperialists, that they durst not remove their troops

1525.

Great consternation in France.
Guicciard.

Several things concur to revive the courage of the French.
Guicciard.

Francis I. is carried into Spain, June.

1525.

Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

from that quarter, for fear of his being rescued. At last, Lanoy hearing, the Venetian ambassador at Rome had frequent conferences with the pope, was afraid some plot was forming to deliver the prisoner. Wherefore, without imparting his design to the duke of Bourbon, whom perhaps he mistrusted, he resolved to convey him into Spain. But this was difficult, since he had no naval force, and the French gallies were at sea. To remove this obstacle, he insinuated to the king, that the only way speedily to obtain his liberty was to confer in person with the emperor: that as the emperor was a generous prince, and had shown a concern for his misfortune, their interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a speedy peace. Francis agreed to it, full of hopes that he should do more himself in two or three conferences with the emperor, than his ministers in many months. He even lent the viceroy his gallies to carry him into Spain, where he arrived about the middle of June.

He is shut up
in the castle
of Madrid.
Guicciard.

The duchess
of Alençon
comes to
treat about
him.

He falls sick.

The emperor
visits him.
Guicciard.

Difficulties
about the
peace.

He flattered himself, he should be treated in Spain as king John was in England: but at his arrival, he had the mortification to be confined in the castle of Madrid, where the emperor, instead of treating with him in person, did not so much as pay him a visit. All he could obtain was a safe conduct for his sister the duchess of Alençon, who came to Madrid in September. She was empowered by the regent her mother to negotiate with the emperor. But at last she was forced to return and nothing obtained. When she came to Madrid, she found the king her brother so ill, that his recovery was despaired of. As there was no room to doubt, that his grief at seeing his liberty so remote occasioned his illness, the emperor posted from Toledo to Madrid, to visit and comfort him, in the apprehension of losing by his prisoner's death the advantages he expected from his captivity. He put him therefore in hopes of his deliverance in the two visits he made him, though in general terms, which however produced the desired effect, since the king recovered his health. But when after his recovery he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived he was farther from his deliverance than he imagined. The emperor still insisted upon the restitution of Burgundy, and when the king offered to espouse the princess Leonora and hold that duchy as her dowry, Charles excused himself as having promised to give the queen his sister in marriage to the duke of Bourbon. It was no small mortification to Francis to see one of his subjects preferred before him. But what troubled him still more was,

that he saw it to be only a pretence to retard the conclusion of the treaty. So, in the despair the emperor's rigor threw him into, he gave the duchess of Alençon a writing under his hand, whereby he consented and even ordered, that the states of France should crown the dauphin his son. This in France is called the edict of Madrid. But the parliament of Paris thought not fit to record it, either because it was against the laws of the realm, or they deemed such an imperfect edict to be of no authority since the king was not free. It may be, Francis thereby designed to let the emperor see, that instead of having a king in his power, he ran the hazard of having only a prince without dominions.

1525.

Francis orders the dauphin his son to be crowned. The parliament of Paris refuse. P. Daniel.

Whilst the emperor amused his prisoner in Spain, he acted with no greater sincerity with the pope, who did not know what to think of his proceedings, The victorious monarch had courted him very earnestly. But after making a treaty with him by the viceroy of Naples, he long delayed to ratify it, and at last had sent his ratification without including the three separate articles. He said, that as to the duke of Ferrara, he could not oblige him to deliver Reggio to the pope, being a fief of the empire. As to the second article, whereby the emperor was bound to oblige the inhabitants of the Milanese to take their salt of the pope's subjects, he said, that concerned only the duke of Milan, and for his part he could not promise for others. That for the benefices of Naples, he could not agree to that article, unless a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, namely, that what had been practised in the reigns of the former kings of Naples should be conformed to. The pope finding, the emperor refused to ratify these three articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the same terms as before the treaty. But the emperor had obtained his desires, since he had obstructed the league which was projecting against him, in rendering the pope suspected by the rest of the sovereigns.

The emperor deals deceitfully with the pope. He sends an imperfect ratification of the treaty of Rome. Guicciard.

The pope rejects it.

The emperor offers the investiture of Milan to Sforza, on a condition not to be performed. Guicciard.

There was another thing which shewed the emperor's insincerity, namely, having sent the investiture of Milan to Francesco Sforza, he clogged it with the condition that Sforza should pay him twelve hundred thousand ducats in recompense for his charges in keeping that duchy for him. As it was evident, Sforza could not possibly perform this condition, it was no less so that the emperor only sought a pretence to continue master of Milan. These things alarmed the pope, who heard besides, that the council of Spain was not favourable to him. And indeed, some of the emperor's

The pope falls off more and more.

ministers

1525.

ministers had advised him to chastise the pope for joining with France at so critical a juncture; and compel him to restore Modena to the duke of Ferrara, and Bologna to the Bentivoglios.

The Venetians endeavour to form a league against the emperor. Guicciard.

Act Pub. XIV. p. 36.

On the other hand, the Venetians seeing there was no likelihood, that the emperor really intended to restore Sforza, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the duchy of Milan. Wherefore, they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the pope and the king of England to join with them and France against the emperor, well knowing that otherwise all Italy would fall under the dominion of the house of Austria. A letter of Andrea Gritti their doge to cardinal Wolfsey of the 31st of March, extant in the collection of the publick acts, shows, that these able politicians had formed this project shortly after the battle. The letter indeed is only an ambassador's credentials, who had orders to treat with the king upon a very important affair. But at such a juncture, this important affair could be only the league they were projecting.

The pope continues undetermined.

Mean while, the pope was extremely embarrassed. In attempting to manage too artfully, he made so many false steps, that he knew not which way to turn. This is frequently the case of those, who quitting the great road walk through by-ways. Clement VII. could not resolve either to be satisfied with the emperor's offers, or enter into a league against him. In this uncertainty, he chose to follow the example of Leo X. and Julius II. his predecessors, that is, to treat with the emperor and his enemies at the same time, in order to be determined by the events in what would be most advantageous. To that end, whilst he was treating at Rome with the Venetians, he sent cardinal Salviati to Spain, to negotiate with the emperor, putting into his hands a dispensation, desired by that monarch, to marry his niece Isabella of Portugal. But the dispensation was not to be delivered to the emperor till after the conclusion of the treaty.

Guicciard.

Sforza is kept in servitude by the imperialists. Guicciard.

The affairs of Italy being in this situation, another accident happened, which plainly showed the emperor only sought to amuse all the sovereigns by a feigned moderation, whilst in truth he was solely thinking of extending his dominions. His league with Adrian VI. and the rest of the states of Italy, was founded upon Francesco Sforza's restoration to the duchy of Milan. As this was the common interest of Italy, so was it likewise the only bond by which the emperor had found means to unite all the potentates against France, then

1525.

in possession of the Milanese. That league had succeeded according to the desires of the allies. The French were driven out of Italy, and Sforza restored. But though the emperor had pretended to give him the investiture, he had not yet done it, because Sforza was not able to pay the twelve hundred thousand ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he should obtain more moderate terms, but that was only to amuse him, and remove his as well the pope's and Venetians suspicion, that the emperor intended to keep the duchy for himself, or give it to his brother the archduke Ferdinand.

What was then but a bare suspicion, soon became a certainty. The duke of Bourbon going into Spain, to take care of his concerns, Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, was commissioned by the emperor to command in Italy. Shortly after, Pescara affected to appear very dissatisfied, and openly to complain of the emperor's ingratitude. He carried his dissimulation so far, that at last he inspired Jeronimo Moronè, the duke of Milan's chancellor, with the boldness to sound him, to see whether by his means the Spaniards might be driven out of the Milanese. Pescara hearkened to his insinuations, had several conferences with him, and managed so dexterously, that he engaged Moronè to cause the duke himself to speak to him about the affair. Moronè's project was to kill all the Spaniards in the duchy of Milan, and make Pescara king of Naples. As this could not be effected without foreign aid, Pescara proposed to engage in the plot, the pope, the regent of France, and the Venetians. Accordingly, these three powers came into it, and promised their assistance. When matters were almost ripe, Pescara received the emperor's orders to dispossess the duke of Milan entirely. He began with seizing Moronè, and then constrained the duke, who was not able to resist, to resign the city of Milan and all the rest of the towns in his possession. Only the castle of Milan Sforza would not deliver, which was therefore immediately besieged. Thus the emperor had a plausible colour to render himself master of the duchy, and the pope and Venetians could not complain of his punishing Sforza's treachery, since there were evident proofs that they themselves were concerned in the plot.

The artifice practised by the emperor to seize the Milanese, served only to confirm the Venetians in their resolution to hazard all to hinder that duchy from remaining in the hands of the house of Austria. Without troubling themselves to justify their conduct, they plainly told the Spanish ambassador,

The emperor lays a snare for Sforza in order to dispossess him. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Pescara takes away all his places, and besieges the castle of Milan.

The Venetians insist upon Sforza's restoration. Guicciard.

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The pope is in suspense to declare himself,

He suffers himself to be over reached by the Spanish ambassador. Guicciard.

Pescara's death.

Henry thinks of siding with France. Guicciard. Hollingsh.

The emperor and Henry are dissatisfied with one another.

Causes of their falling out. Guicciard.

dor, who pressed them to join with the emperor, that Sforza's restoration was a preliminary they would never depart from. If Clement VII. had shown the same resolution, the emperor would have been a little embarrassed. But the pope by acting too politically suffered himself to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a legate in Spain, who was treating with the emperor, whilst himself was negotiating at Rome with the French and Venetian ambassadors a league against that monarch. He impatiently waited the success of his legate's negotiation, and as the conclusion was long delayed, he appointed a day to sign a league with France and Venice. But in the interval, receiving advice that his treaty was concluded at Madrid, he would hear no more of the league. Soon after, the emperor sent him by an express the treaty concluded in Spain, which he found so equivocal and ambiguous, that he refused to ratify it. The Spanish ambassador pretending to be himself surprised at the ambiguities of the treaty, strenuously maintained, they were undesign'd, and told the pope, he might draw the treaty as he pleased, and engaged to have it signed by the emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the pope from entering into the league during that time, and Clement suffered himself to be deceived by the assurance wherewith the ambassador spoke. This was transacted in December 1525, and in the same month died Pescara.

Having thus shown the situation of affairs in Italy, we must see what passed at the court of England, where was no less caballing than at Rome and Venice, since it was then really debating to preserve the balance of Europe, which leaned too much to one side. The equality between the two houses of France and Austria was properly what made England considerable, and consequently was an advantage not to be neglected. But there were other reasons that incited Henry to forsake the emperor, and join with France. Though the treaty of Bruges or Windsor seemed to have inseparably united the emperor and Henry, it is however certain, they were not pleased with one another, because each was desirous to make their union subservient to his own affairs, without any regard to his ally. Probably cardinal Wolsey, who was very angry with the emperor, did not a little contribute to dispose his master to a rupture.

The princess Mary, Henry's daughter, was affianced to the emperor, and yet the king her father had offered her to the king of Scotland. On the other hand, the emperor had not scrupled to conclude his own marriage with Isabella of Portugal,

1525.

Portugal, as if he had not been engaged to Mary, and from hence these two monarchs showed they had very little regard for one another. Charles hearing that Henry was treating of a marriage between his daughter and the king of Scotland, took that occasion to throw upon him the rupture of his marriage. In March ^u he sent into England the lord of Buren, and the president of the council of Mechlin, to require the king to send him immediately the princess, pay down the covenanted dowry, and pursuant to their league, enter Picardy with a powerful army, as he should have done the last year. It was easy for Henry to perceive, the emperor sought only to justify himself, without any intention to accomplish his marriage with Mary, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preserve a good understanding. But on the other hand, the emperor had no less reason to complain of him. Henry had promised to find a hundred thousand crowns a month for the duke of Bourbon's expedition into France, or to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. But after setting the affair on foot by the first monthly payment, he had stopped there without making any attempt against France, Nay, he had demanded the money due to him, when he knew the emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding seemed to demonstrate he only sought a pretence. Moreover, the emperor was informed, that in October last, when Francis I. was marching into Italy, a person without character ^w came to London from the regent, and had several conferences with cardinal Wolfey. But then Charles had promised to invade France on the side of Spain, without having done any thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that Henry should disappoint him. Thus these two monarchs who were thought so strictly united, and whose union made France and Italy tremble, were in reality estranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the conferences of the person from France with cardinal Wolfey had taken effect. Besides, the cardinal who was very revengeful, must have been extremely incensed with the emperor for deceiving him twice, after a positive promise to help him to the papacy.

March.
Herbert.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Wolfey contributes to the rupture.

It was in the beginning of March that the emperor's two ambassadors discharged their commission. But before they had received an answer, the news of the battle of Pavia,

Henry shews a regard for France.
Herbert.
Hall.

^u They arrived in London, March 5. Hall, fol, 136,

^w John Jachim de Passau. See above.

and

1525.

Herbert,

and the taking of the king of France reached England ^x, by a letter from the governers of Flanders, with another from Lanoy, written on the very day of the battle. As the court of England then stood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable. Nevertheless, as it was still necessary to dissemble, Henry ordered a solemn mass to be celebrated at St. Paul's, where he was pleased to be present in person ^y, without however causing te deum to be sung ^z. His aim was to make the emperor's ambassadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and withal to show a regard for France, by avoiding to express any joy at her misfortune.

Henry advises with his council about the course he should take.

Some days after, the council was assembled to consider what was to be done at this juncture. The question was, whether the opportunity should be embraced to make conquests upon France, in prosecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to assist and preserve France entire, and oppose the growing power of the house of Austria. As to the first point, it is certain, if on this occasion, England had strictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the side of Picardy, France in her present condition would have been irrecoverably lost. For, instead of being able to withstand the arms of these two powerful enemies, it was not possible for her to resist the emperor without the king of England's assistance. But on the other hand, it was considered, that France could not be ruined without rendering the emperor too powerful: that he was already in possession of Spain, and had also an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece Isabella as it was publickly reported: that his late victory in Milan gave him such a superiority in Italy, that probably the pope and the Venetians would not be able to make head against him: that he possessed almost all the Low Countries with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity which was become as hereditary in his family: that if by a powerful diversion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces bordering upon Spain and Italy, the most the king could expect was, to share France with him: but it was to be feared, that afterwards the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any state in Eu-

^x On March 9. Hall, fol. 136. Herbert, p. 64.

^y March 12. Accompanied by the ambassadors of the pope, the emperor, Scotland, Venice, Milan, and Flo-

rence. The day before, there were bonfires in London on account of this victory. Hall, fol. 136.

^z Hall affirms the contrary. Ibid.

rope capable of supporting the weakest: that therefore, supposing the king had in France all the success he could wish, in aggrandising himself in that kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be satisfied till he had dispossessed the English of their conquests: that what had passed between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, in respect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for such partitions long to subsist: that upon all these accounts, it was more for the interest of England, to make a vigorous effort to support France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the house of Austria: that the happiness and glory of England consisted in the equality between the king of France and the emperor, since thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herself courted by both sides: that there was no other way to cause trade to flourish, wherein consisted all her strength, and without which the English could never hope to render themselves formidable: that if, on the contrary, it was resolved to compleat the destruction of France, and a war should afterwards happen with the emperor, of which there was great probability, at once would be lost the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty: that at least, it would thereby be out of her power to have land and sea forces sufficient to balance the emperor's power. In short, if France came to be divided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diversions as she had always done in favour of France. To these considerations another of greater weight was added, namely, that a league with the emperor to conquer France was not the same thing, as one with the regent in defence of that kingdom: that in the first, the emperor's sole aim would be to make the English forces serve to enable him to push his conquests elsewhere; but at the same time he would oppose directly or indirectly the king's increase of power: that this was the usual policy of princes when they joined with those weaker than themselves: that it could be the less doubted that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had shewn, that he considered the king only as his instrument to promote his designs in Italy; but if the king joined with France, the two allies having the same view, would as is usual in defensive leagues act unanimously: that on the other hand, in the present juncture, France not being

1525.

being able to support herself without the assistance of England, would readily accept what terms should be imposed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the invasion of that kingdom: in a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her distress and free her captive king: that by so doing he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make of the king of France a friend, who probably would eternally remember such a favour.

Henry resolves to support France. He uses for pretence the injuries done him by the emperor.

These were the reasons that induced the king and council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the measures they had now begun to take. The only business was to seek a pretence to break with the emperor by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which princes are very attentive. When they wage unjust wars, they would persuade the world that they are founded upon justice and equity, without any motive of envy, jealousy, ambition and avarice. The war Henry was meditating against the emperor was, as we have seen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been sufficient to justify it. But he chose rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reason of this conduct is evident. It seldom happens that policy and equity agree, and Henry, like most princes, had rather be counted a great politician than an honest man. However, the resolution being taken to support France, Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of London and sir Robert Wingfield were sent into Spain, to demand of the emperor several things which it was known he would not grant. First, That as the war was made at a common charge, it was reasonable the king of England should partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia. That therefore, pursuant to their alliance, it should be stipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry should be restored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, That if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, should prepare to invade France from Spain, whilst the English acted in Picardy, and that the war should not cease till the king of England had acquired all that belonged to him: that the emperor ought to be the readier to assist the king of England in obtaining his desires, because by his marriage with the heiress of England, all these acquisitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was said in the treaty of Windsor, the two allies should mutually deliver all usurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, pursuant

He sends ambassadors to Spain. Hall, Stow. Herbert. His demands upon the emperor.

purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor.

1525.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having therefore framed his answer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the emperor. They were briefly theſe : that the governers of the Low Countries, inſtead of providing for the war her quota of forces, had privately treated with France : that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce in ſeveral articles ^a : that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him : that in the terms on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently and in general only mentioned Henry's right, as a thing of little moment : that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom ^b, it was neceſſary that all chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace ; but this peace could not be effected, whiſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alledged in vindication of the king's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealousy with which the emperor's power inſpired England and the reſt of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France. He contented himſelf with ordering his ambaffadors in Spain to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, though he expected little from that interceſſion. Mean while, he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would

The emperor
answers in
general
terms.

Henry re-
ſolves to ſide
with France.
Herbert.
He publiſhes
the reaſons.
Herbert.

Embaffy of
France to
London.

^a They had not only inſolently treated divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great ſums into their country. Inſtead of the

Flemings, Rapin hath, by miſtake, Florentines. See Herbert, p. 65.

^b They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into Italy and Germany. Herbert.

1525.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 37,
45.
Hollingsh.

send ambassadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty advantageous to the king her son and to both kingdoms. The regent immediately appointed Jean Joachim de Passau lord of Vaux, the same that had begun the negotiation with cardinal Wolsey, and Jean Brinon president of Roan. Their commission was dated at Lyons, June the 9th.

Wolsey resolves to levy money without the parliament.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Whilst the treaty between France and England was negotiating at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raising of money to cardinal Wolsey's care. The most natural way was to apply to the parliament. But Wolsey was too haughty to expose himself to a refusal or contest with the house of commons, as it had once before happened. So, resolving to use a speedier means and more agreeable to his temper, he granted commissions in the king's name^c, to levy throughout the kingdom the sixth part of every lay-man's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's^d. These commissions were no sooner published, but the nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raising money was universally deemed a manifest breach of magna charta, and an incroachment of so great consequence, that there was like to have been a general rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately issued out a proclamation, disavowing these commissions which had been published in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his people by force, nor demand any thing but by way of benevolence, as practised in the reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an artifice to extort under another name, what the people refused to give by force. For, the benevolence demanded by the king was almost equal to what was at first required by way of authority. The Londoners being taxed first, the magistrates excused themselves as benevolences were abolished by Richard III. The cardinal exclaimed against it as if it had been the most extravagant assertion in the world. He told them Richard III. was a tyrant and usurper, and therefore laws made in his reign could not limit the sovereign's power. But as this argument had no great effect, he sent for the chief of the common council of the city one by one

The king disavows it.

He demands a benevolence.

The city of London opposes it. The cardinal keeps his ground.
Hall.
Stow.

^c To the most considerable persons in each county. Hall, fol. 137.

^d The cardinal pretended, that this money was to be applied towards carrying war into France. See Hall, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of persons that were worth fifty pounds, three

shillings and four pence; of such as were worth twenty pounds, two shillings and eight pence; and of those that had from under twenty pounds to twenty shillings, twelve pence in the pound. Hall, fol. 138.

to intimidate them, desiring at any rate to compass his ends without being obliged to call a parliament. But whilst he was thus employed, there was an insurrection near London, which probably would have drawn in the whole kingdom, if a timely stop had not been put to it. The speedy course that was taken to disperse the seditious succeeded as the court could wish. They who had taken up arms seeing themselves not yet sufficiently supported, submitted to the king's mercy, and some of the ring-leaders were imprisoned. The king finding how the nation stood affected, thought proper to satisfy them by shewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his minister. Wherefore he declared in full council, that his intention was not to punish any person for the commotion. The cardinal perceiving, the king threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himself as well as he could, without accusing the king, alledging, he had the judges opinion for what he had done. If such an excuse were admitted, it would be no longer necessary for a king of England to apply to the parliament for money. The judges being appointed by the king, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his side. But though there have been judges so hardy as to decide points of this consequence, as in the reigns of Richard II. Charles I. James II. very few escaped the punishment due to their presumption. The parliament never intended that the privileges of the nation should depend upon the decision of the judges. The council finding the king was not inclined to support what the cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the cardinal himself, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any person, upon those that had given the king wrong information, and to release the prisoners after a severe reprimand. Pursuant to this resolution, the prisoners being brought before the council, the cardinal sharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinousness of their offence, and adding that the king was pleased to grant them his pardon, provided they would find sureties for their good behaviour for the future. But the prisoners replying, they could find none, the cardinal and duke of Norfolk said, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were discharged.

When the king had discovered that he approved not all the cardinal's actions. People ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppressed the nati-

1525.
 Insurrection
 in the
 country.
 Hall.
 It is ap-
 peased.

The king
 throws the
 blame on the
 cardinal.
 Hall.
 Stow.
 Hollingsh.

The affair
 ends mildly.

Herbert.
 Hall.

Henry re-
 ceives several
 complaints
 against the
 cardinal.

^e In Suffolk, where the weavers and other artificers assembled out of Lanham, Sudbury, Hadley, &c. to the

number of about four thousand, Hall, fol. 141.

1525.

Herbert.
Hall.He is like to
turn him out
of favour.
The cardinal
appeases
him.

on, and more especially the clergy, in a strange manner. The instrument of his oppressions was John Allen^f his chaplain, who kept no measures, well knowing his master's protection would not fail him on occasion. Mean while, how great soever the cardinal's power was, a private person ventured to commence a suit against Allen, and prosecuted him so vigorously that at last the affair came to the king's knowledge, who was informed at the same time of several other complaints of the people. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in England so mild a government as his, being ignorant of the ill use Wolsey made of his authority. This information threw him into so terrible a rage, that the cardinal was like to have been entirely disgrac'd. It was not without the utmost submission that he appeased the king's anger, showing him withal his last will, wherein he had made him his heir. This he did to intimate that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increase the inheritance the king was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully express the king's sentiments concerning him, than his letter to the cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inserted by lord Herbert in his history, is as follows :

'The king's
letter to the
cardinal.
Herbert.
p. 67.

“ **A**S touching the matter of Wilton^g, seeing it is in
“ no other strain than you write of, and you being al-
“ so so suddenly (with the falling sick of your servants) afraid,
“ and troubled; I marvel not that it over-slipped you as it
“ did. But it is no great matter, standing the case as it doth;
“ for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and
“ your default was not so great, seeing the election was but
“ conditional. Wherefore, my lord, seeing the humbleness
“ of your submission, and though the case were much more
“ heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad,

^f John Allen, doctor of law, the same that was judge of the cardinal's court, was made archbishop of Dublin in 1528, and barbarously murdered by Thomas Fitzgerald, eldest son to the earl of Kildare, 1533. Antiq. Oxf. This Allen, who is said by Hall to have been a man of more learning than virtue, or good conscience, was commissioned by the cardinal, in consequence of his legatine power, to visit all religious houses; and accordingly he rid from one religious house to another, with a great train, in a kind of

perpetual progress or visitation, and did the cardinal no little service. Hall, fol. 148. Herbert, p. 67.

^g This matter of Wilton was this: the cardinal had elected a person prior of the nunnery there, for whom the king had some way previously expressed his dislike. The prioress of the nunnery of Wilton, was baroness by her title, as were also those of Shaftsbury, Barkin, and St. Mary's, in Winchester, which were the only ones that were so in England. See Fiddes Lif. Wolf. p. 398.

“ that

1525.

“ that according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings
 “ have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf,
 “ promising you, that the very affection I bear you caused
 “ me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houses
 “ to the building of your college, I would it were more, so
 “ it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it should so
 “ appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their
 “ mumbling might be secluded and put away; for, surely
 “ there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm,
 “ both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill-gotten
 “ is bestowed upon the college, but that the college is the
 “ cloak for covering all mischief. This grieveth me, I as-
 “ sure you, to hear it spoken of him, which I so entirely
 “ love. Wherefore, methought I could do no less, than
 “ thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive
 “ by your own letter, which a little methinketh toucheth
 “ conscience, and that is, that you have received money of
 “ the exempts for having of their old visitors. Surely, this
 “ can hardly be with good conscience. For, and they were
 “ good, why should you take money? And if they were ill,
 “ it were a sinful act. Howbeit, your legacy herein might,
 “ peradventure, apud homines, be a cloak, but not apud
 “ Deum. Wherefore, you, thus monished by him who so
 “ entirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not only from
 “ this, (if conscience will not bear it) but from all other
 “ things which would tangle the same; and, in so doing,
 “ we will sing, te laudant angeli atque archangeli, te laudat
 “ omnis spiritus: and thus an end I make of this, though
 “ rude, yet loving letter, desiring you as benevolently to take
 “ it, as I do mean it, for I ensure you, (and I pray you think it
 “ so) that there remaineth, at this hour, no spark of displea-
 “ sure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and
 “ be no more perplexed. Written with the hand of your loving
 “ sovereign and friend,

H E N R Y R.

This letter shews the king was informed of several of the
 cardinal's misdemeanours. But he did not yet thoroughly
 know him, his affection for him combating in his heart the
 heinousness of his proceedings, and making him believe, that
 his faults were the pure effects of his great zeal for the found-
 ing of his college. Had he not been thus prepossessed in his
 favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was
 very dangerous to speak directly against a favourite, to whom
 the king still showed so great kindness. Mean while, the
 cardinal

The cardinal
 removes
 from court
 those whom
 he mistrusts.

1525.

Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.The king
restores him
to his
friendship.Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 39.Henry the
king's natu-
ral son made
duke of
Richmond.

Act. Pub.

XIV. p. 42.
July 16.Negotiation
with the
French
ambassadors.
Hall.

cardinal finding by this instance, what his enemies would be capable of doing against him, if they had the king's ear, was very careful to remove from court all he suspected. At the same time, he strove to preserve the king's love and esteem by all sorts of condescensions. He had now built at Hampton Court a stately palace, which outshone in beauty all the king's houses. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a jealousy in the king, he made him a present of it ^h, as if from the very first he had intended to build it for him. He meant to insinuate by this present, that he heaped up riches purely for his sake, which succeeded accordingly. The king had the same confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people seemed to have altered a little. This year he obtained the king's letters patents for founding the college at Oxford.

About the same time, the king created Henry Fitz-Roy his natural son duke of Richmond and Somerset, and high-admiral of England, though he was but six years old ⁱ. As he had no legitimate son, he was extremely fond of this bastard, whom he had by the lady Elizabeth Blunt ^k.

Whilst these things passed, the cardinal was employed in treating with the French ambassadors. The beginning of June the regent had sent general full powers to her two ambassadors. But in the course of the negotiation they found they should have occasion for more particular powers, to settle the sums due from the king of France to the king of England, and which consisting of several articles were to be put

^h And the king, in exchange, permitted him to live in his palace at Richmond: at which, it seems, the people were highly offended. See Hall, fol. 144.

ⁱ He was born in the prior's house at Blackmore, in Essex, and first made knight of the garter, then earl of Nottingham, and the same day duke of Richmond and Somerset, on the 18th of June. He was constituted likewise lieutenant general beyond the Trent, and warden general of the marches of Scotland. After which he was bred up with Henry, earl of Surrey, at Windsor, from whence they went both together to study at Paris. Their friendship was endeared by the duke's marrying Mary, the earl's sister, daughter to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, by whom he had no issue. He was very personable and of great ex-

pectation, and for abilities of mind and body, one of the rarest of his time. But he departed this life in the 17th year of his age, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk. Herbert, Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 305.—On the same 18th day of June, was Henry Courtney, earl of Devonshire, created marquis of Exeter, Henry Brandon, son of the duke of Suffolk, earl of Lincoln, sir Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, sir Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, sir Robert Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter, viscount Fitzwalter, and sir Thomas Bulleyn, viscount Rochford. Hall, fol. 148.

^k Daughter of sir John Blunt, widow of sir Gilbert Talboys, who was thought for her rare endowments of nature and ornaments of education, to be the beauty and master piece of her time. Ibid.

1525.

into one according to Henry's intention. These new powers were dispatched the 16th of August. Upon such an extraordinary occasion, the French ambassadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the king of England's pleasure. Their aim being to disengage him from the emperor, and unite him with the king their master, there was no disputing upon the terms. But it must be confessed that on this occasion, Henry behaved with uncommon generosity. Though he might have demanded towns and even provinces, in return for the friendship he was pleased to contract with Francis I, and for the charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himself with securing by new treaties the sums that were justly due to him. These treaties being ready, were signed at Moore, a house of the king's¹, on the 30th of August.

Henry's generosity to the king of France.

The first contained a defensive league between France and England, against all powers spiritual or temporal, that should invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included by name in the league^m, but with the limitation, that this article was not to be understood of those who had usurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors since the league concluded at London, October the 1st, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of Milan, was excluded. Moreover, Henry I. engaged to use his best endeavours to procure the liberty of Francis.

Treaty of Moore divided into several treaties. A&T. Pub. XIV. p. 48, &c. Du Tillet. Herbert.

The second treaty concerned the payment of the sums due to Henry from the king of France, namely, 1. by a treaty of the 7th of August, 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of January, 1518, for the restitution of Tournay, five hundred thousand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the same date, twenty three thousand livres Tournois. 4. By another of November the 13th, 1520, four hundred sixty two thousand crowns. For all these sums the regent bound herself in the king her son's name, to pay Henry two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty five pence Tournois each, which being reduced to crowns de soleil, of

A&T. Pub. XIV. p. 58.

¹ In Hertfordshire.

^m Their common allies were the pope, Venice, the kings of Hungary and Portugal, and the duke of Ferrara; and those named by France in particular, the kings of Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Lorraine, Gueldres; the Switzers; the marquis of Saluzzo, the marquis of Montferrat,

and his mother: those named by king Henry, were the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, the king of Denmark, the queen dowager of France, Margaret, archduchess of Austria, the bishop of Liege, the dukes of Urbino, Cleves, and Juliers, the house of Medici, the Florentines, and the Hanse towns. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 51.

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thirty eight pence, amounted to the sum of eighteen hundred and ninety four thousand, seven hundred, thirty six crowns, and thirty two pence Tournois ⁿ. This sum was to be paid at several times, viz. forty seven thousand three hundred and sixty eight crowns, within forty days after the date of the treaty; the like sum on the first of November next, and the same every six months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, consequently the whole sum was to be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the same treaty, that if Henry died before he had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and successors. But in case he out lived the payment of the whole, he should receive during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns to cease at his death.

p. 65, 67,
90—101.

To secure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to swear to it solemnly before the English ambassadors, and Francis I. was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into France. Moreover, Henry had for security, the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendôme and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, Brienne, the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Brezé, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims ^o.

It must be observed, that in the sum of two millions of crowns due to Henry, there was no deduction of what he had received from Francis I. from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage Henry made, which was not very great, considering how little punctual the king of France was in his payments.

p. 69.

By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's sister, queen dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry at several payments, namely, five thousand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like sum every six months till the whole was discharged. Moreover, she promised to let her enjoy her dowry for the future.

p. 74.

There was also a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of Scotland should be reckoned in the number of the allies of France, but on condition the Scots committed no

ⁿ —Decies oclies centum millium coronarum auri de sole, & nonaginta quatuor millium coronarum auri de sole, septingentarum triginta sex coronarum auri de sole, & triginta duorum solidorum tyronensium.—Ibid, p. 59.

^o All these lords and cities were to send a bond with their seal annexed, within two months, under the obligation and forfeiture of all their goods. Ibid. p. 65.

act of hostility against England, after the 25th of December next. 1525.

Lastly, by a fifth treaty it was agreed, that the court of France should consent neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of Albany should return into Scotland during the minority of James V. p. 75.

All these several treaties, which properly were only different articles of one and the same treaty, were ratified and sworn by the regent of France, and confirmed by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux. The lords and cities that were to be securities, gave their bonds. Finally, Francis I. himself sent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of December. p. 76, 126. p. 113.

But after having done the king's affairs, the cardinal forgot not himself. There is in the collection of the publick acts, the regent's bond of the 18th of November, to pay the cardinal the arrears of the pension granted him in lieu of the administration of the bishoprick of Tournay, being four years and a half, amounting to the sum of twenty nine thousand seven hundred and ninety three crowns of gold de soleil. Moreover, she declared, that for several other weighty reasons, there was due to the cardinal a hundred thousand crowns of gold, these two sums making together one hundred and twenty one thousand eight hundred and ninety eight crowns de soleil, were to be paid in seven years, by half yearly equal payments. Grant of the regent to the cardinal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 100.

The defensive league between France and England being thus concluded and signed, the regent began to be a little more at ease, and better able to dispute upon the terms of the king her son's liberty. Besides, she had reason to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whose fears alone hindered them from forming a league against the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be seen, they altered their measures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his ambassadors, who were still in England, and Henry did the same with respect to his in Spain. Shortly after, The regent takes heart. Henry and Charles recall their ambassadors. Hall. Guicciard. Hollingh. Herbert.

p In October, sir William Fitzwilliams, treasurer of the household, and dr. Taylor, were sent into France, to see the queen regent swear to the observance of these treaties. Hall, fol. 145.

q Crowns sol, or de soleil, were golden coins, of old worth thirty eight pence Tournois.

r Monsieur de Prat, his ambassador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingh, p. 891.

1525.

Charles concluded his marriage with Isabella of Portugal, by virtue of a dispensation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the conclusion of the forementioned treaty.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Whilst the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in those of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the administration but four months, did not think fit to resign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly dissatisfied, but the earl of Lenox, though likewise displeased, still remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been dispossessed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's discontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they persuaded him to instill into the king a desire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occasion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his design.

Truce between Eng-
land and
Scotland
prolonged.
Act, Pub.
XIV. P. 30.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had sent an embassy to England, at the head whereof was the earl of Cassils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princess Mary. But as several difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Cassils time to take a journey to Scotland for new instructions. Mean while, it was not possible to conclude any thing, because, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Besides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his interest to manage the Scots^a.

^a This year, the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raised up his head, which was stuck fast in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlasco Nunnez, having in 1513, first discovered the South sea, and Hernando de Magellan, passed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Francesco Picarro, a

Spaniard, residing at Panama, first attempted the discovery of the South sea coast, and at last came to Peru, which he ranfacked. — Hernando de Magellan's aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ships returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and, so first compassed the Globe; Juan Sebastian de Cano, a Biscainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

Before

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By restoring Sforza to Milan, he was almost sure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by desisting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily resign Milan, and not trouble himself much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not resolve to do either, and that made the negotiations so tedious. After the treaty of Moore was signed, the state of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himself deceived by the emperor, who in a second ratification of their treaty, left the restoration of Sforza in a state of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the restitution of the Milanese, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had also reason to fear, that Francis I. seeing himself like to be so well supported, would be still more incomplicant with respect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite so many princes against him, he was in great perplexity. There was a necessity of speedily resolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In choosing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his prisoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantages he proposed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to resign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obstacle to a peace. After that the emperor readily and seriously treated with him, whereas before he had only amused him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis submitted were these, besides many others which it would be needless to recite.

1526.

Negotiations at Rome. Guicciard.

The pope refuses all terms without Sforza's restoration. Guicciard.

The emperor resolves upon a peace. Herbert.

That the king of France should marry queen Leonora, the emperor's sister, and have with her two hundred thousand crowns of gold.

Treaty of Madrid. Jan. 14^r 1526.

That Francis should be released on the 10th of March, and the same day should deliver to the emperor his two sons in hostage †.

A^c. Pub. XIV. p. 308. Herbert. Guicciard.

That he should resign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full sovereignty.

Hall.

† And some other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV, p. 311.

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That he should desist from the homage, the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he should renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Asti, Tournay, Lisle, and Hesdin, &c.

That he should persuade Henry d'Albret to resign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at least should give him no assistance.

That, within forty days, he should restore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their estates.

That he should restore Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he should give no sort of assistance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, should use his best endeavours to cause his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he should pay the king of England five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he should lend him twelve galleys, four large ships, and a land army, or two hundred thousand crowns instead of the army.

Lastly, he promised upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all these articles, or in case of non-performance to return prisoner into Spain.

State of the emperor's affairs at the time of the treaty of Madrid.

If Francis had not been so hasty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably, have saved himself many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour ^u. At the time, the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Besides those already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take measures to secure themselves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added the dread of a Turkish invasion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reason of the neighbourhood of Austria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been so

^u At the conclusion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did swear by the sacrament and the holy evangelists, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counsel or favour that any should

break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it seems all this was a farce: for before Francis signed the treaty, he made a formal, though private protestation against it, in the presence of a few trusty witnesses and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

hasty,

hasty, the emperor would have rather desisted from Burgundy, than been exposed to so many enemies at once. These were the real motives that obliged him to hasten the conclusion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the instances and opposition of many of his counsellors, who represented to him, that he would be infallibly disappointed. His chancellor even refused to sign it, but as he believed he had strong reasons to run that hazard, he absolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the sole means to prevent the league against him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by restoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do but at the last extremity. Mean while, by resolving to insist upon that article, he rendered all his measures ineffectual; he lost his prisoner, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in short, after sustaining many attacks, he was, as will be seen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever so great, that can foresee all the consequences of his own policy? when Charles V. signed the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchased his liberty, if, when he signed the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifest, that when he gave his word, he designed to break it, since he had no sooner set foot in his own dominions, but he refused to ratify the treaty. This was so little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the conclusion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promised to restore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himself of the crime of felony and treason laid to his charge. Adding, that since the princes of Italy wished, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand his brother, he would present it to the duke of Bourbon, in case Sforza was found guilty. Clement VII. being informed of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid, presently guessed that Francis had accepted of them only to obtain his release, without intending to perform them. In this belief, he still insisted upon Sforza's restoration without terms, being willing, before he engaged with the emperor, to see what the king of France would do. The senate of Venice being of the same mind, not a little contributed to keep the pope in his resolution.

Guicciard.

The emperor adds a new condition with regard to Sforza. Guicciard.

The pope believes Francis will not keep the treaty of Madrid. He insists upon Sforza's restoration.

Francis arrives in his own dominions.

What these subtle politicians had foreseen, came to pass. Francis was no sooner arrived in his own territories, but he mounted a Turkish horse and rid full speed to St. John de Luz, from whence he went the next day to Bayonne. The

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Hall.

Act. Pub.

XIV. p. 129.

Guicciard.

Herbert.

Lanoy prays

him to ratify

the

treaty.

He shifts it

off.

Guicciard.

Herbert.

Bellai.

He ratifies

the treaty

of Moore.

Act. Pub.

XIV. p. 134.

—154, 175.

Lanoy presses

him.

Guicciard.

Mezerai.

Herbert.

P. Daniel.

The king

alleges

reasons to be

excused.

Hall.

Lanoy's

reply.

17th of March, he signed bonds to the king of England for the sums in which his mother the regent had engaged him. By the way, the historians place this prince's deliverance on the 18th of March, and yet these bonds are dated at Bayonne the 17th of the same month. When he came to Bayonne, Lanoy, who accompanied him as ambassador, prayed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid. But the king told him, that having exceeded in the treaty, the power of a king of France, in granting the duchy of Burgundy to the emperor, he must endeavour to obtain the consent of the Burgundians, and the approbation of the rest of his subjects: that however, he designed to execute the treaty, but wanted a little time to prepare for it. This answer might have sufficiently shown the ambassador the king's intention. He followed him however to Bourdeaux, where the king's first care was to ratify the treaty concluded at Moore with the king of England^w. From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made some stay, with the viceroy of Naples still in his train, who pressed him from time to time to ratify and execute the treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, according to his oath. To this the king to be excused, alledged three reasons, which were far from being satisfactory to the ambassador. The first was, that it was not in his power to resign Burgundy, because the kings of France not being proprietors of their dominions, it was not lawful for them to alienate any part^x. The second, that he was compelled to sign the treaty of Madrid. The third, that by his coronation oath, he had sworn not to alienate any part of his kingdom, and this oath annulled that which he had taken at Madrid. The ambassador replied to the first, that though he could not alienate any of his provinces, that was not to be understood of dominions unjustly acquired by the crown of France, as was the duchy of Burgundy. To the second he answered, that it was left to his choice either to remain in the state, the chance of war, and the will of God had thrown him into, or to be freed by a treaty: that he had even solicited it, and it was difficult to conceive, wherein the force he complained of consisted. To the third he said, that when the king swore to the treaty of Madrid, he was not ignorant of his coronation oath, and probably, did not believe the second contrary to the first; that if it was

^w Before sir Thomas Cheney, who was dispatched by king Henry to congratulate him upon upon his release. Herbert, p. 75.

^x Without the consent of the principal persons of the estate and parliament. Ibid.

otherwise,

otherwise, there would be reason to think, he had intended to impose upon the emperor's easiness. Without examining here either the king's reasons, or the ambassador's answers, it suffices to say in a word, the king was already resolved.

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The pope, the Venetians and the duke of Milan, plainly foreseeing, Francis would scruple to execute the treaty of Madrid, had sent ambassadors to him, who found him at Cognac. They were received with great civilities, and the king immediately entered into treaty with them concerning a league against the emperor. The league was concluded indeed at Cognac, the 17th of May, between the pope, the king of France, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians ^y; but it was not published till a month after, Francis pretending he could not ratify it till he had seen the ratifications of the other allies. The viceroy of Naples, having some notice of it, summoned the king, for the last time, to execute the treaty of Madrid. Whereupon Francis told him plainly, it was not in his power to resign Burgundy, though he had promised it. But to show him, he desired to live in friendship with the emperor his master, he offered to give him two millions of crowns of gold as an equivalent for Burgundy, and punctually to perform the rest of the treaty.

The pope's and Venetian ambassadors go to the king at Cognac.

League at Cognac against the emperor. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Herbert, Hall.

Lanoy calls upon the king, who tells him plainly he will not execute the treaty.

He offers two millions in lieu of Burgundy. The emperor will abate nothing.

Thus the emperor's measures were entirely broken. He had the king of France no longer in his power, and yet, was not less obliged to sustain the efforts of the league newly concluded against him; not to mention the king of England, who probably would sooner or later act offensively. His whole refuge consisted in having the king of France's two sons in hostage. But his embarrassment was not capable of making him yield on this occasion. He chose to run all hazards rather than consent to the least alteration of the treaty of Madrid. His resolution being notified to Francis, the league was published at Cognac the 11th of June. Two things hastened the conclusion of the league. The first, that the castle of Milan, besieged by the imperialists, being hard pressed, wanted a speedy relief, and the pope and Venetians durst not send their troops into the field, before they were assured of the league with France. The second, that the king of France designing to offer the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, he believed the offer

The league is made publick. Bellai. P. Daniel.

^y See the articles of this league in Guicciardini, l. 17; and P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 620, &c. Guicciard.

says, it was concluded the 10th, and others the 22d of May. Hall, fol. 149, &c.

would

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Francis aims only to frighten the emperor.

would meet with a readier acceptance after the conclusion of the league. It is certain, this was his sole aim, and, if his offer had been accepted, he would never have ratified the league of Cognac. Nay, after the league was published, neither himself nor the king of England, ever made any considerable effort against the emperor, their intent being only to frighten him, and to obtain the restitution of the two hostages upon reasonable terms. Thus, for once the Italians were the dupes of the French and the English, which deserves notice, as a thing very uncommon. Mean while Francis and Henry, to pursue their scheme, made a new treaty, promising never to make peace with the emperor, unless he would restore the hostages and pay Henry what he owed him. But this treaty obliged them not to take up arms to procure each other the satisfaction they demanded.

The pope's and venetians army take the field. Guicciard. Hall.

The pope and the Venetians relying on the assistance of France and England, sent their troops into the field under the command of the duke of Urbino, who suffered the castle of Milan to be taken, and caused an attempt upon Genoa to miscarry, for want of sending the allies a supply of fifteen hundred men. Guicciardini insinuates, in several places, that the duke acted but faintly against the emperor, who was very weak in Italy, and that the duke of Bourbon, who was returned to Milan, would if the least pressed have been infallibly constrained to abandon the city.

The Colonnas make war upon the pope. Guicciard. P. Daniel. Hall.

Whilst the duke of Urbino indirectly favoured the emperor, the duke of Sessa the Spanish ambassador at Rome, and Hugo de Moncada, who commanded at Naples in the viceroy's absence, supplied by other means the weakness of the imperialists, by exciting the Colonnas to make war upon the pope, whilst his troops were in the duchy of Milan. This unexpected invasion, with the pope could ascribe only to the solicitations of the emperor or his ministers, caused him to resolve to send into the kingdom of Naples the army commanded by the duke of Urbino in the Milanese, and to that end he obtained the consent of the Venetians. But the duke of Sessa, to avoid the invasion, the kingdom of Naples was threatened with, so ordered it, that the Colonnas gave the pope all the satisfaction he desired. The agreement was made at Rome the 22d of August, and the duke of Urbino was countermanded.

They submit.

They enter Rome on a sudden.

But about a month after, when the pope least expected it, the Colonnas with five or six thousand men entered Rome in the night between the 19th and 20th of September, and

and so alarmed the pope that he retired in a fright to the castle of St. Angelo. As he was not very safe in that castle, where he had nothing to maintain a siege, Moncada went to him, and representing the danger he was in, and that besides Rome was going to be plundered, he persuaded him to make a separate truce with the emperor for four months. This was more than the emperor wanted, who had now ordered levies to be made in Germany, and was going to send back Lanoy to Naples with a good body of Spanish troops. When the truce was signed, the pope's forces which served under the duke of Urbino were recalled to Rome.

Mean while, the pope was extremely surprized at Francis's slowness, who, though principal author of the league, made yet no effort to oblige the emperor to restore his sons. The king of England's indolence astonished him no less, because not knowing that the league concluded at Moore was only defensive, he had imagined the two kings were to attack the emperor with all their forces. So, to excite them by raising their jealousy, he declared he intended to go into Spain and concert means with the emperor to procure the peace of Europe. This declaration very much confounded the French and English ambassadors. They were afraid there was some hidden mystery in so extraordinary a journey, and therefore used their best endeavours to dissuade the pope from it. But Henry used a more effectual means, namely, a present of thirty thousand ducats, which entirely diverted the pretended design of this journey.

Shortly after, Clement VII. broke his agreement with the Colonnas, and ordered the troops, he had sent for to Rome, to march into their territories, having excommunicated them and deprived Pompeo Colonna of the cardinalate. He affirmed that his treaty with them was void, because he was forced to it. He thereby, justified, in some measure, Francis's proceedings, whom, on the same pretence he had absolved from his oath at Madrid.

Whilst these things passed at Rome, the baron de Frondsberg was marching from Germany towards Italy with an army of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, raised for the emperor's service. Whereupon, the duke of Urbino, who kept the duke of Bourbon as it were besieged in Milan, quit- ted the neighbourhood of that city, under colour of opposing the passage of the Germans. Mean while, the pope was not a little embarrassed. The truce was soon to expire. Frondsberg was marching to Italy, and the viceroy of Naples was now in the island of Corsica, leading to Naples a strong

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The pope flies to the castle of St. Angelo.
Guicciard.
Truce between the pope and emperor.

Clement VII. feigns to intend to go to Spain.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

Henry makes him a present.
Herbert.

The pope breaks the agreement with the Colonnas.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.

Frondsberg marches to Italy.
The duke of Urbino raises the blockade of Milan.
Guicciard.
Bellai.
Hall.

1526.

Francis neglects the affairs of Italy.

The duke of Bourbon is at a loss for want of money. Guicciard.

Lanoy arrives at Naples. He amuses the pope. Guicciard. P. Daniel.

Francis deceives the pope and Venetians; Guicciard.

a strong reinforcement of Spaniards. Mean time, the king of France making no preparations to support his allies, and the king of England showed the same remissness. Fröndsperg, still continuing his march, arrived in the Mantuan, where the prince of Orange came and served under him as a volunteer. Afterwards, about the middle of December, he repaired to the borders of the Milanese, the duke of Urbino not being able or willing to oppose his march. Here he expected the duke of Bourbon who was to come and join him, but was not yet in condition to execute that design. The difficulty sprung from his having no money to pay his troops, who positively refused to go out of the city before they had received their arrears, and even threatened to sack the town. There was no other way to hinder them from executing their threats, than to take the plate belonging to the churches. This served to pay part of what was due to the troops, who had scarce received any thing since the battle of Pavia, so destitute of money was the emperor. The duke of Bourbon made use of another expedient to encrease his treasure: and that was to cause the chancellor Moronè to be condemned to die, who to redeem his life gave him twenty thousand ducats. He afterwards became one of his chief counsellors.

Whilst the duke of Bourbon was employed in raising money, Lanoy, who was come to Naples with a body of Spanish troops, amused the pope with negotiations tending only to hinder him from taking sure measures, by putting him in hopes of a speedy agreement with the emperor. These hopes however became more remote after Fröndsperg's arrival. Whilst Milan was in danger, the emperor had intimated to the pope, that if he desired Francesco Sforza to be brought to his trial, it was only to save the honour of the empire, and he would give the judges private orders to declare him innocent. But after the arrival of the Germans, he demanded such a pecuniary reparation, that Sforza was by no means able to raise the sum required. Wherefore the emperor pretended that the pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines should be his securities.

The pope and the Venetians had expected that immediately after the conclusion of the league of Cognac, Francis would send a strong army into Italy, and with the king of England, make a powerful diversion upon the borders of Spain and Flanders. But, as we have seen, they were very much mistaken. Francis had concluded the league only to frighten his enemy, and in hopes it would cause him to accept

cept of the offered equivalent. He was desirous to avoid a war, and even thought himself so sure of succeeding by that means, that he had made with the king of England no treaty to oblige them to take up arms unless they were attacked. Thus Henry knowing the king of France's disposition, took care to go no faster than he. Expresses and envoys from the pope and the Venetians frequently came to the two courts to solicit them to war, but it was to no purpose. On the contrary, even after the pope and the Venetians had solemnly declared war against the emperor, Francis sent the archbishop of Bourdeaux to make him again the same offer of two millions of crowns in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy. But the emperor rejected it with disdain, and charged the ambassador to tell his master, he had acted like a knave and a villain, and ought not to have forgot their last conversation ^z. Probably, the ambassador thought not proper to discharge so ungrateful a commission. This afterwards occasioned a mistake which was not favourable to the king of France.

who solicit him to no purpose. Herbert.

The emperor calls him villain.

Whilst Italy, France and Spain were in agitation, Henry lived peaceably in his kingdom, and the cardinal his favourite was wholly employed about his college at Oxford, for which he incessantly obtained fresh grants from the pope and the king. The pope durst not refuse him any thing at a time when he thought he wanted his credit, to incline the king his master to war; and Henry was always ready to give him marks of his affection, by confirming whatever was granted by the pope. This condescension of the pope and the king proved fatal to several little monasteries ^a, which were suppressed by the cardinal, and the revenues applied to his college.

Wolsey obtains grants for his college. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 155 — 184.

Ever since the publishing of the league of Cognac, the pope and Venetians had used their constant endeavours, to persuade Henry not only to come into it, but declare himself protector. It is easy to guess with what view they paid him this deference. They hoped to find him the same as formerly, ever ready to be insnared, and to lavish away his money for the affairs of others. There are, in the collection

The pope endeavours to persuade Henry into the league of Cognac. Ib. p. 179 — 185.

^z It seems before Francis went from Spain, the emperor said to him one day, Are you willing to perform all that is capitulated between us? Francis replied, yes; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me for a knave and a villain. Herbert, p. 75.

^a The following monasteries are named; Daventre, Raverston, Tykeford, Sandwell, Eanwell, Lytlemore, Poghley, Thoby, Blackmore, Stanefgate, Typtre, Wykes, Dodnef, Snape, Lyefnes, Tonbridge, Begham, and Calicete. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 155—184.

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July.
August.
P. 137.

of the publick acts, several credentials of the Venetian ambassadors addressed to the king, the queen, and the cardinal, probably, to perss the king to come into this league. There is likewise Clement VII.'s commissions to Hubert Gambara and Giovanni Baptista Sanga to treat with Henry. In this commission the pope said, that the circumstances of the times forcing the allies to conclude a league without the king of England's participation, they had however agreed, to declare him protector. Wherefore he empowered his two envoys to treat with that monarch upon his entering into the league, and to change or alter the articles, as should be agreed with him, nay, to annul it entirely, if it was thought necessary, and conclude another. Moreover, he gave them powers to settle with him the pension which was to be adjudged to him as protector of the league, if he would please to accept of the title. But this pension, as appears elsewhere, was to be raised upon the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, after they were conquered. Thus, upon the hopes of an imaginary pension, the pope meant to persuade Henry to declare war with the emperor, and consequently to draw him into very great and real expences. But for once, Henry would not be his dupe. He knew by experience what it was to join with the popes for the Italian affairs.

Battle of
Mohatz in
Hungary.
August 18.
Guicciard.
Hall.

This year was fought the famous battle of Mohatz in Hungary between Lewis XII. king of that country, and Soliman emperor of the Turks. Lewis lost the day, and was drowned in a Morass^b. The death of this prince was a fresh source of calamities for Hungary. Ferdinand of Austria the emperor's brother, who had married Lewis's sister Anne, pretended to the crown of that kingdom, and had for competitor John de Zapol, wayvode of Transilvania. They were both elected by two different parties. But John put himself under the protection of Soliman, who caused him to be crowned at Buda, whilst Ferdinand was taking measures to prosecute his right.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

The affairs of Scotland still remained in the same situation, except that in the course of this year, the queen's and earl of Arran's or Hamilton's faction attempted to take away

^b Lewis, with an army of twenty thousand, engaged three hundred thousand Turks. By his defeat and death, most part of Hungary was lost, with the lives of two hundred thousand Hungarians, who were cut off by the

Turks in the following rencounters. This Lewis was born without a skin, had a beard at fifteen years of age, at eighteen his hairs were grey, and he was drowned in his 20th. Heylin.

the king's person from the earl of Angus. But the attempt miscarrying, the earl was severely revenged of the persons concerned. 1526.

The pope and Venetians had begun the war in Italy, in the sole expectation that Francis would send thither a powerful army, and the king of England make a diversion from the Low Countries, or at least, according to custom, furnish money for maintaining the war. The easiness wherewith he had been amused in the former wars, caused his money to be relied on as a sure aid, though when a peace or truce was made his interests were not thought of. But the scene was changed. Henry, grown more wise by experience, was no longer willing to find money for the affairs of others. Besides, the treasure left him by the king his father being long since exhausted, he could raise money only by means of the parliament, who always framed difficulties, or made him purchase their subsidies with some extraordinary favours. So Francis not finding in him the same dispositions as formerly, feared to engage too far, before he was secure of his assistance. He perceived, he was no longer inclined to favour the emperor as before. But that did not suffice. It was also necessary to persuade him to join in the league of Italy, otherwise the whole charge of the war must have fallen upon France, which was drained of men, money and generals. For this reason, his aim was to induce the emperor, through fear of the league, to accept the equivalent offered him for Burgundy, and to continue the war in Italy, only till that prince was resolved, or the king of England entirely engaged. To that end, he made the pope and Venetians large promises, to hinder them from being impatient, but performed them very ill. A small body of troops levied in Italy, under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, was hitherto all that he contributed for the league whereof he was himself the author and head. Mean while, the pope was extremely uneasy at seeing the slowness or rather coldness of the two monarchs, on whom he relied. Indeed he had no cause to complain of Henry, who had made him no promise, and yet he ceased not earnestly to press him to undertake the defence of the church, as if the church could not have subsisted if the emperor remained master of Milan. But he received only general answers, Henry being unwilling to en-

Francis and Henry deceive the expectations of the pope and Venetians. Guicciard,

^c In August 1526. John, lord of Vaux, his ambassador, concluded with sir Thomas More, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a treaty of recipro-

cal engagement between the two kings their masters. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 185—189. Herbert, p. 79.

1526. gage in the affairs of Italy, where he could reap no advantage. In the mean time, the pope was at an expence which threw him into great streights. For which reason he privately continued with the viceroy of Naples a negotiation, with intent to hasten or retard it, according to the proceedings of the kings of France and England. Herein he acted agreeably to his real temper, which made him consider the having always two strings to his bow, as the surest maxim of policy. But he was always so unfortunate as to reap from his artifices, fruits contrary to his hopes. As his sole aim was to hinder the emperor from keeping the duchy of Milan, to that end it was, that he would have the kings of France and England make considerable efforts; after which, he would not have scrupled to forsake them, provided the emperor had satisfied him upon that article. Francis was in no better disposition with regard to his allies. His view was to recover his sons out of Spain; and, could he have succeeded by treating alone with the emperor, he would have little regarded the concerns of the pope and Venetians. As for the republick of Venice, it was of great consequence to her that the emperor should not remain master of the Milanese, and her expences to hinder it was nothing in comparison of the prejudice she would have received, if the emperor had peaceably held that duchy. So, never ceasing to solicit the kings of France and England, she continued the War, though faintly, in expectation that these two monarchs would bear the greatest part of the charge. The negotiations which the pope still continued with the viceroy of Naples, afforded the Venetians a plausible reason not to exert themselves, because they were afraid, his inconstancy would render all their endeavours ineffectual. The emperor on his part was no less embarrassed. As he had but little money, a vigorous war must have annoyed him very much. And therefore finding the king of France made no great efforts, he did not hasten the sending of fresh supplies into Italy, for fear of raising the attention of his enemies. Besides, since Frondsperg's arrival with the German troops, he thought himself strong enough to keep the duchy of Milan, which was then his chief aim. Such was the disposition of these potentates in the beginning of the year 1527. We must now see what passed in Italy during this year, because it serves for foundation to all the events spoken of hereafter.

The duke of Bourbon was under inconceivable difficulties for want of money to pay his troops. After frequent exactions

1526. Clement sets on foot the negotiation with the viceroy of Naples. Guicciard.

1527. The emperor's embarrassment.

tions upon the inhabitants of Milan, he saw no way to maintain his army any longer, without danger of causing a general revolt in that great city which was reduced to despair. On the other hand, the Germans brought into Italy by Frondsperg, had received no pay since their listing. It was necessary therefore, either to pay them what was due, or furnish them wherewithal to make themselves amends in some other place, or resolve to see the army disband, on which the emperor wholly relied. To satisfy the troops, there was no other way but to lead them into the territories of the church, of Florence, or of Venice. But the Venetian towns were too well provided, to afford any hopes of booty from thence; especially as the duke of Bourbon had no artillery. Besides, very likely, he was sure the duke of Urbino would not oppose his designs, provided he did not molest the republick. So, determining to maintain his army upon the pope's territories, he left seven or eight thousand Germans at Milan, under the command of Antonio de Leva, and went and joined Frondsperg in the Plaifantin, where he staid some time to raise contributions.

1527.
The duke of Bourbon is without money and at a great loss. Guicciard.

He sees no other way but to lead his army into the pope's territories. The duke of Urbino favours him. He joins Frondsperg.

Before the duke of Bourbon departed from Milan, the viceroy of Naples had brought an army upon the borders of the ecclesiastical state, to make a diversion, and force the pope to recall the troops he had sent to the duke of Urbino, since the expiration of the truce. The approach of that army had obliged the pope to raise troops to defend his dominions, not having thought proper to recall those in Lombardy. Hence he saw himself engaged in an unusual expence. Hitherto the popes had found means to wage war at the charge of others, and Clement VII. had been in hopes to do the same. He had granted Francis a tenth upon the clergy of France, which he was to divide with him. Besides that, Francis had promised to find forty thousand crowns a month for the league, and twenty thousand for the pope in particular. But of all this, he had yet paid but ten thousand crowns. Thus the pope saw himself overburdened, without knowing how to get clear of the incumbrance, since it was no less difficult to raise money, than dangerous to make a separate peace in such a juncture. Mean while, Henry VIII. being informed of his necessities, and fearing he would relinquish the league, sent him thirty thousand ducats^d, which helped to comfort him a little, and keep him in the resolution to continue the war.

War between the pope and viceroy of Naples.

Clement VII. is engaged in a great expence. Guicciard.

Francis keeps not his word with him.

Henry sends him a present. Herbert,

^d By sir John Ruffel. See P. Daniel, tom, VII. p. 635.

1527.

Truce between the pope and viceroy.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.

It is needless to give the particulars of this war between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. It suffices to observe, that whilst it lasted, the pope receiving advice of the duke of Bourbon's march, concluded a truce with the viceroy. He had strong reasons for taking that course. He was not only burdened with the maintenance of two armies, but also saw himself daily more remote from his hopes with respect to France and England. Francis performed nothing of what he had promised, and Henry shewed no great inclination to come into the league. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino's proceedings, who commanded the army of the allies in the Milanese, daily grew more suspicious. Besides, Florence was in danger, and the pope unsafe in Rome itself. The conditions of the truce were :

Guicciard.

That it should last eight months : that the pope should pay sixty thousand ducats to the duke of Bourbon's army ; namely, forty thousand on the 21st of the present month, and the rest within eight days : and that the imperial army should march out of the ecclesiastical state. The truce being published, the pope disbanded all his troops, except two thousand foot and two hundred horse, and laid up his galleys before he knew the duke of Bourbon's intentions, who was in the midst of his march to Bologna.

The duke of Bourbon's march.

The duke's troops consisted of five thousand men at arms, making about two thousand horse, thirteen or fourteen thousand Germans, five thousand Spaniards, two thousand Italian foot, and a good number of light horse of the same nation.

Guicciard.

This army departed from about Placentia in February, without money, provisions, waggons, artillery, and subsisting only by means of the contributions raised upon their rout.

The duke not being able to enter Bologna, by reason the marquis of Saluzzo had thrown himself in with twelve thousand men, staid some time in the Bolognese, where his army made a prodigious booty. Here he was informed of the conclusion of the truce, to which he would not consent, because the sum he was to have was not sufficient to pay what was due to his troops. Whereupon the viceroy of Naples, who was at Rome, came to Florence, where the duke sent an officer to confer with him. As the viceroy's intention was to cause the duke of Bourbon to accept of the truce, in order to send the imperial army into the state of Venice, he agreed with the messenger that the duke should withdraw in five days ; that fourscore thousand ducats should be paid him down, and sixty thousand some day in May.

The duke refuses the truce concluded at Rome.

The viceroy makes a new agreement with him.
Guicciard.

The pope hearing of this new agreement, disbanded the two thousand

thousand men he had kept to be eased of the charge. But the duke of Bourbon, whether he had intended to deceive the viceroy, or could not restrain his army, after feigning to attack Florence, suddenly took the rout to Rome, leaving far behind him the army of the pope and Venetians, who had thrown themselves into Florence.

1527.
The duke suddenly marches to Rome.
Guicciard.

Great was then the alarm at Rome. The pope seeing himself without troops and money, knew not what course to take. In this distress, he committed the defence of Rome and himself to Renzo de Ceri, who made him hope, that with an army, raised within the walls, he would secure the city from being insulted. The pope trusting to his general's promises, would neither leave Rome himself to provide for his safety, nor suffer any thing to be carried from thence.

The pope's distress.
Guicciard.

Mean while, the duke of Bourbon pursuing his march without meeting any obstacle, appeared before Rome on the 5th of May. The same day, pretending a design to proceed to Naples, he sent a trumpet to the pope to desire a passage, which being refused, the next morning at break of day he approached the suburbs by means of a very thick mist, and stormed a breach which they had not had time to repair. But in the beginning of the assault, his thighbone was broke with a musket shot, of which he immediately died. The prince of Orange, who was near him, throwing a cloak over his body, continued the assault. At length, after two hours

The duke of Bourbon comes before Rome.
Guicciard.
Du Bellai.
He storms the city.
He is slain.

resistance, the breach was forced, and the imperialists entered the suburbs. Whereupon the pope withdrew to the castle of St. Angelo, accompanied by thirteen cardinals, all the foreign ambassadors, and some other persons of distinction. Mean while, the imperialists were employed in becoming masters of the Tyber, which was not difficult, considering the consternation the whole city was in. The pope might still have withdrawn from the castle of St. Angelo, and secured his person. But by a strange blindness, upon news of the duke of Bourbon's death, he was obstinately bent, without any just reason, to stay in a place where he had neither provisions, nor ammunition, nor a garrison sufficient to defend it. So many historians have described the sacking of Rome, that it is needless to insist on it here. The reader may easily conceive, what the desire of plunder may cause an ill disciplined army without a general, like this, to commit. Some historians have been pleased to cast the whole blame of the rapine and cruelty committed on this occasion upon the protestants in Frondsberg's troops. But most have

The breach is forced.
The pope retires to St. Angelo.
Guicciard.

Sacking of Rome.
May 12.
Guicciard.
Herbert.
Hall.

1527.

Overfight of
the allies.
Guicciard,
Hall.

made no such distinction, agreeing that the Spaniards shewed no more regard for the holy city than the Germans ^e.

The pope
capitulates.
June 6.

If the army of the allies had closely followed the imperialists, they might have fallen upon them whilst most intent upon the plunder, and probably with success. But if we may believe Guicciardini, the duke of Urbino so ordered it, that the army came not before Rome till the end of May, and then raised so many objections against attempting the relief of the castle of St. Angelo, that the generals agreed to leave the pope to come off as well as he could. The allies retiring the first of June, Clement capitulated the 6th, having sent for the viceroy of Naples to treat with him. But the army, having chosen the prince of Orange for general, had no great confidence in the viceroy, neither would be guided by his counsels. The pope therefore was forced to sign with the prince of Orange and the chief Officers of the army, the following capitulation:

Guicciard.
Herbert,

Articles of
the capitula-
tion.

That the pope should pay the army four hundred thousand ducats, namely, one hundred thousand down, fifty thousand in twenty days, and two hundred and fifty thousand within two months, assigning for that purpose a tax upon the whole ecclesiastical state.

That he should deliver into the emperor's hands the castles of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Ostia, Citta Castellana, Parma, Placentia, and Modena.

That the pope with the thirteen cardinals should remain prisoners in the castle of St. Angelo, till a hundred and fifty thousand crowns were paid, and then should be conducted to Naples or Gaeta, there to wait the emperor's pleasure.

That the chevalier Gregorio Cassali the English ambassador, Renzo de Ceri, and all the rest that were retired to the castle, except the pope and the thirteen cardinals, should be at liberty to go where they pleased.

That the Colonnas should be absolved from all censures.

That when the pope should go from Rome, he should leave a legate and the court of the Rota ^f.

^e They ransacked the city, without distinction of places, for the space of six or seven days, (two whole months, says P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 640.) killing above five thousand men, and committing all manner of rapine and cruelty. Herbert, p. 82. It was reported, says Guicciardini, that the plundering soldiers got above a million of ducats, in gold, silver, and jewels; and

a much greater sum for ransoms, l. 18.

^f This court consists of twelve prelates, called auditors of the rota, (eight of them Italians, two Spaniards, one Frenchman, and one German) who judge by appeal of all matters ecclesiastical and civil, between clergymen. The court takes its name from the marble pavement of the room where they meet, resembling a wheel.

That

That the capitulation being signed, captain Alarcon, the same that had the custody of Francis I. when a prisoner, entered the castle of St. Angelo with three companies of Spaniards, and as many of Germans, and strictly guarded the pope and the cardinals. During the confusion caused by the pope's imprisonment, the duke of Ferrara became master of Modena, the Venetians took Ravenna and Cervia, Sigismund Malatesta seized Rimini, and the Florentines expelling the pope's legate, recovered their liberty.

1527.

The pope remains a prisoner. Several alterations. Guicciard.

Some time after, all the troops which were in the kingdom of Naples repaired to Rome to share in the booty, and glean what the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans had left. The imperial army then at Rome consisted of twelve thousand Germans, eight thousand Spaniards, and four thousand Italians. But the plague which presently after raged among the troops so diminished them, that it is said, when they came to go upon action, there was not ten thousand men able to bear arms. Mean while, the eager desire of plunder caused the emperor's affairs to be so neglected, that the army remained unserviceable till the end of the year; whereas Bologna and the towns of la Romagna might have been taken, which would have rendered the emperor invincible in Italy. Besides, this negligence gave Francis time to send troops into those parts, of which he would never have thought, if the emperor's generals had reaped from the taking of Rome and the pope's captivity, the advantages they might have naturally expected for the service of their master. It is time now to speak of the affairs of England, the recital whereof has been interrupted by the relation of this year's events in Italy, because it was absolutely necessary for the understanding of the sequel.

The imperial army becomes useless. Guicciard.

Guicciard.

Since Francis had refused to execute the treaty of Madrid; he had never ceased to press Henry to come into the league of Cognac. But whether Henry perceived that prince's views, or hoped by managing the emperor to make himself umpire of the peace, he had kept within the bounds of the defensive league concluded at Moore. At length, finding that probably the pope and Venetians could not long maintain the war, he was afraid, the emperor would become master of all Italy, and with that increase of power grow too formidable to Europe. Indeed, it was easy to see, that to divest him of the superiority he was going to acquire upon France, England would one day be forced to make greater efforts than were necessary to hinder his attaining it. These

Henry resolves to make a league offensive and defensive with France. Herbert. P. Daniel. Hollingsh.

1527.

considerations were farther corroborated by the instances of cardinal Wolsey, whom Francis had taken care to gain to his interest, otherwise all these reasons probably would have been ineffectual. So about the end of the last year, Henry had sent to Paris Sir William Fitzwilliams to acquaint the king of France, that he was ready to join in an offensive league with him, and give him the princess Mary his daughter in marriage. Francis gladly embracing the proposal, the treaty was begun at Paris by the bishop of Bath and Wells, the English ambassador in ordinary, and Fitzwilliams. But as several difficulties occurred, which depended upon the king of England's determination, Francis thought it more proper to send ambassadors to London, and conclude it there. He made choice for that purpose of Gabriel d' Aigremont, or de Gramont bishop of Tarbe and the viscount of Turenne, with whom were joined the first president of Roan, and the lord de Vaux, who were already in England. These ambassadors concluded with cardinal Wolsey, appointed commissioner to negotiate with them, three treaties, which were signed the 30th of April 1527, when the duke of Bourbon was marching to Rome.

Hall.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 195.

Several
treaties.
April 30.
Ib. p. 159,
&c.

The first treaty ran :

1st. Treaty.
p. 195, &c.
Herbert.
p. 80.
Du Tillet.

That the two kings should jointly send ambassadors to the emperor, with offers concerning the ransom of the two hostages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the king of England.

That if he rejected the offers, or gave no answer within twenty days, the two kings should proclaim war against him.

Another article of this treaty contained a mutual engagement for the marriage of Francis or his son the duke of Orleans with the princess Mary, at the king of France's choice, and upon such terms as should be agreed on when the time came^h. Probably, this treaty was to be made publick, in order to induce the emperor to desist from his claim to Burgundy and be satisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the second treaty it was agreed :

2d. Treaty,
Herbert.
p. 81.
Du Tillet.

That in case the emperor rejected their proposals or deferred his answer, all commerce should be forbidden with his

g They arrived in London, March 2. Hall, fol. 155.

h Hall says, the people were very much against this match, because the princess Mary being king Henry's pre-

sumptive heir, if he died without sons, she succeeded of course to the throne, and, on account of her marriage, it was feared she would be too much under the influence of France, fol. 155.

subjects

subjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects.

That the two kings should make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thousand foot and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horseⁱ should be furnished by the king of France.

That they should equip a fleet with fifteen thousand men, whereof the king of France should find ten thousand.

That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or state should join with the emperor, they should be declared enemies to both the kings.

That the pope and Venetians should be deemed included, in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

That the king of France should endeavour to persuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark to make war upon the emperor.

That the two kings should use their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to prosecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in case he had not already made an alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother Ferdinand employed in those parts.

That the league should be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their assisting the emperor.

The substance of the third treaty was :

1. That this treaty should not derogate from that of Moore, which remained in force.

A. & P. Pub.
XIV. p. 218.
Guiciard.
Herbert.

2. That there should be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry and their respective subjects.

3. That neither of them should give aid or advice to any person whatever that should attack the dominions of the other.

4. Henry renounced for himself and successors all right and title to the kingdom of France^k, and in general, whatever Francis now possessed.

5. In consideration whereof, Francis bound himself and successors to pay to Henry's successors an annual pension for ever, of fifty thousand crowns, at two payments ; name-

ⁱ Twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. See Herbert, p. 87.

^k —Jus, titulum, & verum dominium in regno Franciæ.—Rymer, tom. XIV, p. 220.

1527.

ly, on the 1st of May, and the 1st of November, and that the payment of the pension should commence, on the first of those two days which should happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what should remain to be paid after Henry's decease of the two millions stipulated by the treaty of Moore.

6. Moreover Francis bound himself to give yearly to Henry fifteen thousand crowns worth of salt of Bruage ^l, besides the fore-mentioned fifty thousand crowns.

7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king can't bind his successors, the two kings should cause the treaty to be confirmed by the states of their realms and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

8. That the treaty should be approved and confirmed by the archbishops, bishops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whose names were inserted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of justice in England.

Alterations
in the second
treaty on
account of
the sacking
of Rome.
Aft. Pub.
XIV. p. 199,
&c.
Herbert.
Du Tillot.

The news of the sacking of Rome and the pope's captivity arriving shortly after the conclusion of these treaties, the two kings thought fit to alter the article of the second concerning their carrying war into the Low Countries, and to agree to act only in Italy. But as the English troops could not be transported into Italy without great difficulties and loss of time, they agreed that the king of France should undertake the war alone for a certain sum ^m, which Henry was to pay him monthly till the end of October. The last treaty was signed the 29th of May about three weeks after the taking of Rome.

Henry's demands upon
the emperor.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Pol, Virg.
Hollingsh.

In consequence of the first of the three treaties of April the 30th, Henry sent sir Francis Pointz into Spain to demand of the emperor, that as by their former treaties the war with France was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hostages received from the French king. Pointz was accompanied with Clarenceux king at arms but incognito, that he

^l A town in Saintonge, famous for its salt-pits; about eight leagues from Rochel. The salt in this district brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum,

^m Thirty thousand ducats, or, thirty two thousand, two hundred and twenty two crowns de soleil, to be deducted out of what Francis owed him. Herbert, p. 33. Guicciard, l. 18.

might

might be ready to do his office when there should be occasion. The emperor easily perceived, the king of England sought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his interest to prolong the time, he told the ambassador he would send his answer to the king his master by an express.

While the ambassador was on his way to Spain, Francis and Henry hearing what had passed in Italy thought proper that cardinal Wolsey should go and confer with Francis at Amiens, in order to concert measures agreeable to the situation of affairs. Shortly after, Francis sent Lautrec with the forces designed for Italy ⁿ.

Lautrec
marches
to Italy.
Guicciard,

Cardinal Wolsey departing from court the third of July, arrived at Calais the 11th^o, from whence he went to Abbeville and stayed till Francis came to Amiens. He was received at his entrance into the French territories, with the same respect as would have been paid to the king of England. We find in the collection of the publick acts, Francis's letters patents empowering the cardinal, his dearest and great friend, to release the prisoners, wherever he came, what crimes soever they were guilty of, except high treason, rapes, coining, sacrilege, and the like, and to grant them a pardon by his letters patents.

Wolsey con-
fers with
the king of
France.
Guicciard,
Herbert.
Hall.
Stow.
P. Daniel.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 202.

Whilst the cardinal was at Abbeville, he received a memorial from the emperor, containing his answer to the king of France's offers to the viceroy of Naples. He had, as was observed, rejected these offers at first with disdain and refused to hear them mentioned. But the situation of his affairs being altered by the league between France and England, he believed it would be better to end all differences by a peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the war alone against so many powerful enemies. It was therefore in order to procure a peace, that he sent this answer to the cardinal, wherewith he imagined the king of France and Henry would be satisfied.

The empe-
ror's memo-
rial as to a
peace.
Ib. p. 200.

As this memorial is very proper to illustrate the history of those times, it will not doubtless be unacceptable to insert the substance thereof.

ⁿ He set out June 30, with eight hundred lances. Guicciard. l. 18.

o He was met at Boulogne by monsieur de Byron, with a thousand horse, and after by John, cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor of Alençon, who accompanied him first to Montreuil, and then to Abbeville. He was attended by Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, the lord Sandes, the king's

chamberlain, Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, sir Henry Guildford, sir Thomas More, with many knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred horse. Hall, fol. 160. Stow, p. 531. Herbert, p. 83. He brought with him thirty thousand crowns. Guicciard, l. 18. Hall says, it was two hundred and forty thousand pounds. fol. 161. Hollingh. p. 897.

1527.

“ The emperor began with protesting, that by what he offered in this memorial, he meant not to derogate from the treaty of Madrid, but in the points only which were contrary to it. He added, that as to the hostages, the king of France was not ignorant of the reason of their being in Spain, and had it in his power to recover them. Then he set forth the offers made by Francis to the viceroy of Naples, containing the four following articles :

The king of FRANCE's offers to the emperor.

“ I. That he would execute the treaty of Madrid, provided Francesco Sforza was restored to the duchy of Milan.

“ II. That he would give the emperor in lieu of Burgundy two millions of gold payable, namely, a good sum in hand, when queen Leonora should be delivered to him, and the rest at a day to be appointed, and then his sons should be restored; unless the emperor had rather have the whole sum at once, and deliver at the same time the queen and the two hostages.

“ III. That he would pay the king of England what was due from the emperor.

“ IV. He demanded that the emperor should increase queen Leonora's dowry in proportion to the sum he was to receive, since he could do it without any charge to himself,

The EMPEROR's answer.

The emperor replied to these four articles by the eight following declarations :

“ I. That what should be agreed upon should not be prejudicial to the treaty of Madrid, except in such things as should be altered by mutual consent.

“ II. That the emperor's right to Burgundy should remain entire, as before the treaty of Madrid.

“ III. That all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, except such as were mentioned in these offers, should remain entire.

“ IV. The emperor in his fourth declaration said, that he hoped the king of England and the lord cardinal would
“ cause

" cause the sum of two millions of gold, offered by the king
 " of France, to be augmented. However, if that could
 " not be, it should be understood, that this sum was over
 " and above what the emperor owed the king of England,
 " as well for money lent, as for the indemnity he had un-
 " dertaken to discharge, which sums the king of France had
 " taken upon himself in the treaty of Madrid; besides like-
 " wise the restitution of the late Mr. de Bourbon's estate, it
 " being reasonable that his heirs should partake of the benefit
 " of the treaty. Item, That the king of France should punctu-
 " ally perform all the rest of the articles concluded on his
 " part in the treaty of Madrid before his sons left Spain; the
 " emperor not being able, after what had passed, to take any
 " security if the hostages remained not in his power till the
 " treaty was fully executed.

" V. That pursuant to the treaty of Madrid, what
 " should be agreed upon, should be ratified by the states
 " general of France, and approved by the parliaments.
 " Or if that could not be done by the states general,
 " it should at least be ratified by the states of each pro-
 " vince.

" VI. The emperor declared, That he could not send
 " the queen his sister to France till every thing was accom-
 " plished, and then the queen and the hostages should be sent
 " together.

" VII. That as for duke Sforza, the emperor would ap-
 " point impartial judges to decide his affair, and if he was
 " found guilty of no crime for which he deserved to be
 " deprived of his duchy, he should be restored: But if
 " he was condemned, the state of Milan should re-
 " main in the emperor's disposal, according to justice and
 " equity.

" VIII. That the king of England should be guaran-
 " tee of the future treaty, and by his letters patents engage
 " to assist at his own charge with a certain number of troops
 " him of the two parties that should keep the treaty, against
 " him that should not observe it.

" Besides these eight conditions, which the emperor call-
 " ed declarations, he demanded moreover in his memorial,
 " that the king of France should satisfy him for the expences
 " of the leagues he had made with him, and of which he
 " was the sole author, empowering the king of England to
 " settle the sum.

" Finally, he said, That he did not question, the king of
 " England, who perfectly knew what had passed between the

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“ two parties would not cause the king of France’s offers to
 “ be increased, and that the lord legate, whom the emperor
 “ always looked upon as his good friend, would also endeavour
 “ the same to the utmost of his power: that however,
 “ he was so inclined to peace, that if the king of England
 “ desired, he should make any farther concessions than what
 “ were contained in the eight foregoing declarations, he
 “ would do more for his sake than for any prince in the
 “ world. That he should be very glad, all the potentates
 “ of Europe knew how much he valued his friendship
 “ and ascribed to him the whole glory of procuring the
 “ peace. This memorial was dated at Valladolid the—of
 “ July 1527.

Remark on
 this memorial.

If this answer of the emperor be closely examined, it will be manifest that he simply and absolutely accepted of the French king’s offers, under terms denoting, it was he that gave rather than received law, and that by his declarations he only obviated all possible cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under such restrictions, that he seemed willing to stand to the king of England’s determination, which at such a juncture was the same as departing from his demands. There was but one single point concerning which he could not resolve to submit; namely, the duke of Milan’s affair. But this was a point newly proposed by the king of France, and which had no relation to the treaty of Madrid, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain if that had been the only obstacle to a peace, he would also have granted it, since he reserved a way to come off with honour, namely, by causing Sforza to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himself proposed to the pope. Perhaps Francis would have accepted the peace on the terms offered in the memorial, if the emperor had come to that resolution at first. But since he had made these offers to the viceroy of Naples, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained Henry to his interest, and as after the taking of Rome it was to be feared the emperor would become master of all Italy. Mean while, the emperor’s offers, which were in effect the same Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, were either to be accepted or rejected. But as it was not Henry’s business to return an answer, since the affair did not directly concern him, he only sent the memorial to the king of France, who no longer desiring to make peace, disengaged himself in this manner. He demanded in the first place, that Sforza should be restored without condition. Secondly,

Henry sends the memorial to the king of France. Reply of Francis I. Bellai.

P. 1333.

condly, that his sons should be delivered before he recalled his forces from Italy, where Lautrec was now arrived, offering to deposit three hundred thousand ducates in the hands of the king of England for security of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little desire to execute the treaty of Madrid, though the same terms only were demanded as were offered by himself presently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his hostages, to have the execution of the treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to deposit for security three hundred thousand ducats in the hands of a prince devoted to him, and who by a private treaty was engaged to make his interest his own. The emperor, unwilling to be thus insnared, offered on his part to deposit the same sum in the hands of the king of England for pledge that the hostages should be restored. But his offer being rejected, the affair stopped there, and war was only thought of. Mean while, the emperor desiring to let all the world see, it was not his fault that a peace was not concluded, gave the ambassadors of England, of the pope, and of the Venetians, the same answer he had sent to cardinal Wolfey. They all seemed very well satisfied, and said their masters would doubtless accept a peace on these terms, and send orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the kings of France and England had altered their minds and taken new resolutions.

If Francis and cardinal Wolfey were to confer together at Abbeville, it was not to seek means to make peace, but rather to take measures, on supposition that a war with the emperor was infallible. Francis being come to Abbeville the first of August, the cardinal waited on him, and after conferring together, they concluded on the eighteenth three treaties, which properly were only supplements, explanations, and restrictions of the three foregoing ones.

Francis's
conference
with
Wolfey.
Three new
treaties,
Act. Pub.
XIV.p.203,
&c.;

By the first it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the king of France's choice to marry the princess Mary, or leave her for the duke of Orleans his second son, the duke should espouse the princess when they should both be of age. That then, and not before should be settled the marriage articles concerning the dowry, the education of the duke of Orleans in England, and the like. Moreover, that, whether the marriage should be consummated or the two kings think fit to dispose of their children

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children otherwise, their friendship should remain inviolable, the marriage being only to be considered as a supplement to the treaties of the thirtieth of April, and not as part of those treaties.

II. That the treaty concluded at Moore should remain in full force.

III. That the project of the interview of the two kings should be laid aside, on account of the season and circumstances of affairs.

IV. As by the treaty of the twenty ninth of May, it was agreed that the king of England should contribute a certain sum for the war of Italy, it was concluded by this, that in case the emperor accepted the offers the two kings should make him by their ambassadors, the contribution should cease without any prejudice to the treaty of peace: But if he rejected them, the treaty of league offensive and defensive should subsist, on condition that during this campaign the king of England should be deemed to have discharged his part of the treaty, by his contribution for the war with Italy.

V. That the king of England should form no demands upon the king of France on pretence of his charges for the war of Italy.

VI. That to prevent all disputes, without examining the number of troops which the king of France maintained in Italy, the king of England should pay for the month of June last twenty thousand crowns, for the month of July last thirty thousand crowns, and thirty two thousand two hundred and twenty two for each of three following months. On condition however, that if in these three last months, the English commissaries found in the army of Italy, a less number of troops than what the king of France was to maintain, the contribution should be lessened in proportion. Moreover, if a peace was made during these three last months, the contribution should cease the day the peace was concluded.

p. 209.

By the second treaty, which concerned only trade, Francis promised to give the English merchants such privileges as should be agreed upon hereafter.

p. 212.
Herbert.

By a third treaty the two kings were bound:

First, Not to consent to the calling of a general council during the pope's captivity.

Secondly,

Secondly, To receive no bull brief or mandate from the pope ^p till he was released.

Thirdly, That till the pope should resume the government of the church, whatever should be determined in England by the cardinal legate, assisted by the principal members of the clergy ^q, and in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, should be punctually executed.

These treaties being concluded, Francis I. ratified them, and swore to the observance before he left Abbeville ^r. cardinal Wolsey did the same thing in his master's name, by virtue of his full powers and title of vicar general, which he had received on this occasion. After that, he returned into England to give the king an account of the success of his negotiation ^s.

Henry being resolved to proclaim war against the emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him by his ambassadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The first was, That he should pay what was borrowed of him, or of his father king Henry VII. The second, that he should pay him the five hundred thousand crowns to which he was obliged, in case he married not the princess Mary, to whom he was affianced. The third, that according to the tenor of their treaty, he should satisfy him for his pension from the king of France, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, that he should release the pope, and satisfy him for all the damages caused by his troops. The emperor answered the ambassadors, first, that he had never denied his debt to the king of England; but was surpris'd he should at this juncture insist so much upon payment: that at least,

Wolsey returns to England. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 216, —218.

Henry's fresh demands upon the emperor. Herbert. p. 86.

Guiciard. The emperor's answer. Herbert.

^p Any way prejudicial to either of the two kings, their kingdoms, or to the cardinal of York's legatine jurisdiction. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 213, 214.

^q —Accitis de mandato & auctoritate prædicti—Angliæ regis in regno Angliæ, prelati, circa statum & administrationem rerum ecclesiasticarum in Angliâ, &c. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 214. Called together by the king's authority, and his consent first obtained to what should be determined. And here (says lord Herbert) began the relish our king took of governing the church, p. 85.

^r They were ratified at Amiens, VOL. VI.

August 18. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 216, 218.

^s About the end of September. Francis not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the town, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the titular king of Navarre, the pope's legate, and his prime nobility. At his coming to Calais, he ordered the mart to be kept in that town, instead of Antwerp, &c. Hall, fol. 159. Herbert, p. 85.—About this time, Wolsey dispatched Gambara to the pope, to desire him to make him his vicar general in England, France, and Germany, during his captivity. Guiciard, l. 18.

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when the money was required, the obligations should be offered to be restored. Secondly, that he would write to the king their master to acquaint him, why he did not think himself liable to the penalty of the five hundred thousand crowns, for not consummating the marriage. In the third place, that orders were sent into Italy to set the pope free. He said nothing concerning making satisfaction for the pension, because probably he considered it as included in the article of the debts to which he owned himself bound, as indeed nothing was more reasonable.

Assembly of
the chief
men of
France.
Mezerai.

The assembly's
opinion.

Francis's
aim.

Charles,
Francis, and
Henry, act
with insin-
cerity.

The emperor's replies were not capable of satisfying Henry who only sought an occasion of quarrel. On the other hand, Francis having called together the chief men, that is to say properly, persons devoted to him, declared to them all the steps he had made towards a peace with the emperor; and it may be easily guessed, he was not very careful to explain what the emperor might alledge against him. Having represented the matter as he pleased, he said, he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged in honour or conscience. The assembly unanimously replied, that his person belonged to the realm, and it was not in his power to dispose of it according to his pleasure: that moreover, he could not alienate the provinces of the crown, but if the emperor would except of a ransom for the two princes in hostage, they offered the king two millions of gold to redeem them. A man must have voluntarily shut his eyes, not to see what was the design of this farce, entirely managed by the court. Mean while, the king believing, after this decision, that he might, with a safe conscience, go to war with the emperor, thought only of means to recover his sons by force of arms. He still hoped however, the dread of a war would induce the emperor to mitigate the treaty of Madrid. This was not now with respect to Burgundy, since he could not be ignorant that the emperor had accepted the offered equivalent. But he hoped by means of the war, to procure a new treaty, which should annul that of Madrid. Thus many princes play with their words and oaths, and seek to blind themselves, or at least, the publick, whilst none about them dare to tell them the truth. The emperor kept his word no better, with regard to the duchy of Milan; and Henry VIII. scrupled not to break his league with the emperor, as he had before violated that with Francis. Princes never want excuses when they have a mind to break a treaty. But the publick is not always imposed upon, though frequently they appear so to be. Probably, the sovereigns themselves

themselves are not so blind, but they see the irregularity of their conduct, though, countenanced by the dissimulation of the publick, they affect a great security. But the time comes at last, when posterity, less prepossessed, does justice to all the world, and calls things by their proper name.

Francis, willing to preserve the friendship newly contracted with Henry, sent him the order of St. Michael^t, by Anne de Montmorency^u, one of the knights. This lord had power to dispense with Henry's oath, in whole or in part, as the new knight should think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. Henry was pleased to swear to observe all the statutes of the order of St. Michael, which were not contrary to those of the garter, or any other order he had already received. Then he sent the order of the garter to Francis, by Arthur [Plantagenet] viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward IV^v. and Francis took the usual oath of the order, with the same restrictions. The French ambassador who arrived in England about the end of October, was received with such magnificence, that du Bellai, who accompanied him, assures us, he had never seen the like. The English ambassador was received in the same manner in France, there having ever been between Francis and Henry an emulation, which frequently threw them into needless expences. But it was most inconvenient for Francis, by reason of his continual wars with the emperor, wherein Henry was no farther engaged than he pleased: nay, he paid the very contribution for the war of Italy, by way of deduction for the sums owed him by Francis^x, as appears in the collection of the publick acts. Thus Francis was forced to disburse all the money employed in that war, of which I must now relate the sequel.

Clement VII. was still confined in the castle of St. Angelo, till he could pay the sums exacted upon him. As he had but little money, he could only pay part of what he had pro-

^t The military order of St. Michael, was instituted by Lewis XII. in 1469. The knights wear a gold collar of shell-work, one within another, laid on a gold chain, whereon hangs a medal of St. Michael the archangel, the ancient protector of France.

^u Anne de Montmorency, grand maitre arrived the 20th of October, with six hundred horse at London, and after audience had been given, they were, on November 10, entertained by our king at Greenwich, with a

sumptuous feast, and with a comedy, in which his daughter the princess Mary acted a part. Herbert, p. 85.

^v He was accompanied by dr. John Taylor, master of the rolls, and archdeacon of Buckingham, sir Nicolas Carew, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, garter king at arms. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 232.

^x Which sums amounted to sixty four thousand five hundred and forty four crowns. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 234.

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Francis and Henry send one another their orders of knights of St. Michael, and the garter.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 227^s
233.
p. 229.
p. 232.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 233^r

Affairs of Italy.
Guicciard,

1527.

mised, and therefore his captivity was longer than he expected at first; they in whose custody he was, not being willing to trust to his word. The emperor had not advice of the sacking of Rome, and the pope's imprisonment sooner than the beginning of June, and it was above a month before he came to any resolution. As he did not question this affair would make great noise in the world, he was willing to see, before he determined what to do, how the kings of France and England would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. The 2d of August, he writ to Henry to excuse himself concerning the outrages committed by his troops at Rome, and the violence exercised upon the pope's person, wherein he protested, he was not concerned. At the same time, he asked his advice about what was to be done on the occasion, as if he still deemed him his good friend and ally. But it was only to gain time, till he received Francis's answer to the memorial sent to cardinal Wolsey. On the other hand, the pope, though narrowly watched, had found means to write to Henry^y, and cause the thirteen cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the same, desiring his protection, and entreating him to use his best endeavours to free them from their unhappy condition. Henry, upon receipt of these letters, sent orders to his ambassadors in Spain, to demand of the emperor the pope's and cardinals liberty: to which the emperor answered in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the king of England's satisfaction. Mean while, he was thinking of conveying the pope into Spain, in expectation of making a better bargain with him than if he left him in Italy. Of this cardinal Wolsey informed Henry by a letter from Abbeville of the twenty ninth of July.

Herbert.

Letter to Henry from the pope and imprisoned cardinals. Burnet, vol. III. Herbert.

The emperor tries to set Francis and Henry at variance.

Herbert.

It is certain, Henry's instances in the pope's behalf greatly embarrassed the emperor. He found that Francis and Henry would not fail to join their counsels and forces against him, under colour of labouring for the pope, and this union could not but break all his measures, with respect to his affairs in Italy. He believed therefore, that before all things he should try to divide them, by sowing jealousies and suspicions between them. One of his expedients to succeed, was to propose to the cardinal a marriage between the duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry, and Isabella princess of

^y On September 24. By Gregory de Cassali, the English agent at Rome, who was now returning to England.

Herbert, p. 81, 83. Burnet, vol. III, p. 34.

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Portugal, with whom he offered in dower the duchy of Milan. The cardinal acquainted the king with it by a letter of the 31st of July, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but however, it was proper to seem to listen to it, because it was necessary still to preserve some correspondence with the emperor. This related without doubt to the affair of the divorce, which I shall presently speak of. For, by a letter of the 1st of August, the cardinal informed the king it was reported in Spain, he intended to divorce the queen, but that it was requisite to send orders to his ambassadors at Madrid to stifle the rumour as much as possible. That to this end, they might say, it had no other foundation than the bishop of Tarbe's scruples concerning the princess Mary's marriage with the duke of Orleans, as if there was room to question the princess's legitimacy. The emperor also used another means to divide Francis and Henry, by trying to gain cardinal Wolsey, by advantageous offers ^z. But for once, he could not succeed, whether Wolsey was now too far engaged with Francis, or was bent to be revenged of the emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the business of the divorce was now resolved, in which case it was not possible for him to promise to espouse the emperor's interests.

A rumour in Spain of Henry's intending to part with his queen. Herbert.

The emperor tries to bribe Wolsey. Pol. Virg.

When Francis heard of the sacking of Rome, he perceived it was time to lay aside artifice, and necessary to send a powerful aid into Italy, otherwise the Venetians would infallibly conclude a peace with the emperor. Indeed, it was not likely, they could or would bear alone the burden of the war. Wherefore his first care was to make a new treaty with them ^z, to bring each into the field ten thousand men, and levy ten thousand Switzers at a common charge. The Venetians desired nothing more than to be supported by France, because they justly dreaded, that the army which had sacked Rome would be employed against them. Indeed, if the duke of Bourbon had been alive, or the viceroy of Naples able to influence the army, the Venetians would undoubtedly have been attacked, being the only enemies the emperor had in Italy. But happily for them, the imperial troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of Rome, without thinking of any other undertaking, the plague which broke out among them, swept away two thirds of the soldiers. In short, the

Francis joins in a league with the Venetians. Guicciard.

The plague rages among the imperialists. Guicciard.

^z He offered him large sums besides his pension. But because Charles had refused Wolsey the archbishoprick of Toledo, the richest in Spain, to which

the cardinal vehemently aspired, he proved inexorable. Pol. Virg. l. 27. Herbert, p. 85.
a On May 15. Guicciard. l. 18.

1527. distemper destroying them by heaps, they left Rome, and dispersed themselves in the neighbouring country. After which, having sacked Terni and Narni, and extorted money from Spoleto, the Germans parted from the Spaniards, and returned to Rome. Thus discord arising in the army, which ill obeyed the prince of Orange, though they had chosen him for general, they projected nothing to improve their victory for the emperor's advantage. On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave Francis time to send troops into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, who was declared general of the league he had newly concluded with the Venetians. As for the duke of Urbino, he continued in the Milanese with part of the Venetian army.

Lautrec general of the league.
Guicciard.
Herbert.

He arrives in Piedmont.

Doria reduces Genoa under the dominion of France.
Guicciard.
Herbert.

Lautrec marches to Naples very slowly.
Guicciard.
Hall.

The dukes of Ferrara and Mantua side with France.
Sardi.

Lautrec arrived in Piedmont in July, with part of the army he was to command. The marquis of Saluzzo was ordered to join him with his Italians, and the Switzers were to come presently after. Whilst he was employed in conquests of little moment, waiting the junction of all his forces, Andrea Doria, who had quitted the pope's service, and commanded the French galleys, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the city of Genoa under Francis's dominion. This was a good opening of a campaign, which seemed to promise an advantageous success in the rest of the war, especially as Lautrec, after assembling his whole army, consisting of twenty five thousand men, became master of Vigevano, Alexandria, and Pavia. Sforza and the Venetians earnestly pressed him to besiege Milan, but he shewed them positive orders to march to Naples. The king of France took care not to employ his army to conquer the duchy of Milan, which by the treaty of league was to be restored to Sforza, after which, the Venetians would give themselves but little trouble to accomplish his attempt upon Naples. Besides, he still hoped, that by consenting the emperor should keep Milan he might recover his sons, whereas in restoring Sforza he should deprive himself of that means. Lautrec therefore began his march to the kingdom of Naples, but with such slowness and affected delays, that it was evident, he had private orders not to make too much haste. And indeed, it was at the time that Francis expected the emperor's final answer to the offers made him by his and Henry's ambassadors. Lautrec long halted at Parma and Placentia, which had opened their gates to him. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara joined with France, as well on account of Lautrec's march, who might have easily ravaged his country, as of Francis's offer to give in marriage to his son

son Hercules, Renée of France, second daughter of Lewis XII. The duke of Mantua presently after followed his example.

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Mean while, the emperor seeing the ill effects of the pope's captivity, had dispatched the general of the order of St. Francis, to the viceroy of Naples, with orders to release the pope. The general finding the viceroy seized with a distemper whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to Hugo de Moncada to be executed. The emperor had given general instructions, that the pope should be bound to pay the arrears due to the army, and give security, after having his liberty, to forsake the league. But as it was not easy for the pope to find pledges, or the money necessary to pay the army, the negotiation was prolonged. Mean while, he continually solicited Lautrec by private messengers to approach Rome, in order to facilitate his deliverance. But Lautrec had positive orders which hindered him from making haste, and yet his march, though slow, was of good service to the pope. Moncada seeing the kingdom of Naples was going to be invaded, and that it was not possible to lead thither the imperial army which was at Rome, without giving them money, concluded at last ^b a treaty with the pope to this effect:

Negotiation for the pope's liberty.
Guicciard.

I. That the pope should not oppose the emperor in the affairs of Naples or Milan.

II. That he should grant the emperor a crusade in Spain, and a tenth in the rest of his dominions.

III. That the emperor should keep Civita Vecchia, Ostia, Citta Castellana, and the castle of Furlu.

IV. That the pope should pay down to the German troops, sixty thousand ducats, and thirty five thousand to the Spaniards.

V. That in a fortnight after, he should pay them another certain sum, and within three months all the rest that was due to the emperor, amounting to above three hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

VI. That till the two first payments were made, the pope should be conducted to some safe place out of Rome, and give hostages.

Treaty for the pope's deliverance.
Guicciard.
Herbert,

The treaty being signed, and the cardinals of Cesis and Orsino delivered in hoitage, it was agreed, that on the 10th

The pope escapes to Orvieto.
Guicciard.

^b On October 31. Ibid.

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of December, the pope should be taken out of the castle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed. But as he was afraid of a longer confinement, because he was unable to perform the treaty, he escaped in disguise the night before, and shut himself up in Orvieto.

Guicciard.

When Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he restored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he stayed three weeks expecting fresh orders from the king. Some days after, he received a letter from Clement VII. acknowledging himself indebted to him for his liberty, intimating withal, that having been forced to grant the imperialists whatever they required, he did not think himself obliged to perform his engagements.

Beginning
of Henry's
divorce.

It was whilst the pope was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, that Henry's divorce was set on foot; a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in itself, as on account of the parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet thirty years since Lewis XII. put away his wife without any difficulty, or much noise in the world. Henry VIII. had a mind to attempt the same thing, and though supported with much more plausible reasons, he met with insuperable obstacles, not to be surmounted without an extraordinary method, which gave occasion to the establishment of the reformation in England. This effect distinguished Henry VIII's divorce from so many others, which are but slightly mentioned by historians. The writers upon this subject being either catholicks or protestants, have considered it variously. The catholicks have drawn arguments from thence against the reformation in England, and represented Henry's divorce, as the next and immediate cause of the change of religion; whereas the protestants affirm, it was only the occasion. Three English authors especially have writ the history of this divorce, besides many others of the same nation, or foreigners who have spoke of it in their works. Sanderus, or rather Sanders, author of the origin and progress of the English schism, makes it his business to defame Henry VIII. and show that the reformation in England, which he terms schism, entirely sprung from Henry's passion for Anne Bullen. He fancied by that to give a mortal wound to the reformation, and cause the world to think, that a superstructure raised on such a foundation, could not be the work of God. The lord Herbert in his history of Henry VIII. contents himself with a bare recital of the events of this reign, whereof the divorce is one of the principal, without many reasonings, leaving his readers to make inferences from the facts he relates.

Reason why
this divorce
made so
much noise.

Remarks on
Sanders,
Herbert, and
Burnet.

lately.

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lates. Doctor Burnet intending to write the history of the reformation of England, made it his chief aim, in speaking of Henry's divorce, to show, that though it occasioned the reformation, it was only by accident. For this reason he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falsehoods asserted by Sanders in his history. He has succeeded so well, that no sincere man can for the future acknowledge Sanders for a writer worthy of credit.

The sequel of my history obliges me to speak of this famous divorce. I should be inclined to refer the reader to the forementioned excellent history of the reformation of England, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions, but it would not be reasonable to oblige the readers to remember what they have read in that history, or to peruse it again. Wherefore I shall choose, in pursuing the thread of my history, to relate this event, which is as the hinge whereon do turn numberless other things, which that illustrious author had occasion only to mention, but which I must more fully explain, because our ends are different. His aim in speaking of Henry VIII's affairs with the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, was to illustrate the history of the reformation, and mine is, not to meddle with the affairs of religion any farther than they relate to the other events of this reign.

Henry had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Arragon, and by her had three children, whereof one was living, when he formed the design to put her away. He alleged, as the principal reason, his scruples for marrying his brother's widow. But, as it is pretended, these scruples troubled him not till he was in love with Anne Bullen, one of the queen's maids of honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his marriage, sprung from this new passion, and without that, would never have existed^c. Accordingly, some labour to show his divorce had no other foundation than his love for that lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his scruples were independent of each other. For my part, I should think it needless to accuse or justify Henry, with regard to the concerns of religion, if there was not some necessity to illustrate this matter with respect to the history. By illustrating, I mean, shewing

Henry resolves to divorce queen Catherine. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Herbert. Burnet.

It is not possible to know whether Henry's love was the cause of the divorce.

^c It was at first reported, that king Henry was to marry Margaret, duchess dowager of Alençon, and that Thomas Bullen, viscount Rochford, had brought

over her picture with him, when he returned from his embassy to France. Hollingshead, p. 897. Pol. Virg. l. 27.

1527.

the impossibility of giving a certain judgment about it. But before all things, it is necessary to describe the person, who, as it is pretended, was the prime cause of the king's divorce, and of all the consequences thereof.

An account
of Anne
Bullen.
Introd. to
Ann. of
Eliz.
Burnet.
Ref. T. I.
p. 43.
Herbert.

Annie Bullen ^d was of a good, though not a noble family. Sir Thomas Bullen, ^e her father, married a sister of the duke of Norfolk ^e, and by her had Anne, born according to Camden in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII's accession to the throne. Thomas Bullen, her father, was twice ambassador to France, first in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made viscount Rochford in 1525, and afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond ^f. Anne his daughter being but seven years old, was carried into France in 1514, when Mary the king's sister went and consummated her marriage at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. That queen being re-married shortly after to the duke of Suffolk, and returning into England, Anne Bullen was left in France. It is pretended, she then entered into the service of Francis I's queen, though she was but eight years of age, but it is not said in what quality. It is certain, a girl of her age was not capable of doing much service. So, it may be presumed her beauty, genteelness, or the liveliness of her wit, made queen Claude desirous to keep her about her. Camden affirms, she retained her in her service to the day of her death, which happened in July 1524, and says not that Anne ever took a journey into England all that time. But du Tillet, and du Pleix, French authors, pretend, she came over in 1522. The lord Herbert says the same thing, but, without citing any particular author, contents himself with saying, it appears in history. Camden affirms, Anne remained in France, not only till queen Claude's death, but that, after she had lost her mistress, she was taken into service by the duchess of Alençon, Francis's sister. However, he does not say when she quitted it. Others affirm, sir Thomas Bullen brought his daughter to England when he returned from his embassy. His embassy of 1515, cannot here be meant, since it is unanimously agreed, that Anne was in queen Claude's service after queen Mary's departure, and continued several years in the court of

Uncertainty
about Anne
Bullen's
return to
England.
Burnet.

^d Her true name was Anne Boleyn, as it is always written in the publick acts. The English write Bolen, or Bullen, and the French Boulen. Rapin.
e Elizabeth Howard.

^f His mother was Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Boteler, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

His father was sir William, and his grandfather sir Geoffrey Boleyn, or Bulleyn, lord mayor of London, in 1458, who married Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Hoo and Hastings. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 306. Camden.

France. It must therefore be his embassy of 1527. But it is likely, Bullen was not sent to France till September 1527, since his sole commission was to see the treaty of the 30th of April of the same year sworn to, which Francis had not ratified sooner than the 18th of August, as appears in the collection of the publick acts z . But as before his departure, the affair of the divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed, the king's love for his daughter was later than his resolution concerning the divorce, if it be true that Anne returned to England with her father, about the end of the year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two French authors assert, that Anne went over to England in 1522, and that it was then the king fell in love with her. But it may be replied first, that it is very strange, these two historians, who wrote long after the fact, should meet with memoirs of the journey of a maid of honour, and the more as they cite nothing to support their testimony. Secondly, supposing it were so, they do not say Anne stayed in England. Consequently they destroy not Camden's testimony, who affirms, Anne served queen Claude till 1524, and afterwards the duchess of Alençon. But if it be true, that Anne took a journey into England in 1522, and the king then fell in love with her, it cannot be supposed she returned to France, because the rupture between the two crowns happening that year, it is not likely that in time of war, an English woman should go and serve a queen of France. Besides, if the king was then in love, would he have suffered Anne to depart the kingdom? Camden therefore, or the two French authors must have been mistaken, This is a difficulty not to be easily solved.

But there is a fact which passes for certain, namely, that Anne Bullen being twenty years old, was taken into queen Catherine's service as maid of honour. Now this must have been in 1527, since she was born in 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the king's love may most properly be fixed. But still this is only a conjecture, which, were it well grounded, would be a sufficient proof that the king's divorce was not an effect of his passion, since it was resolved before the end of the year 1526. My aim in this inquiry is to show, that the time of Anne Bullen's return into England is very uncertain, and the beginning of the king's affection no less so. How then can it be so boldly af-

1527.

Act. Pub.
XVI. p. 218.Camden.
Burnet.

z Sir Thomas Bulleyn was accompanied to Paris by sir Anthony Brown. Hall, fol. 157.

1527.

firmed, as it is by some, that love for Anne Bullen inspired the king with the thoughts of annulling his marriage with Catherine? we must see now whether it be easier to discover the time when Henry resolved to sue for his divorce.

At what
time Henry
resolved to
sue for his
divorce.
Burnet.
Ref. T. I.
p. 36.
Speed.
p. 762.

When Henry VII. concluded his son's marriage with Catherine, prince Arthur's widow, archbishop Warham told him plainly, it was contrary to the law of God, which the pope could not dispense with. The king without doubt was touched with this remonstrance. The very day the prince his son entered into his fourteenth year, he caused him to make against his marriage, a secret protestation, though before trusty witnesses, declaring, he was constrained to give his consent. After that, the king on his death bed strictly charged the prince not to consummate his marriage with Catherine. Notwithstanding all this, Henry VIII. being come to the crown, espoused the princess contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred that of the bishop of Winchester. He had by her three children^h, two sons and a daughter, of whom the sons died soon after their birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he considered the untimely death of his two sons, as God's curse on his marriage, especially, when he saw the queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards that Charles V. who was affianced to the princess Mary, refused to marry her, upon the council of Spain's questioning the princess's legitimacy. After that, when a marriage was treating between Mary and king Francis, or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe the French ambassador, made the same objection, maintaining, that the princess could not be deemed born in wedlock, notwithstanding Julius II's dispensation.

Hall.
fol. 155.
Burnet.

All these things were more than sufficient to raise scruples in the king's mind concerning his marriage: But though in an assembly of lords which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reasons for a divorce, he affirmed, the bishop of Tarbe's objection inspired him with the first thoughts of inquiring into the matter, it appears however, that his scruples began sooner. For in a letterⁱ afterwards to Grynæus, he told him, he had abstained from the queen ever since the year 1524.

But supposing it could be discovered at what time Henry begun, either by himself, or by the suggestion of others, to be troubled with these scruples, it would signify nothing with

^h She had besides, several miscarriages. Burnet, tom. I. p. 36.

ⁱ Dated September 10, 1531. Idem. p. 38.

1527.

respect to his resolution concerning the divorce, which in all appearance was taken much later. Polydore Virgil says, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, laboured to persuade him of the necessity of the divorce by cardinal Wolsey's order, but mentions not the time. All the historians affirm, the king had recourse himself to Thomas Aquinas's works to clear his doubts, and caused the bishops to be consulted upon that subject. But none of them say at what time this was done. It is well known secretary Knight was dispatched to Rome about this affair in July 1527, but then the rumour of the king's meditating a divorce had already reached the court of Spain, as appears in the cardinal's letter to the king from Abbeville ^k. It is also very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, Henry had considered of it some time before. It is scarce to be supposed a resolution of this nature can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favourable juncture. Henry said himself that the bishop of Tarbe raised in him the thought of annulling his marriage. But if it be true, as some affirm, that the bishop spoke only as directed by cardinal Wolsey, it may be presumed, the project of the divorce was formed some time before, and this ambassador made to speak only to have an excuse to commence the affair. This is what seems to me extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the ambassador, after thus questioning Mary's legitimacy, would have concluded the marriage of the king his master, or of the duke of Orleans, with that princess, had he not acted in concert with the court of England. These then are my thoughts, which I submit to the reader's judgment.

Burnet.

Burnet.
Herbert.

Ever since Francis was freed from his captivity, he had never ceased to press Henry to join with him in an offensive league against the emperor. But Henry had constantly excused himself, without even suffering him to entertain the least hopes in that respect. However, lord Herbert says, that about the end of the year 1526, Henry of his own accord sent an ambassador to France to propose the league, so eagerly desired by Francis, and to offer him his daughter Mary in marriage. This proceeding gives occasion to believe, he had now resolved upon the divorce, and foreseeing how much the emperor would oppose it, intended so to embarrass him as to oblige him to court his friendship. Upon this supposition it may naturally be conjectured, that he pro-

Conjecture
upon this
subject.^k Dated August 1, 1527. See Herbert, p. 34.

1527.

posed the marriage of his daughter with the king of France, only to convince the emperor, that he really designed to be strictly united with France. But at the same time it is very likely, he informed Francis of the obstacle which would occur in the execution of this pretended project, namely, the divorce of the princess's mother, which he was meditating. This conjecture is confirmed by the coldness wherewith these two monarchs treated of the marriage. In the first place, Henry left it to the king of France's choice, to have Mary himself, or to leave her to his second son, as if this alternative were the same thing. In the next place, when Francis declared he would leave Mary to the duke of Orleans, the treating more fully concerning the marriage was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the treaty Francis and the cardinal concluded at Abbeville, they took care to insert this clause: "that though the marriage should not be effected, the treaty however should subsist." In fine, though Knight was at Rome, or on his way thither, when the treaty of Abbeville was concluded, it does not appear Francis ever complained to Henry, that he had offered him a princess whom he was labouring to bastardize by prosecuting his divorce with the queen her mother. On the contrary, he assisted him to the utmost of his power to obtain his desires. But he must have looked upon the offer as an affront, had they not understood one another. If this conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the resolution concerning the divorce was taken at least about the end of the year 1526, though the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year. But in that case, it would therefore be true, that the king had resolved upon the divorce before his passion for Anne Bullen, who, in all appearance, returned not into England sooner than October 1527.

From what has been said it may be gathered, that to affirm with any probability, that Henry's passion for Anne Bullen was the cause of his divorce with Catherine, these queries must be decided in favour of that opinion. At what time did Anne Bullen return into England? when did the king's love for her first begin? when was it that he came to a resolution concerning his divorce? but upon all these questions, conjectures only, as I have observed, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the resolution about the divorce, and the beginning of the king's love, there was no great distance of time. Here we must stop. But it is going too far, to ground upon this nearness, as a certain fact, that Henry

Henry undertook the prosecution of his divorce with Catherine, on purpose to marry Anne Bullen. I say, moreover, that though there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly corresponded, yet as to what passed in the king's breast, it would be only conjecture.

I have enlarged a little on this point, because the illustrious author of the history of the reformation seems to leave it in the dark. Besides, I thought it requisite to curb the overconfident, by informing the readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We see it in many histories, and hear it every day, positively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty; that Henry's love for Anne Bullen was the sole cause of his divorce with Catherine of Arragon, though, as I have shewn, it can only be said by conjecture, and the conjecture itself does not countenance that notion. Not that Henry VIII. is to be considered as a prince incapable of being misled by his passion, even to the sacrificing Catherine of Arragon to Anne Bullen. Why should he have been more scrupulous with respect to Catherine, than he was with regard to Anne herself, whom he made no difficulty to sacrifice to a third wife, as will hereafter be seen. He was a prince of an impetuous temper, who could bear no opposition to his will. The flatteries of his subjects, and the extravagant praises continually bestowed on him by the sovereigns who stood in need of him, had possessed him with such a conceit of his own merit, that he imagined his actions ought to have been the standard of good sense, reason, and justice. When therefore it is said, his love for Anne Bullen caused him eagerly to push the affair of his divorce, of which otherwise the difficulties would perhaps have discouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his character. Only care must be taken, not to assert for an undoubted truth, what is but a bare conjecture.

However this be, without dwelling longer upon the king's secret motives, and endeavouring to discover his thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content ourselves with what he published himself. In the first place, he said, he was troubled in conscience for his marriage with Catherine, and indeed he had but too much reason. The wonder is, that he had not these scruples more early. He had married his brother's widow, and found it forbidden by the law of Moses. It is true, he had the pope's dispensation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned divines were of opinion, that the pope could not dispense with the laws of God. This was sufficient to give him very just scruples: As

Motives of
the divorce
alleged by
Henry.
Burnet.

1527.

He labours
to inform
himself a-
bout his
doubts.
Burnet.

Wolsey helps
to cherish
his scruples.
Pol. Virg.
Burnet.
Hall.
Stow.

The bishops
condemn his
marriage
with Cather-
rine.
Cavendish.
Burnet.

The people
are of the
same mind.
Herbert.

Reasons of
state alleged
by the
king.
Burnet.

soon as these doubts had possessed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in Thomas Aquinas what he had perhaps inattentively read many times: first, that the levitical laws are moral and eternal: secondly, that the pope cannot dispense with the laws of God, because to dispense with a law, one must be superior [or equal] to the law-giver. This decision of a divine, for whom he had a great esteem, confirming his scruples, he desired archbishop Warham, who had formerly declared against the marriage, to consult the bishops of England upon the occasion. Some affirm, that Longland his confessor cherished his doubts, by the private orders of cardinal Wolsey, which is not improbable. The queen was aunt of the emperor, with whom Wolsey had reason to be displeased. Besides, the favourite loved not the queen herself, because she could not help shewing how much she was offended, that a bishop, a cardinal, a legate of the holy see, should lead so scandalous a life. However this be, soon after the archbishop presented to the king a writing, under the hands and seals of all the bishops, wherein they condemned his marriage as contrary to common decency, and the law of God. Only Fisher, bishop of Rochester, refusing to set his hand, it is said the archbishop made another write his name unknown to him¹. But the bishops were not the only persons of this opinion. Since Luther's works began to appear, many people in England were put out of their former high conceit of the papal power. As therefore the validity of the king's marriage was wholly founded on Julius II's dispensation, it was publickly disputed whether the dispensation could authorize a marriage so notoriously repugnant to the law of God: nay, many who were otherwise strongly attached to the court of Rome, could not relish the doctrine of the pope's dispensing with the divine laws. All these things conspired either to breed or confirm the king's scruples. But it was not only scruples of conscience that Henry alledged to justify his design. He pretended, that though he were regardless of his salvation, or able to overcome his scruples, the good of his people required the prevention of an inconvenience which was easily to be foreseen. He had but one daughter, and very likely should have no more children, if his marriage were not annulled. If therefore, after his decease, the validity of his marriage with Catherine should

¹ This particular is not very certain. See Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 38. It was signed on July 1, by Watham,

Tunstal, Fisher, and the bishops of Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Bath.

come to be questioned, he foresaw England would again be involved, on account of the succession, in troubles from whence it was but just freed. Mary his daughter, the king of Scotland his nephew, the queen dowager of France, could equally pretend to the crown upon very plausible reasons. Mary could alledge the pope's dispensation against such as should charge her with her being born of an unlawful marriage. The king of Scotland, who was next heir after her, could maintain, the dispensation was not valid. The queen dowager the king's sister could alledge, that the first was illegitimate, and the second, a foreigner. These several claims might easily kindle a civil war in England, where it was but too visible that each would find adherents, not to mention the foreign succours they might be supported with. Henry therefore imagined there was but one way to prevent this danger, namely, by annulling his marriage and taking another wife, by whom with God's blessing he might have sons. He to whom the secrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this thought was instilled into him by the danger he foresaw, by his aversion to the queen, or by his love for Anne Bullen. But however this may be, independently of the several motives ascribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the kingdom's being one day exposed to a civil war, if the king remained till death in his present state, and he saw no other way to come out of it than by annulling his marriage. It is true, he foresaw great opposition from the emperor the queen's nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other hand, as that monarch had himself shown on this occasion scruples, which hindered him from espousing Mary, Henry hoped, he would not obstinately maintain what he had himself questioned. Besides, the juncture seemed very favourable for his purpose. The pope, who was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, seemed to have no other resource to be restored to his former state, than the assistance of France and England, and Henry did not question that Francis, who stood in need of him, would promote his proceedings to the utmost of his power. As to the rest, he never doubted the pope's authority, reckoning that Clement VII. could revoke a dispensation granted by Julius II. Nay, cardinal Wolsey warranted the success of the affair, whether he had already gained the pope, or imagined that Clement in his present circumstances could deny the king nothing. So, it was resolved the suit should be moved in the court of Rome, to cause the marriage to be annulled.

Reasons putting him in hopes of succeeding; Burnet.

1527.

Reasons to
be laid be-
fore the
pope.
Burnet.
Nullities in
Julius's bull.

The best reason that could be alledged was, That Julius's dispensation was contrary to the divine law, and that alone ought to have been sufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with disputing the prerogative of the Roman pontiffs, when a favour was to be asked of the court of Rome. Recourse therefore was to be had to another expedient, which was to find nullities in Julius's bull, and to shew it was procured by false surmises and untrue suggestions, which rendered the bull revocable even according to the rules of the court of the Rota ^m. And this was not very difficult. The bull was grounded upon Henry's and Catharine's request, setting forth that their marriage was necessary to preserve peace between England and Spain. And here were found two reasons for revoking the bull. The first, that Henry being then but twelve years old could not be deemed to have any political views, whence it was inferred that the request was not his own. The second, that the suggestion was false, since as matters then stood between Spain and England, the marriage was not at all necessary for the preservation of peace between the two crowns, and consequently Julius II. had been surprized. Another nullity was found, As the bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of peace and union between Henry VII and the king and queen of Spain, this reason ceased when the marriage was consummated, since Henry VII. and Isabella were now dead. In fine, it was alledged, that Henry VIII. having protested against his marriage before consummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the bull, and therefore another bull was necessary to render the marriage valid. But all these reasons were produced only to afford the pope a pretence to revoke Julius's dispensation. For, if the repugnancy of the dispensation to the divine law was not the real foundation of suing for the divorce, nothing would have been more easy for the pope, than to quiet the king's conscience, by confirming whatever had been done by a new bull.

Knight is
sent to
Rome
about the
divorce.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Mean while, as the pope's compliance was not doubted in his present circumstances, the king sent doctor Knight secretary of state to Rome, to desire him to sign four instruments drawn in England. The first was a commission to cardinal Wolfey, to try and decide the affair with some English bishops. The second was a bull decretal, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine void, because Arthur's with

^m It is a maxim in law, that if the pope be surprized in any thing, and bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue surmises, they may be annulled afterwards. Burnet, tom I. p. 40.

the same princeſs was conſummated. By the third, the pope granted the king a diſpenſation to marry another wife. By the fourth, he promiſed never to repeal any of the three foregoing acts. 1527.

Knight departed from England in July, about the time the cardinal began his journey to confer with the king of France ^a. But as the pope was priſoner, and guarded by a Spaniſh captain, it was impoſſible for Knight to have an audience. He found means however to convey to him a memorial ^o, containing the ſum of his commiſſion, to which the pope returned a favourable answer. He made believe he would grant whatever the king deſired, though the emperor had already required him by the general of the Franciſcans, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his miniſters. By the way, this ſhows, Henry had reſolved long before to ſue for his divorce, ſince the emperor had time to hear of it and ſend to the pope. As it was not practicable for Knight to treat with the pope in perſon, the matter was carried no farther at that time. At length, the news of the pope's going to be releaſed reaching England, cardinal Wolfey writ to ſir Gregory Caſſali ^p the king's ordinary ambaffador at Rome, to order him to join with Knight and preſs the pope to grant the king's requeſt. This letter was worded in very ſtrong terms, and ſhewed the cardinal's deſire that the divorce ſhould be effected. It was dated the 5th of December 1527, the cardinal not yet knowing that the pope had made his eſcape the 9th of the ſame month ^q.

Clement VII. being retired to Orvieto, Knight went ^r and talked with him about the affair. The pope owned he had received his memorial, and promiſed again to do all that lay in his power for the king's ſatiſfaction, but prayed him not to be too haſty. His circumſtances then were ſuch, that he did not yet know, whether he ſhould want the king of England, or whether the emperor would agree with him. Wherefore he deſired to gain time, in order to proceed as ſhould beſt ſuit with his intereſt. But for that reaſon, and becauſe the king's orders were urgent and poſitive, Knight would not delay his negotiation. He earneſtly preſſed the pope, who pro-

He ſends a memorial to the pope. Burnet, Herbert,

Wolfey's letter to Caſſali. Burnet.

Knight and Caſſali talk with the pope; Burnet. who tries to gain time.

^a Knight had orders to adviſe with the cardinal by the way. Herbert, p. 97.

^o By corrupting ſome of his guards. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

^p The family of the Caſſali being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both at Rome, Venice, and other places. Bur-

net, tom. I. p. 45.

^q The letter is dated the 5th of December, and not the 25th, as Rapin ſays by miſtake; the original is yet extant in the Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. IX. See Burnet's Collection, N. 3d. B. II. vol. I.

^r About the end of December. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

1527.

He promises
to do what
the king de-
sires.

mised at last to sign the instrument, on condition no use should be made of them, till the Germans and Spaniards were departed out of Italy. Knight willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the instruments ready signed were in the king's hands, he would use them when he pleased. But the pope was not easily to be deceived. Whilst he feigned to have no other view than to satisfy the king, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to sacrifice him if he found it for his advantage. He used therefore all his art to prolong the affair by means unsuspected by the king. To that end, he told Knight that before the instruments were executed, he should be glad to talk with the cardinal Sancto-
rum quatuor.

But he finds
means to de-
lay the per-
formance of
his promises.
Herbert.
Burnet.

The pope having thus engaged himself, Knight and Cassali fancied they had no more to do than to prepossess in the king's favour the cardinal, whom the pope intended to consult. They were at no great pains to succeed, since, besides ten thousand ducats which they had in hand to reward such as should do them service, they were empowered to make what farther promises, they should think fit in the king's name. The cardinal examining the instruments sent from England, found very great faults particularly in the legate's commission, and took upon him to draw one more perfect. Which done, Knight and Cassali waited on the pope and pressed him to sign. He did not absolutely refuse, but said, The emperor having required him not to act in that business without imparting it to him, it was necessary to find some expedient to excuse so hasty a proceeding: That therefore it would be proper to cause Lautrec to march towards Orvieto, and press him in his master's name to give the king of England satisfaction. Lautrec being then at Bologna, to get him to march to Orvieto, there would have been occasion for orders from the court of France, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore Henry's agents rejected the expedient, their aim being to finish the affair before the emperor had notice thereof. At last the pope, finding himself extremely pressed, delivered to them the commission for cardinal Wolsey with the bull of dispensation for the king^s, and promised to send into England the bull decretal to null the marriage^t. But here the pope used an artifice, which the

Burnet, p. 48

^s But he begged with many sighs and tears, that the king would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any process upon the bull. Burnet, tom. I. p. 48.

^t The cardinal Sanctorum quatuor got of the English ambassadors four thousand crowns for a reward for his good service. Ibid.

agents perhaps did not sufficiently consider. He dated these two instruments from the time he was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. So, when the king had them in his power, he did not think fit to make use of them, lest it should be objected that the pope had granted them only with design to obtain his liberty by the assistance he expected from England. Besides, all acts executed by a prisoner may be deemed void, whereof the treaty of Madrid was a late instance. Thus, how urgent soever the king was to end the affair, he found at the close of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progress.

1527.

The pope's
artifice to
gain time.
Burnet.

Clement VII. had time during his captivity seriously to reflect upon his past conduct, which had been very unsuccessful, because he had swerved from the maxims of his most able predecessors. He had preposterously engaged in a war with the emperor, whereas Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. after sowing dissention among the princes, left them for the most part to decide their quarrels, and then sided with the strongest, or if they engaged in a war, it was commonly at other people's expence. But Clement VII. after draining his treasure in maintaining an army, had lost Florence, Parma, Reggio, Rome itself, with the best part of the ecclesiastical state, and seen himself captive and ransomed. This was sufficient to make him wiser and take another course. As soon as the ambassadors of France, England, and Venice, saw him secure at Orvieto from the outrages of the imperialists, they pressed him to declare against the emperor. They thought if he could not assist the league with temporal arms, he might at least by means of his spiritual embroil the common enemy, whom he seemed to have no reason to regard. But he himself considered the affair in a different light. Having learned by sad experience, that he had been the dupe of his allies, he resolved to be no longer guided by their interested counsels. So, without discovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the league would only draw upon him fresh mischiefs, without procuring them any advantage: that besides, it was necessary for the benefit of Christendom, there should be a mediator for procuring peace, and that was all he could do in the state he was reduced to. Nevertheless, he intimated to them that he might take other measures, if Lautrec approached to oblige the emperor's troops to abandon Rome. This indeed was his sole aim, to free the ecclesiastical state from that foreign army, in order to be able to act more agreeably to his interest.

1528.

The pope
resolves to
keep fair
with the
emperor.

Guicciard.

He refuses to
join in the
league.

1528

Lautrec
marches to-
wards
Naples,
Guicciard.
Hall.
Reasons why
the pope
would not
act against
the emperor.

At last, Lautrec departing from Bologna the 9th of January, took the road to Naples, having first sent the prince of Vaudemont and la Trimouille to the pope to press him to declare. But Clement found means to excuse himself without however a positive denial. He saw, as I may say, all Europe in motion, and was willing to wait the success of the war, in order to take juster measures than before. So, it was not possible by any means to bring him to a declaration. He only made believe, that if Francis and Henry would cause Ravenna and Cervia to be restored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their instances, without being debarred from finding some other evasion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of these two places. Mean while, he was thinking how to treat secretly with the emperor, from whom he had greater expectations than from his allies. Indeed, his chief aim being to restore the house of the Medici to the government of Florence, he perceived that he could not accomplish it without the emperor's help, since the allies were concerned to support the Florentines, who were become parties in the league. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the emperor, when that monarch was weak in Italy, and so powerful an army was marching to invade the kingdom of Naples. It was therefore necessary for him to wait, till the event of the war enabled him to resolve with safety. This was the true reason which obliged him to use many artifices, to try to displease neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England. If, instead of unadvisedly engaging in a war, he had before taken this course, he might have sold his favours at any rate. At least, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in Rome itself.

Francis and
Henry pro-
claim war
against the
emperor.
Hall.
Guicciard.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.
P. Daniel.

But though the pope refused to declare, the kings of France and England were not the less eager in the pursuit of their projects. On the 21st of January 1528, their ambassadors in Spain demanded the emperor's leave to retire, and the next day Clarenceux and Guienne, heralds, one of England, the other of France, proclaimed war against him. This was done with great solemnity, the emperor being seated on his throne, and attended by all his grandees. He answered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the English herald, he made use of civil and honourable terms, denoting, he was not at all pleased with having the king his master for an enemy. He complained however that Henry had used him ill, in designing to give him in marriage a princess whom he proposed to bastardise, since

The emper-
or answers.
Hollingsh.

since he was suing to be divorced from the queen her mother. But he threw all the blame on the boundless ambition of cardinal Wolsey. He said, the cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms in Italy to make him pope, and thought himself injured, because he would not disturb the peace of Christendom for his sake. As for the sums, of which Henry demanded payment, he denied, he had ever refused to discharge the debt. But added, that the English ambassadors not having brought with them the original obligations, nor even a power to give him a discharge, Henry was in the wrong to complain. As to the indemnity he demanded, he knew the king of France had taken it upon him in the treaty of Madrid. As for the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns, in case he refused to marry the princess Mary, he replied, it was not his fault: that he had demanded her of the king her father by ambassadors sent on purpose, and that Henry had refused to send her: that besides, before that time Henry had offered her to the king of Scotland: in short, that he could not lawfully claim that sum, before he had proved that he had himself performed all the articles of the treaty of Windsor. Such was the emperor's answer to the declaration of war made by Henry's herald. In his answer to the French herald, he spoke not with so much regard and caution. He plainly accused Francis of breach of faith, and charged the herald to put him in mind of the message he sent him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux his ambassador, "That it would be better for them to decide their quarrel by single combat," but that he had not received any answer. Probably, the ambassador had not thought fit to deliver that message to the king, since he seemed extremely surprised when he heard it from the herald's mouth. In a few days, he sent the same herald to the emperor, with a challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the lie in form, and required him to assure him the field to fight hand to hand. The challenge was dated March 28, 1528. The emperor sent his answer by one of his heralds, who was charged to tell him by word of mouth very disagreeable things. The herald coming to Paris could not obtain leave without great difficulty, to put on "his coat of arms when he entered the city. The king expected him on his throne, surrounded with a great number of princes and lords. But he had scarce begun to speak, before the king interrupted

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P. Daniel.
Hall.Hollingsh.
Herbert.P. Daniel.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Herbert.

^u Or rather to wear it. He put it on as soon as he came into the French territories. Herbert, p. 94.

1528. him, and demanded whether he had brought the security of the field, and that all the rest was to no purpose. Thus ended the affair, which had now made great noise. The two monarchs gave publick marks of their courage by their mutual challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way so uncommon to great princes.

Bold act of
Wolsey,
which drew
on him the
king's an-
ger.
Herbert.
Hall.

Hugo de Mendosa the emperor's ambassador at London, hearing what had passed in Spain, would have retired. But cardinal Wolsey ^w sent him word that Clarenceux had exceeded his instructions in proclaiming war against the emperor, and should be punished at his return. Whereupon the ambassador sent an express to inform the emperor of what the cardinal had said. Clarenceux, who was still in Spain, surpris'd that he should be made accountable for what he had express orders, demanded and obtained an authentick copy of the ambassador's letter ^x. Upon his arrival in England, he waited on the king ^y, before he spoke with the cardinal, and showed him the letter, with three others, writ with the cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him express orders to declare war against the emperor. Henry, astonish'd at his minister's presumption, fell into a great passion with him before the whole court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely disgrac'd him, had he not been with-held by the consideration of the affair of the divorce, wherein he could not proceed without him. He made him however undergo a terrible mortification, by causing the affair to be examined in the council. This inquiry would doubtless have been fatal to the minister, if the king had been pleas'd to pursue it, but he was contented with the cardinal's protestation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his majesty's intentions.

The cardinal
assembles the
great men,
and tries to
justify the
war against
the emperor.
Hall.

The emperor's answer to Clarenceux being made publick in England, by the Spanish ambassador's means, the cardinal was afraid it would cause ill effects among the people, considering the weakness of the motives alledged by the king for undertaking the war. For that reason he assembled in the Star Chamber ^z all the great lords then at court ^a, to whom he made a speech, aggravating as much as possible the injuries, the king had received from the emperor,

^w Ordered him to be taken into custody, &c. Hall, fol. 171.

^x As the courier went through Bayonne, the letter was opened, and copied by the governour of that place, who shewed it to Clarenceux, Hall,

fol. 173. Herbert, p. 90.

^y At Hampton Court. Ibid.

^z February 13. Hall, fol. 171.

^a All justices of the peace and other honest personages. Ibid.

and his reasons to demand satisfaction by arms. But let him say what he would, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the emperor said to the herald, that the war was caused only by the cardinal's private discontent, made deeper impression than all the arguments the minister could alledge ^b. The people openly exclaimed against a war which was going to ruin the kingdom, to gratify the favourite's passion. Nay, some went farther than murmurs.

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As the trade with the Low Countries was interrupted by the declaration of war, and the merchants would buy no more cloth which they could not vend, the clothiers rose in arms ^c. Whereupon the cardinal ordered the merchants to buy the cloths as usual, threatening in case of refusal to buy them himself, and sell them to the foreigners. But they made a jest of this threat, and continued obstinate, resolving not to render themselves liable to inevitable losses for his sake. An embassy from the governers of the Low Countries ^d to the king whilst these things were in agitation, freed the cardinal from his embarrassment. The ambassadors acquainting him, that if the king pleased to consent to a truce with the Low Countries, for the mutual benefit of trade, the governers would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in council, it was resolved, notwithstanding the French ambassador's opposition, to agree to a truce for eight months, which was signed the 8th of June.

The people murmur. Hall.

Mutiny of the clothiers. Hall.

The cardinal threatens them in vain.

Embassy from the Low Countries. Hall.

Herbert. Truce between England and Flanders.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 288. Hall.

Hollingsh. Issue of the war of Naples. Guicciard.

Whilst these things passed in England, the affairs of Italy were in such a situation as gave Francis room to expect Lautrec's expedition in the kingdom of Naples would be crowned with success, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. Lautrec going from Bologna the 9th of January, arrived the 10th of February on the borders of Naples, and marching into Abruzzo, became master of that province, and afterwards of part of Aulia. It was not without extreme difficulty, that the prince of Orange obliged the imperialists to quit Rome, where for ten months they had exercised all sorts of rapine and violence. Though

^b Hall says, that after the conclusion of his speech, some of the hearers knocked one another on the elbow, and said softly He lieth; others said that evil will never said well; others said, that the French crowns made him speak evil of the emperor; but they that knew all said, it was a shame to lie in such an audience. The common people were very sorry that a war should

happen with the emperor, because out of his dominions they had lately been supplied with corn, when it was so dear in England, that it was sold for twenty six shillings and eight pence a quarter. Hall, fol. 166, 172.

^c Especially in Suffolk. Hall, fol. 173.

^d On May 29. Hall, fol. 174.

1528. the imperial army went not from Rome till the 17th of February, they got before Lautrec, who had taken a longer way in order to procure money, which he wanted exceedingly, the king of France, according to custom, not having sent him what he had promised. The imperialists being posted at Troya, he offered them battle, but as they thought proper to retire to Naples, pursued his march, and arrived in the beginning of May before that capital, which he besieged in form according to his orders. Sixteen French gallies commanded by Andrea Doria, eight more under the conduct of Philippino Doria his nephew, with twenty two from Venice, were to block up Naples by sea, whilst Lautrec with thirty thousand men invested the city by land. But when he opened the siege he had only Philippino's eight gallies. Those of Venice came very late, and Andrea Doria, who was displeas'd with the king of France, and had thoughts of entering into the emperor's service, detained the sixteen gallies at Genoa, under divers pretences. Mean while, a sea-fight between Philippino and the imperialists, wherein Moncada was slain, and the Marquis del Vasto taken prisoner, made Lautrec hope he should reduce Naples by famine, though himself wanted all things in his camp. His hopes were encreas'd by the arrival of the two and twenty Venetian gallies, which joined those of Philippino. The business now was to see who could bear famine longest, the besiegers or the besieged, who were equally in want of provisions. But the French had, besides scarcity, a very great disadvantage, as the plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminished their number. At length, Andrea Doria having agreed with the emperor, recalled his nephew Philippino with his eight gallies. Shortly after, the Venetian gallies being obliged to go upon the coast of Calabria to provide themselves with biscuits, the besieged took that opportunity to convey into the city abundance of provisions, whilst Lautrec remained in a very bad condition, without victuals or money, and with an army grievously afflicted with the plague. Most of his general officers were dead or sick, and to compleat the misfortune, he was himself seized with the pestilence, which carried him off the 16th of August. The marquis of Saluzzo, who took upon him the command of the ruined army, resolving at last to raise the

Lautrec be-
sieges
Naples.
Guicciard.

The plague
in the French
army.
Guicciard.

Lautrec's
death.
Guicciard.

The siege
rais'd and
army dis-
persed.

Of the plague died also sir Robert Francis, who had the command of two hundred horse in the army, paid by our king. John Carew, his lieutenant, had

the siege, with great difficulty retired to Averfa, where he was immediately besieged, and in few days, forced to capitulate, surrendering himself with all the principal officers of his army, into the hands of the imperialists. Thus, the fine army Lautrec had led before Naples, was entirely dispersed. Moreover, France had lately lost Genoa, taken by Andrea Doria, in the emperor's name, after which, pursuant to his agreement with that monarch, he restored his country to liberty, and established a government which still subsists to this day. Thus the affairs of Italy, which in the beginning of the year had so promising an aspect for Francis, were so entirely altered, that he had scarce any thing left in that country.

1528.

Doria re-
stores Genoa
to liberty.
Hist. de Gen.

The knowledge of what passed in Italy this campaign, will be of no little service to discover the motives of the pope's conduct in the affair of the divorce. Henry deemed the affair ended, when he heard the pope had left it to cardinal Wolfey's decision. But when, after many difficulties, he had obtained the commission for the cardinal, with a bull decretal, declaring the marriage void, and a dispensation to marry again, he found however there was yet nothing done. The commission was dated from the castle of St. Angelo, whilst the pope was a prisoner, which rendered it entirely null, and consequently there was a necessity of renewing it. The decretal had no clause to hinder the pope from revoking it if he pleased. In fine, the dispensation was only conditional, in case the king's marriage with Catherine should be declared void. Besides, there were certain restrictions inserted, leaving the pope at liberty to repeal it. For instance, he granted the dispensation, "as far as might be without offending God. Notwithstanding any prohibitions of the divine law, or other constitutions and ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far as the authority apostolical reached." Henry was not a little concerned to see that he could not use these bulls, without being liable to be molested. Nevertheless, in the belief, that all this was owing to inadvertency, he ordered sir Gregory Cassali his ambassador at Rome, to demand bulls less liable to dispute. Cassali spoke of it frequently to the pope, but could obtain no positive answer. Only the

Continuation
of the
divorce.
Burnet.

The pope's
artifice to
amuse the
king.

Herbert, un-
der the year
1529.

Henry sends
to demand
other bulls.
Burnet.

had his company, but he died of the same disease. Herb. p. 98.—As the plague raged in Italy, so did the sweating sickness all this summer in England, whereof died sir Francis Pointz,

sir William Compton, and William Carew, esq; Hall, fol. 176.

f Lord Herbert gives not this bull as authentick, but as very probable. Rapin.

pope

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Pope's ad-
vice to the
king.
Herbert.
Burnet.

pope finding himself pressed, told him as a secret, that he advised the king to proceed, and get his marriage annulled, by virtue of the commission given the legate ^z, but with as little noise as possible, and marry the woman desired. He grounded this advice upon its being much easier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged Casfali however, not to let the king know, this suggestion came from him. Henry looked upon this advice as a snare laid for him by the pope. He considered, it was not possible to have such a cause tried without noise, since it was necessary the queen should be heard, otherwise the sentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was advised to, he would have been entirely at the pope's mercy, who, according to the opinion of the canonists, might have refused to confirm the legate's sentence, as well as the consequent marriage. So, the affair being taken into consideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the pope for new bulls. Pursuant to this resolution, the king sent ^h Stephen Gardiner, cardinal Wolfey's secretary, and Edward Fox ⁱ, to manage the affair. Their instructions were to demand for the cardinal a new commission, appointing him judge of the cause, with powers to null the king's marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his daughter legitimate; to press the pope to give him a promise under his hand, not to revoke the legate's commission; to demand a bull decretal to null the king's marriage, and a dispensation to espouse another wife without any restriction. In short, the envoys had orders to acquaint the pope, that the divorce was not advised by the cardinal, and to display the extraordinary merit of the lady the king intended to espouse. This was Anne Bullen, as may easily be guessed, since the king no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the pope, that the cardinal was not author of the counsel which had induced the king to sue for a divorce, since he was required for judge. And yet the letters he sent by Gardiner and Fox, and which are in the history of the reformation, clearly show he was infinitely desirous the thing should succeed. Finally, it appears that the king was still willing to have some con-

Gardiner
and Fox sent
to Rome to
hasten the
bulls.
Their in-
structions.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Strype.

Vol. I. p. 52.
Collect.
F. 28, &c.

^z Ut statim committat causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro legato, &c. Burnet's Collect. T. I. p. 26.

^h They were sent February 10. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

ⁱ Provost of King's college in Cambridge, and the king's almoner. Gardiner was looked upon as the ablest canonist, and Fox as the best divine in England. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

descension for the queen and the emperor her nephew, since he required that the legate should have powers to declare Mary legitimate. Perhaps too this was an effect of the love he had for her.

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When Gardiner and Fox came to Orvieto^k, Lautrec was marching to Naples. But his progress was yet so inconsiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the success of his undertaking, especially as the Imperialists were now departed from Rome in order to oppose his passage. Nay, it was likely there would be a battle, and as the event was doubtful, the pope took care not to incur the emperor's resentment, in case his arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he sent the king a letter in cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a secret, and yet it was not possible to discover his intention. The letter not being very welcome, the envoys had orders to insist upon their demands. But at that time the face of affairs was a little altered. Lautrec had now made conquests in the kingdom of Naples, and the prince of Orange, unable to stop his march, was retired to the metropolis, which, probably, was going to be invested. It would therefore have been very imprudent to disoblige Henry, when the king of France his ally was upon the point of becoming very powerful in Italy. So, Clement being greatly embarrassed in so nice a juncture, had recourse to his usual artifices, to try to gain time. He feigned to desire nothing so ardently as to satisfy Henry, though he was resolved in his own mind to do nothing effectual in his favour. His aim was to become master of the affair of the divorce, and prolong it till the events of the war should determine him to content either the emperor or the king. The interest of his house required that he should manage the emperor, because it was by his means that he hoped to restore the Medicis to Florence. That of his see was no less important. Henry demanded that he should revoke a dispensation granted by a pope his predecessor, upon the supposition that this pope had not power to grant it, that is, properly speaking, that he should declare the Roman pontiff's had hitherto assumed a prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult step to be taken, at a time when great part of Germany had thrown off the popes dominion, and nothing was every where heard but complaints and murmurs against the exorbitant power they had usurped. So, Clement's real design was to amuse the king

The pope's
artful ma-
nagement.
Herbert.
Guicciard.

His interest
and projects.

^k March 22. Strype's Mem. vol. I. p. 92.

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with hopes he would consent to his divorce, till it was in his power to oppose it with safety. There is no occasion to look for other mysteries in the pope's conduct, as will more plainly appear in the sequel. As for the arguments and authorities alledged on both sides, with respect to the main point in question, from the holy scriptures, the fathers, and the canons, they were only so many amusements which were extremely subservient to the pope's designs, but made little or no impression upon him.

The pope gives Wolsey a new commission. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 237. Herbert. Burnet.

Clement VII. being in this disposition, scrupled not outwardly to grant the king whatever he required. On the 13th of April 1528, he signed a bull, appointing cardinal Wolsey judge of the cause, jointly with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate he should think fit to chuse, and gave him as ample powers as the king desired. But besides the abovementioned inconveniences in the decretal and dispensation, the king's council found two in cardinal Wolsey's new commission. The first was, that there was no clause to hinder the pope from revoking it. The second, that to appoint for sole judge of the cause a cardinal devoted to the king, and actually his prime minister, would be a manifest nullity. These considerations obliged the king to desire the pope that he would join another legate with cardinal Wolsey, and positively promise not to revoke the commission. As, when this was demanded, Lautrec was now before Naples, and it was not doubted, he would become master of the city, as well as of all the rest of the kingdom, the pope granted whatever was desired^l. He appointed therefore by a bull dated at Orvieto the 6th of June, Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, and Lorenzo Campeggio cardinal bishop of Salisbury, for his legates a latere, giving them the same powers he had granted to Wolsey alone, appointing them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and committing to them his whole authority^m. He gave likewise, the 13th of July, the promise under his hand desired by the king. In a word, he delivered to Campeggio a decretal, nulling the king's marriage, expressed in the very terms which had as it were been dictated to him. It seemed Henry could desire nothing more. But all the artifices of the court of Rome were not yet known in England. The pope only intended to gain time, in or-

The king desires the pope to join another legate with Wolsey.

Another commission for Wolsey and Campeggio. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 295, 296. Burnet. The decretal committed to Campeggio.

^l Dr. Fox returned to England in the beginning of May; but Gardiner went to Rome to Campeggio. Strype's Mem. p. 103, 104.

^m Campeggio was perhaps named for legate in the month of April, as doctor Burnet says, but his commission bears date the 6th of June. Rapin.

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der to see the issue of the Naples expedition. To that end he always placed some interval between his favours to the king. Wolsey was made sole judge in the affair of the divorce, the 13th of April; Campegio was, in a consistory, declared his associate, about the end of the same month; but the bull was not drawn till the 6th of June. His promise not to revoke the commission was not signed before the 23d of July. In all appearance, the decretal was not drawn till August, nor did Campegio begin his journey till after Lautrec's death, or perhaps after raising the siege of Naples; that is, when the pope was no longer in dread of France, and it was more necessary than ever to manage the emperor. So, it may almost be affirmed, that when Campegio departed from Rome, the pope was resolved not to grant the divorce. It was however requisite he should still seem willing to satisfy Henry, in order not to be delivered to the emperor's mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantageous terms, than his seeming union with France and England. This was most certainly the secret of the pope's policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In pursuance therefore of the resolution he had taken, he gave the following instructions to his legate. First, to prolong the affair as much possible. Secondly, not to give sentence upon the divorce before the reception of his commands in writing. Thirdly, he expressly enjoined him not to show the bull to any person but the king and cardinal Wolsey, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever.

Instructions
to Campegio.

Campegio departing with these instructions, arrived not in England till October, six or seven months after he was appointed legate. Whilst he was on the road, the emperor's ministers at Rome raised a fresh obstacle to the divorce, by the pretended discovery of a brief of Julius II.ⁿ confirming the bull of dispensation for Henry's marriage with Catherine. But there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope in the bull said, the marriage was perhaps consummated; whereas in the brief, the word perhaps was omitted. They inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not surprized, since he looked upon Catherine's first marriage as consummated. But the brief of which

He retards
his journey
as much as
possible.
The Imperialists
produce a forged
brief to re-
tard the af-
fair.
Burnet,
Col. T. I.
p. 39.
Herbert.

ⁿ It is neither in the records of England or Spain, but said to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, who was the Spanish ambassador in England, at the time of the conclusion of the match. Burnet, T. I. p. 57.

they

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they only gave an authentic copy, without showing the original to the king's ministers, was, probably, proposed solely to cause time to be lost in examining it. For, there were two reasons, among many others, which manifestly proved it to be a forgery. The first was, that this brief, granted at Catherine's request, supposed that princess's marriage with Arthur to have been consummated, and yet she had sworn the contrary. And upon that her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's dispensation. The second reason was still more strong, namely, that the brief was dated the 26th of December, 1503. Now as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year the 25th of December, being Christmas-day, this date answered to the 26th of December 1502, of the common year, that is, ten months before Julius II. was pope.

Proofs of its being a forgery.

Campegio exhorts Henry to keep Catherine, Burnet.

and Catherine to desist from her marriage. Herbert.

He feigns to want fresh orders. Herbert.

He shows the decretal to the king and Wolsey. Burnet.

The pope approves his conduct. Burnet.

Campegio being arrived in England, began his legateship with gravely exhorting the king to live in a good understanding with the queen, and desist from a farther prosecution of the matter. This was taken very ill from a legate who was thought to be sent into England to judge the cause in favour of the king. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the queen, endeavouring to persuade her, that she ought to comply with the king's desire^o, and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppose it. But whether the queen was told beforehand what she was to say, or naturally spoke her own thoughts, she answered, she was the king's wife, and would be so, till parted from him by the pope's sentence^p. Campegio not being able to prevail with the king or queen, affirmed he could not proceed without fresh orders, as if his whole commission was only to make these exhortations. But it was six months before his instructions arrived. Mean while he kept the king in hopes of obtaining his desires, and even insinuated, that he was himself satisfied of the justice of his cause. To amuse him the better, he showed him the bull he had brought with him, and gave the cardinal his colleague a sight of it also. But when he was pressed to show it to some of the lords of the council, he replied, he had very positive orders to let no person see it but the king and Wolsey. Henry, surpris'd and angry at such a proceeding, complain'd of it to the pope, who, instead of blaming his legate, answer'd, he had done very well to follow his orders: that the

^o He persuaded her to renounce the world, and to enter into some religious life. Herbert, p. 103.

^p Adding, she would not admit such partial judges as they were to give sentence in her cause. Ibid.

decretal was granted on condition it was shown to none but the king and cardinal Wolfey, and on purpose to prevent Wolfey's ruin, which otherwise, he was told, would be infallible: that in fine, the bull was not to be published, unless the legates gave sentence for the king ^q.

Whilst Campegio amused Henry in England, the pope was taking measures to conclude his treaty with the emperor, and seeking pretences to leave the kings of France and England, whom he no longer feared, since the Naples expedition had miscarried. He complained that these two monarchs had disappointed him, in not causing Ravenna and Cervia to be restored to him according to their promise; thereby insinuating, that it was not to be thought strange, he made no haste to satisfy Henry, since that prince had neglected to do him justice by the Venetians ^r. He would fain have had it believed, that the affair of the divorce was retarded solely on that account, and was very desirous to have these two places in his power, before he concluded with the emperor. But, what caution soever he used, his negotiation in Spain could not be so private, but Francis and Henry had some intelligence of it. They complained to him by their ambassadors, but he constantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. Mean while, under colour of removing these groundless suspicions, he dispatched into England one Campana, to give the king fresh assurances of his good intentions, but withal, sent by him express orders to cardinal Campegio, to burn the bull decretal, and defer the sentence of the divorce as long as possible. Campegio immediately obeyed the first of these orders, and as for the second, never ceased finding fresh pretences to retard the proceedings.

At last, Henry tired to see so many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the pope, sent, about the end of the year, sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes ^s to Rome, to discover the true cause. They had likewise several other commissions: First, to search the pope's records for the pretended brief of Julius II. Secondly, to propose, as of themselves, several expedients, speedily to end the affair of the divorce, and to consult, under feigned names, the canonists

The pope resolves to agree with the emperor, Guicciard.

The difficulties in the affair of the divorce increase. Burnet. Herbert.

Vannes and Brian sent to Rome.

Their instructions. Burnet. Herbert.

^q He wished he had never sent it, saying, he would gladly lose a finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 59.

^r The Venetians had taken Cervia and Ravenna from the pope, and

France and England had promised to intercede and use their interest with the Venetians to restore them. Ibid.

^s An Italian; and the king's secretary for the Latin tongue. Herbert, p. 103.

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of Rome, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in case they saw the pope over awed by the emperor's threats, they had orders to offer him a guard of two thousand men. Lastly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the emperor's menaces with others for the king. They found the pope in a real or pretended fright, at the imperial minister's threats to have him deposed for a bastard. His answer therefore to the offer of two thousand men for a guard, was, that it would not be capable of securing him, but rather render him more suspected. He took care not to put himself in the king's power, when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two envoys seeing the pope inclined to the emperor's side, plainly told him at last, "That if he continued to deny the king their master the satisfaction he demanded, he might be assured England would be lost to him: that the English were already but too much disposed to withdraw their obedience from the holy see, and upon the least encouragement from the king, would openly publish what they yet kept concealed in their hearts: that the king their master, and the king of France, were powerful and very strictly united, and therefore the pope would run a great hazard, if he should causelessly make these two monarchs his enemies: that though the Naples expedition had miscarried, he could not be sure it would be the same with those that should be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was easy to see, by the dangerous state of the emperor's affairs, what might happen another time: that if out of excessive condescension for the emperor, he dealt so unjustly by the king of England, as to refuse him what even equity and the law of God required, he must likewise expect no favour or regard, when affairs should be altered: that he ought to consider, the king of England had engaged in this war to free him from captivity, and if, instead of making a grateful return, he should join with his enemy, all christians would abhor his ingratitude." All this was not capable to divert the pope from his design, and yet he would still be thought unresolved. He replied with a sigh, that he was between the hammer and the anvil, and, which way soever he turned, saw nothing before him but dangers; and therefore he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forsake his church: that as to the rest, he had done for the king of England more than could be reasonably expected, in committing the trial of his cause to two legates, who were both devoted to him: that not content with this, he still pressed him to do more, and to disregard the custo-

The pope's
answer.

The envoys
threaten
him.
Burnet,
Col. T. I.
p. 48.
Strype.

He seems to
be unre-
solved.
Burnet.

mary rules of the church on the like occasions, and publickly sacrifice to him, the emperor, the archduke his brother, queen Catherine, the honour, dignity and interest of the holy see: that this was asking too much, and the king should at least suffer the affair to be decided by the legates, appointed for that purpose: that it was not his fault if matters were delayed, and in case it was owing to Campegio's negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This answer was a plain indication of the pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the envoys told the king, nothing was to be expected from the pope, and that the only way was to cause the legates to give a speedy sentence. The truth is, the pope was now resolved to agree with the emperor; and if he showed any farther regard for Henry, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the emperor should take advantage of it in the treaty they were concluding.

The expedients Brian and Vannes were commissioned, to propose, were, 1. whether, if the queen vowed religion, the king should have liberty to marry again? 2. or if the king should vow religion as well as the queen, whether the pope would dispense with his vow, and allow him to take another wife whilst the queen was alive? 3. or whether the pope would grant him a dispensation to have two wives? but it does not appear how these points were decided. As for the brief produced by the imperial ministers, there was not the least trace of any such thing among the pope's records, of which the English envoys had good certificates. In this manner passed the whole year 1528, at the close whereof the king found himself no more advanced than at the beginning, except that he had still some hope from Campegio, who all along pretended to be intirely in his interest. It may be affirmed, that Francis, in neglecting to assist Lautrec, was the cause of the turn which the affair of the divorce took, since he thereby gave occasion to the pope to join with the emperor^u.

The envoys send the king word he had nothing to expect from the pope.

Expedients proposed by the king. Burnet. T. I. p. 60.

True cause of the pope's delays. Herbert.

^t These English envoys were the bishop of Worcester and dr. Lee. They gave the emperor an overture of the divorce, and made several objections against the genuineness of Julius II's brief, which the reader may see in Herbert, p. 104, 105.

^u About this time, some murmurs and seditious words being dispersed among the common people, on account of the divorce, king Henry protested publickly in an assembly of lords,

judges, &c. at his palace at Bridewell, that nothing but desire of giving satisfaction to his conscience, and care of establishing the succession to the crown in a right and undoubted line, had first procured him to controvert this marriage; being, for the rest, as happy in the affection and virtues of his queen, as any prince living. To confirm which also, he caused Anne Bullen to depart the court. Herbert, p. 106.

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Several monasteries suppressed for Wolsey's colleges. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 240 — 258.

Whilst the king was thinking of his divorce, cardinal Wolsey was very diligently employed in founding his colleges. As the pope made the king very uneasy at his affected delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwise, in granting his favourite whatever he desired for his foundations. Among the publick acts of the year 1528, there are ten or twelve bulls, as well for the suppression of several small monasteries^w, as for other things concerning the two colleges, the endowment whereof the cardinal so passionately desired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity presented to obtain private favours from the pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he staid a year longer, he would have run great risk of leaving the work unfinished.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

I have for some time been silent concerning the affairs of Scotland, because there has been no occasion to speak of them. But as their situation was changed during the course of this year, it is necessary briefly to relate what had passed in that country. The earl of Angus, George Douglass his brother, and their uncle Archibald, had still the king's person in their power, and governed in his name. Queen Margaret however, who had caused her marriage with the earl of Angus to be annulled, and was married again to Henry Stewart, had still a powerful party in Scotland. But as her party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed rebels, since the king was in the hands of the Douglasses, the queen made use of another expedient to accomplish her designs. She persuaded the king her son, by some persons about him, to make his escape and retire to Sterling. The contrivance succeeded according to her wish. James took his opportunity, and escaping from the earl of Angus, withdrew to Sterling, where it was published that the Douglasses should be no longer acknowledged for regents, and withal were forbidden the court. This order was notified to the earl of Angus, whilst he was marching to recover the king's person. As he had but few troops, and was unable to enter Sterling by force, where several great men were come to the king's relief, he obeyed and retired.

James assumes the reins of the government before he was of age.

Shortly after, the king called a parliament at Edinburgh the third of September, and came himself to hold it. The Douglasses, perceiving what was preparing against them, attempted to surprize Edinburgh, and become masters of the king's person, with design to dissolve the parliament. But

^w Those of Romboro, Fylston, Bromhil, Eliborow, and Montjoy. Rymer's Fed. tom. XIV. p. 240.

being

being repulsed, they were forced to retire. Whereupon the parliament confiscated their estates to the king. But they continued in arms, and made incursions even to the gates of Edinburgh. 1528.

Henry being informed of what passed in Scotland, and fearing the young king might suffer himself to be prejudiced against him, thought it adviseable to send ambassadors to make peace, since a war with Scotland could not be but very inconvenient in his present circumstances. But it was not possible to succeed. A truce only for five years was concluded at Berwick, and signed the fourteenth of December. It was agreed by a separate article, that the Douglasses might take refuge in England, on condition they delivered to their sovereign the places they held in Scotland; and in case they entered the kingdom, and committed any disorders, Henry should be responsible as if done by his own subjects ^x. Truce for five years between England and Scotland. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 275, —282, 286.

Since the pope had determined to agree with the emperor, his feeding the allies with hopes was only to obtain the better terms from that monarch. On the other hand, Francis suspecting the pope's intentions, perceived likewise that a peace only would procure him his sons, and therefore continued a secret negotiation with the emperor. But at the same time, he made great promises to the Venetians, Florentines, duke of Milan, and the pope himself, to let the emperor see, in case he did not make haste and conclude, it would perhaps be too late when he desired it. About the same time, the emperor had certain advice, that the Turks were making great preparations to invade Hungary, and penetrate even into Germany. So finding that a diversion in Italy might greatly embarrass him at such a juncture, he was the more inclined to peace. These dispositions in the principal parties could not in the end but produce the peace which was universally expected with impatience. Meanwhile, the war was continued, though faintly, in the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, where the French and Venetians had kept some places, but it was easy to see that nothing decisive would happen. 1529.

In the mean time, the pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs. His aim was not only to be restored to Florence, but also to become master of Perugia and Ferrara, and recover Ravenna and Cervia, taken by the Venetians

^x This year, on June 28, the king of France ratified the eight months truce concluded between France, Eng-

land, and the Low Countries, from June 15, to January 1529. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 258, &c.

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during his captivity. Under colour of using his interest to procure a general peace, he had sent a nuntio to Spain to conclude a private treaty with the emperor. During the negotiation, the affair of the divorce was at a stand. Clement VII, was fully resolved to satisfy the emperor, and by that Henry daily lost the hopes of succeeding in his pursuit. Mean while, a violent distemper, which seized the pope in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs ^y. Cardinal Wolsey having notice of the pope's dangerous illness, had sent an express to Gardiner, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the papacy. Henry himself had writ to several cardinals in his behalf, and the king of France, who was not yet secure of a peace, had given him all those of his faction. It is pretended, Wolsey would have been sure of more than a third of the votes, in case the pope had died. Indeed that was not sufficient to make him pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being so. This affair was even carried so far, that the king had ordered his ambassadors at Rome, that if, notwithstanding the cardinals of Wolsey's faction, another person should be designed, they should so manage that these cardinals should protest against the proceedings in the conclave, and then withdrawing to some secure place, should themselves come to a new election. I do not know, whether it would have been easy for the ambassadors to obtain so absolute a resignation to the king's pleasure. However, it is not strange that Henry should be so very desirous of procuring the papacy for his minister and favourite. But it is surprizing that a prince who was called protector of the church, and defender of the faith, should not scruple purposely to endeavour to form a schism in the church, in order to gratify his passion. As for cardinal Wolsey, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought strange; since it is certain, he was ready to sacrifice every thing to his ambition. The pope's recovery put an end to all these cabals, which however could not be so private but they came to his knowledge. This made him consider Wolsey as a dangerous rival, and capable of supplanting him if an opportunity offered, by using for pretence the defect in his birth.

When Clement VII. was fully recovered, the proceedings for the divorce continued upon the same foot as before. The pope gave hopes, the affair should be decided in England for

The pope falls ill. Herbert. Wolsey takes some steps to attain to the papacy. Burnet. Herbert.

The king uses all his interest for him. Burnet, T. I. p. 64. Herbert.

^y His physicians suspected that he was poisoned. Burnet, T. I. p. 63.

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The pope's management to put off the affair of the divorce. Herbert, Burnet.

Burnet.

The pope gives Wolfey the bishoprick of Winchester. Act Pub. XIV. p. 268, 287, — 290. Burnet.

The pope's pretence to delay the divorce. Burnet.

the king, by a sentence of the legates which he would himself confirm to make it more authentick. His aim was to gain time, and prevent the appearance of any misunderstanding between him and the court of England, before he had concluded his treaty with the emperor, because it was a means to obtain better terms. To this end, and to hinder Henry from being impatient, he had put into Gardiner's hands a brief, promising not to revoke the powers given the legates. But, besides that the brief was expressed in ambiguous terms, he knew sentence would not be passed without his positive orders. This management which the pope continued with many artifices, afforded the king some hopes of gaining him to his interest. To succeed the better, he prevailed with the king of France to send to the pope the bishop of Bayonne, with orders earnestly to solicit the decision of the affair. He could have wished that the pope of his own accord would have granted a bull to annul his marriage, and dispense with his taking another wife, or at least have given the legates such a commission, as it should not be in their choice to judge otherwise than in his favour. The pope, pleased at his being so intent upon his own projects, still fed him with hopes of success. But withal he expressed great fear of what the emperor might do against him, and used that pretence to delay the favour he seemed to intend to grant. In every thing else he was always ready to content the king. The bishoprick of Winchester being vacant by the death of Richard Fox, and Henry desiring him to bestow it on Wolfey, the bulls for that purpose were immediately dispatched. It is true, they were rated at fifteen thousand ducats. But Wolfey would give but six thousand, alledging, he did not want them, since the king had already granted him the temporalities of the bishoprick. This shows in what spirit he thus heaped upon him the church preferments. But herein is nothing surprising, since the pope himself made no scruple to own in his bull that he conferred the bishoprick on the cardinal, to help him to bear the expence to which he was obliged by his rank.

Whilst these things passed, the emperor hastened, as much as possible, the conclusion of his treaty with the pope, being resolved to grant whatever he required rather than give him occasion to join with his enemies. Before the pope was assured of this agreement, policy required, he should keep the emperor in fear that the affair of the divorce would be determined to the king of England's satisfaction. Consequently, it was his interest that the affair should remain undecided to

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Protestation
in queen
Catherine's
name.
Burnet.

Henry re-
solves to try
his cause
before the
legates.
Burnet.

He tries in
vain to over-
reach the
pope.

let the emperor see, it depended on the success of the negotiation at Barcelona. But when he had just brought him to his own terms, he began insensibly to seek pretences to break his engagements with Henry. So, the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia was again moved, the pope feigning to believe that if Henry had desired it, he should have had these two cities before now, and from thence took occasion to be displeas'd. On the other hand, the emperor knowing the pope's intention, protested ^z in queen Catherine's name against whatever should be done in England in the affair of the divorce, declaring that she excepted against the two legates, as one was notoriously devoted to the king, and the other, bishop of Salisbury. The king's ministers used their utmost endeavours to persuade the pope to reject the protestation. But he replied, he could not, without shewing himself too partial to the king, since a protestation was no prejudice to the cause itself. That it would be a very strange thing to refuse a queen the right of protesting, which the meanest person could claim. All this, added to many other circumstances, and to certain advices that the pope was treating with the emperor, took from the English ministers all hopes of prevailing with him. Wherefore, they writ to the king that they were only amused, and if the process was not speedily decided in England, there was danger of its being brought to Rome. Whereupon, the king resolved to proceed before the legates, and not suffer himself to be any longer amused by deceitful promises. Mean while, when the instrument whereby the pope had promised not to revoke the legates commission came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleas'd. So, to know whether he had acted with sincerity ^a, when he signed that instrument, Gardiner was ordered to represent to him, that the paper on which it was written being wet by the carelessness of the courier, and the words almost quite defaced, the king desired he would sign another. But Clement found some artifice to be excused. Wherefore the king, being satisfied there was nothing to be expected from the court of Rome, where the emperor's interest was too great, recalled Gardiner ^b and

^z May 15. Burnet, tom. I. p. 67.

^a Or rather, to obtain an enlargement of the commission, with full power to the legates: and when it was new drawn, they were to endeavour to get as many pregnant and material words added as possible. Idem.

p. 68.

^b He was thought the fittest person to manage the process in England, being esteem'd the ablest canonist in the kingdom, and was so valued by the king, that he would not begin the process till he came. Burnet, *ibid.*

Brian, and sent Bennet to Rome, only to hinder as much as lay in his power the avocation of his cause. Bennet carried a letter from the two legates, directed to the pope and cardinals, wherein they said, That the principal point in the cause they were to judge, consisted in knowing whether Julius II. could grant a dispensation, or exceeded his power: that since the sole point was to decide concerning the authority of the head of the church, they conceived it to be beyond their commission, and therefore were of opinion, the pope would do well to avocate the cause: that they doubted not, the king would consent to it, provided he had some assurance it should be decided in his favour. It is hard to conceive, what could induce cardinal Wolfey to sign such a letter, so directly contrary to the king's interest. For, though the legates seemed to suppose his consent, it was evident the reason of the avocation subsisted, whether the king consented or not. Consequently they afforded the pope a plausible pretence to avocate the cause, which the king dreaded of all things. Was Wolfey deceived by Campegio, or did he sacrifice his master's interest? It is difficult to believe either; and yet historians affirm, that one of the the principal causes of his disgrace was a letter he had writ to the pope, which came to the king's knowledge by Bennet's means, and it might very well be this. Indeed, he was inexcusable if he signed it without the king's approbation; and on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the king should be so blind as not to see the consequence of such advice.

Though Campegio came to England in October last year, it was now the end of May, and nothing done towards the trial of the cause which brought him thither. The king, having suffered himself to be amused by the pope whose interest it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a bull to null the marriage, without being obliged to go through the usual forms of a process. But at length, his agents convincing him that his expectations were vain, he resolved to proceed before the legates. To that end, on the 31st of May, he granted them a licence to execute the pope's commission. They met the same day and appointed assistants * to examine the papers and evidences. From the very first session, it appeared that Campegio intended to prolong the process, since after the commission was read, he ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear the 18th

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Letter from
the two le-
gates to the
pope.
Burnet,
T. I. p. 68.

Remark on
the letter
with respect
to Wolfey,

The legates
sit to hear
the cause,
Burnet,
T. III. p. 46.
Herbert.
p. 107, &c.
Hall.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 295.
Artifices of
Campegio to
spin out the
affair.
Burnet.

* John Longland, bishop of Lincoln;
John Clark, bishop of Bath and Wells;
John Islip, abbot of Westminster, and

dr. John Taylor, master of the rolls,
Herbert, p. 103.

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 }
 Wolsey lets
 Campegio
 preside.

of June. This was too long a term, if there had been any design to dispatch the affair, especially as the parties were in London, or in one of their palaces near the city. Though Wolsey was the senior cardinal, he let Campegio preside, to show he intended to act without partiality. So, from the first day to the last, Campegio did all, without Wolsey's ever appearing to oppose the affected delays of his collegue between the sessions. I shall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous process, which may be seen at large in the excellent history of the reformation of England, known to all the world, but content my self with relating in general the most remarkable circumstances.

Proceedings
 in the pro-
 cesses.
 Burnet,
 T. I. p. 73.
 and III. p. 46.
 Hall.
 Stow.

In the second session, the queen's proctors ^d excepted against the two legates. But the exception not being deemed valid, she had a further day given her to the 21st ^e. On that day, the king and queen appeared in person ^f. But the queen, without saying any thing to the legates, went and kneeled down before the king, and made a very moving speech, concluding with imploring his justice and pity; after which, she withdrew and would never more appear, nor suffer any person to defend her cause ^g. As soon as she was retired, the king declared he was very well pleased with the queen, and in suing to be divorced from her, acted solely from

^d William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas West, bishop of Ely, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish of St. Asaph. Hall, fol. 181.

^e On the 18th of June, the citation being returned duly executed, Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies. But the queen appeared in person, and excepted against the legates as incompetent judges, alledging the cause was already avocated by the pope, and desired a competent time to prove it. The legates assigned her the 21st, and adjourned the court till then. Burnet, T. I. p. 72.

^f Bishop Burnet, from the original register of the process says, the king was never in the court. Ref. T. III. p. 46. But the contrary is affirmed by the king himself, in a letter dated June 23, to his ambassadors at Rome, in these words, Both me and the queen appeared in person. See Collect. to vol. I, p. 78. To reconcile this con-

tradiction the bishop supposes, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the court sat; but that it was before the cardinals sat down, and had formed the court. Pref. to vol. II. p. 8.

^g When the king and queen were called on; the king answered, here; but the queen rising from her seat, kneeled down and said to the king, "She was a poor woman and a stranger in his dominions, where she could expect neither good council, nor indifferent judges; she had long been his wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him: she had been his wife twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and ever studied to please him, and protested he had found her a true maid, about which she appealed to his own conscience. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt

from a motive of religion and conscience ^h. Adding, that his scruples concerning his marriage sprung from those of the bishop of Tarbe, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the bishops of England. The archbishop of Canterbury confirmed what the king said, concerning the bishops. But Fisher bishop of Rochester denied, he ever set his hand to the writing which was presented to the king. Mean while, the queen was cited again for the 25th of June, but instead of appearing, she sent in her appeal to the pope in form, from whatever had been or should be done hereafter. Nevertheless, she was declared contumacious. The same day, the process was reduced to twelve articles, upon which witnesses were to be examined. The principal article was, prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which notwithstanding was proved by the testimony of several persons, as far as a thing of that nature can be. These proofs consisted in the age, health, and vigorous constitution of the prince, and in his discourses the next morning after the nuptials: so that Arthur and Catherine must not have spoken the truth, the one out of vanity, or the other out of interest ⁱ.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 299,
300.
The queen
appeals from
the proceed-
ings of the
legates.
Burnet,
Herbert,
p. 113, &c.

Whilst the trial was prosecuting in England, the emperor's ministers were earnestly pressing the pope to avocate the cause to Rome, and Henry's as vehemently soliciting the contrary. What is more, both sides threatened to depose him, on account of his being a bastard. The pope feigned to be terrified by these menaces, and this seeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the conclusion of his

The pope re-
ceives news
of the con-
clusion of his
treaty with
the emperor.
Herbert,
Burnet.

"doubt had good counsellors and learned men about them when the match was agreed: therefore she would not submit to the court, nor durst her lawyers, who were his subjects, and assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she had heard from Spain." That said, she rose up, and making the king a low reverence, went out of court. Her council were the bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph, and dr. Ridley. Burnet, vol. I. p. 73.

^h He cleared likewise cardinal Wolsey from being the first mover of the matter, as had been suspected. Ibid.

ⁱ Particularly Robert, viscount Fitzwalter, Thomas, duke of Norfolk,

and sir Anthony Willoughby, deposed, that they heard prince Arthur say publicly, I have been this night in the midst of Spain. The king's council it seems insinuating mostly on the consummation of the marriage, it led them to say many things that were indecent; of which the bishop of Rochester complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard; but cardinal Wolsey checked him, and there passed some sharp words between them. Lord Herbert has given the substance of all the depositions, p. 115. Compl. Hist. The place appointed for hearing and determining the cause, was a great hall in Black Friars in London, commonly called the parliament chamber. Ibid.

treaty

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treaty with the emperor. At length the agreeable news being come, he resolved to avocate the cause before the publication of the treaty; lest it should be thought to be one of the secret articles. Weak precaution to efface or prevent such a suspicion.

Conditions
of the treaty.
Guicciard.

The substance of the treaty, which was signed at Barcelona the 29th of June, was, That the emperor should restore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the same foot as formerly: that he should cause Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he should put him in possession of Modena and Reggio, saving the rights of the empire: that he should aid him to become master of Ferrara: that Francesco Sforza should be restored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty, the emperor should not dispose of the duchy to any prince the pope should dislike: that the pope and emperor should employ their temporal and spiritual arms against the hereticks of Germany: that Alexander de Medici should espouse Margaret the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope should grant the emperor a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues in his dominions to wage war with the Turks: that he should absolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and sacking of Rome. What greater advantages could the pope have expected, supposing he had been victorious in the late war? but the emperor believed he could not purchase the pope's friendship too dear, who might still have greatly embarrassed him, if he had joined with France, England, and the republick of Venice.

The pope
avocates the
cause to
Rome.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The pope having concluded his treaty with the emperor, told the English ambassadors himself on the 9th of July his resolution to avocate the cause to Rome. They used all possible endeavours to dissuade him from it, represented to him that the holy see was going irrecoverably to lose England. But it was all to no purpose. By his late treaty with the emperor, the family of the Medici was to be restored to the government of Florence. This alone was sufficient to outweigh in his mind, all the dangers to which he exposed the holy see, so great was his affection for a family from whence he was descended, though not born in wedlock. So, the 15th of July he signed the bull of avocation. The next day he notified it to Cassali the king's ambassador in ordinary, and to Bennet who had been sent to him last. He alledged in excuse of the avocation several reasons which might have been of some weight in the beginning of the process, on supposition he had been entirely impartial, but which had lost all their force after all his proceedings, and the conclusion of his

his treaty with the emperor. Three days after, he dispatched a messenger with the bull of avocation into England, where proceedings were very dilatory by the artifices of cardinal Campegio, who presided in the affair.

The queen, who was cited for the 25th of June, not appearing that day, she had farther time given her to the 28th, and was summoned again to appear by the bishop of Bath and Wells, though in vain. On the 28th, some depositions were read, after which the session was adjourned to the 5th of July, when by reason of certain holidays kept at Rome, the session was deferred till the 12th. The court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21st, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the sentence, every one thought all would be ended the last session; but people were strangely surpris'd when cardinal Campegio was heard to adjourn the court to the first of October. He alledged for reason, that it was the time of the great vacation at Rome, and he was indispensably obliged to comply with that custom ^k.

Thus did that legate, who was in the pope's secrets, amuse the king in the same manner as the pope had amused him at Rome near two years, ever since the affair was begun. Henry was as much enraged as surpris'd at the proceedings of the legates, but dissembled both his surpris'e and resentment. Shortly after, he plainly perceived to what all these affected delays tended, when he came to know that notwithstanding his engagement, the pope had avocated the cause. The bull of avocation being arriv'd ^l, he would not suffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the legates that he was content they should obey the pope's orders. It was not without reason that he would not have the bull notified to him. He was cited therein to appear at Rome within forty days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the laws of the land, which prohibited to obey such citations, and carry causes to a foreign court. Upon this foundation it was that he had alwas insisted, that the process should be determined in the kingdom. Besides that, censures were denounced against him in the bull as against a private person, if he obeyed not the citation. Some time after, the pope made him a sort of reparation, in revoking

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He sends a courier to England. Continuation of the process. Burnet. Herbert. Campegio's delays. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 300.

He adjourns the court to the first of October. Burnet. Hall. Stow.

The bull of avocation comes to London. Burnet.

The king is cited to Rome.

The pope revokes his censures.

^k He pretended that they sat there as a part of the consistory of Rome, and therefore must follow the rules of that court, which from that time till

October was in a vacation, and heard no causes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 77.

^l On August 4. Idem. p. 78.

1529. these censures by a brief ^m, wherein he protested they were inserted contrary to his intention. But as to the citation itself, he only prolonged the day to Christmas.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 346.
Remark on
cardinal
Wolsey's
behaviour.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The figure cardinal Wolsey made during the pretended judgment of the process was very extraordinary. Of all mankind he was the proudest and most haughty; he was senior cardinal to his colleague, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and suffered him to act as he pleased, without ever opposing his opinion. If the affair had succeeded according to the king's desire, his conduct would doubtless have been praised. But as every thing turned against the king, it was not possible for the cardinal to avoid the suspicion of betraying his master's interests, or at least of serving him very ill. Henry himself thought so, though he did not presently show it ⁿ. On the other hand, Anne Bullen, who had always believed the cardinal in her interest, was extremely surpris'd when she was informed of what had pass'd. The king had removed her from court ^o, whilst the legates were employ'd in the judgment of the process, but she was sent for the moment the bull of avocation was arriv'd. 'Tis pretended, she did not a little contribute to confirm the king's suspicions of the cardinal. She was persuas'd, if Wolsey had pleas'd, the affair would have taken another turn, but that he had alter'd his resolution. Whether her opinion was well ground'd, or the vexation to see herself still so remote from her hopes, exasperated her against the cardinal, she look'd upon him as an enemy deserving her whole vengeance. So finding the king dispos'd to give ear to whatever was said against his minister, she neglect'd nothing that could help to ruin him. In this she was assist'd by several persons of the highest rank, who had no reason to love that proud prelate.

Burnet.

The king is
extremely
uneasy.
Burnet.

It is easy to guess Henry's concern to see himself on a sudden so remote from his aim. The pope had join'd in league with the emperor, which was properly his party. Francis I. from whom he had expected a powerful aid in case of need, had just concluded at Cambray a treaty with the emperor, whereby he engag'd not to assist that prince's enemies. In a word, queen Catherine remain'd obstinate not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his wife. On

^m Dated August 29. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 347.

ⁿ King Henry received information of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advis'd the pope to

do what was done. Burnet, T. I. p. 78.

^o By Wolsey's advice, as she thought. Ibid.

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the other hand, Henry's love for Anne Bullen, which he had pleased himself with the hopes of gratifying by a lawful marriage, helped not a little to increase his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the queen, who by her obstinacy had very much lessened that esteem and affection he had always had for her ^p. With a mind full of these troublesome thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he resolved to take a progress into some of his counties, to try to dispel his melancholy.

During his journey, he lodged one night at Waltham, where Edward Fox and secretary Gardiner happened to lie at a gentleman's house ^q who had two sons committed to Thomas Cranmer's care. Cranmer was a doctor in divinity, who, having been professor at Cambridge ^r, had lost his place upon being married. He had travelled into Germany, where he had read Luther's works, and embraced his doctrine, but with more moderation than was usually seen in the first disciples of that reformer. Whilst they were at supper, Cranmer being at table with Fox and Gardiner, the conversation ran upon the affair of the divorce, and as the master of the house had informed the two courtiers of Cranmer's merit and capacity, they desired him to give his opinion upon that subject. Cranmer at first modestly declined it, but they pressed him so much that he could not excuse himself. So, after stating the question, he said, he saw no better way to extricate the king out of his difficulties, than to procure in writing, the opinions of all the universities in Europe, and of the most eminent divines and civilians ^s. That one of these two things would follow, either the universities and the learned would judge Julius the second's dis-

He takes a
progress.
Burnet.
Hall.
Stow.

Dr. Cran-
mer opens
him a way
to get over
his troubles.
Burnet.

^p Even after Campegio's arrival in England, the king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed; there being no visible sign of any breach between them. But after the suit concerning the divorce was commenced, they parted. See Stow, p. 546. About December, Anne Bullen returned to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for some years. At this the people appearing uneasy, and seeming inclined to revolt; it was resolved to send all the strangers out of the kingdom. Burnet, T. III. p. 42, 44.

^q Mr. Cressy.

^r Rapin by mistake says Oxford. He was bred up at Jesus College in

Cambridge, where he was reader of divinity in Buckingham, now Magdalen College, and commenced doctor in 1523. He was born at Aslockton, in Nottinghamshire, 1489, being son of Thomas Cranmer, esq; a gentleman of a very ancient family. He had nothing to do with Oxford before he was carried there to be burnt. He was indeed invited to be a reader of divinity in the cardinal's college at Oxford, but declined it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 79, &c.

^s Though Fox and others affirm, that Cranmer was the first adviser of consulting the foreign universities, yet Cavendish, Wolfey's gentleman usher, says, the cardinal first proposed it.

penfation.

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penfation fufficient, or deem it invalid. That in the firft cafe, the king's confcience would have reafon to be eafy, and in the fecond, the pope would never venture to pafs fentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able men in Chriftendom. Fox and Gardiner relifhing this advice, imparted it to the king, who immediately taking the author's meaning, cried out in a tranfport of joy: That he had got the right fow by the ear, an expreffion, which in its coarfenefs fhewed how much the king was pleafed with the expedient. At the fame time he fent for Cranmer, who explaining more at large what he had but juft hinted at table, fo gained his efteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the court. This is the fame doctor who will quickly be feen to make a confiderable figure in England, and lay the firft foundations of the reformation in that kingdom.

The king entertains a great efteem for Cranmer.

Campegio returns to Rome. Herbert. Hall.

They fearch his baggage.

He complains of it in vain.

The king being returned from his progreff, cardinal Campegio, whose commiffion was revoked, took his audience of leave, as having no farther bufinefs in England. Henry had fo much command of himfelf as to take no notice of his proceedings, and looked pleafantly upon him. But juft as the cardinal was going to embark, the custom-house officers fearched all his baggage under colour of looking for contraband goods ^t. Probably, the king hoped to find the decretal bull, which he had feen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt ^u. Campegio loudly complained of the infult, and writ to the king to demand fatisfaction, as for an affront done to the legate of the holy fee. Henry coldly answered ^w, that his customers had done their duty, in executing orders long fince eftablifhed with regard to perfons going out of the kingdom: that he was furprized he fhould talk of his being legate when recalled, and much more that being bifhop of Salifbury, he fhould be fo ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to affume that title without his licence. Campegio perceiving by this answer, that the king intended not to give him fatisfaction, thought himfelf very happy in being fuffered to depart.

^t It was fufpected he was carrying over Wofley's treasure. Burnet, tom. III. p. 49.

^u It is thought they fearched alfo for fome love letters of the king's to Anne Bullen, which fome way or other were conveyed out of the king's cabinet, and fent to Rome. They now lie in the vatican. Burnet faw

them in the library, and knowing Henry's hand too well not to be convinced they were writ by him, got dr. Fall, to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the hand is fcarce legible, and the French feems faulty. Burnet, vol. III. p. 42.

^w In a letter dated October 22. Herbert, p 123.

The cardinal had good reason to wish himself out of the kingdom. With what moderation soever the king behaved to him, he could not be ignorant how angry he was, after seeing, some days before his departure, the course that was taking with his colleague cardinal Wolsey. The 9th of October, the attorney general * had preferred a bill of indictment against Wolsey, as guilty of breaking the statute of præmunire. The 17th of the same month the king sent and demanded the great seal, though it was given him for life. For which reason, the cardinal made some scruple to deliver it, but he obeyed a second command †, and in a few days the king gave the great seal to Sir Thomas More, a person universally esteemed for his great integrity. The cardinal had no sooner delivered the great seal, but the attorney general preferred other articles of impeachment against him. The king having given him leave to appoint attorneys to answer for him, he chose two who appeared for him, and protested in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the bulls whereof he was accused, was contrary to the laws of the land, and prejudicial to the prerogative royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they said, he confessed them, and cast himself entirely upon the king's mercy. He was accused twice, as I said, namely, on the 9th and 18th of October, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the laws. Probably he was indicted first, for obtaining several bulls without the king's express licence, and the second time for exercising in England the office of a legate a latere, without the king's letters patent to that end, contrary to the intent of the law.

As soon as the cardinal was out-lawed, the king commanded him to leave York Place, and retire to a country house belonging to him as bishop of Winchester. Then he ordered an inventory of all his goods to be taken, which contained immense riches ‡, acquired by many acts of injustice. 'Tis said, that of fine holland alone, there was found in his house a thousand pieces. One may judge of the rest by this sample. Some time after, he caused a very humble petition to be presented to the king, praying a protection for his person, without which, he said, he was ex-

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Cardinal
Wolsey's
fall.

Herbert.

Burnet.

Frides.

He is im-
peached.The king
takes the
great seal
from him.Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 349.

Ibid.

p. 348, 350.
Hall.He is put
out of the
protection of
the law.

Herbert.

Hall.

Inventory of
the card-
inal's goods.
Herbert.

Stow.

Hollingsh.
Cavendish.

* Christopher Hales.

† And delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The king offered it to archbishop Warham, but he declined accepting of it. Burnet, tom.

I. p. 80.

‡ They were valued at five hundred thousand crowns. Burnet, tom. III. p. 50.

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The king grants him a protection. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 351. He seems inclined to mercy.

Burnet, Fiddes, Stow, Wolfey's affair brought before the parliament.

posed to the insults of the meanest enemy that would abuse him. The king granted it, November the 17th, with a power to answer for himself in all actions that should be entered against him for the future. Moreover, he left him the archbishoprick of York, and the see of Winchester. It is difficult to account for the king's behaviour with respect to the cardinal, since at the very time he seemed most incensed against him, he sent him a certain ring, which was a token betwixt them of the continuance of his affection. The cardinal, who was then on the road to his country house near Winchester^a, was so transported with joy at the sight of the ring, that he alighted from his horse, and fell upon his knees in the dirt to receive it^b. But his hopes were not long lived. His enemies, who had the king's ear, took so much pains to exasperate him against him, that at last his affair was brought before the parliament^c.

Lord Herbert has inserted in his history the forty four articles of impeachment presented to the king against the cardinal by the house of lords, which differ much from those preferred by Hales the attorney general, either in the Star-

^a It was not near Winchester, but to Esher or Asher, near Hampton-Court, that he was ordered to withdraw.

^b And having no other present to make to the king, he sent him his fool Patch. Stow, p. 548.

^c This parliament met on November 3. and was, on December 17, prorogued to the 21st of April ensuing. The most remarkable statutes enacted now, were these: 1. That part of the executors which take upon them the charge of a will, may sell any land devised by the testator to be sold. 2. That for probates of wills, where a man dies worth only five pounds clear, there shall be paid but six pence; if worth forty pounds, three shillings and six pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, five shillings. 3. That mortuaries shall be paid only where they have been used to be paid; and according to the following rate; when a man dies worth in moveables above ten marks clear, there shall be paid three shillings and four pence; if worth above thirty pounds, six shillings and eight pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, ten shillings; and this to be paid only by housekeepers. None to be paid in Wales or Berwick. 4.

That servants embezzling their masters goods to the value of forty shillings, shall be punished as felons. 5. That no spiritual person shall take any lands to farm, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds a month. That no clergyman having one benefice with cure of souls, of the yearly value of eight pounds or above, shall take another, unless qualified, as being a doctor or bachelor of divinity, or chaplain to a nobleman. In this same act the number of chaplains every peer may qualify is thus specified: an archbishop eight; a duke or bishop six; a marquis and earl five; a viscount four; the high chancellor, every baron, and knight of the garter, three; every duchess, marchioness, countess, and baroness, being widows; and the treasurer, and controller of the household, the king's secretary, dean of the chapel, almoner, and master of the rolls, two; the chief justice of the king's bench, and warden of the Cinque Ports, one. See Statut. 21. Hen. 8. Hall, fol. 187, &c. There was, finally, a very extraordinary act passed, by which the king was discharged of all the obligations or assignations made for the payment of all the several sums lent him at several times by his subjects. Burnet, tom. I. p. 83. Coll. p. 82.

Chamber or elfewhere. Hales had accused him of breaking the statute of præmunire, and exercising the office of legate a latere, without the king's licence. Therein, he proceeded according to the tenor of the statute of præmunire, which ran, that no person should be exempt from the penalty, but those to whom the king should be pleased to grant his letters patents. Now, as the cardinal had not taken care to have a licence in form, he was liable to the penalty, according to the rigour of the law. But in the articles of the house of lords there is no such thing. And indeed, it would have been contrary to equity to accuse the cardinal of exercising the authority of legate without the king's permission, since the king was known to consent to it, though not in the manner prescribed by the law. The attorney general did well to keep to the letter of the law, pursuant to the duty of his office. But it would have been wrong in the house of peers to take advantage of the want of a formality to destroy one of their body. So, the articles exhibited by the lords, ran upon crimes which had no relation to the statute of præmunire. The cardinal was chiefly accused of abusing his legatine power, contrary to his oath, when admitted to the exercise of his legateship: of unjust proceedings as chancellor: of making himself, on several occasions, equal to the king: of issuing out divers orders of moment without the king's knowledge: of acting arbitrarily on many occasions, as if he was rather sovereign than minister. All the rest of the articles were of the same nature, importing the ill use he had made of his power, as legate, chancellor, prime minister, and favourite. But I cannot pass over in silence, a very extraordinary article, namely, that the cardinal knowing he had the great pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the king's person, frequently whispering in his ear, without fearing to infect him with his breath. These articles being sent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, member of parliament, and the cardinal's servant, so undertook his defence, as did him great honour, and was one of the principal causes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the crimes he was charged with, but only to show he was not guilty of treason, as the house of peers asserted, wherein he succeeded to his wish.

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Difference between the articles of the house, and the attorney general's indictment. Herbert, p. 125, &c. Hall, fol. 189. Hollingsh.

Art. VI.

Thomas Cromwell speaks for him in the house of commons.

^c He used to write in his letters and instructions, Th: king and I. And I would ye should do thus. The king and I give unto you our hearty thanks, &c. See Herbert, p. 126, Strype's Mem. tom. 1, p. 119.

1529.

Remarks on
the peace of
Cambray.
Guicciard.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.

It is necessary now to speak of the peace of Cambray, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between Charles V. and Francis I. so concerned all Europe, that it is very difficult to understand the histories of the other states, without a clear notion of the affairs of these two monarchs. Francis laboured, during the first part of the year 1529, to negotiate a peace with the emperor. After his ill success in the war of Naples, he saw there was no other way to recover his two hostages. He knew the pope continued a secret negotiation in Spain, and that it lay in the emperor's power to make peace with all the states of Italy, by restoring Sforza to Milan. So, though France and England had made the greatest efforts, probably, it would have served only to hasten the peace of Italy. But the king of France was not even sure of prevailing with Henry to act, who was still desirous to manage the pope and emperor, in hopes of obtaining their consent to his divorce rather by fair means than by arms. Besides, though he was bound to contribute large sums for the war, he payed them only in paper, by acquittances of what was due to him from Francis. So, properly speaking, this was no assistance to France, drained by the former wars of men and money. Francis had therefore no business to stand in suspense. It was necessary for him to make peace at any rate. However, to obtain as good terms as possible, he amused the Venetians, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, with great promises, for fear they should prevent him, and after they had made their peace with the emperor, his condition became worse. He told them, he was resolved to lead in person a strong army into Italy. He continued this management till he had concluded the treaty of Cambray, wherein he left them all to the emperor's mercy. Probably, Henry was the only ally that knew his intentions. The emperor was not ignorant of the situation of the French king's affairs, and doubtless, would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the invasion, the Turks were preparing against Hungary and Austria, and the commotions raised by the protestants in Germany, made him desirous to leave Italy in quiet. Besides, he saw, that a peace was the only way to break the strict union of France with England. If these two monarchs had joined in the league which the protestants of Germany were projecting for their common defence, they would have created him troubles which might have broke all his measures. These were the motives that inclined the emperor to peace,

which

which however he made France purchase very dear. Charles and Francis being in the same disposition, agreed together by secret negotiations, upon the chief articles of the peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleased however to leave in appearance to the ladies. In July, Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, and governess of the Low Countries, and Louisa of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, Francis's mother, repaired to Cambray^d, and signed, the 5th of August, a treaty, the substance whereof was as follows :

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- That the emperor should renounce his demand concerning Burgundy, his right to that duchy remaining however entire. Chief articles of the peace of Cambray.
- That the king of France should pay him two millions of crowns of gold de soleil, for the ransom of his sons, and withdraw all his forces out of Italy. Guicciard. Mezerai. Aft. Pub. XIV. p. 326. &c.
- That he should resign to him the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois. Herbert, Hall, Hollingh.
- That he should restore to him the earldom of Asti, with whatever he held in the duchy of Milan.
- That he should renounce all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples.
- That he should marry queen Leonora, with whom the emperor her brother would give in dower two hundred thousand crowns.
- In short, besides several other private articles, he promised to restore the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon to all that prince's forfeited estates.

The treaty being ratified^e, it was some time before Francis durst give audience to the ambassadors of Venice and Florence, because he could not without confusion bear their just reproaches. At last, he put them off with some poor excuse and fresh promises, which he performed no better than those before the peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the peace was concluded, the bishop of Tarbe his ambassador at Venice, not having timely notice, strenuously solicited the senate to support the war, upon the hopes he gave them of a powerful aid.

It was also very strange, that Henry having proclaimed war with the emperor by a herald, there should be how-

^d Our king's ambassadors there, were Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 130.

^e King Henry sent sir Nicolas Carew, master of his horse, and Dr. Samson, to Bologna, to ratify it in his name. Hall, scil. 187.

1529.

Herbert.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 328.

ever no particular treaty between them. Henry was satisfied with an article inserted in that of Cambray, whereby the king of France was bound to pay him the two hundred and ninety thousand crowns, due from the emperor, and redeem the rich flower-de-luce, pawned by the emperor Maximilian to Henry VII. for fifty thousand crowns. He did more; for he generously forgave Francis the first sum, and made a present of the second to the duke of Orleans, his god-son ^f: this shows, that in making peace, Francis I. had not dealt with Henry as with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the necessity, he was under, to conclude it.

1530.

The emperor goes to Genoa, Guicciard. Herbert, Hall.

and afterwards to Bologna, where he settles the affairs of Italy. Guicciard.

The emperor being agreed with Francis upon the principal articles of the peace, departed from Barcelona before he received advice of the conclusion, and arrived the 12th of August at Genoa, with nine thousand men. The peace of Cambray being published shortly after, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, whom the King of France had forsaken, saw no other refuge than the emperor's clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their attachment to France. The discussion of their affairs being referred to a conference, which the emperor was to have with the pope at Bologna, each sent ambassadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was that the emperor enjoined the Venetians to restore to the pope Ravenna and Cervia, and to himself some places they still held in the kingdom of Naples. Francesco Sforza was restored to the duchy of Milan, on condition of paying to the emperor four hundred thousand crowns in hand, and five hundred thousand in the space of ten years, at ten payments. The duke of Ferrara having offered to make the emperor arbiter and judge of his differences with the pope, his offer was accepted, Clement VII. thinking nothing could be more for his advantage than to submit to the emperor's decision, who was now bound by the treaty of Barcelona to procure him Modena and Reggio, and assist him to take possession of Ferrara. As to the Florentines, it was not possible to reconcile them with the pope. They would not hearken to any agreement, unless they were assured of preserving their liberty, being resolved to defend it to the last drop of their blood. They offered however to purchase it with a sum of money. But the pope

^f And also remitted some of the payments of the pension he received from France, Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 358.

on his part, offered them all sorts of advantages, provided the family of the Medici were restored to Florence, upon the same foot as before the expulsion of the legate. The parties not agreeing, the emperor ordered the prince of Orange to besiege Florence and restore the Medici.

1530.

The emperor having ended his affairs in Italy, was impatient to return into Germany, where the affairs of religion began to give him disturbance. For some time, the protestants had insisted continually upon a free council in Germany, which was positively promised, though never intended. During the late war, the emperor had all along amused them with the hopes of granting this council. But no sooner was the peace concluded, than in his conference with the pope at Bologna he promised him to do his utmost to reduce them without a council. Mean while, the protestants knowing his design by his menacing answer to their envoys after the conclusion of the peace, were thinking of joining in a league for their common defence; and this made the emperor uneasy, and obliged him speedily to finish his affairs in Italy, in order to settle those of Germany. Before his departure from Bologna, he received the imperial crown at the pope's hands the 24th of February 1530, on St. Matthias's day, which was his birth-day, and which, on several occasions, had been very fortunate to him. He set out at length from Bologna on the 22d of March 1530, for Germany, being attended by cardinal Campeggio, who was to assist from the pope at the diet of Augsburg.

He promises to try to ruin the protestants, Sleidan.

He received the imperial crown from the pope, Guicciard.

The prince of Orange invested Florence according to the emperor's order, and was slain at the siege, which the Florentines desperately maintained. At length, on the 10th of August, they were forced to capitulate, but however on express condition that they should enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the emperor to settle the form of their government. But some days after, the adherents of the Medicis raising a tumult in the city, and finding themselves supported by a great number of Spanish officers, who had entered on divers pretences, Clement VII. was again put in possession of the government. Then the emperor, without regarding the article of the capitulation, established Alexander de Medici his son-in-law at Florence, on the same foot that his ancestors had formerly been, and made the sovereignty hereditary in his family.

Siege of Florence. Capitulation.

The Medicis take possession of the government.

Alexander de Medici first sovereign of Florence.

§ Since the time of Frederic, 1412, no emperor had been publicly crowned. Herbert, p. 136.

1530.

Francis's
two sons are
released.
Guicciard.
Mezerai.

Henry's ge-
nerosity to
Francis.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 360,
362, 38,
380.
Ibid. p. 351.

p. 38c, &c.

The 1st of June this year, Francis received his two sons, who were hostages in Spain, upon paying the emperor twelve hundred thousand crowns in hand, and giving security for the rest of the sum. After that, he married Leonora, pursuant to the treaty of Cambray. Had he been obliged to find ready money to pay Henry what the emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the treaty, very probably he would not so soon have recovered his sons. But Henry proved a generous friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the emperor's bonds to restore them to him as well as the pawned jewel above mentioned^h. Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges in assisting him, which, according to Francis's confession extant in the collection of the publick acts, amounted to the sum of five hundred twelve thousand two hundred twenty two crowns of gold sol, two and twenty pence, six farthings, in ready money, and acquittances upon the two millions Francis owed him. He clogged this great generosity but with one single condition, that in case Francis violated the peace and alliance they had made together, he should still be accountable for all these sums, to which Francis bound himself by letters patents.

Henry pur-
sues at
Rome the
business of
the divorce.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Hall.

By the execution of the treaty of Cambray, the king of France saw himself at length in profound tranquillity, though the late war had cost him immense sums, the loss of Genoa and Milan, the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, numberless vexations, and perhaps some of his honour and reputation. But it was not so with Henry. After a vast charge to support the interests of his ally, he was still embarrassed with the affair of the divorce, and in danger of a speedy quarrel with the emperor. However, as he was naturally steady in his projects, all these obstacles were not able to discourage him, and he resolved to see the end of the affair, let what would be the consequence. Thomas Cranmer being then very much in his esteem, he ordered him to write upon the divorce; and the doctor did it with universal approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the ambassadors sent by the king to the pope and emperor, to try for the last time to find some expedient to end the affair, which so greatly embarrassed him. These ambassadors found the pope and the emperor at Bologna, and had audience of both. The pope showed an inclination to content

^h This jewel, in the form of a flower-wood of the true cross in it. Herbert, de-luce, is said to have a piece of the p. 154.

the king, but durst not act without the emperor's consent, who openly protested, he would never forsake the queen his aunt. Cranmer maintained his master's cause with great warmth, which hindered not the pope from making him his penitentiary in England to please the king, whom he strove to oblige in things of little consequence, whilst he did nothing for him in the principal affair.

Mean while, Henry, pursuant to Cranmer's advice, had sent able and learned men¹ into France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, to consult the universities concerning the divorce. We find in the collection of the publick acts, the opinions of the universities of Angers, Paris, Bourges, Orleans, Thouloufe, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, all uniform, declaring that Julius II's dispensation for Henry's marriage with Catherine being contrary to the divine law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the French universities were suspicious, by reason of the strict union at that time between Francis and Henry. But the same thing cannot be said of those of Padua and Ferrara, and still less of that of Bologna, a city belonging to the pope. Dr. Burnet having largely handled this subject, those who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may consult his history of the reformation. It will suffice to observe here, that the question was, whether Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and upon that supposition, whether the pope had power to grant a dispensation. The universities maintained, that such a marriage was contrary to the law of God, with which the pope had not power to dispense. Oxford and Cambridge being likewise consulted decreed the same thing, though not without great opposition from some of the members^k. It seems at first very strange, that the two English universities

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Most of the universities decide in favour of the king.

Burnet. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 39 &c.

Vol. I. p.

87. &c. III. p. 54 &c.

Oxford and Cambridge make the greatest scruple.

should Burnet. Fiddes.

¹ To Orleans and Thouloufe were sent sir Francis Brian, Edward Fox, afterward bishop of Hereford, and mr. William Paget. To Paris, Reginald Peol, of the blood royal. In Italy, the king's agents were dr. Richard Croke, at Padua; Hieronimo de Ghinucci, bishop of Worcester, and sir Gregory Cassali, at Rome; dr. Stokesley, at Venice; dr. Cranmer, Andrew and John Cassali, were likewise employed in Italy. Burnet, T. I.

^k At Cambridge, it was carried at last with much ado in a convocation,

that the matter should be left to a committee of twenty nine, viz. the vice chancellor, Dr. Edmonds, head of Peter House, ten doctors, sixteen bachelors of divinity, and the two professors; the majority of whom, voted the king's marriage unlawful, but decided not whether the pope had power to dispense with such a marriage. The king's agents at Cambridge, were Gardiner and Fox. At Oxford, the regent masters strenuously opposed the king, and the doctors and heads were for him. So that the matter remained

1530.

The reason
of it.
Burnet.

should be more scrupulous in the matter than the foreign. But the surprize ceases, when it is considered that these scruples arose, not from the question itself, but from the consequence, their determination might occasion. Most of the members of the universities were furiously averse to Luther's doctrine, which began to spread in England, and were afraid of countenancing it by deciding against the pope. Besides, they saw that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen would follow upon his divorce with Catherine, and this second marriage they would have gladly prevented, because Anne Bullen was much inclined to the reformation ^l, and expressed a very particular esteem for Cranmer, whose preferment for the same reason they dreaded.

Henry's
false steps
in the mat-
ter of the
divorce.
Burnet.

The ambassadors who had been sent into Italy ^m, returning without effecting any thing, Henry, who till then had shown great regard for the pope, resolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known by experience that Clement was to be gained only by his interest. It is certain, if at first he had proceeded with more vigour, and powerfully supported the war in Italy, the pope would never have thought of joining with the emperor. A good English fleet in the Mediterranean would have made Francis master of Naples, and saved the city of Genoa. The pope would thereby have been so kept in awe, that he would have been glad to have always the king of England for his friend. Instead of acting in this manner, Henry remained quiet during the whole campaign of 1528, suffering himself to be amused by the deceitful hopes given him by the pope. So the French were driven out of the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was at liberty to treat with the emperor concerning the recovery of Florence, which he would never have thought of, had the French been superior in Italy. Henry perceived

in agitation from the 12th of February, to the 8th of April. At last it was carried in a convocation (from which by an order from the chancellor, says Wood, all the masters of arts were excluded, but, according to Burnet, consisting of all the doctors and masters) that the business should be decided by thirty three doctors and bachelors of divinity, who declared the marriage of the brother's wife to be contrary to the laws of God and nature, and put the common seal of the university to their decree, on April 8. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was the king's agent

at Oxford. Burnet, tom. I. p. 85, 86. See Fiddes's Coll. p. 180, &c.

^l Having received some impressions of it in the duchess of Alençon's court. Burnet, tom. I. p. 87.

^m The head of this embassy was Thomas Bullen, earl of Wiltshire, and Ormond, (21 Hen. VIII.) who refused at his audience of the pope at Bologna, to kiss his toe, though he graciously stretched it out to him. He was accompanied by John Stockesley, elect bishop of London, and Edward Lee. Burnet, vol. I. p. 87, 95.

his error when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the pope was united with the emperor, and Francis bound by the treaty of Cambray. He was left alone to support himself against the emperor and pope, and it was very happy for him that the Turks and the protestants of Germany so embarrassed the emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of England. So, all means failing to accomplish his design but what could be found in his own kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make use of the inclinations of his subjects, who for the most part were not very fond of the pope.

1530.

He is at a great loss.

We have seen in several places of this history, how at all times the English complained of the tyranny of the popes, and the remedies applied by the parliaments to that grievance. It is true, the private interest of the kings rendered these remedies in some measure ineffectual, because, as they frequently wanted the popes for their temporal concerns, the laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the English. The principles of the Lollards were still deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers. Besides, Luther's books, whereof many were brought into England, had opened the eyes of multitudes; so that it may be affirmed, at the time I am speaking of, the English in general had quite another notion of religion than their ancestors, especially with respect to the papal authority. The three last popes, Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. had shown so little of religion in their conduct, and Clement VII. so closely followed their steps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impossible Jesus Christ should have given the government of his church to such vicars. Thus the English were very ready to shake off the pope's yoke, if the king for the sake of his own private interest had not supported the exorbitant power so long complained of. But Clement VII. had no sooner joined with the emperor, than the king's interest became the same with the people's. To this chiefly are to be ascribed all the changes mentioned hereafter.

Disposition of the English to the popes, contrary to the interest of their kings.

The king's and people's interest becomes the same.

Henry having resolved to make the pope sensible of the danger of losing England, if he continued any longer to favour the emperor, caused a letter worded in strong terms to be sent him by the great men of the kingdom, according to the example of their ancestors in the reign of Henry III.

Letters of great men to the pope. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 405. Herbert, n.

They P. 141. Burnet.

ⁿ Lord Herbert says, it was done by the parliament; but that is a mistake, the letter being dated the 13th of July, it appears by the records there could be

no session at that time, the houses being prorogued from the 21st of June, to the 1st of October. The letter it seems was sent about to the chief mem-

1530. They plainly told him, "That the king's cause being their own, if he continued to deny them what was absolutely necessary for their quiet, they were resolved to apply the remedy themselves, which was vainly expected from him."

This was sufficient to satisfy him, that the patience of the English was almost worn out, and they would not suffer themselves to be curbed or even amused any longer by the court of Rome. Indeed, the letter had not the desired effect, but however it showed the pope the disposition of the English, and how necessary it was to use them gently. Wherefore he returned the great men a very moderate answer, vindicating his conduct with respect to the king in the best manner possible. Mean while, he sent for sir Gregory Cassali, the king's ambassador in ordinary, and hinted to him that the affair might be adjusted by means of a dispensation for the king to have two wives. This we learn from the ambassador's letter of the 18th of September, wherein after acquainting the king with what the pope said, he added, that the emperor's ministers were also desirous that the affair should be ended by this expedient. But Henry was so aware of all the pope's artifices, that he took no notice of the overture. His resolution was, either to have a bull to null the marriage, or to procure himself at any rate the satisfaction he required.

The pope's answer.

Herbert.

P. 143.

Expedient proposed by the pope.

Ibid.

P. 141.

Henry rejects it.

Proclamation to forbid the receiving any bulls, &c.

Sept. 19.

Hall.

Stow.

Henry publishes his reasons for the divorce.

Burnet,

T. I. P. 97, &c.

And therefore, fearing that the pope would unexpectedly send into England a bull of excommunication or interdict, he issued out a proclamation, forbidding under severe penalties to receive any bull from Rome contrary to the prerogatives of the crown. His design was to bring the affair before the parliament and clergy, and after gaining these two bodies to his interest, to cause it to be determined in England, without regarding the pope's proceedings against him. The difficulty was to prepossess the people in his favour. To that end, he ordered to be printed and published an abstract of the reasons for the divorce, that these reasons being known to all the world, he might meet with less opposition in the parliament. The abstract contained two principal points. The first

was, that the king had been married to the queen for their hands, and Cavendish tells us with what cheerfulness cardinal Wolsey signed it. It was subscribed by the two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty three barons, twenty two abbots, eleven commoners, most of them the king's servants. Herbert, p. 142.

Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on

the subject, and out of all the transcripts of the manuscripts, of fathers, and councils, to collect whatsoever did strengthen it. Three of these manuscripts are in the Cotton-library. All these and many more were summed up in a short book, and printed first in Latin, then in English, with the determinations of the universities before it. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 97.

was,

was, That the king's marriage with Catherine was contrary to the law of God. The second, That Julius II. had not power to grant a dispensation for that marriage, and consequently the dispensation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the origin of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the reader to see the substance of the arguments alledged on both sides.

It was said for the king, I. That the levitical law forbidding a man to marry his brother's wife was not a positive precept, which bound only those to whom it was given, but obliged all mankind without exception. That this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the Canaanites were polluted. Now the Canaanites could not be polluted with crimes forbidden only by a positive law given to another nation.

II. Another argument was taken from what John the Baptist said to Herod in the new testament, "It is not lawful for thee to take thy brother's wife," because St. John could allude only to the laws of Moses, and consequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was shown from several passages of Tertullian, and writings of the popes, that the church always deemed the levitical prohibitions as parts of the universal law of nature and all mankind. To this was added the authority of divers provincial synods, of the Constantinopolitan general council, of the council of Constance in the condemnation of Wickliff, of many Greek and Latin fathers, and of several schoolmen.

IV. It was proved by the authority of the popes and councils, that a marriage is compleated by the mutual contract of the parties, though it be never consummated. For that reason it was said, Adonijah could not marry Abisnag, who had been his father David's wife, though David never knew her. That upon the same account, Joseph could not put away Mary without a bill of divorce; a clear evidence that their marriage was compleat, though not consummated. Hence it was inferred, that though prince Arthur had not consummated his marriage, it was not the less valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a-thing of that nature could be, that the marriage was consummated. It was proved first by violent presumptions. Secondly, because after Arthur's death, the princess his widow was supposed to be with child, and she never said any thing to the contrary.

1530.

It is true, it might be objected that Catherine had since sworn, she was never known by that prince. But it was replied, the canon law forbids the taking of oaths, when there are strong presumptions to the contrary. Besides, the queen's oath could not be reckoned decisive, since it was destroyed by the brief produced by her own advocates.

V. Julius's dispensation being the sole foundation on which the validity of the king's marriage was established, it was shown by a crowd of witnesses, both antient and modern, That the pope has not power to dispense with the laws of God. Nay, it was affirmed, That if he dispensed with the decrees of the church, it was usurpation, and that several bishops in England itself had resisted the popes when they would have assumed such a liberty.

On the other side, the queen's advocates replied to these reasons;

Arguments
for the
queen.

I. That the prohibitions in Leviticus were not parts of the moral law, since God himself had dispensed with them, in commanding the brother to marry his brother's widow. But of what nature soever the law was, if it were dispensed with by Moses to the Jews, why might it not be as well done by the pope to the Christians?

II. It was said, the law in Leviticus against marrying the brother's wife must be understood of not taking her while the brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man was commanded by God himself to marry his brother's wife.

III. The crime St. John Baptist reproached Herod with might be adultery as well as incest, since, according to Josephus and Eusebius, Herod's brother Philip was alive when St. John spoke.

IV. The popes daily dispensed, contrary to the laws of God, with vows and oaths, without being censured. Besides, it was maintained, the pope was the only judge, whether the prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alledged, the pope had granted the dispensation upon a very weighty consideration, to keep peace between the two crowns of Spain and England.

VI. It was urged, that the marriage had subsisted near twenty years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Lastly, It was affirmed, if there were any nullities in the bull of dispensation, the pope was the only competent judge of it.

The king's advocates replied to these arguments, and were answered again by the writers on the queen's side, both practising what is very common on such occasions, that is, they evaded the force of the reasons of the opposite party, by keeping to generals. I shall say no more of it. Those that are curious to see the arguments on both sides, may be satisfied by reading the history of the reformation of England, where they are fully set forth. It will suffice to remark, that in these disputes was spent the whole year 1530, Henry being very glad the people should be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the parliament.

1530.

Burnet,
Vol. I. p.
97, &c.

Whilst these things passed, cardinal Wolfey remained at his country house, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him. Though all his goods were seized, and that seemed to denote he intended to show him no favour, yet he saw from time to time some rays of goodness shine upon him ^p, which made him hope that his master, who had loved him so well, would not be for ever inexorable. And indeed, the twelfth of February, the king granted him a general pardon of all his offences of what nature soever. Among all the pardons in the collection of the publick acts, there are none so full and particular as this. Then, the king came to an agreement with the cardinal, by which he left him the archbishoprick of York, with all its revenues and dependencies, except York Place. As to the see of Winchester and abbey of St. Albans, the king reserved to himself the revenues, though he left him the titles. But the cardinal was bound to resign these two benefices when required. In consideration whereof, the king assigned him a thousand marks sterling a year out of the bishoprick of Winchester, with a promise to grant him the like pension upon some other benefice, in case this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave ^p him to the value of six thousand three hundred and seventy four pounds, three shillings and seven pence halfpenny, in money and goods, part of those belonging to the cardinal which had been confiscated ^q. All the rest remained to the king

Cardinal
Wolfey's
uncertain
state.The king
grants him
a very full
pardon.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p.
366, 371.
They come
to an agree-
ment.
Ibid.
p. 365.

p. 375.

^p November 1. the king sent sir John Russel to him with a Turquoise ring, as a token of his care and affection. Herbert, p. 125. Stow, p. 550.

^q That the curious reader may form an estimate from thence of the real proportion the value of money bears

now to what it did then, here is a list of the money and goods as we find it in the original grant: first, in ready money three thousand pounds. Item, in plate nine thousand five hundred sixty five ounces and one eighth, at three shillings eight pence the ounce, amounteth

1530.

Wolsey tries
in vain to
save his
colleges.
Burnet.
Herbert.
Strype's
Mem.
p. 118.

king with the cardinal's consent, who owned it as a particular favour that the king was pleased to leave him any thing. This was all he preserved of the immense riches acquired during his credit. But what afflicted him most sensibly, was, that his two colleges, founded with so much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlasting monument of his glory, were likewise confiscated. He writ to the king upon that subject, in a manner that perfectly showed his extreme concern for that loss. He even entreated Cromwell to use his utmost endeavours to hinder his two colleges from being involved in his ruin. But it was all in vain. The king took possession of all the lands belonging to them, and depriving them of the name of their founder, endowed them anew in his own.

He has still
some hopes.
Fiddes.
p. 512.

Notwithstanding all this, Wolsey had still hopes, by reason of some marks of friendship given him by the king upon certain occasions. He had permitted him to remove to Richmond, where he was nearer his person. Moreover, hearing he was sick, he sent a lord to visit him in his name, and even caused Anne Bullen to write to him^s. But at the

amounteth to one thousand seven hundred fifty two pounds thirteen shillings and seven pence half penny. Item, divers apparel of household, as hangings, &c. amounting to eight hundred pounds. Item, eighty horses and geldings with their furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds. Item, in mules for the saddle, four, with their furniture, valued at sixty pounds. Item, in mules for carriage six, with their furniture, valued at forty pounds. In Ling one thousand, valued at fifty pounds. In Cod and Haberden eight hundred, valued at forty pounds. In salt eight waye, valued at ten pounds. In implements of the kitchen, as pots, &c. at eighty pounds. In mutton (sheep) seventy, valued at twelve pounds. In fifty two oxen, valued at eighty pounds. In wearing apparel, to the value of three hundred pounds. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 375.

^r They remained in the kings hands till 1532, in which time several of the manors and other estates, particularly in Essex, and Oxfordshire, were granted to sir Richard Page, and other courtiers. In 1532, the king, by Cromwell's and Gardiner's advice, founded anew the college in Oxford,

(now called Christ Church) and settled on it two thousand pounds a year; but it was dissolved again, by commission, in 1543, and two months after was revived by the king's letters patents: and the next year the king removed the episcopal see from Osney to this college. As for the building, Wolsey finished only the hall, and the kitchen. Fiddes's life of Wolsey, p. 306, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 409, 410, 443. Besides his two colleges, the cardinal founded, in the university of Oxford, lectures of divinity, civil law, medicine, philosophy, mathematicks, greek, and rhetorick. Fiddes, p. 209, &c.

^s The king sent him a ring set with a ruby, whereon was his own picture, by dr. Butts, assuring him he was not offended with him in his heart. And in his letter to Anne Bullen, he says, Good sweetheart, as you love me, send the cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing, you shall deserve our thanks. Whereupon she sent him a tablet of gold which hung at her side. The king sent him also four loads of rich furniture. Fiddes's life of Wolsey, p. 513; 514.

same

same time that the compassion expressed for him by the king cherished his hopes, it made his enemies apprehensive of his return to court, and therefore they never ceased to exasperate the king against him. In short, as they could not see him so near the court without fearing the revival of the king's affection for a minister, he had so passionately loved, they caused an order to be sent him ^t to withdraw to his diocese of York. Very probably, Anne Bullen contributed most to his disgrace, since none but a mistress could possibly make the king forget such a favourite. However this be, the cardinal being forced to submit, began his journey ^u to the north with a train, though not so large as usual during his prosperity, yet consisting still of a hundred and sixty horse ^w. He arrived about the end of September at Cawood ^x, where he staid according to the custom of the archbishops of York, till things were ready for the ceremony of his installment, which was to be performed in a month with a magnificence little suitable to his present condition. But whilst he was preparing to enjoy in his archbishoprick the small remains of authority, which he imagined would be still left him, he was arrested by the earl of Northumberland ^y for high treason. He would have insisted at first upon his privilege as cardinal. But the earl told him, that should not hinder him from executing the king's orders. At the same time his physician was seized, and sent to London with his legs tied to his horse. It is not known to this day, whether the king had been prepossessed that the cardinal had a design upon his life, which however is not very probable. Be this as it will, he set forward by easy journies to London, extremely concerned to think, he was going to appear as a criminal in a city, where he had before commanded with almost a sovereign authority. But in all likelihood his grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of sickness, which constrained him to stop at Leiceſter abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of November ^z. Before he expired, he said to the

He is sent away to York, Fiddes, Herbert, Stow. Hall.

Pol. Virg. Stow.

and arrested of high treason. Nov. 4. Herbert. Hall. Stow.

He is conducted to London. He dies by the way.

His last words.

king's

^t By Thomas Cromwell, his late servant. Fiddes, p. 514.

^u But before he set out, he received from the king the sum of ten thousand pounds. Cavendish.

^w And seventy two carts with his household stuff. Burnet, tom. I. p. 81.

^x A castle about twelve miles from York, belonging to the archbishops.

^y Henry Percy; and by sir Walter Welsh. Fiddes; p. 522. Hall says,

Vo l. VI

that he had writ to the pope and several princes, letters reflecting on the king, and stirred them to revenge his cause, fol. 104.

^z In his way he stayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewsbury's, at Sheffield Park, where he was taken ill one day at dinner. Cavendish says, speaking of the effects of his distemper, it was apparent he had poisoned himself. By the mediation of the earl, sir William

1530.

Herbert.
Cavend.
Stow.
Hollingh.

king's officer who stood near his bed: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs." But I do not know whether he had reason to boast of his zeal and disinterestedness in the services he had done the king. He added, speaking to the same officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he should ever be admitted to the king's council, he should take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This seems to intimate, he had counselled the king to undertake the divorce, which afterwards he would have dissuaded him from. And indeed, he desired the same person to tell the king, that he prayed him to call to remembrance what had passed betwixt them about the divorce, and hoped, that when he should be less prejudiced, he would do him more justice. This shows that he looked upon that affair as the sole cause of his disgrace. Thus died this famous cardinal, the proudest and most haughty of men, and we may add, the most ambitious and most greedy of estates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the king, he never gave him advice without a view to his own interest. This alone would be sufficient to obscure all the fine qualities he might otherwise have, but which in the main amounted only to a great penetration, whereof he made an ill use. The king showed a concern for his death^a. And yet, since he had ordered him to be arrested for high treason, very probably his ruin was determined. Henry was of a temper to accomplish whatever

The king
shews some
concern for
his death.
Herbert.

liam Kingston, constable of the Tower, (the person to whom he spoke his last words) was sent by the king to convey him to London. With much ado, being hardly able to sit his horse, he got to Leicester abbey, where upon their coming out to receive him, he said, father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you. He was buried in the abbey chapel, of which even the ruins are not at present to be discovered. He died the 28th of November, according to Burnet; and according to Fiddes the 29th, of a dysentery, p. 529. He had begun a monument for himself with his own image, which one Benedetto, a statuary of Florence took in hand 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for so much as was already done, four thousand two hundred and fifty ducats. The design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that

of Henry VII. But upon his death the king seized what was finished and called it his. Thus the cardinal's tomb had the same fate with his college. He is said to behave mighty well during the time he was in the north, after his disgrace, and to become very popular. As no man (says Polydore) did ever rise with fewer virtues, so (says lord Herbert) few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him. He is said (according to one of the articles of his impeachment) to leave two natural sons behind him, whereof one called Winter, was loaded with church preferments. Herbert, Burnet, Stow, &c. Fiddes, p. 529, &c. 530.

^a He was very much afflicted with the news of it, and said he would have given twenty thousand pounds he had but lived. Herbert, p. 148.

he undertook ^b. This will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary severity to persons, who doubtless were not so guilty as this favourite. 1530.

The affair of the divorce ^c and its consequences employing Henry during the residue of his life, it will for the future be the principal thing I shall have to speak of to the end of this reign. But as by the alterations introduced by this prince into his kingdom, his affairs led him to concern himself with the troubles of Germany, it is necessary, for the understanding of the sequel, briefly to mention what passed in that country.

The emperor's aim in calling the diet of Augsburg, was rather to inflame than appease the religious troubles. Since he made peace with France, and Italy was as it were subject to his yoke, he was forming vast projects. He saw himself master of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; his brother Ferdinand was now king of Bohemia, and had been elected king of Hungary. With these advantages, he hoped to be able to subdue the rest of Europe. It was necessary to begin with Germany, where he had great power, as emperor and archduke of Austria, because if he once became absolute in the empire, and could dispose of the forces of the German princes, he imagined France and England would not be able to resist him. The troubles caused by religion in Germany seemed to him a very specious pretence to arm against the protestants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the catholicks, these would in their turn be easily subdued. I cannot be accused here of ascribing to this monarch designs he never really had, since it is notorious that himself and successors pursued gradually, and, I may say, openly the execution of the same project. The wars that afflicted Europe for more than a century, were solely excited by the boundless ambition of the house of Austria, whom the other sovereigns were concerned to oppose.

Since Luther's preaching in Germany, the reformation had made so great progress, that several princes of the empire, and many Hans Towns had openly embraced it. As they were accused of introducing many innovations in religion, in answer to that charge, they protested, their intent was only to adhere to the doctrine of the gospel and religion of the primitive church. And therefore, they demanded

^b Bishop Burnet justly observes, that king Henry loved to raise mean persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down, and sacrifice them to pub-

lick discontents. Tom. I. p. 9.

^c It was called the king's weighty affair. Burnet.

1530.

that a free council might be held in some city of Germany, where the religious differences might be calmly examined by the word of God. But this was a method which their adversaries could not allow. They supposed, as a thing certain, that the religion professed before Luther's appearance was the true religion, and being without spot, wrinkle, or the like, had no need of reformation. According to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the recusants or hereticks to conform. This was the constant maxim, long since followed by the Romish clergy, and which caused them to use fire and sword to extirpate those they were pleased to term hereticks. But in the situation of Germany, at the time I am speaking of, it was not easy to practise that maxim. It was not private persons only who declared against the Roman church, but cities, whole nations, and sovereigns. So the zealous abettors of the old religion were not in condition to reduce them by force. Wherefore they chose to feed them with hopes of a free council, till the affairs of Europe were so disposed, that it might be hoped to reduce them by way of authority. Several diets had been held upon that subject in Germany, where, contrary to the opinion of the court of Rome, the emperor and the catholick princes had been obliged to conceal their sentiments and consent to a toleration, which however left them at liberty to act another time, according to their real principles.

When Luther began to appear, the religious disputes turned only upon the excessive abuses of the papal power, and a few other points. Then Luther had on his side almost all the lay princes of Germany, and many Hans Towns, each of which was a republick. From that time, he made new discoveries, and published them to the world. But he had not upon all the articles the same number of followers, as upon that of the papal authority. Besides, the emperor and the zealous catholicks opposed with all their power the progress of the reformation. Care was taken to intimidate such as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old religion by promises, by places, by posts, which did not a little help to confirm them in their first sentiments. So for some years, the reformers used all possible endeavours to gain proselytes, and the Romish clergy were as diligent to hinder their progress. Mean time, whilst they strove only in this manner, the reformation daily took root, which obliged the adversaries to seek other means to prevent its growth, those hitherto used not proving very effectual.

1530.

In 1524 Charles V. coming to the diet of Worms, sent for Luther, and after a hearing banished him the empire with all his adherents, by a formal decree in the diet's name. But some pretend, the diet was not concerned in the decree, However, the emperor persisted to maintain it. But it seems the Germans considered it not as obligatory. The next year, the diet held at Noremberg produced against the court of Rome a hundred grievances, of which they demanded the redress by means of a free council.

Another diet held at the same place passed a decree, whereby it was resolved to demand a free council in Germany. But upon their dissolution, the catholicks assembled by themselves at Ratishon, and ordered the decree of Worms to be executed.

In another diet at Spire in 1526, the emperor caused it to be declared, that he meant not that any resolution should be taken concerning the affairs of religion, but only concerning the method of executing the decree of Worms, till there should be a general council. But as this council was yet very remote, the diet decreed, the emperor should be prayed to procure a council in Germany within a year, and in the mean while, every one should so govern himself in point of religion, as to be able to give an account of his conduct to God and the emperor.

During these transactions, the war which the Turks had carried into Hungary, suspended for some time the execution of Charles V's projects against those who had embraced the new religion, because he wanted the assistance of all the German princes, as well protestants as catholicks^d. Besides, his war then with France suffered him not to think much of the affairs of Germany. But in 1529, being upon the point of making peace with France, he thought he might talk in a higher strain. He called a diet at Spire, where it was ordered that those who had hitherto obeyed the decree of Worms, should continue to observe it, and the rest that had not submitted, should make no innovations in religion, nor hinder their subjects from going to mass. Against this decree the elector of Saxony and Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Lunenburg, made a solemn protestation, from whence all their party were called

^d January 21, king Henry empowered Thomas, earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, John Stokesley, bishop elect of London, dr. William Lee, and dr. William Benet, to conclude a league

with the pope, the emperor, the kings of France, Portugal, &c. against the Turk. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV, p. 354.

1530.

protestants. The emperor, who was then in Italy, very roughly received the protestation brought to him by deputies, and thereby obliged the protestants to unite for their common defence, the emperor discovering by his words that he had ill designs against them. In the diet which was to meet at Augsburg in April 1530, but did not however assemble till June, he was resolved to lay the foundation of his projected war against the protestants.

At the opening of the diet, the emperor's chancellor made a long speech, complaining in his master's name of those who had hitherto endeavoured to alter the ancient faith, and cardinal Campegio exhorted the Germans to extirpate the errors that were crept into Germany. That done, the protestants desired, they might declare their belief before the diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour the leave granted them to deliver their confession of faith in writing. The landgrave of Hesse seeing so great partiality in the diet, withdrew without taking leave; whereupon the emperor commanded the gates of Augsburg to be shut, showing, he intended to use violence towards those that remained in the city. But upon the elector of Saxony's remonstrances, he ordered them to be opened. In short, after many debates, he caused to be published in the diet's name, a decree entirely against the protestants, and which upon the hopes he gave them of a general council, obliged them to destroy whatever had been done in point of religion to that day.

The diet ending in this manner, the emperor ordered the archbishop of Mentz to assemble the electors, to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, intending to cause his brother Ferdinand to be chosen. The protestants strenuously opposed this meeting, affirming, there was no occasion to elect a king of the Romans, and demonstrating the inconveniencies which would arise from his design to render the imperial crown as it were hereditary to the house of Austria. In fine, seeing that notwithstanding their remonstrances it was designed to proceed to the election, they met at Smalcald the 22d of December 1530, and concluded a defensive league against all who should attack them on account of religion. Then they made a formal protestation against the intended election of a king of the Romans

League of
Smalcald.

e In one of which, upon the protestants affirming theirs was the ancient religion, the emperor would needs dis-

pute himself, which the Spanish writers say he did with that eagerness, that he drew his dagger. Herbert, p. 150.

without their consent. In this situation were the affairs of religion in Germany about the end of the year 1530.

After the emperor had quitted Italy, the pope's nuntio continually pressed him to pronounce judgment upon the affair of the duke of Ferrara. The pope could not imagine but the judgment would be in his favour, considering the emperor's engagement with him, by the treaty of Barcelona. But whether the emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for some other reason, he gave sentence, that Modena and Reggio belonged of right to the duke of Ferrara; but to satisfy the pope, he should pay a hundred thousand ducats, for which the pope should be obliged to give him the investiture of Ferrara, as granted to his predecessors; and to begin to execute this sentence, he delivered Modena to the duke. The pope, extremely displeas'd with a judgment so different from what he expected, refused to submit to it, and in hopes of seizing Ferrara, would not receive the hundred thousand ducats offer'd him by the duke.

1531.

The emperor disoblige the pope in the affair of Ferrara. Guicciard.

Clement VII. being thus incens'd against the emperor, had great inclination to be reconcil'd with the kings of France and England, imagining he should be received with open arms. Indeed, Francis I. had unwillingly agreed to the treaty of Cambray, and solely because there was no other way to recover his sons. But since he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had lost by that treaty. To this end, he privately labour'd to sow jealousies among the princes, by making them apprehensive of the emperor's ambition, and promising them assistance. As soon as he was inform'd of the pope's discontent, he thought, nothing should be neglect'd to gain him to his interest at so favorable a juncture. Wherefore he propos'd a marriage between Catherine de Medici daughter of the late duke Lorenzo, and the duke of Orleans his second son; an honour to which the family of the Medici durst never aspire, as the king had not offer'd it himself. On the other hand, Henry knowing the union between the pope and the emperor was the sole cause of the obstacles in the affair of the divorce, did not question, he should easily effect his designs, if he could set them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himself to that means. The first was, he could not trust the pope. The second, that he began to find his subjects much more inclin'd to shake off the papal yoke, than he had imagin'd, and therefore did not think himself under a necessity to depend upon the pope.

Francis I. tries to gain the pope.

He offers to marry his son the duke of Orleans with Catherine de Medici. Henry dares not trust the pope.

He thinks himself no longer oblig'd to rely upon him.

1531.

If he had at first humbly addressed to the pope, it was partly because he feared the people's prejudice in favour of Christ's vicar. But when he found this prejudice was not so strong as he had believed, he never troubled himself about the pope's opposition. His kingdom being safe from invasions by land, he had nothing to fear from any prince in Europe, provided his subjects were not terrified with the thunders of the Vatican. But the English were not in that respect the same as formerly. Wickliff had begun to enlighten them; the conduct of the late popes had increased their light; and Luther's books and followers had quite opened their eyes. Since the spreading of the new doctrine in England, the pope's authority was so discredited, that the English for the most part wished for a favourable opportunity to throw off a yoke they had so long groaned under. This made the king resolve to have his cause tried by the parliament and convocation.

He imparts the affair of the divorce to the parliament. Herbert. Burnet.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 390, &c. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

The clergy decide in favour of the king. Burnet.

The parliament meeting the 6th of January, the chancellor opened the session with a speech, declaring, that the king earnestly wished to annul his marriage, not from dishonest motives, as some laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his conscience, and the welfare of the kingdom, being unwilling to leave the succession of the crown in danger of being disputed. Then he caused a great number of books and treatises written on that subject, with abstracts of several authors both antient and modern, to be brought with the determinations of the universities of France, Italy and England, which were all left upon the table to be examined at leisure ^f. The king's design was also brought before the convocation, who declared, they were satisfied the king's marriage was contrary to the law of God. The king required no more at that time. He had another important affair to debate with the clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely, the convocation being informed of the king's intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly

^f The king first brought in the books and determinations of the universities to the house of lords, and after they were read and considered there, the chancellor did on the 20th of March, (or, according to lord Herbert, on the 31st) with twelve lords spiritual and temporal, go down to the house of commons, and shewed them the books, and produced twelve original papers,

with the seals of the universities to them, which sir Brian Tuke read openly in the house; when that was done, the chancellor spoke the speech mentioned above. So that he did not open the session of parliament with it, as Rapin says a few lines above. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 105. Herbert, p. 152. Hall, fol. 195.

knew how much they should want his favour in the business in hand, which was of the utmost consequence.

Cardinal Wolsey had been accused by the attorney general, of exercising in England his Legatine authority without the king's special licence, and of disposing as legate of several benefices, contrary to the statutes of provisors and præmunire. Hence it naturally followed, that those who had owned his authority, and appeared in his courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the clergy were in the same case, since there was scarce one but what had applied to him during the course of his legateship. So, after the king had procured of the convocation an approbation of his proceedings concerning the divorce, he ordered an indictment to be brought into the king's bench against all the clergy, for breaking the laws of the realm ^z. He had in this a double view; the first to draw a good sum from the clergy; the second, to humble that powerful body, and so lessen their great credit with the people, who before had always seen them supported by the royal authority. He knew he should meet with the greatest opposition from the clergy in the affair of the divorce. For that reason, he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them as it were in dependence, and by sowing a kind of division between the clergy and people, by the satisfaction these would probably express at the disgrace of the ecclesiasticks, who had ever treated them with great haughtiness. He thereby put the clergy under a necessity of recurring to the royal protection, and consequently of shewing less zeal for the interest of the court of Rome. This succeeded according to his expectation. In vain did the clergy plead, that the king himself had connived at the cardinal's proceedings. What had not been serviceable to Wolsey, was not capable of excusing them that had owned his authority. So the court proceeded to a sentence, that the clergy were all out of the king's protection, and liable to the pains in the statute of præmunire. The people were extremely pleased, and particularly the favourers of the new religion, to see the clergy humbled to so great a degree. On the other hand, the clergy plainly perceived, that as the laity stood affected, it would be in vain to resist the king. They could expect no more assistance from Rome. Since the pope had quarrelled with the king, he had lost all his

1531.

All the clergy are accused of breaking the statutes of præmunire. Herbert. Burnet.

They are condemned. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

^z Namely, the statutes against provisors and provisors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 106.

1531.

They offer the king 100,000l. An act is drawn up, wherein the clergy calls him head of the church of England.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 413. March 22.

Opposition to that title. Burnet. Herbert.

power; and as the king shewed he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the Vatican were looked upon with contempt. The clergy, in this their ill situation, resolved to purchase the king's favour at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the convocation of Canterbury having debated upon the affair, resolved^h to offer the king a hundred thousand pounds for a pardon. Pursuant to the resolution, some of their members were ordered to draw an act for that purpose. Probably, they who were charged with this commission were friends of the court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the king a prerogative which none of his predecessors had ever enjoyed. Lord Herbert and doctor Burnet say, the convocation resolved to present a petition to the king, to pray him to accept of a hundred thousand pounds. But as this instrument is extant in the collection of the publick acts, it may now be spoken of with greater exactness. It was not a petition, but a publick act of the clergy, in form of letters patents, whereby they gave that sum to the king. It was said in the instrument, that it was, first, in consideration of his great merit. Secondly, in testimony of the clergy's gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the catholick church, as well by his pen as his sword. Thirdly, for his zeal against the Lutherans, who were labouring to destroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknowledged the king sole protector, and supreme headⁱ. Lastly, in hopes he would be pleased to grant the clergy and all their members, a pardon of all the offences committed against the statutes of provisors and præmunire.

When this instrument was read in the convocation, many disliked that the clergy should be made to say, that they acknowledged the king for protector and supreme head of the church of England. Some imagined, it was inserted through inadvertency and excessive flattery, whereof the penners of the instrument had not considered the consequence. Others said, it was intended to surprize the convocation, by inserting these words in the body of an instrument, which was only to grant a sum to the king. They added, these words, which seemed to be put in by accident, and without

^h On January 24. This sum was to be levied in five years. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 414.

ⁱ — Cujus singularem protectorem, unicum & supremum dominum, &

quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.—Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 414.

1531.

design, were however of very great consequence, and as the convocation had not taken any resolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But on the other hand, those who were in the secret, pretended the words could not be put out by a formal resolve, without displeasing the king, and giving him occasion to refuse the offered compensation. This caused such debates, that they were forced to put off the decision of the affair to the next day. It was not without reason that several dreaded the consequence which might very naturally be drawn from these words, since it was evident, the clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the pope no longer head of the church of England, which could not have two supreme heads at once. This was in effect the king's intention, as well as theirs who had penned or drawn the instrument, as plainly appeared the next day. Thomas Cromwell, with others of the king's council, going to the convocation very clearly hinted, that the point in debate yesterday was very agreeable to the king, and he could not but consider the opposers as very disaffected persons. After such a declaration, there was not one that durst directly oppose it, especially as the archbishop and several other prelates openly maintained, that the king was truly the supreme head of the church of England. So the act passed as it was drawn. Only some moved to add this restriction, as far "as is consistent with the law of Christ." But it was not the king's intention to leave a door for those to escape, who should hereafter dispute his supremacy ^k. The instrument being sealed the 22d of March, was presented to the king, who very graciously accepted both the clergy's present, and his new title, of which he afterwards made great use. The convocation of the province of York resolved likewise to give the king eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds. But as they omitted in the grant to acknowledge the king supreme head of the church of England, they were told, that their present would not be accepted, if they spoke not like the convocation of Canterbury. So the clergy of York province were forced to insert the same acknowledgment in their instrument. In this

The king extorts the clergy's consent.
Herbert.
Burnet.

^k Though archbishop Parker and our author say, the act passed without the restriction, yet it appears by several passages in Henry's letter to bishop Tunstal, who in the convocation at York had protested against it; that the words *quantum per Christi legem*

licet were inserted, and the act so passed, by nine bishops, (the bishop of Rochester being one) and fifty two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower house of convocation, and particularly Stephen Gardiner. Burnet, vol. I. p. 112. Herbert, p. 151.

1531.

The clergy of York province are forced to follow the example of those of Canterbury.

manner the king procured, or rather extorted from the clergy, the title of supreme head of the church of England. It is certain, that though some freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion¹. This is evident from the method used to obtain it. The acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have seen, by Warham archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cromwell, and some others, who verily believed there was no occasion for the pope. Those who flattered themselves at first, that the words were inserted without design in the instrument brought into the convocation of Canterbury, might have seen their error, if they had attended to another article in the same instrument, and which was also inserted in that of the province of York, namely, that the clergy did promise for the future neither to make nor execute any constitution without the king's licence. This was, in other words, acknowledging the king for supreme head of the church of England. We shall see hereafter what use Henry made of this new title.

Pardon granted to the clergy. The commons want the laity to be included in it. The king offended at it. The pardon passes. The laity pardoned. See Statut. Herbert. Burnet. Stow. Monasteries compound with the king. The people rejoice at the clergy's disgrace.

The king being satisfied with the clergy, granted them a pardon in ample form. But when the pardon was brought into the house of commons, they refused to pass it, unless the laity, who might have been guilty of the same offences, were also included^m. Henry offended at their opposition, sent them word, he would be master of his own favours, and not suffer them to be forced from him. The king's resolution terrified the commons, who to avoid his indignation, passed the pardon as it was, throwing themselves upon his mercy as to what concerned the laity. Then the king, satisfied with their submission, granted to his temporal subjects a pardon like that to his spiritual. It seems however, that the colleges and monasteries were excepted, who not being included in the pardons, were forced to compound with the king, as we find in the collection of the publick acts.

So far were the people from rising, (as they would doubtless have done, had they been under the same prejudice with their ancestors in the reigns of Henry II. and king John;) that on the contrary, joy was visibly painted on their faces, being highly delighted to see the clergy humbled. Thus

¹ When archbishop Warham, upon some not speaking for or against it, said, that silence was to be taken for consent, they cried out, we are all silent then. Herbert, p. 851.

^m They apprehended, that, either

they might be brought into trouble, or at least their having transgressed the statutes, might be made use of to draw a subsidy from them. Burnet, tom. I. p. 113.

that body, so formidable heretofore, instead of daring to resist the king, were constrained to fly to his protection, because they saw plainly, the people shewed no concern at their disgrace, and they had no remedy elsewhere ⁿ.

When the pope heard what had passed in England, he was terribly embarrassed. He saw Henry pursuing such measures as would probably be attended with fatal consequences. However, he durst not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which he foresaw would not be to his advantage. Besides his not being pleased with the emperor, he saw him upon the point of being fully employed by the Turks, and the German protestants, at a time when France and England were in strict union. So, perceiving no assistance speedy enough, in case he should attempt to exert his authority, he chose to be silent, in expectation of a proper season to act, or at least to be reconciled to the king.

This affair being ended, Henry prorogued the parliament ^o. Then he ordered the determinations of the universities to be printed, with the opinions of the learned concerning his marriage, that against the next session every one might be informed of the state of the case and of his motives to prosecute the divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the queen, his intent was to marry Anne Bullen, he passionately wished the queen would be persuaded to consent to the divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might arise from her obstinacy. To that purpose, he

The pope dissembles his sentiments. Herbert. Burnet.

Henry tries in vain to bring the queen to consent to the divorce. Herbert. Burnet. Strype's Mem. Hall. Hollingsh.

ⁿ During this session of parliament, one Richard Rouse, a cook, on the 16th of February, poisoned some soup in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons were mortally infected; one of the gentlemen died of it, and some poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder, were also infected, one woman dying. The person was apprehended, and by act of parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted and sentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Mariae I.) The sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after. Burnet. Stow, p. 560. Hall, fol. 199.

^o It was prorogued, on March 31, to the 13th of October. The most

remarkable statutes enacted during this session, were: 1. That no master, wardens, or fellowship of crafts, and trades, nor any rulers of fraternities, take from henceforth of any apprentice, or any other person, for the entry of any apprentice into their said fellowship, above two shillings and sixpence; nor for his entry, when his years and term is expired, above three shillings and four pence, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. 2. That four justices of the peace in every shire, whereof one to be of the quorum, shall have power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine, in the general sessions of the peace, all matters relating to bridges and highways. This act also explains by whom bridges and highways are to be repaired. See Statute, 21 Hen. VIII.

1531. sent some bishops and lay-lords^p, earnestly to press her, either to consent to the divorce, or refer the decision of the affair to four prelates and four seculars. But as she could not be prevailed with to desist from her appeal to the pope^q, he sent her word to chuse where she would reside in any of his manors, and, the 14th of July 1531, took his leave of her, at Windsor, intending never to see her more^r.

What had lately passed in the parliament and convocation encouraged the well-wishers to a reformation in the church, to which they already saw some preparatives. For this reason, religious disputes became more frequent and publick than formerly. But the king perceiving what inferences would be drawn from his first proceedings, was pleased to show, that in throwing off the papal yoke, he designed not to strike at the fundamental truths of religion. So, to frustrate those who had any such thought, he commanded the laws against hereticks to be rigorously executed. This occasioned the death of three protestants, namely, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynham, of whom the two first were burnt this year, and the other in the following April^s.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, the affairs of Germany were more embroiled. In the beginning of the year, Ferdinand of Austria king of Bohemia and Hungary was elected king of the Romans, notwithstanding the protestation of the confederates of Smalcald, and crowned a few days after at Aix la Chapelle. This was in consequence of a league concluded between the catholick princes of Germany in the foregoing November. But this league was offensive, whereas that of Smalcald was only defensive. Never had the protestants any design to force the consciences of such as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the catholick league was to compel the protestants to return to the church, they had forsaken. These protested against Ferdinand's election as unnecessary and contrary to the usual forms. But their protestation had no effect.

^p Of his council, the last day of May, to Greenwich. Herbert, p. 153. Hall, fol. 199.

^q Her answer to the lords was, "That she prayed God to send the king a quiet conscience, but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome declared the contrary." Burnet, tom. I. p. 114. Hall, fol. 200.

^r She removed first to Moor, then to Easthamstead, and at last to Ampt-hill, where she stayed longer. Burnet, tom. I. p. 114.

^s Thomas Bilney, batchelor of both laws, was burnt August 19. Bayfield, a monk of Bury, November 27, 1531, and Baynham, a gentleman and lawyer, April 30, 1532. See Fox.

The rest of the year was spent in sundry negotiations, wherein the emperor seemed to have no other aim than to adjust the religious differences, though in effect his design was only to amuse the protestants, and hinder them from taking measures for their defence, when they should be attacked, As they were not ignorant of his artifices, they writ on that subject to the kings of France and England, who returned them favourable answers, with a promise of assistance in case it was attempted to oppress them. Not that these two monarchs desired to countenance the reformation, but it was their interest to protect the German protestants, because their destruction could not but exceedingly increase the emperor's power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that prince intended to execute his vast designs.

Whilst the emperor was forming projects to become master of Germany, under colour of supporting the interests of religion and the empire, Francis I. was trying to create him troubles capable of producing some change which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to sign the treaty of Cambray threw him upon earnestly seeking means to repair his losses, and especially to recover Genoa and Milan. To that end, he carested or threatened the pope, according as he saw it proper to use one or other of these means, and put the protestants of Germany in hopes of a powerful assistance, in case they were attacked by the emperor. But chiefly he laboured to secure the king of England, because he could be most serviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as possible, in his resolution to push the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the emperor and the pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the justice due to him was obstinately refused, he would join in a league with him to withdraw their dominions from the tyrannical power of the court of Rome. Then, fearing he would agree with the emperor, he advised him speedily to marry Anne Bullen, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their breach. Nay he sent a letter to the pope, wherein he appeared no less concerned than Henry himself in the affair of the divorce. Among other things he told him, that if out of complaisance or fear he continued to be governed by the emperor, he must not think it strange that the king of England should endeavour to procure by extraordinary means the just satisfaction he had so long expected in vain; adding,

1532.

Francis tries to raise the emperor troubles. Guicciard. Mezerai.

Herbert.

† And also stirred up the Turks to invade the German dominions. Herbert, p. 154.

1532.

that his interests were so strictly united with Henry's, that he was indispensibly obliged to assist to the utmost of his power a prince of whom he gloried to be the perpetual ally. In short, he prayed him to consider, whether it was prudent to give those, who could not be compelled to obey the opportunity and will to withdraw their obedience. But Clement seeing only the emperor's forces in Italy, took care not to follow such dangerous counsels.

Francis and Henry try to frighten the emperor and pope. Burnet.

They make two treaties to that end.

A&T. Pub. XIV. p. 435. June 23. Herbert.

Divers reports about the treaty.

The two kings finding at length it was impossible to gain the pope, resolved upon an interview, to contrive means to break the emperor's measures. But they thought proper first to spread a report, they were going to make a new league, in order to frighten the pope, and hinder him from closing again with the emperor, from whom he was a little alienated by the affair of Ferrara. Accordingly, they concluded a league at London signed the 23d of June. But it is manifest the treaty was made only with the forementioned view, since it contained but two articles that could have reasonably alarmed the pope or the emperor, had they been known to them. The first was, that in case the emperor seized the English merchants effects in the Low Countries, the king of France would do the same with respect to the emperor's subjects, the Germans excepted: nay, this article was guarded by so many restrictions on the part of the French king, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a treaty. By the second, if the king of England was attacked by the emperor, Francis was to send him an aid of five hundred lances, and if the king of France was invaded, Henry was to assist him with a body of foot not exceeding five thousand men^u. As the publick was not acquainted with the particulars of the treaty, several reports were spread. Some said, the two kings had agreed to join in the league of Smalcald, or at least, to send a powerful aid to the German protestants. Others fancied, that as the Turks threatened Austria, and the emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that country, Francis would invade at the same time the duchy of Milan, and Henry carry war into the Low Countries. All these reports, though uncertain, made the emperor very uneasy, because they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

^u When the French ambassador in England, returned into France, king Henry sent by him fifty thousand

crowns, to be employed in the defence of the rights and privileges of the empire. Herbert, p. 154.

The interview of the two kings between Calais and Boulogne was not till October ^w. They had principally two things in view. The first, to divert the blame thrown on them by the emperor, in spreading over all Europe, that whilst Christendom was going to be invaded by the infidels, they remained idle spectators of the danger, without offering the least assistance to those who were preparing to defend her. Their other view was, to keep the Italians and Germans in the expectation of a fresh war, for fear they should become too compliant to the emperor's will. To effect their design, they gave one another letters patents; whereby they engaged jointly to raise an army of eighty thousand men to stop the progress of the Turks, and to lead the same either into Germany or Italy, as there should be occasion. But this pretended agreement was never put into the form of a treaty. Du Tillet speaks of it in his inventory of the treaties between France and England, by the name of letters of agreement: But there are no signs of it in the collection of the publick acts of England. Wherefore it is not probable, these two monarchs desired to execute this pretended project, the sole aim whereof was to justify them to the world and inspire the emperor and pope with terror. Doubtless that was the reason of their affecting to publish it.

During the interview, Henry complained much of the pope, and Francis even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the Gallican church on account of the court of Rome's exactions. But this was only to amuse Henry, since he was at that very time in secret negotiation with the pope concerning the duke of Orleans his second son's marriage with Catherine de Medici. It manifestly appears by that prince's whole conduct, that his sole aim was to make the king of England's friendship subservient to gain the pope, in order to recover Genoa and Milan, which he had always in view. Wherefore he outwardly expressed a strong attachment to Henry's interest. He even pressed him not to stay for the pope's dispensation to marry his mistress, who was present at the interview, having lately been made marchioness of Pembroke ^x. Whilst the two kings were together, they feasted one another several times, a particular account whereof is needless in this place. Henry

1532.

Francis and
Henry's
interview;
Hall,
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Francis's
Designs.

He advises
Henry to
marry Anne
Bullen.

^w King Henry landed at Calais, October 11, and the interview was on the 20th. See an account of the nobility, and other remarkable persons that attended him, in Hall, fol. 206,

&c. Stow, p. 561.

^x September 1, with a pension of a thousand pounds a year. Hall, fol. 206.

1532. The kings visit one another. Henry marries Anne Bullen. Burnet. T. III. p. 70. Hall. The Turks threaten Hungary. The emperor is at a loss. Sleidan.

came to see Francis at Boulogne, and Francis returned his visit at Calais ^y. They parted the 30th of October to return, the one to Paris, the other to London. But by reason of the bad weather, Henry staid some days at Calais ^z, where it is said he privately married Ann Bullen ^a. It is more probable however, as some affirm, that it was not till the January following ^b.

During this whole year, the emperor was greatly embarrassed. Soliman emperor of the Turks threatned to invade Hungary with a powerful army, which he accordingly did. Germany was in trouble, because the protestants who had now been menaced, were taking effectual measures for their defence, and refused to acknowledge Ferdinand of Austria for king of the Romans. On the other hand, the emperor was not ignorant of the pope's discontent on account of the duke of Ferrara's affair, and that the kings of France and England were using their utmost endeavours to draw him off from his party, in order to disturb Italy. Moreover, the Italians were quiet, only because there was still an imperial army in Italy and no preparation in France to support them, in case they attempted to hold up their head. Mean while, in the midst of this seeming tranquility, they eagerly wished to see some revolutions to free them from their apprehensions of the emperor's over-grown power. In fine, the interview of Francis and Henry extremely troubled the emperor, apprehensive as he was, that if Soliman prospered in Hungary, they would embrace that opportunity to invade the duchy of

^y Francis went back from Boulogne with Henry, in this order, that while Francis was on French ground, he gave place, but when he came to the English pale, Henry gave him the precedence. Being now come near Calais, the duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, a goodly young gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The lodging which Francis was brought to, was most richly furnished with cloth of gold and tissue, imbroidered in some places with pearls and precious stones. There several services were brought in a hundred and seventy dishes, all of massy gold. The marchioness of Pembroke made them a curious and rich mask, in which both kings danced. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were made knights of St. Michael. Stow says, there was no less than eight thousand persons in Calais on this oc-

caison. See Hall, fol. 207, &c.

^z He returned to England Novemb. 14. Hall, fol. 209.

^a Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, celebrated the marriage in the presence of archbishop Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, her father, mother, and brothers. Herbert, p. 161.

^b January 25. Others say it was November 14. Stow, p. 562. Hall, fol. 209. Burnet, T. I. p. 126. The news of this marriage was soon carried to Rome. The pope published, on November 15, a brief against king Henry, in which he exhorted him, to bring back the queen, and to put Anne away, within a month after the receipt of the brief; otherwise he excommunicated both him and Anne. Burnet, T. III. p. 17.

Milan and the Low Countries. It was necessary therefore to think without loss of time of preventing the dangers which might proceed from all these quarters, and to begin with the most urgent affair, the satisfying of the protestants in order to have their assistance against the Turks. To that purpose, he came the beginning of the year to the diet of Ratisbon, where he found means to negotiate with the protestants an agreement, whereby no person was to be disturbed on account of religion till a council was called. He intended not punctually to perform an agreement, extorted from him by necessity. He received however this benefit by it, That all the princes and states of Germany, as well protestant as catholic, furnished him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to assemble an army of eighty thousand foot and thirty thousand horse.

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The diet of Ratisbon grants something in favour of the protestants.

Charles obtains an aid.

Whilst this army was forming, the emperor, willing to sound the king of France's intentions, sent and desired his assistance against the Turks, but received an unsatisfactory answer, which, added to the interview of the two kings, confirmed his suspicion that they were contriving something against him. But Soliman hastening his campaign in Hungary, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the mischief he feared from the two confederate kings. Indeed, the Turks not only advanced into Hungary, but even into Austria, with design to give him battle. But he wisely avoided it, since in losing it he would have been without refuge, and Austria with part of Germany would inevitably have fallen under the dominion of the Turks. Whereas by standing, as he did, upon the defensive, with an army of above a hundred thousand men, he prevented them from making any considerable progress, and compelled them at length to return into their own country. As soon as he had certain advice that Soliman was upon his march to Constantinople, he departed for Italy, from whence he designed to return into Spain.

He suspects the king of France.
P. Daniel,

His campaign against the Turks
Guicciard.
Herbert.

He passes into Italy.

About the middle of November he came to Bologna, where the pope waited to confer with him. As their designs were very opposite, there was not that harmony between them, as at their interview in the year 1529. The emperor thought only of securing Italy, and preventing the king of France's return. The pope, on the contrary, wished to keep him always uneasy on that account, as well to render himself necessary as to be freed from a state of dependence. The emperor required the pope to call a council in Germany, otherwise he saw no possibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the

He confers with the pope at Bologna.
Guicciard.

protestants.

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He demands
a council.
P. Daniel.

He proposes
a league for
the safety
of Italy.
Guicciard.

protestants. But after what had passed at Constance and Basil, the very name of a council was become so odious to the court of Rome, that Clement VII. could not resolve to call one. He knew what had befallen John XXII. and Eugenius IV. and therefore had no mind to have his authority questioned. The emperor demanded moreover the pope's consent to a league, he intended to form between all the states of Italy, to which each should contribute in proportion to its forces, in order to secure the country from all invasion. That is to say, he would have in Italy an army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the duchy of Milan, in case the French king should think of invading it. The pope approved of the project, not in order to keep Italy in its present situation, since it was very much to his prejudice that the emperor should remain so powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the German and Spanish troops, who were a terror to the Italians. He foresaw that a league of so many parties, whose interests were different, would not long subsist, and that after it was broken, he should himself become more necessary and considerable. He desired only that the Venetians should come into the league, and bear their part of the charge. In short, the emperor farther demanded of the pope, that he should give his niece Catherine de Medici to the duke of Milan; his aim being to engage him for his niece's sake in the defence of the Milanese, for fear in the end the king of France should find a favourable opportunity to gain him to his interest. But Clement alledged against this proposal, his engagement with the king of France, who had done him the honour to demand Catherine for the duke his second son. He represented to the emperor, that he could not prefer the duke of Milan to the duke of Orleans, without making the king of France his irreconcilable enemy, who would never forgive such an affront. So their whole negotiation ended only in the projected league, in which the Venetians refused to be included. They contented themselves with promising the emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement with respect to the duchy of Milan. In fine, the emperor having sent for ambassadors from Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, it was endeavoured for some time to settle the terms of the league. But the dispute between the pope and the duke of Ferrara very much retarded the conclusion, because the duke would not come into the league before he was secure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the emperor prevailed with the pope to allow the duke an eight months respite. This affair

was

was the reason the league could not be signed till February the next year.

How the English stood affected as to religion.

Henry's proceedings against the clergy, and his disposition with regard to the pope, greatly encouraged those who longed to see a reformation in the church. To conceive a right notion how the English stood affected in this respect, it is necessary to know what the people's sentiments were concerning religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the reformation of the pope's exorbitant power and the clergy's immunities, there was scarce an Englishman, if you except all or most of the ecclesiasticks, but what heartily wished it. It was now three hundred years since the parliament first began to endeavour it, but without a perfect success, because it was contrary to the interest of the kings. But as for a reformation of doctrine, the well-wishers to it were very far from being the majority, These were not sufficiently numerous to venture to propose it openly, especially as they were not countenanced by the king. But when the pope's excessive authority, or the pride and riches of the clergy were exclaimed against, they boldly joined with the rest of the people, without fear of being discovered, because that was the sentiment of all the people, or at least of almost all the laity. But in expressing their zeal against the clergy, their aim was to promote the reformation of doctrine, because they knew the chief obstacle would always proceed from the governors of the church. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough reformation. So, among those that wished to reduce within due bounds the papal power, and the clergy's immunities, there were doubtless many who had no farther views, and imagined the reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped that after taking this first step, it would be impossible to stop, wherein they had for warrant what had happened in Germany. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by showing them too soon the consequences of the first step, in the business of the reformation.

The parliament meeting the 15th of January 1532, the commons were almost unanimously inclined to redress the grievances so long complained of in vain, with respect to the papal power and the ecclesiastical privileges. There had never been so favourable an opportunity. When formerly the parliaments were disposed to make any attempt of this nature, the kings were unwilling to concur with them, because the state of their affairs permitted them not to break

The commons are inclined to reduce the power of the clergy.
Herbert.
Hall.

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entirely with Rome. But the affair of the divorce had put things upon another foot. The king was dissatisfied with the pope, and considered the clergy both secular and regular as secret enemies, by reason of their attachment to the court of Rome. So, his interest required that the pope and clergy should be humbled, and division sown between them and the people, knowing that the former could hurt him only in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what foreigners might do, he thought himself in no danger, so long as he remained strictly united with France, and the more, as the emperor was then employed by his war with the Turks, and the troubles of Germany.

Address presented to the king.
The king's answer.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

All this being artfully insinuated to the house of commons, they presented an address to the king^c, praying him to consent to a reformation of sundry grievances, occasioned by the immunities of the clergy^d. The king answered, that before he gave his consent to their request, which seemed to him of great moment, he wished to hear what the clergy had to say for themselves. But under this show of equity, his intent was to intimate to the clergy, how much they wanted his protection, since he could either promote or restrain the proceeding of the commons as he pleased. Some time after, the parliament passed certain acts, which only glanced at some of the clergy's privileges, the people had most reason to complain of^e. But for that time, the reformation was carried no farther. Nay, care was taken to make the ecclesiasticks amends, by passing an act to release them from the payment of annates^f, which was become a heavy burden. The act ran, that the kingdom was daily impoverished by the great sums paid to the see of Rome, for first-fruits, for

Statutes against the clergy.

Act concerning annates, or first fruits.

^c Or rather a list of their grievances comprized in a book. It was presented April 30. Herbert, p. 155. Hall, fol. 205.

^d They complained of the proceedings of the spiritual courts, and especially their calling men before them, ex officio, and laying articles to their charge without any accuser; and then admitting no purgation, but causing the party accused, either to abjure, or to be burnt, Burnet, T. I. p. 116. Hall, fol. 202.

^e By some of these statutes it was enacted, 1. That no person in holy orders, convict of petit treason, wilful murder, &c. shall be admitted to make his purgation before the ordinary, and

be set at liberty; but shall remain in prison, till he has given sureties for his good behaviour. 2. That clerks convict, breaking the prisons of their ordinaries, shall be adjudged felons. There were also other good statutes made; for erecting goals in several parts of the kingdom; against perjury, and untrue verdicts; about the commission of sewers; that no person shall be cited out of the diocese where he lives, except in some particular cases; as also against making feoffments of estates to chauntries, parish churches, &c. See Statut. 23. Henry VIII.

^f Or the first fruits of the bishopricks.

palls,

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palls, for bulls, &c. That since the second year of the reign of Henry VII. one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been paid to those uses, and that more was like to be shortly exported, by reason many of the bishops were very aged: that besides, the annates were first introduced only as a contribution for the war against the infidels, to which however they were never applied. And therefore it was enacted, that all payments of annates should cease for the future: that as for the bulls, there should only be paid five pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the bishopricks. That if, on account of this regulation, bulls should be denied by the pope, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the archbishop of the province for his consecration: that in case the archbishop should refuse it on pretence of want of palls, bulls, and the like, any two bishops appointed by the king should perform the office, and the bishop so consecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheless the parliament declared, it should be in the king's power to null or confirm the act within such a time; and if in this interval, he should make an amicable composition with the court of Rome, it should have the force and authority of a law. But if, upon this act, the pope should pretend to vex the realm by excommunications or interdicts, such censures should neither be regarded nor published, and, all interdicts notwithstanding, the priests might lawfully, without any scruples of conscience, celebrate divine service as before ^z.

Mean while, among the great number of representatives in the house of Commons, there were several who were entirely against a rupture with the pope. They perceived however, it would infallibly follow upon the king's divorce. Wherefore they used all possible endeavours to prevent it. One Temse a member of parliament was so hardy as to move, that the house should go in a body and address the king to take his queen again. Henry hearing of this, sent for Thomas Audley the speaker, and in his person severely reprimanded the commons, for suffering a motion to

Boldness of a
commoner.
Herbert.
Hall.
Burnet,

The king
reprimands
the com-
mons,

^z This bill began in the house of lords; from whence it was sent to the commons, and being agreed to by them, received the royal assent, but had not the final confirmation mentioned in the act, before the 9th of July 1533, and then by letters patents, in which the

act is at length recited, it was confirmed. Par. Rolls. By this act was laid the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome. This act is not in the statute book. Burnet, T. I. p. 117, 118.

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be made concerning an affair which fell not under their cognizance ^h.

He wills them to consider the bishops oaths. Burnet. Hall.

Some days after ^l, the king sent again for the speaker, and told him, that having compared the oath taken by the bishops to the pope with that they took to the king, it seemed to him they were but half subjects, and therefore he desired the commons to examine the matter, and take care of the interests of the crown. But the plague which raged then at London, and constrained the parliament to break up presently after ^k, hindered the commons from debating upon this affair at that time ^l.

The pope complains of the acts abolishing the annates. Burnet. The king's agents answer.

The power given the king by the parliament to abolish the annates, or make an amicable composition with the pope, was a clear evidence that the act had been procured by the intrigues of the court. The pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained to the king's agents, he was told, he might have saved himself that vexation, and there was still a remedy, since the king had power to repeal the act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it, the king would behave according as he had reason to be satisfied with his proceedings.

Thomas More resigns the great seal, Burnet. Hall. which is given to sir Thomas Audley. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 433, 439. p. 446.

Thomas More, who was lord chancellor, and a person of excellent judgment, foresaw now, the king's proceedings would in the end produce a total rupture with Rome. He would have readily consented that some abuses should be reformed. But he found, as matters were managed, the reformation would go much farther than he desired. He put great difference between withdrawing entirely from the pope's obedience, and retrenching some of his usurpations. So, being unwilling to be instrumental in the rupture, he resigned the great seal on the 16th of May. Some days after, the king made sir Thomas Audley, lord keeper of the great seal, till the 26th of January 1533, when he was made lord chancellor.

^h He told the speaker moreover, it touched his soul; he wished his marriage were good, but the learned had determined it to be null and detestable, and therefore he was obliged in conscience to abstain from her, which he assured him flowed from no lust, or foolish appetite. He was then forty one years old, and at that age those heats abate. But except in Spain and Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a man married two sisters; and he never heard that any christian before

himself, had married his brother's wife. Therefore he assured him his conscience was troubled, which he desired him to report to the house. Ibid. p. 122. Hall, fol. 205.

ⁱ May 11. Hall, fol. 205.

^k It was adjourned on May 14, to February the 3d, 1533. Hall, fol. 206.

^l Hall, Burnet, and lord Herbert, place Henry's interview with Francis, after this session of parliament.

Whilft

Whilst Henry used sundry means to show the pope his danger, in obstinately refusing what he required, the emperor was no less ardently endeavouring to obtain a sentence in favour of queen Catherine. The way these two monarchs applied to the pope was not by humble intreaties, but by menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and slow to resolve upon things that required a speedy resolution. By these two opposite demands he saw himself indeed between the hammer and anvil, as he said himself in the beginning of the affair. On the other hand, he found by Henry's late proceedings, that England was going to be lost to him and his successors. This consideration was very capable of putting him upon seeking expedients to content that monarch, without prejudice to the honour of the holy see. He would thereby have preserved a kingdom which had been ever devoted to the popes, and from whence they had drawn large revenues. But on the other hand, the emperor had still an army in Italy, and was able to revenge his refusal. Clement of all things feared the loss of Florence, which the emperor could take from him with more ease than he had procured him the possession. It is no wonder therefore, if this fear, being the most imminent, prevailed. It would be a great mistake to ascribe to the pope any motives of justice, equity, good, and benefit of the church, or religion. These things for some time had served only for preambles to bulls. His own and his family's interest was the sole rule of his conduct. So, finding himself extremely pressed by the emperor to pass sentence upon queen Catherine's appeal, he could no longer be excused from giving him some satisfaction ^m. He declared therefore to the English agents ⁿ, that having long expected in vain that their master would of himself return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to Rome. Henry having notice of it, sent with all speed Edward Karne, doctor of law, with the new character of excusator, to alledge the reasons against a citation to which the king of England could not be liable. Karne coming to Rome in March ^o, the pope scrupled to receive him as excusator, a character whereof there was no precedent to be found in the chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a congregation, which

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The emperor and Henry equally threaten the pope ; Burnet. who is at a great loss.

His own interest prevails.

Herbert. Burnet.

Karne sent to Rome as the king's excusator. Herbert. Burnet.

^m He writ, on January 25, to king Henry, to exhort him a second time to take again his wife. See Herbert, p. 156. Burnet, T. I. p. 118.

ⁿ Sir George Cassali, and doctor

William Benet. Herbert, p. 158.

^o He was accompanied by doctor Edmond Bonner. Burnet, T. I. p. 120.

1532. made no haste to give their opinion, that the excusator might not have power, before he was acknowledged, to oppose the resolutions already taken.

A new delay granted the king.
Burnet.

The pope's offers.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The king's answer.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 125.

The king protests against the citation.
Act Pub. XIV. p. 416, 422.
Burnet.
Herbert.
He makes the pope three offers, which are rejected.

At last, in a consistory the eighth of July, it was resolved, that, without examining the king of England's reasons for not appearing in person, he should be intreated to send to Rome a proxy to defend his cause. Mean while, as the vacation which was to last till the first of October, was then just begun, a delay till that time was tacitly given the king. During this interval, the pope sent him a brief to require him to send a proxy to Rome. At the same time he caused the following overtures to be made him: that the affair of the divorce should be examined in any indifferent place by a legate and two auditors of the Rota; which done; the pope himself would pass sentence. Secondly, That all the sovereign princes of Christendom should agree to a truce of three or four years, within which time the pope promised to call a general council. The king replied by Sir Thomas Elliot who was sent on purpose, That he could not agree to a truce without the king of France's concurrence. Secondly, That it was not a proper juncture to call a council. Lastly, As for the affair of the divorce, being king of England, he was to take care of the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the realm, which allowed not that any process should be tried in a foreign court. That besides, the canons of the church expressly decreed, that all matrimonial causes should be judged in the countries where the parties resided.

To these reasons he added a protestation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, and tacked to the protestation the determinations of some universities ^p, he had consulted. However, he proposed three things to the pope. First, he required that the case should be decided by the archbishop of Canterbury and two other bishops, or else by the whole clergy of the kingdom. But it must be observed, that the see of Canterbury had been vacant since August by Warham's death ^q, and if the pope had closed with this proposal, the king would not have failed to fill the see with a prelate devoted to him. His second offer was, that the cause should be judged by four arbitrators, one to be named by the king ^r, another

^p Those of Orleans and Paris. See 560.
Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 416, &c.

^r Either the bishop of London, or Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 161.

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by the queen, a third by the king of France, and that the archbishop of Canterbury should be the fourth. In the third place, he proposed that the cause being judged by the archbishop, or by umpires, if the queen should think fit to appeal from the sentence, the appeal should be brought before three judges, whereof he would name one, the pope another, and the king of France a third. The pope replied to these proposals, that he saw the king would not recede from his pretended rights, and therefore it should not be thought strange that he resolved to preserve his own.

It is however certain, if the pope durst have satisfied the king, he would gladly have done it, by reason of his fear to lose England entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were; he would have readily overlooked them all. For, supposing the unlimited power assumed by the pope, it was as easy for Clement VII. to null Henry's marriage, as it was for Julius II. to grant a dispensation. But he had to manage the honour of his see, and the interests of the emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his threats. Had not the emperor been concerned in the affair, it would have been very easy to find an expedient to content the king, without prejudice to the papal authority. It was only to assure the king, the cause should be decided in his favour, and he would have willingly agreed that the pope should have been the sole judge. But the pope could give him no such assurance by reason of the emperor's opposition; and therefore Henry could not resolve to put the affair into his hands at the hazard of being condemned. Upon this account it was that he proposed infallible expedients to gain his cause. But on the other hand, the pope could not accept of these expedients, without injuring his dignity. Thus the affair was solely retarded by the emperor's interposition. Had it not been for him, the pope would have contented the king, and the king would have submitted to the pope, and remained as before an obedient son of the holy see. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the king's proceedings as well in the late parliament as afterwards, flowed not so much from his real opinion that the papal authority was usurped, as from his seeing no other way to be delivered from his present difficulties, than by denying it to be in the pope's power to do what Julius II. had done. It is however very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the truth of what he asserted at first only out of necessity. On the other hand, if the pope passed sen-

All the obstacles to the divorce come from the emperor.

tence

1532.

tence against Henry, as we shall see presently, it was not from a belief that his marriage with Catherine was lawful, but solely to save the honour of the holy see, and through fear of the emperor. And here who can forbear admiring the secret ways of providence, which rendered a reconciliation between the pope and the king impracticable, in order to produce an event which was to be attended with so momentous consequences for England?

Henry is cited to Rome. Herbert. Burnet.

At length the vacation being over, Henry was cited the fourth of October to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, and Karne solemnly protested ^s against the citation. What has been said happened before the emperor's arrival at Bologna. Clement VII. who was going immediately after the citation to confer with that prince, promised Karne that all proceedings should be suspended, so long as the emperor was in Italy. This was all the favour Karne could obtain ^t.

Affairs between England and Scotland. Buchanan. Herbert. Hall. Hollingsh.

Whilst Henry seemed wholly employed in the affair of his divorce, a quarrel arose between England and Scotland. Buchanan pretends, Henry willing to take the advantage of his union with France, and imagining, Francis I. would suffer him to oppress king James, made inroads into Scotland ^u, as if he intended to renew the war. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture was, that the Scots had spoken some injurious words against the English. Be this as it will, the king of Scotland being prepared for his defence; Henry thought not fit to pursue his design. He chose rather to agree that the difference should be decided by the king of France's mediation, who for that purpose sent an ambassador to Newcastle. The king of Scotland was so offended with Francis for so coolly espousing his cause, that he was going to join with the emperor. But at length all was hap-

^s On November 14. Herbert, p. 159.

^t King Henry having obtained from cardinal Wolsey, a grant of the archbishop of York's palace at Westminster, then called York Place, now Whitehall; and got a confirmation of the cardinal's grant from the chapter of the cathedral of York; did also this year purchase the hospital of St. James, founded by the citizens of London, before the time of any man's memory, for fourteen leprous maidens; and built in the room of it, the palace now called St. James's, to which he an-

nexed the park, and enclosed it with a brick wall. Hall, fol. 203. Stow's Survey; b. VI. p. 4. — About June this year, the pope granted king Henry, by a bull, a commission to erect six new bishopricks, to be endowed by monasteries that were to be suppressed. Burnet, T. I. p. 121. This design was at first formed by cardinal Wolsey, as appears from Rymer's Fed. tom. XIV. p. 273, 291.

^u He ordered sir Arthur Darcy to make those inroads, pretending for cause thereof the restitution of the Douglasses. Herbert, p. 166.

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pily adjusted, and the two kings of England and Scotland remained friends as before.

League concluded at Rome for the security of Italy. Guicciard.

It was not for Henry's interest to undertake a war against Scotland, when he was to prepare for his defence against the emperor. It was very probable, the pope had not engaged to judge queen Catherine's appeal without being first assured, that the emperor, the queen's nephew, would execute the sentence. This indeed was his design, but the troubles which came upon him, hindered his engaging in that enterprize. He reckoned that the Italian league before-mentioned would be a sure defence for the duchy of Milan. But he soon perceived, he was himself the dupe of the politic pope. This league was at length signed at Bologna the 24th of February 1533, according to his wish. Every sovereign that had dominions in Italy, the Venetians excepted, engaged to find a certain sum monthly, for the maintenance of an army which Antonio de Leva was to command as general of the league. The emperor's intention was, that the army should consist of his own troops, and be constantly maintained: but the design of the confederates was very different. They had consented to the league, only that the emperor, having nothing to fear for Italy, might withdraw all his troops. But they never meant that the army, maintained at their expence, should serve to keep them in subjection, which would necessarily be the case, if the army continued always on foot, under the command of the emperor's general. They represented to him therefore, that the league being only defensive, it was not proper to continue an army without necessity, to ruin them in expences; but upon the first motion of the French, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments soever the emperor alledged, it was not possible to bring them to what he desired. He was forced therefore to be satisfied with their promises, because he was not in condition to maintain an army in Italy at his own charge. Then he disbanded part of his troops, and sent the rest to Naples and Spain. He departed from Bologna about the end of February and came to Genoa, where he staid some time; after which, on the 8th of April, he embarked for Spain extremely displeas'd with the pope, who through all his disguises could not help showing his inclination to France. Indeed, he was now agreed with the cardinals of Tournon and Grammont upon an interview with Francis, and the marriage of Catherine de Medici with the duke of Orleans.

Different views of the emperor and the allies.

The allies refuse to keep an army in time of peace.

The emperor withdraws his troops out of Italy.

He returns to Spain.

The marriage of the duke of Orleans with Catherine de Medici agreed upon.

The

1533.

Affairs of
Germany.
Sleidan.
Herbert,

The pope
is against a
council.
Sleidan.

Reasons of a
congregation
of cardinals
against the
council.

The state of Italy was not the only thing that employed the emperor. He had, as was observed, promised the protestants a free council in Germany. But though the word free was equally used by those who demanded a council and by him that promised it, they were far from meaning the same thing. The protestants understood by that word, that a council should be held in Germany, where not only they might have free access and full liberty to produce their reasons, but also that the points in dispute should be decided solely by the word of God. The emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward show of the word, and by rendering his party superior in the council, to cause matters to be so decided that the protestants should be forced, either to revoke all their innovations, or reject the council's decisions. In the latter case, which was most likely, the emperor plainly perceived, they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But in the execution of this design a great obstacle occurred; namely, a council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the pope. Though he knew the emperor demanded a council not with intent to alter religion, yet he was afraid of being sacrificed to the protestants, if that monarch's interest required it. Besides, the strict alliance between Francis and Henry made him uneasy. In short, he could not resolve to call a council, without being sure of managing it as he pleased. And this could scarce be expected, as matters then stood in Christendom. Since his being on the papal throne, he had pleased neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England, nor the potentates of Italy, and yet, of the subjects of all these sovereigns was the council chiefly to consist. He knew himself to be a bastard, and that alone to be sufficient to depose him, in case his enemies were superior in the council. What had passed at Constance and Basil gave him just reason to dread, that a council held in a free city of Germany, might form the same designs. Upon all these considerations, when the emperor desired him at the conference of Bologna, to call a council, he forbore to give a positive answer. He contented himself with committing the examination of his request to certain cardinals, under colour of being informed of the reasons pro and con. The popes have a character to sustain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In publick, they must make show of a great zeal for God's glory, for religion, and for the good of the church, and withal of a great disinterestedness for every thing which personally concerns them. But, for fear what they thus profess outwardly should be taken literally, they

they must in private undeceive those who treat with them, and discover to them that their own interest is the principal subject of the negotiation. So, what they say publickly is always just and right, and seems to tend only to the greater glory of God. But in the end it is too frequently perceived, that religion serves only for a cloak to their temporal concerns. On the present occasion, a general council seemed absolutely necessary to put an end to the troubles caused by the religious differences in several places, and particularly in Germany. The pope not only agreed upon a council with the emperor, but even feigned to wish it heartily. Mean while, as a council was contrary to his interests, reasons drawn from the good and advantage of religion were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the commissioners, appointed to examine the emperor's request. They drew a memorial setting forth the necessity of a council, but showing withal the inconveniences of admitting the protestants to dispute upon matters already settled, and the uselessness of the council if they were not admitted. The memorial being communicated to Francis, he replied to it by another, demonstrating that the inconveniencies mentioned in the first ought not to hinder the calling of a council. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be used to banish all partiality. But this memorial was not acceptable to the emperor, because a free council was not what he desired, but a council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the protestants of Germany; after which, he did not despair of bringing the catholicks also under his yoke. Francis answered the emperor's reasons against his memorial, but it was to no purpose. It was almost impossible that two princes, whose interests

Francis
answers
their rea-
sons.
Herbert.

The council
is put off.
Herbert,

whilest the pope and emperor were conferring at Bologna, Henry assembled the parliament the 4th of February. As hitherto the pope had not relaxed in the least, except that he had delayed the excommunication wherewith he had threatened the king; it was deemed proper to proceed farther and let him see, he was not at all feared. So, the parliament passed an act, expressly forbidding all appeals to Rome on pain of incurring a præmunire. This was to convince the pope, there was no occasion for him, since at the very time

Session of the
parliament
in England.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Hall.

Statute
against all
appeals to
Rome.

that.

1533.

Cranmer
made arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.
Burnet.
Hall.
Herbert.

that the point in question between him and the king was, to know whether the affair of the divorce should be judged in England, people were forbid to carry their causes to Rome. But there was another reason which induced the king to procure this act, namely, having heard that Francis was going to make an alliance with the pope, he imagined that for the future his friend would act but faintly in his favour; and therefore he was now determined to have his cause tried in the kingdom, without troubling himself any farther about the pope's proceedings against him ^w. The archbishoprick of Canterbury being vacant by Warham's death, it was necessary to fill the see, that the sentence might be given by the primate of England. Wherefore, Henry had cast his eyes on Dr. Thomas Cranmer then in Germany ^x. But, contrary to his expectation, he had found the doctor more averse to accept than others would have been eager to desire that high dignity. It was six months before he could be perswaded to take upon him that burden. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the king's patience, he began his journey to London, though very slowly, in hopes the king might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the king's measures, Cranmer could no longer defer submitting to his will. The king himself undertook to demand his bulls ^y, which, though eleven in all, were rated but at nine hundred ducats ^z. The pope forbore of his own accord

^w The other acts that passed this session were these. 1. That beef, pork, mutton, and veal, should for the future be sold by Averdupois weight; and no person take for a pound of beef or pork, above one halfpenny; and for a pound of mutton, or veal, not above three farthings. 2. That a man killing a thief in his own defence, shall not forfeit his goods; which was the penalty of those who were guilty of chance medley. 3. There was also an act made for encouraging the destruction of crows, rooks, and choughs. 4. And one for paving the streetway between Charing Cross, and Strand Cross. See Statut. 24. Henry VIII.

^x Negotiating the business of the divorce among the learned men of Germany. Burnet, T. I. p. 127.

^y And accordingly sent for them about the end of January. Idem. p. 128.

^z These being the last bulls in his reign, it will not be amiss to give an account of them, as they are set down

in the beginning of Cranmer's register. By the first, he is, upon the king's nomination, promoted to the archbishoprick of Canterbury; this is directed to the king. By a second directed to himself, he is made archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all censures. A fourth, is to the suffragans. A fifth, to the dean and chapter. A sixth, to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh, to all the laity in his see. An eighth, to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive him as archbishop. All these are dated February 21, 1533. By a ninth, of February 22, he was to be consecrated, upon taking the oath in the pontifical. By a tenth, dated the 2d of March, the pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same date, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were the several artifices to make compositions high, and to enrich the apostolick chamber. Burnet, T. I. p. 128.

to require the annates, foreseeing they would be refused. To enable Cranmer to be at this charge, the king made him a present of the revenues of the archbishoprick, from the 9th of September the last year. These obstacles being removed, there arose another much more considerable. Cranmer refused to take the usual oath to the pope, believing he could not do it with a safe conscience. In his first journey into Germany he had read Luther's books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the protestant tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in scripture for the spiritual power assumed by the pope over the whole church. Consequently, he could not resolve to swear an obedience, which in his opinion was not due to him. Mean while, Henry considering Cranmer as a person who by his principles and resolution could effectually serve him in the decision of the affair of the divorce, of which he desired to see the end, pressed him so earnestly to swear the customary oath, that he was prevailed with at length by an expedient proposed to him, namely, to make a formal protestation against the oath he was to take^a. This is by no means one of his most commendable actions. However, he was consecrated the 13th of March according to Burnet. And yet, the king put him not in possession of the temporalities till the 29th of April. This gives occasion to suspect, there is a mistake in the first of these dates.

This affair being ended, the king required the convocation of the province of Canterbury to give their opinion upon these two points. First, whether pope Julius's dispensation for the king's marriage with Catherine was sufficient and able to render such a marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was sufficiently proved that Arthur had consummated his marriage with Catherine? Whereupon, the convocation declared on the 5th of April, that the pope had not power to dispense contrary to the law of God, and that the consummation of Arthur's marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The convocation of York made the like decision the 13th of May following.

Whilst the clergy were employed in debating these points, Henry writ to Francis, desiring him to send a trusty person, to whom he might discover some things which he would not make publick. Francis sent William de Bellay lord of

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He refuses to take the oath to the pope.
Burnet,

He yields at last, but makes a protestation.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 456, 457.
Burnet. p. 128.
The convocation of Canterbury and York decide the points about the divorce for the king.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 454, 472.
Burnet.

Francis sends de Bellay to London.
Bellai.
Mezerai.
Herbert,

^a This protestation imported, that he did not intend by that oath, to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God,

to the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of those. Burnet, T. I. p. 129.

1533.

Henry im-
parts his
marriage to
Bellai.
Herbert.

Langeais, ordering him to acquaint the king, that he had concluded a marriage between his second son the duke of Orleans and Catherine de Medici, and that the pope and himself were to meet at Marseilles to celebrate the nuptials: that in such a juncture he believed his presence would be very necessary to negotiate his own affairs himself with the pope: but in case he did not think proper to be at the interview, he would do well to send some person on his part. Langeais being come to London, the king told him that Clement VII. having obstinately refused to appoint him judges in England, he had determined at length to proceed; and therefore had already espoused Anne Bullen, with a resolution to have his marriage nulled by the archbishop of Canterbury. That however, he would keep his second marriage private till May, to see what the king of France could do with the bishop of Rome (for so he called the pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his design was to withdraw himself wholly from the papal authority. He imagined then, the pope and Francis would meet in May, but it was not till October. He told Langeais further, that he had composed a treatise upon the inroachments of the bishops of Rome and the prerogatives of sovereign princes, but would not publish it, till he saw no hopes of reconciliation.

Herbert.
p. 168.
Strype's
Mem.
p. 149.

He makes it
publick.

Shortly after, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was made publick, which certainly was very wrong. Since the king was resolved to have his first marriage nulled by the archbishop of Canterbury, he should have staid till the sentence was pronounced. All that can be said in excuse of this irregular conduct is, that the new queen was four months gone with child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But notwithstanding this, the king might have caused his first marriage to be nulled a little sooner, or the second to be published a little later, since there was but a month between the publication and the sentence. However, Henry despairing to prevail with the pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the publick, being almost assured of succeeding in whatever he undertook, considering how the people stood affected. In short, being fully determined to end the affair, he so ordered, that the archbishop of Canterbury demanded his leave to summon queen Catherine. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once to persuade the queen to consent to the divorce. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the archbishop the leave he desired. The queen was cited to appear at Dunstable, in

Cranmer
cites the
queen, and
upon her not
appearing
pronounces
sentence;
Herbert,
Burnet.

the

the neighbourhood of the place where she resided, the 20th of May ^b. But as she refused to appear, the archbishop gave sentence the 23d of the same month, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine null, as being contrary to the law of God. On the 28th, at Lambeth, by another sentence, he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, and on the 1st of June the new queen was crowned.

Thus ended this famous process, the issue whereof afforded no less matter for divers reflections than the beginning, every one reasoning as swayed by prejudice or interest. Those who were against the king took notice of his error in espousing a second wife, before his first marriage was legally dissolved. They said moreover, that of all the prelates in England, Cranmer was the last that should have been chosen for judge, since he had so openly declared against the first marriage. That his partiality was apparent, not only in his haste to give sentence, but also in his confirming the king's second marriage, which had been consummated whilst the first still subsisted.

Those who were for the king affirmed, the sentence was but a mere formality, which rendered not the marriage void, but only declared it so. That it sufficed, the sentence was conformable to the determinations of the English clergy and all the universities in Europe, and to the sentiments of the pope himself, who would have nulled the marriage, had he not been biassed by worldly considerations. They justified Cranmer by alledging, that having changed his character since his declaring for the divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being judge, no more than a lawyer when he comes to sit on the bench is debarred the trying of causes in which he formerly gave counsel. That though there were some default in the form, it could not be denied,

1533.
Hall.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 462,
467.
and confirms
the king's
second mar-
riage.
Reflections
on the king's
conduct.
Burnet.

Reasons al-
leged for
the king.

^b The archbishop went to Dunstable (about six miles from Ampthill, where the queen was) accompanied with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and sat in court on the 10th of May, the king appearing by proxy, but the queen not at all. Upon which she was declared contumacious, and a second and third citation were issued out. Then the evidences that had been brought before the legates of the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur were read. After that, the determinations of the universities, divines, and canonists, with the judg-

ments of the convocations of both provinces were produced, and the whole merit of the cause was opened. And then on the 23d, with the advice of all that were present, it was declared, that the marriage had been only de facto, and not de jure, and consequently null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, that the archbishop is called in the sentence, the legate of the apostolical see. Whether this went of course as one of his titles, or was put in to make the sentence firmer, the reader may judge. Burnet, T. I. p. 131. Hall, fol. 210.

the sentence was just in itself, which was sufficient to quiet the king's conscience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, since she proved not with child till after her marriage, whether the king espoused her in November last year, or in the January following. As for queen Catherine, it could not be thought strange that she should maintain the validity of her second marriage. But it was justly wondered at, she should so obstinately deny the consummation of the first, which was proved by all possible evidence. But as most people were then biased on one side or other, we are not to judge of the affair by what was published in those days but by reason and equity. Let us therefore briefly consider it in that view, independently of the prejudices caused by the consequences. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader, to see here a short recapitulation of the conduct of the chief actors in this scene. I shall confine myself to this, without fully examining the process, which is not so much the business of a historian as of a divine or civilian.

Remarks upon the process of the divorce, and the conduct of the principal parties. Upon the king.

It is almost impossible to know positively, whether Henry, when he undertook the affair of the divorce, was convinced that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, or at least was really troubled in conscience upon that account. All that can be said in his favour is, that he himself affirmed as much, and none but the searcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he spoke. It cannot be denied, that the sole consideration of such a marriage is of itself capable of breeding such scruples, especially as the king's might be confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury's, and the bishop of Lincoln's his confessor. But, on the other hand, it may be conjectured from several circumstances, that it was only a pretence to put away Catherine and marry Anne Bullen. In the first place, he had lived eighteen years with the queen without showing any scruple. In the second place, if he was not in love with Anne Bullen when his scruples first seized him, it cannot be denied, he was very much so, when he most ardently pressed the affair of the divorce. So, it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief what at first was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably it was cardinal Wolsey that inspired, by himself or another, the king with these scruples, to be revenged of the emperor and the queen. This bold and daring minister imagined,

^c The men generally spake in behalf of the king, and the women took the queen's part. Hall, fol. 199.

either the affair would easily succeed, considering his great credit at the court of Rome, or in case of opposition, it would be no more difficult on this than on several other occasions, to cause the king to alter his mind. But Henry's love unexpectedly happening, Wolfey found he had taken wrong measures. Besides, the determinations of the universities did not a little contribute, without doubt, to confirm the king in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry whether Henry was satisfied of the justice of his cause, let us consider in few words how he behaved in so nice an affair. He supposed that Julius II. could not grant a dispensation for his marriage, and consequently the marriage was void of itself. And yet, he thought he wanted Clement VII's bull to declare it so. Herein was a contradiction which could not but greatly embarrass him. If Julius's dispensation was null by the law of God, it was needless to revoke it, and if a revocation was necessary, consequently it was good till revoked. Thus, Henry was bound till the pope should please to decide the point. When Cranmer had given him another notion of the affair, by intimating to him, that independently of the power assumed by the pope, the chief thing was to be assured of the right by the opinions of the learned, he cried out in a transport of joy, "He had got at last the right sown by the ear", that is, he found in Cranmer's advice a solution of the difficulties, he could not get over in following the doubtful principle of the pope's power, because its extent was not settled. He resolved therefore to procure the opinions of the universities. But at length, weighing the consequences of a rupture with Rome, he resumed the first way, and applied again to the pope. By this he wronged his cause very much; for in taking the pope for judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge. But he was excusable, since it was hardly possible to throw off at once his prejudice with respect to the papal power, whereof he had not at first so clear an idea as afterwards. Then, finding the pope acted only from worldly considerations, which hindered him from giving him the satisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left. So, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the universities, he caused his marriage to be declared null, without regarding the pope's authority, which he was resolved to forsake. I omit the reasons he alledged to prove the necessity of his divorce. That of conscience was doubtless the best, if sincere. That relating to the uncertainty of the succession was proper to

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demand a sentence, but not to ground the divorce upon, because the divorce supposed the marriage void, which was to be judged.

Remarks on
the pope.

Let us now consider the pope's conduct, where we find nothing favoring of christ's vicar. Clement VII. never examined the case by the maxims of religion, justice, or equity, but always with respect to his own or his family's interests. If he had attended to what religion required, he would have examined, whether Henry's marriage was contrary to the law of God, and whether in that case, a pope had power to grant a dispensation. If he had been convinced that Julius II. assumed a right which belonged not to him he should have readily granted Henry the bull he demanded. But if, on the contrary, he was persuaded, the marriage was agreeable to the divine law, or not being so, it was in the power of a pope to grant a dispensation, he should have confirmed it, and tried to remove the king's scruples, without seeking so many evasions. That was the duty of a pope. But instead of acting in that manner, he considered only what good or hurt might accrue to him from the king's demand, independently of the justice or injustice of the thing. Whilst he was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, or fugitive at Orvieto, and thought he stood in need of Henry, he positively promised to content him. Afterwards, he only amused him, till, by the emperor's means, he had recovered Florence. As soon as he was in possession of that state, which he had so much desired, he avocated the process to Rome, but, in all appearance, with intent never to decide it, if he could help it; because whilst the two parties remained uncertain of the decision, he made himself necessary to both. Can it therefore be said, there was any sign of justice or religion in his proceedings? certainly, if Henry was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign scruples on purpose to gratify his passion. Clement was no less so, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was begun, or to content him in case his scruples were well-grounded. Though Henry had acted only through passion, which is however very uncertain, he would have been much more excusable than the pope, who, in the post he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different principles.

Remarks on
the emperor.

As for the emperor, he undoubtedly acted in this affair from motives of honour, interest, and policy, without justice or religion being concerned in his proceedings. He looked upon the queen of England, his aunt's divorce, as a dishonour, which, added to his interest to create Henry troubles,

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Upon queen Catherine,

bles, who was in strict alliance with France, was but too capable of inducing him to obstruct it to the utmost of his power.

As for queen Catherine, very probably, she acted with sincerity. As she believed the pope's authority unlimited, she thought herself the king's lawful wife, and in that belief, did not think herself obliged to resign her right to another, on pretence of the king her husband's scruples, which, in her opinion, were groundless. Besides, she could not own her marriage null, without greatly injuring her daughter the princess Mary. Though she had been convinced her marriage was unlawful in itself, she believed the pope had power to render it valid, being ready however to submit to the same authority as soon as it should be declared. Nevertheless, she may be justly suspected of having taken a false oath, to make her cause better.

Much has been said against Anne Bullen. But without ^{Upon Anne Bullen.} insisting upon Sanders's invectives, which have been sufficiently refuted ^d, she can be charged before marriage but with one single fault, namely, her yielding to the king before his marriage with Catherine was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young lady of her rank, to have resolution enough to resist the temptation of being a queen, if she could be so lawfully, as it is likely the king made her believe. It cannot however be said, she yielded to the king's desires before her marriage. He espoused her at the latest in January, and she was not brought to bed till September ^e. So there is nothing in that which can give occasion for any suspicion.

As for the rest who were concerned in the affair, as the ^{Upon the pope's, the king's, and the emperor's agent's.} cardinals, and the king's, and the emperors minister's, it

^d Sanders has assured the world, that the king liking her mother, sent her husband, sir Thomas Bullen, ambassador to France, and in his absence, begot Anne Bullen upon his wife. At his return, he sued a divorce against her in the archbishop's court, but the king letting him know she was with child by him, he was, upon the king's desire, reconciled to his wife. Thus Anne Bullen, though she went under the name of sir Thomas's daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he describes her, she was ill shaped and ugly, had six fingers, a gag tooth, and a tumour under her chin. At fifteen years of age, he says, both her father's butler, and chaplain lay with her; and when in France she led such a dis-

solute life, that she was called the English hackney. That the French king liking her, she was called the king's mule. But returning to England, she gained the king's affection, by the appearance of a severe virtue, with which she disguised herself. The same author adds, that the king had likewise enjoyed her sister, with a great deal more to the disgrace of this lady and her family. Hence we may see to what a height of rancour and malice bigotry and blind zeal in religious matters are capable of carrying a man! Burnet, T. I. p. 41.

^e September 7, of the princess Elizabeth, which afterwards mounted the throne. Hall, fol, 217. Stow, &c.

1533. may be affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to religion.

Upon the universities.

It cannot be said, the universities of France and England decided the questions proposed with entire freedom, since it is known what an influence sovereigns have upon the actions of their subjects, when they are concerned. As to the universities of Italy, both parties accused one another of having corrupted them, the one by money, and the other by threats. As for the English clergy, they had lately received such a check, that they had reason to dread giving the king a fresh occasion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their sentiments, since it often happens that truth is not opposite to interest.

Upon Cranmer.

The same may be said of Cranmer, who being now tinctured with Luther's doctrine, could not look upon Julius's dispensation as capable of rendering a marriage valid, which in itself was null and repugnant to the law of God. Indeed, he may have earnestly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the papal authority, in order to promote the reformation. But it cannot be affirmed, that he acted against his knowledge, in pronouncing the sentence of divorce. At least, his whole behaviour was directly opposite to such obliquities.

By what has been said, it may be easily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a case of conscience, very few of the actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of religion. Nevertheless, God who directs all the actions of men, without their knowing very often to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of Henry, Clement, and Charles, the end he designed, that is, the reformation of the church of England, as will be seen in the sequel. If any one desires fully to examine the case of Henry VIII's divorce, he would do well to cast off all prejudice, and take care not to be misled by the authors who have writ on the subject. But if a man is contented with examining it historically, he is to consider only the political views of the principal actors.

Catherine remains inflexible. Burnet, Hall, Herbert, See in to be a princess dowager. Act. Pub. XIV, p. 482.

The sentence of divorce being made publick, Henry took care to acquaint Catherine with it, by the lord Mountjoy, who tried in vain to persuade her to submit. She still remained inflexible affirming, she would be the king's wife till the pope had nulled the marriage. This answer being brought to the king, he ordered her to be stiled only princess dowager of Wales. But she refused to be served by any that would not treat her as queen; and the king thought not

not fit to remove such as would show her that respect ^f. Shortly after, he notified his divorce, and new marriage to all the sovereigns, and particularly to the emperor, who coldly told the English ambassador ^g, he would consider what he was to do in the case.

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Henry notifies his marriage to the emperor.

Herbert.

Burnet.

The pope nulls the archbishop's sentence.

Herbert.

Burnet.

Hollingsh.

The news of the king's marriage, and the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence having reached Rome, the pope was extremely angry with Henry, and the more, as a copy of his book against the papal authority had now appeared in Rome itself. The cardinals of the imperial faction improving this occasion, very earnestly pressed him to give sentence against the king, remonstrating to him, that if he refused not such an affront, the authority of the holy see would be at an end. These remonstrances produced their effect. The pope nulls the archbishop's sentence, and declared the king himself liable to excommunication, unless during the month of September, he restored the cause to its former state ^h. He contented himself for this time with only threatening him, because he did not yet despair of reclaiming him by the king of France's means, with whom he was going to confer at Marseilles.

The pope gives a comminatory sentence against the king.

The pope's aim in that interview was, first to celebrate the nuptials between Catherine his niece, and the duke of Orleans. In the next place, to devise with Francis some expedient to adjust his differences with the king of England, or if that could not be done, to disengage Francis from Henry's interests. Francis wished sincerely, that some way might be found to reconcile them, because he hoped to join in a league with both, the more easily to recover the duchy of Milan. Henry had used his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from the interview, being apprehensive it would produce between Francis and Clement an union which

The pope's design in the interview of Marseilles.

Burnet.
T. III.

^f William Blount, lord Mountjoy, was to mix promises with threatenings, particularly concerning Catherine's daughter's being put next queen Anne's issue in the succession. But all would not do. She said, she would not damn her soul, nor submit to such an infamy: that she was his wife, and would never call herself by any other name, since the process still depended at Rome. Mountjoy having written a relation of what had passed between him and her, showed it her; but she dashed with a pen all those places in which she was

called princess dowager. Burnet, T. I. p. 132.

^g Sir Thomas Wyat.

^h The more moderate cardinals were for finding a temper, that the sentence should not be definitive, but should be given upon what had been attempted in England by the archbishop of Canterbury, (which in the stile of the canon law, was called the attentates,) and it was done accordingly. The sentence was affixed soon after at Dunkirk. Burnet, T. I, p. 133. Herbert, p. 172,

could

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Henry's design.

He sends the duke of Norfolk to Marfeilles. Hall.

Herbert. Burnet. Hollingsh.

He recalls him.

Gardiner, Brian, and Bonner, are sent to Marfeilles.

The duke of Orleans's marriage.

The pope promises Francis to content Henry. Herbert. Burnet.

could not but be to his prejudice ⁱ. He had ever reckoned that Francis would act in concert with him to frighten the pope, and that their menaces would induce him at last to give him the satisfaction he required. But perceiving he could not prevail, he had published his marriage. From that time, he was fully bent to widen the breach with Rome, unless the pope and the king of France should find during their interview, some satisfactory expedient, for which he was very willing to wait. Mean while, he sent the duke of Norfolk ^k in embassy to Francis, with orders to accompany him to Marfeilles, and see whether there was yet any hopes of agreement.

The duke of Norfolk coming to the French court the 1st of July, waited upon the king who was then on his journey to Marfeilles ^l, intending however to make some stay in Languedoc, before he went to the congress. He accompanied him some time, but hearing in the beginning of August, what was done at Rome against the king his master, would have returned, imagining his presence would be of little service at Marfeilles. Nevertheless, at the king of France's sollicitation, he contented himself with sending the lord Rochfort for fresh instructions from the king, who immediately recalled him. However, Francis so artfully managed Henry, that he persuaded him to send a person to Marfeilles, to be a witness of what should pass at the interview. Henry made choice of Stephen Gardiner, Sir John Wallop and Sir Francis Brian, with Edmund Bonner, a very proper person to execute the orders he gave him.

The pope and Francis met at Marfeilles the beginning of October, and within a few days, the duke of Orleans consummated his marriage with Catherine de Medici ^m. This affair being ended, Francis sollicitated the pope in behalf of the king of England, and prevailed with him at last to give Henry entire satisfaction; but, to save the honour of the holy see, he would judge the cause himself in a consistory,

ⁱ Francis acquainted king Henry, that his chief design in this interview, was to serve him; but Henry replied, that he was so sure of his nobility and commons, that he had no apprehension of any thing the pope could do. Burnet, T. III. p. 72.

^k Together with George Bullen, lord Rochford, sir William Paulet, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Francis Brian, attended with a hundred and sixty horse. Hall, fol. 211. Herbert, p.

168.

^l And endeavoured to dissuade him from the interview and marriage proposed, or, at least, to suspend it till the pope had given our king satisfaction; offering also aid for a war in Piedmont, if he would suffer no more money to go out of his realm to Rome, and instead of the pope, to erect a patriarch. Herbert, p. 169.

^m The pope himself married the young Co ple. Herbert, p. 170.

from

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from which the cardinals of the emperor's faction should be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But Bonner, to whom doubtless it was not thought fit to discover the secret, demanding an audience of the pope ⁿ, acquainted him with the king his master's appeal to the next general council, from the sentence given or to be given against him. The pope told him, before he declared himself, he would advise with the cardinals that were with him. Some days after ^o, having sent for Bonner, he gave him for answer, that according to the opinion of the cardinals, the appeal was unlawful. Bonner, without being surprized at the answer, acquainted him in the same manner with the like appeal of the archbishop of Canterbury, from the sentence which nulled his judgment for the divorce. This put the pope into such a rage, that he talked of throwing Bonner into a cauldron of melted lead ^p. Guicciardini says Francis was so offended with Bonner's insolence, that he offered the pope to do all that lay in his power to procure him satisfaction for the affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

Bonner acquaints the pope with the king's appeal. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 476. Herbert. Burnet. The pope rejects it. Bonner notifies Cranmer's appeal. The pope threatens him. Burnet.

Clement departed from Marseilles the 12th of November, as much pleased with the king of France as he was dissatisfied with Henry. Mean while, Francis not despairing yet to adjust this affair, sent into England John de Bellay bishop of Paris, to propound new expedients to the king. This prelate, who had resided some time at the court of England as ambassador, wrought so with Henry, that he persuaded him at length to agree to an expedient he proposed to him ^q. So, pleased with having obtained more than he durst have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news himself to the pope, though it was then in the depth of winter. He found the pope inclined to do what he could to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a positive promise, that the cause should be judged at Cambray by such as the king of England should have no reason to except against. But Clement not trusting entirely to a verbal promise, desired to have it under the king's own hand, that he approved of what was concerted. Moreover, to avoid all delays and evasions, he fixed the day for

The bishop of Paris is sent to Henry with fresh expedients. Herbert. Henry accepts them. Burnet. The bishop goes to Rome. Herbert. Burnet. The pope desires the king's approbation in writing.

ⁿ November 7. Ibid.

^o November 10. Ibid.

^p Or burning him alive. Burnet,

T. I. p. 134.

^q Namely, that if the pope would put off the execution of his sentence,

until he had indifferent judges sent, who might hear the business, he would also defer the execution of what he was inclined to do in withdrawing his obedience from the Roman see. Herbert, p. 173.

1533. the return of the courier, who was to be sent into England.

He fixes the day for an answer. The emperor's agents press the pope to retract. Burnet.

The pope refuses a delay of six days. Herbert. Burnet.

He publishes a sentence against Henry.

The courier returns just after. The pope refuses to revoke the sentence. Herbert. Burnet.

Remark on the king's conduct.

This weighty affair being thus upon the point of conclusion, the emperor's agents were very urgent with the pope to revoke his engagement; but he told them he had given his word. However, they repeated their instances with such earnestness, that at length they got him to promise, if Henry's answer came not by the time appointed, he should think himself disengaged. The courier not returning on the day appointed, the imperialists pressed the pope to give sentence against Henry representing to him that he was amused, and threatening him with the emperor's resentment. In short, they so ardently solicited him, that though the bishop of Paris only desired a delay of six days, he could not obtain it. The pope, frightened by the menaces of the imperialists, was so entirely devoted to them, that what should have been done, according to the usual forms, in three consistories, was done in one. In a word, the pope, without staying for an answer from England, published a sentence^r, declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine good and lawful, and requiring him to take his wife again, with denunciation of censures in case of disobedience. Two days after came the courier with full powers for the bishop of Paris, as the pope had desired. Several cardinals moved to revoke what had been done; but the emperor's party pressed him so closely, that the motion was rejected. Thus the pope, who had amused the king for six years by affected delays, could not be persuaded to grant him six days, and by this precipitation, was the cause of the Romish church's loss of the kingdom of England.

It must however be confessed, that it is very difficult to conceive what the king's view was in the agreement he pretended to make with the pope. Can it be supposed he meant to quit his newly acquired title of supreme head of the church of England? but he appeared so jealous, during the rest of his days, of this supremacy, which kept the clergy in awe, whereas before, the clergy depended more on the pope than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this prerogative. And yet, how could the king's supremacy subsist in case he agreed with the pope? Or how could the pope resolve to content him with respect to his divorce, without requiring him to resign his supremacy? Certainly it is impossible to reconcile these two things;

^r On the 23d of March. Burnet, T. I. p. 136.

which gives occasion to suspect, the king acted not with sincerity in his pretended agreement with the pope, and that after having justified his divorce by the pope's sentence, he meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This suspicion is confirmed by what passed in England, at the very time the king dispatched the courier to Rome, with the engagement the pope had desired. I have observed that the bishop of Paris went post from London about the end of December: that upon his arrival at Rome he sent a courier to the king to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the pope; and that the king sent back the same courier with his approbation. Now what speed soever the bishop and courier could make, it is impossible the courier could return to Rome before the middle of January. But at the very time the king dispatched the courier, he held at Westminster a parliament, where acts were passed directly contrary to the agreement he seemed to desire*.

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Burnet,
T. III. p. 92.

The parliament meeting the fifteenth of January 1534, opened the session with repealing the statute of Henry IV. against hereticks. This was not with design to exempt them from the penalties in that statute, since it was enacted in this that they should be burned, but only to hinder the clergy from being sole judges in causes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new act, whereby, for the future, hereticks were to be prosecuted and tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law.

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Parliament
Herbert.
Hall.
Burnet.
Act to take
from the
clergy the
cognizance
of heresy.

By another statute, which the parliament passed at the same time, it was enacted, First, That all convocations should be called for the future by the king's writ. Secondly, That the king should name thirty two persons, six-

* This year, on June 24, died Mary, queen dowager of France, and wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Hall, fol. 217.

† By the statute of Henry IV. bishops might, upon suspicion of heresy, commit any person to prison, without presentment or accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other cases. Therefore the statute of Henry IV. was repealed, but those of Richard II. and Henry V. were left still in force, with the following regulation: that hereticks should be proceeded against upon presentments, by two witnesses at least, and then committed, but brought to answer to their indictments in open

court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the king's writ de hæretico comburendo being first had. This act is the fourteenth in the Statute book, thirty third in the records, thirty first in the journal. It may easily be imagined how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, since it was an effectual limitation of the ecclesiastical power, in one of the most uneasy parts of it. And this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual courts, was a particular blessing to the favourers of the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 147.

1534. teen of both houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church, with power to abrogate or confirm such as they thought fit. As it is certain the parliament acted by the directions of the court, it may easily be conceived the king was not much inclined to agree with the pope, though by the engagement he did send or had already sent to Rome, he seemed resolved.

Another statute, whereby the king is empowered to name thirty two commissioners to reform the canons.

Act of attainder against Elizabeth Barton. Hall. Burnet.

An account of her. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Burnet. Strype's Mem.

She is adjudged todie.

Burnet.

Here is another argument of the little regard Henry had for the pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his desires. Before the news came to England of the sentence against the king, the parliament passed an act of attainder against Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the holy maid of Kent, who pretending to be inspired, foretold, that "if the king married Anne Bullen he should not be a king a month longer." This nun having been wrought upon and instructed by a certain curate, counterfeited the prophetess and mixed with her prediction invectives against the king's proceedings in the affair of the divorce, and threats against his chief counsellors. Several Franciscans countenanced her pretended revelations, so that she was in great repute with the people; nay, archbishop Warham, sir Thomas More, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, were deceived with the rest. But at length, the nun and her accomplices being apprehended by the king's order, the affair was so carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was discovered, and the counterfeit prophetess condemned to die with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noise, the king was pleased it should be brought before the parliament, to render their condemnation more authentick. Sanders would fain reckon this nun and her accomplices for martyrs, though their own confessions sufficiently justified their condemnation^u. If the king had really intended to be reconciled to the court of Rome, nothing could be more unreasonable than to pass this act, when the affair of the divorce seemed to be upon the point of being adjusted to his satisfaction.

Whilst

^u Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, in the parish of Aldington, being troubled with a sort of hysterical fits, which distorted her limbs so, that people began to think her inspired of God, was persuaded by Richard Master, the parish priest, who hoped to draw great advantages from it, to pretend to pro-

phesy and supernatural impulse. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit trances, and to utter speeches against the wickedness of the times, particularly against heresy and innovation. At length she gave out, that on such a day she should be perfectly cured, if she went in pilgrimage to the image of the

Whilst the parliament was employed in these matters, Henry received news of the sentence^w given and published against him at Rome, with all the circumstances demonstrating the little regard the pope had for his person and dignity. These hasty proceedings convincing him there was nothing more to be expected from Rome, he no longer delayed to execute his resolution to break off all correspondence with the pope. The parliament was no less offended than the king with the pope's conduct. So, the whole legislature, being in the same mind, resolved utterly to abolish the papal authority in England. After what Clement had done, there was

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The king and parliament offended at the news of the pope's sentence. Herbert.

the blessed virgin, in a chapel within the parish of Aldington, the reputation whereof the crafty priest had a mind to raise. On the day appointed, above two thousand people were gathered together to see the miraculous cure. Being brought to the chapel, she fell into one of her fits, and spoke many words of great piety, saying, that by the inspiration of God, she was called to be a nun, and that doctor Bocking (a canon of Christ church, in Canterbury, an associate of the priest's) was to be her ghostly father. Presently after she seemed, by the intercession of our lady, to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a nun, in the priory of St. Sepulchre's, in Canterbury, where Bocking frequently visited her. He, with some others, being apprehensive the king's marriage with Anne Bullen might be detrimental to the popish religion, persuaded the nun to menace the king with death. The friars that were in the conspiracy, had agreed to publish these revelations in their sermons up and down the kingdom. They had given notice of them to the pope's ambassadors, and brought the maid to declare her revelations to them. They had also sent an account to queen Catherine, for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the laws. The king, who had despised the thing long, ordered, that in November the last year, the maid and her accomplices should be brought into the Star Chamber, where, before many lords, they all without rack or torture confessed the whole cheat, and were adjudged to stand in St. Paul's all the sermon time, after which, every one on the Sunday following read his con-

session openly before the people. Then they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the session of parliament. The matter being brought before the house, the nun, Richard Master, doctor Bocking, Richard Dering, Henry Gold, a London minister, Richard Riffby, were attainted of high treason, and executed at Tyburn, April 21. The bishop of Rochester, Thomas Abel, and four more, were judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during pleasure. The wicked designs of this imposture did much alienate people from the interest of Rome, and made the other acts both pass more easily, and be better received by the people. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the visions and miracles by which religious orders had raised their credit, were of the same nature; and it made way for the destroying of all the monasteries in England. Bishop Fisher, pleaded in his excuse, that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. And for his concealing what she had told him about the king, he thought it needless to say any thing, because she (as she said) had told it to the king herself. So he refused to make any submission; and yet it does not appear that the king proceeded against him upon this act. See Hall, fol. 219, &c. Stow, p. 570. Burnet, tom. I. p. 150, &c.

^w From Edward Karne, and William Revet, who were employed to solicit this important business. Herbert, p. 173.

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no other way; it was necessary either to withstand him vigorously, or prepare to endure all the severities and indignities, to which England was liable in the reigns of Henry II. and John Lackland. But the times were altered. The English were no longer willing to submit to the base actions required by the popes of their ancestors, neither was the king's interest different from that of his subjects. Thus, every one being equally tired of the papal yoke, it was deemed more honourable to demolish at once that formidable power, under which the kingdom had so long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would of itself be reduced within due bounds. It may be easily judged, the favourers of the new religion were not sparing of their pains to bring things to this state. The resolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days an act was passed containing sundry articles, all tending to the same point.

Statut. c. 20.

Act abolishing the papal authority.

The first confirmed the statute for abolishing the annates, or first fruits.

By the second it was enacted, that for the future, the pope shall have nothing to do in the nominating or presenting of bishops; but that, when a bishoprick shall become vacant, the king shall send to the chapter a *congé d'elire*, and in case the election shall not be over within twelve days after the licence, it shall belong to the king. That the bishop elect shall swear fealty to the king, and then be recommended by his majesty to the archbishop to be consecrated. That if the bishop elect or archbishop refuse to obey the contents of this act, they shall be liable to the penalty of *præmunire*. Moreover, all persons were expressly forbid to apply to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palls, and the like.

Statut. c. 21.

By a third article, were abolished, Peter-pence, all procurations, delegations, expeditions of bulls, and dispensations coming from the court of Rome; and the archbishop of Canterbury was appointed to grant all such dispensations, &c. as should not be contrary to the law of God, on condition that part of the money thence arising should be paid into the king's exchequer ^x. Moreover; all religious houses, exempt and not exempt, should be subject to the archbishop's visitation ^y.

^x All dispensations formerly taxed at or above four pounds, should be also confirmed under the great seal.

^y All monasteries, &c. heretofore exempt from the archbishop's visitation, were still to be so, and such abbey

whose elections were formerly confirmed by the pope, were now to be confirmed by the king. See the act, being 21 in the Statute book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

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Statut. c. 22.

By a fourth, it was enacted that the king's marriage with Catherine, widow of his brother prince Arthur, should be held null and void, and that she should be reputed only princess dowager of Wales. On the contrary, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen is declared valid, and the succession to the crown settled upon their issue. Moreover, it is said; that any person of what quality soever, who shall speak or write against the king's marriage, shall be adjudged a traitor to the king and state, and that all the king's subjects without distinction shall be obliged to swear, they will observe and maintain the contents of this act, After this, follows a list of the marriages forbid by the law of God, among which is that of a man with his brother's widow; and it was enacted, that no such marriages should be allowed for the future, and that such as were then in being should be dissolved.

Thus was the papal authority abolished in England by act of parliament. Indeed, there were few bishops and abbots present when the act passed ^z. However, there was but one single bishop who refused to set his name to it, because they made a great difference between submitting to an act passed by a lawful authority and giving their vote for it. The generality of the people expressed great joy to see themselves freed from a yoke, which neither they nor their forefathers could bear. None but the monks exclaimed against it, and drew upon themselves the king's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Those who wished for the reformation were highly pleased to see the main obstacle removed; believing the rest would quickly follow. But this reformation, which they so impatiently expected, made not in this reign all the progress, they imagined they had reason to hope.

The people
rejoice at it.

The parliament breaking up the 30th of March ^a, after all the members had sworn to observe what was enjoined in the

^z There were present only the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Landaffe, and Carlisle, with twelve abbots. Burnet, tom. I. p. 144.

^a Besides the acts mentioned above, there were others of some importance made; namely, 1. That persons indicted of petit treason, wilful murder, robbery, or other felony, and upon their arraignment standing mute, or peremptorily challenging above twenty

of the jury, or else refusing to answer directly to their indictments, shall not have the benefit of the clergy. 2. By another, the detestable vice of buggery was adjudged felony. 3. There was also an act made to prevent the destroying of wild fowl, whereby it was enjoined, that none should be taken from the last day of May, to the last of August, upon pain of one year's imprisonment. 4. Whereas some people had gathered into few hands, several farms,

1534. the fore mentioned act, the king sent commissioners throughout the kingdom to administer the same oath to all his subjects. The collection of the publick acts contains the oaths of several abbots and fryars of all orders to this effect: that they would be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs and successors: that they owned the king for supreme head of the church of England: that the bishop of Rome has no more jurisdiction than any other bishop: that they renounced his obedience: that they would preach sincerely doctrines agreeable to the holy scriptures: that in their prayers, they would pray first for the king as supreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and her issue, and lastly for the archbishop of Canterbury^b. Some time after, Lee archbishop of York certified by a writing of the 5th of May, that in the convocation of his province it was declared, the pope had no more power in England than any other bishop. Only John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More late chancellor, refused to sign the act of parliament, which contained three principal articles, the succession of the crown, the nullity of the king's first marriage with the validity of his second, and the abolishment of the papal authority. They offered to sign the first article; but for the other two, they said, their conscience would not suffer them to consent to them, whereupon they were committed to the Tower^c.

Oath taken by the subjects according to the act.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 487, &c.—527.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 146.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 492.

Fisher and More refuse to take the oath, and are sent to the Tower.
Herbert.
Strype.
Burnet.

Whilst

and great plenty of cattle, particularly sheep, some to the number of twenty thousand, whereby the rents of lands were not only increased, but also tillage very much decayed, some churches and towns had been pulled down, and the price of corn, cattle, &c. excessively enhanced; it was therefore enacted, that no man should keep above two thousand sheep at one time: and not hold above two farms at once, and those to be in the parish where he lives. 5. That no man should buy bound books brought from beyond sea, nor buy any such by retail. See Statut. 25 Hen. VIII.

^b Gardiner wrote to Cromwell from Winchester the 6th of May, that the lord Audley and others, with all the abbots, priors, wardens, and curates, within the shire had taken the oath. The forms in which they did it are not known, for though they were enrolled, yet in queen Mary's days Bon-

ner and others were commissioned to examine the records, and raze out all things done either in contempt of the see of Rome, or the defamation of religious houses. However, two of the subscriptions of religious orders, dated May 4, 1534, escaped their diligence. One is by six abbies, the other by the prioresse and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford. See Burnet's collection, N. 50. vol. I.

^c At a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, many were cited to take the oath. More was first called, and the oath being tendered him, he replied, after having considered the act, he would neither blame those that made it, nor those that swore the oath: but for his part, though he was willing to swear to the succession, if he might be suffered to draw up the oath himself, yet for the oath that was offered him, his conscience so moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his soul,

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Whilst these oaths were administering throughout the kingdom, the king sent the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham^d to tell Catherine, she must forbear assuming the title of queen; and to lay before her the reasons that moved the parliament to deprive her of it. But she replied, she believed her marriage with the king good and lawful, and should hold it as such to her dying day: that she had never consummated her marriage with prince Arthur; and they who affirmed it, spoke not the truth: that she was not bound to submit to the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, since the pope had nulled it and decreed the contrary^e: that the king's marriage with Anne was not valid, as being made during the appeal: that she was not obliged to submit to the acts of the parliament, not being the king's subject but his wife: that besides, these acts were made by the king's subjects, upon an affair wherein he was party.

Henry acquaints Catherine with the act of parliament. Herbert. p. 175. The queen's answer.

Though Henry would have been very glad of Catherine's submission to what the parliament had enacted, it was not her obstinacy that gave him the most uneasiness. The emperor having undertaken to execute the pope's sentence, Henry was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himself in a state of defence, he desired to make a league with

Negotiation between Francis and Henry fruitless. Herbert.

soul, take it. Upon which, being desired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the oath, except Fisher, who answered in almost the same manner as More had done. Then More was again brought in, and they shewed him how many had taken it; he said, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Being asked the reason, he replied; he feared it might provoke the king the more against him if he should offer reasons, which would be called disputing against law: but however, if the king would command him to do it, he would put them in writing. Cranmer urged him with this argument, that since he blamed not others for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded it was a sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did know certainly, he ought to obey the king and the law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding his doubtings. He answered, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his conscience leaned

positively to the other side, and offered to purge himself by oath that it was purely out of conscience that he refused it. The abbot of Westminster pressed him (with an argument too often used in the like cases) that he might see his conscience was erroneous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind. Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell, earnestly pressed to accept the oath as More and Fisher offered; for if they once swore to the succession, it would quiet the kingdom, since all others would acquiesce and submit to the judgments of so great men. But this sage advice was not followed. Burnet, vol. I. p. 156. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 174:

^d Edward Lee, and Cuthbert Tunstall: they waited upon Catherine at Bugden, near Huntingdon. Herbert; p. 175.

^e Adding, that she would never leave the name of a queen, but always take herself for king Henry's wife. Herbert, p. 175.

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the king of France by a new treaty, which would render their union more effectual for their common defence. Francis seemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the terms should be to his advantage, and to make Henry subservient to his designs elsewhere. He had still an eye upon the duchy of Milan, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjustly taken from him, and designed to recover it, though he had expressly renounced it by the treaty of Cambray. To that end he had sacrificed the honour of his house, in marrying his second son to a bastard branch of the family of the Medici, because he did not think he could proceed without the pope. But on the other hand, he was afraid of losing the fruit of that alliance, by uniting too closely with the king of England, whom the pope could now consider but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to persuade Henry to act only privately, by sending large sums to the German protestants to foment the dissension between them and the emperor, and embroil him so, as to hinder him from thinking of Italy. Henry did not absolutely reject the proposal. He was very willing to assist the protestants with a good sum of money: but pretended withal that Francis should attack Navarre with a powerful army, whilst on his part he carried war into Flanders. But Francis could not resolve to join so openly with England, for fear of offending the pope. Besides, he turned all his thoughts to the Milanese, where an accident about the end of the last year gave him an opportunity to carry his arms. As this accident was the occasion or pretence of a new war between the emperor and the king of France, it will be necessary briefly to mention it.

The duke of Milan be-
heads Mer-
veilles the
king of
France's
envoy.
Bellai.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.

Francesco Sforza was no sooner restored to Milan upon very hard terms, but he wished to be freed from the emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the sum he had promised. Francis having some knowledge of Sforza's disposition, believed he should cherish it, in hopes of reaping by it one day some advantage. But as Sforza greatly feared to give the emperor suspicion, and consequently the affair was to be managed very privately, Francis found means to keep at Milan an envoy, who could not be suspected. He chose for that purpose a Milanese gentleman, called Merveilles, who having been formerly banished from Milan by Ludovico the Black, had lived in France ever since. The troubles of the Milanese being entirely ended by the peace of Cambray; Merveilles returned home with a letter of credence for the duke, to which the duke sent an answer, receiving

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ceiving the gentleman as envoy of France, though in publick he treated him not as such. However secret Marveilles's negotiation might be, the emperor had some notice of it, and made great complaints to the duke, who, to remove all suspicion, resolv'd to sacrifice to him this envoy. Accordingly, he suborn'd a person to quarrel with Merveilles, which ended in the murder of the party employ'd, who was killed by Merveilles's servants, without however their master's being present. Whereupon Merveilles was committed to prison, and two days after beheaded, without any one being suffer'd to speak with him. Francis hearing of it, wrote a menacing letter to the duke, and acquainted all his allies with what had happened. The duke would have excus'd himself, by denying that Merveilles was at Milan as envoy. What he said was true in respect to the publick. But he could not disown his own letter to the king in answer to the letter of credence. When the French ambassador inform'd the emperor of the outrage committed at Milan upon Merveilles, he coldly answer'd, He could not conceive, how the king of France could be affected with the death of a subject of the duke of Milan, whom his sovereign had punish'd according to his deserts. This answer made the king believe, the emperor was concern'd in Merveilles's death, which was a fresh cause of disgust, and inflam'd his desire of revenge. But on the other hand, he was not sorry the satisfaction he demand'd was refus'd, because he intended to take occasion from thence to enter the Milanese sword in hand. To that purpose, he order'd a levy of lansquenets in Germany, and demand'd passage of the duke of Savoy to go and chastise the duke of Milan. But that prince fearing to displease the emperor, would not grant it. For which reason Francis, who could not enter the Milanese but by passing through the duke of Savoy's dominions, resolv'd to make war upon him, using for pretence certain claims he had in right of Louisa his mother to the inheritance of the late duke of Savoy. Till every thing was ready to begin the war, he spent the whole year in divers negotiations, tending to create the emperor troubles, and disable him to assist the duke of Savoy.

Francis takes occasion to carry war into the Milanese. He demands a passage of the duke of Savoy, and upon his refusal declares war against him.

Whilst Francis was thus employ'd, the situation of the affairs of Italy was chang'd by the death of Clement VII. who was carried off by a fit of sickness the twenty sixth of September. The twelfth of October following, cardinal Farnese was chosen pope, and assumed the name of Paul III.

Clement VII's death. Paul III. succeeds him. Guicciard,

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Affairs of
Germany.
Sleidan.

There were likewise this year in Germany some alterations, which put the affairs of the protestants in a tolerable situation. The landgrave of Hesse defeated king Ferdinand's army, commanded by the count Palatine, and restored the duke of Wirtemberg to his dominions. Ferdinand, not being able any longer to resist the landgrave, was forced to agree to the duke's restoration; but withal obtained, that both the duke and the landgrave should acknowledge him for king of the Romans. Shortly after, the elector of Saxony acknowledged him also, having first got a promise from him, that he would not suffer any person to be molested in the empire on the account of religion.

Henry is
bent to stand
to the rup-
ture with the
pope.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Hall,
Hollingsh.
Divers acts
passed upon
that occa-
sion.

Clement VII's death caused no alteration in the measures taken by the court of England to shake off entirely the papal yoke. Matters had been carried too far ever to recede. Besides, the king having not much to fear from abroad, by reason of the troubles, the emperor was like to be involved in, and his subjects being inclined to support him, it would have been imprudent to neglect so favourable a juncture, and leave his work unfinished. So, the parliament meeting the third of November, passed several material acts, of which it will suffice to relate the substance, in order to show they all tended to the same point, that is, to break all the bonds which had served to hold the English in subjection to the popes.

I. Act con-
firms the
king's title
of head of
the church.

The first act confirmed the king's title of supreme head of the church of England, already given him by the clergy^f. Though Henry had very willingly accepted this title from the clergy, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuse it, he seemed however to doubt, whether he should receive it when offered by the parliament. He was pleased first to advise with his council, and consult some of the bishops, whether out of scruple, or to show it was not extorted. They whom he consulted having satisfied him, that the authority assumed by the bishop of Rome over the whole church had no foundation in scripture; he banished all his scruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward took all occasions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new title.

^f And declared, that the king, his heirs, and successors, shall have full power and authority to visit, reform, and restrain all such errors, heresies,

abuses, and offences, which by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed. See Statut.

By

By a second act it was declared treason to speak, write, or imagine any thing against the king or queen ^z.

The third debarred persons accused of treason of the benefit of sanctuary.

By a fourth, the parliament prescribed a form of oath concerning the succession, to be taken by all the king's subjects; and annulled all former oaths upon that head.

The fifth was very grievous to the clergy, as it gave the king the annates and first fruits of the benefices; whereas by the act already passed, the ecclesiasticks were in hopes of being ever freed from that burden. Moreover, by the same act the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings was granted to the king ^h.

By a sixth statute, provision was made for twenty five suffragan bishops, each of whom was to depend on his diocesan, who was to present two to the king for him to choose one. Thus was revived in the church of England the use of Chorepiscopi, introduced into the primitive church, but afterwards discontinued for several centuries ^l.

Lastly, The parliament condemned Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscated all their estates, for refusing to take the oath enjoined by the act of the former session. This sentence was considered by some as very unjust, whilst others admired

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II. Treason to speak evil of the king.

III. Concerning sanctuaries.

IV. Form of oath.

V. Grants the first fruits and tenths to the king.

VI. Suffragan bishops.

Fisher and More are condemned by the parliament. Burnet.

^z Or to call the king heretick, schismatick, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, which opprobrious names some insolent friars were very liberal of.

^h To be paid between Christmas and the first of April. It was ordered in this act, that the chancellor of England should direct into every diocese in the realm, commissions in the king's name, under his great seal, as well to the archbishop and bishop of every diocese, as to such other persons as the king should appoint; to examine, search, and require, by all ways and means, the true, just, and whole yearly value of all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and all other profits, as well spiritual as temporal, belonging to any archbishoprick, bishoprick, — archdeaconry, deanery, hospital, college, prebend, cathedral, or collegiate church, — parsonage, vicarage, — free chapel, or any other benefices or promotion spiritual. Accordingly, several commissioners were appointed for

each county, with whom were joined the bishops of the respective dioceses, and a certain number of auditors. The valuations that were thus taken by these commissioners, were all returned to Cromwell, master of the rolls; and according to them have the first fruits been paid ever since. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 211.

^l The towns appointed for suffragan sees were, Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Penreth, and Berwick, St. Germans, and the Isle of Wight. They were to exercise such jurisdiction as the bishop of the diocese should give to them; but their authority was to last no longer than the bishop continued his commission to them. In Burnet's collection, N. 51. vol. I. the reader may see a writ for making a suffragan bishop.

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in the same the effects of God's justice upon persons that had been violent persecutors of the Lutherans.

General
pardon.
Burnet.

Before the parliament broke up, the king granted a general pardon, from which however Fisher and More were excluded ^k.

Proclamation
against
the name of
poppe.

Stow.

Herbert.

The bishops
swear
against the
poppe.

Gardiner's
dissimula-
tion.

Herbert.

Progress of
the refor-
mation in
England.

Burnet.

Shortly after, the king issued out a proclamation, forbidding to give to the bishop of Rome the name of pope, and commanding that name to be razed out of all books to destroy the remembrance of it if possible. Then the bishops voluntarily swore to renounce expressly all obedience to the bishop of Rome. Gardiner, now bishop of Winchester, was not the last to take this oath, though in his soul he abhorred it as very unjust. But a blind condescension for the king in this respect was then the only means to preserve his favour. Besides, Gardiner was thereby enabled to cross upon other points the reformers, who daily gained ground ^l.

It was not only in Germany that the reformation had made some progress, but also in many other places. In England it had been countenanced in some measure by cardinal Wolsey, as during his ministry, no person was prosecuted for heresy, though the clergy wanted not occasions to exercise their usual severities, had they been left to take their own course.

Persecutions
raised by
More.
Burnet.
Fox.

After Wolsey's disgrace, sir Thomas More being made chancellor, persuaded the king that what did him the most injury at the court of Rome, was the report of his being a favourer of the innovators, and to remove this false imputation, the most infallible way was to show a zeal for religion. Henry following this advice, ordered the laws against hereticks to be rigorously executed, and very strictly prohibited the importing any of their books into the kingdom. But this prohibition was not capable of hindering several of Luther's treatises from being brought into England with Tindal's translation of the New Testament, who was retired into Flanders. The bishop of London having notice of it, caused some copies to be seized, and publickly burnt by the hangman ^m.

Bible burnt
at London.
Hall.
Burnet.

But

^k This parliament granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, to be paid in three years. There had been no subsidy granted for twelve years before. Burnet, tom. I. p. 158.

^l This year, on the 11th of August, the monasteries of Observant friars at Canterbury, Greenwich and Richmond, Newark and Newcastle, were suppressed,

and Augustin friars, (according to some) put in their room; though others mention not this exchange. See Stow, p. 571. Herbert, p. 178.

^m Tunstal, bishop of London, being at Antwerp, (where Tindal was) in 1529, as he returned from his embassy at the treaty of Cambray, sent for one Packington, an English merchant,

But this was so far from injuring the reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many persons, full of indignation at this impious act, inferred that the scriptures were contrary to the religion generally professed, since the clergy took such care to hinder the bible from being read, and that alone raised their curiosity to read. On the other hand, the dislike the English had taken to the pope, greatly increased by the reading of the Lutheran writings.

As the reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies was inflamed against such as embraced it. Whilst More was chancellor, he spared no pains to destroy them utterly. Many suffered martyrdom ⁿ with a wonderful constancy, which very much contributed to strengthen their brethren. At length, the king having to manage the German protestants, because he might afterwards want them, suspended More's persecution. On the other hand, Anne Bullen very much mollified the king in that respect. Archbishop Cranmer contributed to it likewise to the utmost of his power, and Thomas Cromwell, now in great esteem with the king, seconded their endeavours as far as in him lay. But they had a strong party against them, consisting of the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Longland bishop of Lincoln, almost all the churchmen who had any access to the court, and those who when they preached before the king filled their sermons with invectives against the reformation. All these had gained Henry's confidence by their compliance in the affair of the divorce and the supremacy, though in the last they acted contrary to their sentiments. By this condescension, they were enabled effectually

Persecution
in England
Burnet.
Fox.

put a stop to.

Cranmer and
Cromwell
support the
reformation.
Strong party
against
them.
Burnet.

chant, and desired him to see how many of Tindal's New Testaments he might have for money. Packington acquainted Tindal with what the bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it, for he was then designing a new and more correct edition; but being poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it. So, giving Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, the bishop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in Cheapside. Next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over, and chancellor More enquiring of one Constantine, who it was that encouraged and supported them at Antwerp, was told, that the greatest encouragement they had was from the bishop of Lon-

don, who bought up half the old impression. This made all that heard it laugh heartily. William Tindal, born on the borders of Wales, and brought up at Oxford, was afterwards burnt in 1536, at Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, crying out at the stake, Lord open the king of England's eyes. Hall, fol. 186, 227. Fox. Burnet, T. I. p. 159.

ⁿ As T. Hitton, in 1530, besides Bilney, and the rest mentioned above, p. 793, as also John Tewksbury, &c. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 162, &c. Fox, tom. II.

^o He was, on April 12, appointed chancellor of the Exchequer. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 456, and, on the 21st of September, this same year, master of the rolls. Stow, p. 571.

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to oppose the reformers in all the articles which concerned not the pope, and especially in that of the real presence, which the king deemed unquestionable, and thought so all his life. In spite of all this, the heads of the reformed despair'd not of inclining him by degrees to a farther reformation, because of the connection, the articles of religion have one with another. Besides, their party grew stronger every day, by the junction of such as read the holy scriptures and the religious books which were handed about, notwithstanding the king's prohibition. Nothing shows more the number and strength of that party, than the readiness wherewith the parliament pass'd the acts which tended to lessen the clergy's power, and shake off the papal yoke.

Francis I. seems to favour the reformation.

The reformation made likewise some progress in France: the king himself express'd an inclination for the doctrine of the protestants, which was privately countenanced by his sister Margaret queen of Navarre. But the cardinals of Tournon and Lorraine, who were in great credit with Francis, dissuaded him from it so earnestly, that they gain'd him at last, nay, made him a violent persecutor.

Peace between England and Scotland. Act Pub. XIV. p. 480, 529—542. Herbert. Hall.

Before I close what relates to the events of the year 1534, I must not forget to mention that a twelvemonth's truce concluded the last year ^p between England and Scotland, was turned into a peace the 11th of May this year. By the treaty, the peace was to last till the death of one of the two kings, and Henry might without breaking it keep the Douglasses in England.

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Embassy of France to King Henry. Bellai. Herbert.

In the beginning of the year 1535, Francis I. sent an embassy to Henry, under colour of discharging the duty of a good friend and ally, but in reality to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his secrets, and ask his advice. The occasion of the embassy was this: the emperor having resolv'd to carry his arms into Africa, had a mind to amuse Francis, left in his absence he should attack the duke of Savoy, and so open a way to the duchy of Milan, as he seem'd to intend. To that purpose, he had dispatch'd an ambassador to him, with orders to propose a marriage between his third daughter and Philip prince of Spain, and another between the dauphin and Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine of Arragon. Moreover, he had offer'd him a pension of a hundred thousand crowns for the duke of Orleans upon the duchy of Milan, and the duchy itself, after the death of Francesco Sforza, who had no heirs. It was

evident, these overtures were designed only to amuse Francis, who considered them himself upon no other foot. Nevertheless, he imagined they would serve to procure him some advantage from Henry, if he let him know he was courted by the emperor. To that end, he sent into England admiral Chabot Seigneur de Brion, on pretence to advise with the king upon these offers. But his chief aim was to make him uneasy, and induce him to offer some advantageous proposals. It appeared in the sequel he would have persuaded him to things which were very far from his thoughts. The admiral having discharged his commission, Henry answered, he much wondered, the emperor should pretend to marry his daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever should have any right or power: that it was manifest, he only sought to break the union between France and England, and therefore he hoped the king of France would not be so much his own enemy, as to hearken to such overtures. Shortly after, he sent orders to his ambassador at Paris ^a to tell Francis, he would give Elizabeth his daughter and heir to the duke of Angoulême his third son, upon the following conditions: that Francis himself, his three sons, the princes of the blood, the principal nobility of France, the parliaments, and universities should solemnly promise to cause to be revoked the sentence given against him by the bishop of Rome: that the duke of Angoulême should be sent into England to be educated: that in case by his marriage he should come to the crown of England, the duchy of Angoulême should be independent of the crown of France. These conditions were afterwards mitigated, and Francis I. seemed to agree to them. But he required in his turn, that Henry should assist him in the war of Savoy, and forgive him the perpetual annuity of a hundred thousand crowns, which he was bound to pay by a treaty. Henry perceiving Francis's insincerity, told the admiral, that instead of forgiving the pension he expected, the king his master should pay the arrears, and clear by the time appointed all his other debts. This answer put an end to the negotiation, which probably was undertaken only to sound Henry concerning the pension.

Francis's grand design was to recover the duchy of Milan, under pretence of revenging the affront done him by Sforza. But, to execute this project, it was necessary to raise the

Henry's
answer to
Francis's
proposal.
Herbert.

Henry's
offer.
Herbert.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Francis's
demand.

Henry de-
mands what
was due to
him.

Francis's
projects.

^a Sir John Wallop. There were moreover sent upon this occasion, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the

bishop of Ely, sir William Fitzwilliam, and doctor Fox. Herbert, p. 179. Hall, fol. 226.

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emperor troubles, which would hinder him from assisting that duchy. There were four several quarters from whence he hoped to embroil the emperor. First, from the pope and the princes of Italy. Secondly, in Germany, by means of the league of Smalcald. Thirdly, by fomenting discord between the king of England and the emperor. Lastly, by drawing the Turks into Germany. In order to all this, he had married his son the duke of Orleans to Catherine de Medici: lodged a hundred thousand crowns in the hands of the duke of Bavaria to be ready upon occasion; persuaded Henry to end the affair of the divorce in the manner we have seen; and had secret agents at Constantinople to treat of an alliance with Soliman emperor of the Turks. But most of these expedients, which he thought infallible, had proved unsuccessful. The first had miscarried by the death of Clement VII. and by the election of a new pope, whom it was not easy to gain to his interest. The king of the Romans had frustrated the second, by agreeing with the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wirtemberg. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, because the king of England's intention was not to make war upon the emperor, but only to stand upon the defensive. Consequently it was in the emperor's power to keep him quiet by not attacking him first. The Turks therefore alone could properly be subservient to his designs. But, to rely upon them, it was necessary to commence the war in Italy, otherwise it was not likely, Soliman would be persuaded to begin it in Hungary. Upon that account, he continued at Constantinople a negotiation, which was discovered by a letter intercepted by the duke of Urbino, who sent it immediately to the emperor. Mean while, Francis still persisted in his resolution to attack the duke of Savoy, and open a passage to the Milanese. He reckoned, the peace of Germany could not hold long: that the emperor and Henry would never live in a good understanding: and that, when once the war was begun, the pope, the potentates of Italy, the king of England, would readily assist to reduce the power of the house of Austria within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the princes of the league of Smalcald, fancying they would embrace this opportunity to free themselves from their uneasiness, caused by the advancement of that house. To that end, he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be so far inclined to their religion, that he was going to invite Melancthon into France to confer with him. But withal; he plainly showed he acted only
upon

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upon political views, since he caused to be burnt in France those that separated from the church of Rome. Mean while, as there was some difference between Luther and Calvin about religion, and as those that were burnt in France were Calvinists, the rigid Lutherans not considering them as their brethren, imagined Francis might treat them with the utmost severity, without losing his regard for the Lutheran religion. Francis resolving to use his endeavours to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, attacked the duke of Savoy, and in the first campaign took from him Savoy and la Bresse.

Whilst Francis was labouring to accomplish his designs, Charles V. was forming vast projects, which tended to no less than establishing his dominion over all Europe. Indeed, France and England being closely united together, could have opposed a strong fence against his ambition: But he did not despair to disunite them in the end. That was his chief care, whilst on one hand, he excited the Irish to a rebellion, and the king of Scotland to a rupture with England. But whilst he was endeavouring to embroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himself uneasy with regard to Soliman, who threatened Germany under colour of supporting the interests of John de Zapol, whom he had caused to be crowned king of Hungary. On the other hand, he saw with extreme concern the great progress of Haradin Barbarossa, the famous corsair, who after expelling Muley Hassem, had made himself king of Tunis. Such a neighbour could not but disquiet him, because, to hinder him from ravaging the coasts of Spain, Naples and Sicily, it would have been necessary constantly to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have disconcerted his other projects. So considering the war, he had resolved to wage with Haradin, as the most urgent affair, he made this summer an expedition into Africa, where he took the fort of la Goullette, after which, he became master of Tunis, and restored Muley Hassem.

Henry gladly saw the emperor engaging in wars, which probably would keep him long employed. Whereupon he resolved to improve this interval, to compleat the regulation of his domestick affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful state. He had abolished the papal authority, and been declared supreme head of the church of England by acts of parliament. But though, by the constitution of the government, these acts seemed to be above all contradiction, it was however but too true, that this was not sufficient.

As

P. Daniel,

Designs of
Charles V.Herbert,
Hall.The emperor's
expedition to
Africa.
Hist. of Sp.
Herbert.Henry's dis-
position as
to religion.

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As religion was concerned, and conscience cannot be compelled, the statutes themselves wanted to be supported by force, that an outward obedience at least might be paid them. It is certain, the uniformity which appeared in the determinations of the parliament and clergy, was in many the effect of fear rather than of inward persuasion. Nay some, as Fisher and More, were so hardy as openly to disapprove these ordinances, and notwithstanding the severity exercised upon them, still persisted in the same opinion. It is true, these instances of rigour to persons of such distinction, made people silent, but were not capable of convincing them of the reasonableness of the statutes. Thus, though the king found no publick opposition, it was easy for him to see, that an obedience proceeding from fear could last no longer than compulsion subsisted. On the other hand, he beheld with concern the triumph of the protestants, who imagined that after abolishing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. Mean while, it was every where published, that he was upon the point of forsaking the antient religion; some asserting it out of malice, to render him odious; and others, because they wished it. To clear himself therefore from these imputations, at the very time he refused to recognize the pope's authority, he ordered those who were called sacramentarians to be burnt. By this conduct, he made himself hateful to the catholicks and protestants. As for the protestants, he bore their ill-will without much concern: besides that, he feared them not, he approved in their doctrine the articles only that opposed the papal authority, and their sentiments of the friars, with whom he was extremely incensed, because they laboured with all their power to alienate from him the affections of his people. It is true, he valued and loved Cranmer and Cromwell, with some others, who countenanced the reformation; but he did not look upon them as protestants. He believed them men of solid virtue and piety, who, preserving the essential doctrines of religion, were desirous of reforming the abuses crept into the church. But, as among these abuses, he himself acknowledged only what concerned the pope and the friars, he imagined the reformers kept within the same bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to discover all their thoughts. But by conforming themselves to his sentiments on these two articles, they hoped to induce him by degrees to advance the reformation, when by their pains he should become more enlightened.

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enlightened. For which reason the reformation began in England with these two points. As to the others, which had no relation to these, they were not meddled with during this reign, or at least, but slightly. The reason is, because Henry would never suffer his subjects to go greater lengths than himself. But to speak the truth, his understanding was always directed by his interest. If all the changes made in religion in his reign be examined, they will all be found to concur directly to establish an absolute power over his subjects. That was ever the principal, and perhaps the sole motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with Rome to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the reformation take occasion to say, it was established in England on political views. This may be true, if the person of Henry VIII. be only considered. But it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it acted upon the like motive. Besides, what was the reformation in Henry VIII's days? Only a bare renouncing of the papal power, whilst those were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be said of Henry's person, and his motives to throw off the papal yoke, I do not see that the protestants are much concerned to undertake his defence.

Henry finding that many of his subjects approved not his conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they used, of the sentence published against him by the pope. To that purpose he would have engaged all France to join with him in procuring a revocation. But that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the court of Rome no less so. He could never have resolved to part with the title of head of the church of England, and the pope would never have consented to an agreement, unless things were restored to their antient state. So Henry seeing himself obliged to pursue his point, resolved to overcome by force, the obstinacy of such of his subjects as refused to submit to the laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, desiring to purge himself of the imputation of Heresy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to punish severely those that embraced the new opinions. In this sort of medium, which pleased neither party, he passed the residue of his days. But this is saying too little. It must be further added, that considering himself as a pattern for his subjects, he compelled them to keep within the same bounds, and would not suffer them to believe more or less than himself.

Lc.

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It was impossible that after such a resolution Henry should not live in a continual mistrust of his subjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what passed in the kingdom. Moreover, he had likewise to guard against the emperor's attacks, who had openly threatened him. He was sensible, if he were once engaged in a war, those that durst not look him in the face during his prosperity, would not scruple to declare against him, if his arms were unsuccessful. The king of Scotland his nephew was the person most to be feared. As for the king of France, who professed himself his friend, and indeed was much obliged to him, he had shown too plainly how self-interested his friendship was to be relied on. They both intended to imbroil the emperor, but with different views: Each meant to make his ally subservient to his designs; and to improve the advantages which flowed from their union. Thus Henry saw no resource but in his own subjects, among whom however there were many male-contents. But as he had acted for some time with great haughtiness, he found, if he relaxed on this occasion, it would certainly be ascribed either to his scruples, or to a sense of his weakness, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This consideration joined to his stern and haughty temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became fierce, cruel, insensible of his people's calamities, and executing without mercy, the laws dictated by himself to his parliament. In short, he may, in some manner be said, to be no longer the same king that had before reigned. All that can be alleged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by persons, who, endeavouring to alienate the hearts of his subjects, attacked him in the most sensible part, because his whole reliance was upon the assistance of his people.

Reason of
the great
submission of
the English
to Henry.

It will doubtless, be surprizing to see in this reign the English so patient and submissive to their sovereign's pleasure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the divorce, that the parliament refused him any thing, though his demands were very extraordinary. But it is easy to discover the reason. Religion was the sole cause. The king, as it was observed, kept a sort of medium with respect to religion. But as no man could believe it possible for him to remain long in that situation, those who desired the reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it by degrees. In like manner, the friends of the old religion, seeing such beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and their

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their opposition but make him finish his work the sooner. So, each party striving to gain him to their interest, there resulted for him an authority which none of his predecessors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have usurped in any other circumstances, without hazarding his crown. But both parties were alike deceived. Henry kept in the same medium all the rest of his life, and made them both feel the fatal effects of that absolute power they had so easily suffered him to assume. It is true, he was always so prudent, as not to act contrary to law. But he made use of his power to procure such laws as he pleased, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be seen in the sequel. But after showing Henry's character and motives, his actions must be related, which will confirm what has been observed.

Though the acts concerning the king's marriage and the papal power, bore the seal of the publick authority, they were very far from being universally approved. As they were not ascribed so much to the two houses as to the king, on him it was that the whole blame was cast. Among all the male-contents, the monks were the most open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the people. They could not bear his setting himself up in the pope's place, whom they had always considered, and still did consider as their true head, notwithstanding the statutes made against him. These were the men that caused the pretended Kentish prophets to say, if the king put away queen Catherine, and married another, he should die in a month, and come to a tragical end. A Franciscan, named Peto, preaching before the king, was so hardy as to tell him to his face, "That God's judgments were ready to fall upon his head: that he was always surrounded with a croud of lying prophets, who foretold him good success. But for himself, like another Micaiah, he warned him that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The friar's insolence and the daily reports of the invectives which were every where spread against him, provoked him extremely against them, as well as against those that had the boldness

The monks
become
odious to
the king.

Insolence of
a Franciscan.
Stow.
Burnet.

† At Greenwich, where Henry resided most in summer. The king bore Peto's insolence patiently; but, to undeceive the People, procured Dr. Curwin to preach the next Sunday, who justified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto, as a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but Elstou, ano-

ther friar of the same house, interrupted him, and said, he was one of the lying prophets, that sought by adultery, to establish the succession to the crown. And yet, nothing more was done to these two friars, than that they were convened before the council, and rebuked for their insolence. Stow, p. 562. Burnet, tom. 1. p. 151.

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Debate of
the council
how the
king was to
behave.
Herbert.

It is resolved
to put the
laws in
execution.

Priors and
monks exe-
cuted with
some pro-
testants,
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Strype.
Hollingh.
Fox.

to speak opprobriously of the acts of parliament. He was however very patient for some time, imagining that the people would at length be calmed. But when he saw they did not cease to asperse him with all sorts of calumnies, he called a council to consider how he should behave towards those who affected to contradict the laws and speak evil of him. Some of the council were for taking no notice of these offences, for fear too great a severity should have a quite contrary effect to what he desired ^s. But others represented to him the ill consequence of such a conduct. They showed him, that these people's aim was to stir up the people against him, to give the bishop of Rome opportunity to assert his pretended authority, and therefore they were for putting the laws in execution with the utmost rigor. The king himself was of this opinion, as most agreeable to his fierce and stern temper, which could not bear contradiction. Besides, he saw to what he should be reduced in the end, if his enemies succeeded in their design to render him odious to the people. It is not therefore very strange, that seeing himself thus provoked, he resolved to treat with rigor those who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

The resolution being taken of executing the laws without mercy, certain priors, monks, and others, who had been too free with the new statutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmost rigor of the same laws ^t. But at the same time, the king fearing lest this severity should be ascribed to the inclination, he was charged with, for the new religion, affected to use the same rigor to those who had openly embraced the reformation, and put them to death with the others. At last to keep every one in awe by an example which should make the boldest tremble, he resolved to deliver up to the rigor of the law, Fisher and More, then prisoners in the Tower ^u. To that end,

^s They thought that imprisonment, banishment, or the like, was punishment enough for those, who, confessing the king's supreme authority in all temporal matters, did, out of scrupulosity rather than malice, oppose the rest. Herbert, p. 182.

^t Namely, the prior of the Charter-House in London, the priors of Exham, and Benall, a monk of Sion, and John Haile vicar of Thistleworth, on May 4; and three monks of the Charter-House, on July 18, 1535. They were all drawn and quartered at

Tyburn. The Protestants put to death, were, John Frith, a man of great learning, and Andrew Hewet, on July 22, 1534. As also nineteen men and six women, born in Holland. These were burnt, Hall, fol. 225, 226. Stow, p. 571. Burnet, tom. 1. 166, &c. 352. Fox, tom. XI.

^u Fisher was hardly used; his goods being seized, he had only some old rags left him to cover him, and he was neither well supplied with diet nor other necessaries. Burnet, tom. I. p. 156.

Fisher was required to take the oath of supremacy, it being supposed he would refuse it, as he did indeed. About the same time Paul III. created him cardinal, though he had declared that if the cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up. But the pope, whose aim was to encourage such as opposed the king, conferred however that dignity upon him, with the pompous eulogy, that he considered him as the cardinal of cardinals. This unseasonable honour hastened in all likelihood Fisher's death, who being condemned, was executed the 22d of June, a month after his being made cardinal, and some days before the hat, sent him by the pope, came to London^w. After that, Sir Thomas More being required to take the same oath, refused to answer, saying, "The act of parliament is like a sword with two edges. for if a man answer one way, it will destroy the soul, and if he answer another, it will destroy the body." Upon his refusal, he was condemned and executed. He was a man of great learning, and excellent parts, but so addicted to jesting, that even the presence of death could not make him lay aside his usual facetiousness^x. When upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the mortal blow, he perceived his beard was got under his chin: whereupon hastily rising up, he bid the executioner stay a little till he had put his beard aside, since having committed no treason it was not just it should be cut off^y.

1535.

Fisher is
executed.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 155.

353:
Stow.
Herbert.
The pope
makes him
a cardinal.

Sir Thomas
More executed.
Hall.

Burnet.
Herbert.
Strype.

Hall.

Whilst

^w Burnet says, the hat came no nearer him than Picardy. He was brought to his trial on the 17th of June. 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 up on London-bridge. His body was first buried in Barking church-yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with More's in the Tower. He was many years confessor to the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond. It was believed, that he persuaded her to found her two colleges in Cambridge, and upon that account was chosen chancellor of that university. Henry VII. gave him the bishoprick of Rochester, which he, following the rule of the primitive church,

would never change for a better: he used to say his church was his wife, and he would never part with her because she was poor. Burnet, tom. I. p. 354.

^x When he was going up the stairs of the scaffold, observing they were weak, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, when I come down again, let me shift for myself, as well as I can. Also, when he was first committed to the Tower, one of the officers, demanding his upper garment (that is his gown) for his fee, Sir Thomas taking off his cap, gave it him, saying, that was the uppermost garment he had. Hall, fol. 226.

^y On the first of July, Sir Thomas More was brought to his trial, and beheaded on the 6th, in the fifty third year of his age. Though he was as-

1535.

Paul III.
excommunicates Henry
without publishing the
bull.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Whilst these things passed in England, pope Paul III. still kept some correspondence with sir Gregory Cassali, who was at Rome though without character. The pope earnestly wished, that some expedient might be found to heal the breach made by Clement VII's too great precipitation, and conferred from time to time with Cassali. But when news came of the execution of the monks and of Fisher and More, for denying the king's supremacy, he despaired of succeeding. He perceived there was no more ceremony to be used, since all regard for him was thrown aside in England, and a settled design shown of supporting what had been done. So, to maintain the honour of his see, he drew up a thundering bull, excommunicating Henry and absolving his subjects from their oath. Moreover, he ordered all the ecclesiasticks to depart his dominions and the nobility to take up arms against him: He put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all christians to have any commerce with the English. He annulled all the treaties made by foreign princes with Henry before his marriage with Anne Bullen, declaring their issue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. Mean while, as he was sensible, these spiritual thunders would produce no great effect, unless supported with temporal arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publishing of this bull to a more convenient season.

Embassy to
the protestants of
Germany.

But though the bull was not published, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to Henry's knowledge. Whereupon he resolved to join with the protestants of Germany ^z, and keep the emperor employed in that coun-

terwards superstitiously devoted to the interest and passions of the popish clergy, and even assisted them in all their cruelties, yet in his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his Utopia, where he seems to borrow the disguise of a romance, only to declare his mind with greater freedom: he tells us, the Utopians allow liberty of conscience, and force their religion upon no body: that they hinder none from a sober enquiry into truth, nor use any violence upon the account of a different belief. He was, says Burnet, no divine at all, neither did he know any thing of antiquity, beyond the quotations in the canon law, and in the master of sentences. Nor was he conversant at all in the critical learning upon the scripture; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he

had a natural easy expression, and presented all the opinions of popery, with their fair side to the reader, disguising the black side of them with neat art; and had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived. He is said to have but one hundred pounds a year when he resigned the chancellorship. Burnet, tom. 1. p. 355; and tom. III. p. 29. Herbert, p. 184.

^z And the rather, because the pope declared, he would give away England to some of the German catholick princes, being unwilling to increase therewith the power of France or Spain. Herbert, p. 184.

try. He dispatched therefore Edward Fox to the league of Smalcald ^a whilst Francis I. made use for the same purpose of William du Bellai lord of Langeais. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty union to be formed between these two monarchs and the protestants of Germany. The protestants meant only to preserve the liberty of professing their religion unmolested, whereas the sole aim of Francis and Henry was to excite them against the emperor, without any regard to the protestant religion, which they were persecuting in their kingdoms. It is true, to gain the protestants, they feigned an inclination for their religion, and a desire to establish it in their dominions. Nay, Henry very much improved the conformity of his sentiments with theirs concerning the papal authority. But the rigour wherewith these two monarchs treated such of their subjects as had embraced the new religion, destroyed whatever their ambassadors could say. For this reason the protestants always insisted upon settling the points which concerned religion, and continued to require that Henry should openly declare for the Augsburg confession, that their union might be built on a solid foundation. Henry feigned to approve of what they proposed, and to make them believe it the more, wished them to send some of their divines to confer with those of England. But he never really intended to conform himself to their notions. He rather wanted the Germans as well as the English to learn of him what they were to believe. And for this cause the project of the proposed union was never executed. However, this negotiation made the pope and the emperor very uneasy, who plainly saw that in attacking Henry there was danger of really engaging him to unite with the league of Smalcald.

But Henry did not depend so much upon foreign assistance as upon his own strength. Mean while, as his subjects were daily corrupted by the monks, who insinuated to them that he was going to overturn all religion, he resolved to take all possible precautions to prevent the pernicious designs of these dangerous adversaries. To this end it was moved in the council, whether it would not be proper to suppress at once all the monasteries. This question was debated with great warmth, by reason of the two contrary parties in the council. Cranmer and Cromwell looked upon the suppression of the monasteries as a great step to the reformation. But on

1535.
Herbert.
Burnet.
T. III. III.
Strype.

Henry lays before the council the suppression of the monasteries.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Divers opinions upon that account.

^a With doctor Hethe. Earns had been sent thither before. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 110. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 225.

1535. the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln and others, who had with reluctance subscribed to what had been done against the pope, could not resolve to consent to the suppression. They saw, after that, the kingdom would be irrecoverably lost to the pope, without reckoning that the dissolution of the monasteries might produce yet greater effects with regard to religion. The king having heard the arguments on both sides, found he should not be able to suppress the monasteries all at once, without giving offence to the greatest part of his subjects. He resolved therefore with himself to accomplish it by degrees, and therefore to begin with a thing absolutely necessary, namely, to remove the people's prejudice in favour of the monks. To that end, he ordered a general visitation of the monasteries, to know perfectly the titles of their estates, the behaviour of the friars and nuns, how the rules of each order were observed, and other things of the like nature. He did not question, this visitation would discover several considerable abuses, which being made publick would sensibly diminish the people's veneration for the religious, and pave the way to his design. He was extremely incensed with the monks, whom he looked upon as disturbers of his repose. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their estates did not a little contribute without doubt towards his pushing the affair with great earnestness ^b. Thomas Cromwell was chosen to manage the inquiry by the name of visitor general. This choice was a plain indication of the king's intent, since he employed a person who was utterly averse to the monks. Cromwell having appointed substitutes or commissioners ^c gave them very particular instructions under eighty six articles, and the visitation began in October. It may be easily judged that among so great a number of monasteries as were in the kingdom, most of which had never been visited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in respect of the lives of the friars and nuns, as in regard to the observance of the rule, and the management of the temporalities. The visitors, who were not their friends, and doubtless had orders to terrify them, told them, they

He orders
the monas-
teries to be
visited,
Burnet.
T. I. p. 182.
Herbert,
Strype.

and leaves
the manage-
ment to
Cromwell,
Burnet.
Herbert.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

^b He wanted money upon several accounts; chiefly, as he apprehended a war from the emperor, the most powerful prince then in the world, and who had large fleets of his own; therefore, to secure himself against his attacks, he judged it necessary to fortify

his ports, and to build new harbours. Burnet, tom. I. p. 189.

^c Particularly Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law, doctor John London dean of Wallingford, &c. Herbert, p. 186. Burnet, tom. I. p. 183.

1535.

were going to be exposed to the king's utmost severity, and the rigour of the law. Then, they suggested to them, that to save themselves harmless and withal to hide their disorders, the best way was to resign their houses to the king^d, who upon that consideration would take care to provide for each in particular. A good number of priors being terrified by the visitors, chose to follow their advice, their monks agreeing to it, some to avoid punishment, others to enjoy their liberty, and some for want of resolution to resist^e. The reports of the commissioners were published, that all might be satisfied, the king had not without reason and necessity ordered this general visitation. The truth is, in some monasteries were discovered monstrous disorders and horrible crimes, not only with respect to the debaucheries of the friars and nuns, but chiefly on the account of the images and relics, for which a shameful trade was driven to enrich the monasteries by cherishing the people's superstition^f. This occasioned an ordinance of the king, who, as supreme head of the church of England, discharged from their vows such as were professed under four and twenty years of age, and allowed all the rest to quit their houses, and live like seculars if they pleased^g. But as most were accustomed to an idle life,

Several abbots and priors surrender their houses to the king. Burnet. The account of the visitation is published.

The king gives the monks leave to quit their monasteries. Stow. Hollingsh.

^d Before this, namely, on February 24, 1533, the priory of the Trinity, or Christ church, near Aldgate, in London, was suppressed, and the lands and church plate thereto belonging, given to Sir Thomas Audley the high chancellor. Stow, p. 560.

^e The first surrender was by the abbot of Langden in Kent, on November 13. (Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 555.) who, upon doctor Leighton's breaking open his door on a sudden, was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay brother. This surrender was followed by that of the priory of Folkston, November 15; on the 16th, of that of Dover; and on February 21, 1536, of that of Bilsington, all three in Kent. As also of Merton in Yorkshire, February 9, of Tilty in Essex, and of Hornby in Yorkshire, March 23. The original of these and the other surrenders are in the augmentation office. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

^f They found great factions in the houses, and barbarous cruelties exercised by one faction against another, as

either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and superstition. In some they found instruments and other tools for multiplying and coining. But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars, not only with harlots but married women; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutish practices: these, says Burnet, are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost; yet Burnet saw an extract of a part of it concerning one hundred forty four houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

^g The men, if in orders, were to have a priest's habit given them, and forty shillings in money; the nuns were to have only a gown, such as secular women wore. Some however for surrendering their houses got small pensions. Herbeit. Stow, p. 572.

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and perceived when they forsook their monasteries they should be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the king produced no great effect. Besides, there were doubtless many, who out of conscience thought not proper to use it. So, Henry was obliged to take other measures.

Change of
somebishops.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 550,
552, 553.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 171.
Stow.

It was but this year that cardinal Campegio lost the bishoprick of Salisbury, which was given to Nicholas Shaxton a friend to the reformers. Shortly after, the see of Worcester was taken from Ghinucci an Italian; and conferred on Hugh Latimer, great friend of Cranmer. John Hilsey was promoted to the see of Rochester, vacant by the death of Fisher, and Edward Fox to that of Hereford.

Henry tries
to persuade
the king of
Scotland to
renounce the
popc.
Buchanan.
Herbert.

Among all the king's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneasiness than his nephew the king of Scotland, and not without reason. During the whole time of that prince's minority, Henry had fomented the troubles of Scotland, and even shown that his designs tended to become master of that kingdom. James was fully informed, and though he showed great regard for the king his uncle, he let him see however he did not consider him as a friend. Henry therefore was in danger, that if the innovations in religion caused disturbances in the kingdom, the king of Scotland would take occasion to be revenged by assisting the malecontents. This fear was the more just, as the emperor knowing the king of Scotland's disposition, had already laboured to inspire him with suspicions and jealousies of France and England. Nay, he would have concluded a league with him, as I observed, had not Francis broken his measures by procuring a peace between England and Scotland. But notwithstanding the peace, Henry was always in distrust of that quarter. So, to make himself easy, he formed the project to instill into the king of Scotland the resolution to follow his example, and renounce the pope's obedience. He considered this as a sure means to preserve between the two kingdoms a strict union, which would be very advantageous in his present circumstances. He sent him therefore in the first place a long letter ^h, declaring the reasons of his conduct with regard to the pope. Then, he dispatched an ambassador ⁱ to propose an interview, fancying that a conference with him would produce a greater effect

He demands
an interview.

^h By William Barlow, bishop elect of St. Asaph, and Thomas Holcroft. Herbert, p. 184.

ⁱ William Howard brother of the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, p. 184.

than

1535.

than whatever he should say to him by letter or embassy. But though the reformation had already crept into Scotland, James had no inclination to embrace it. So, the ecclesiasticks about his person easily dissuaded him from accepting the interview, where they were afraid some things might pass very prejudicial to their religion. Mean while, James, not being willing openly to refuse the conference desired by the king his uncle, gave him hopes of his consent, after certain difficulties, purposely raised, were removed. But at the same time he demanded of the pope a brief, to forbid his having any interview with the king of England. When the brief came, he gave the king his uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his journey, was extremely offended at this refusal. Hence sprung a quarrel between them, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

James excuses himself on account of the pope's prohibition.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I must not forget to relate an event which very much changed the face of the affairs of Europe. I mean the death of Francesco Sforza duke of Milan, which happened in the month of October. As that prince left no issue by Catherine of Denmark the emperor's neice, whom he had lately married, the duchy of Milan as fief of the empire, was fallen to the emperor to be disposed of as he pleased. So, the fears and jealousies of the pope, the king of France and the Venetians, were revived on this occasion; each of these powers having cause to fear the emperor would keep Milan for himself, or give it to his brother the king of the Romans. In that case, Italy would of course fall again into slavery, and the king of France lose his hopes of recovering that duchy. To make them easy, the emperor declared he had no design to keep Milan, but intended to present some prince with it, who should cause no suspicion to those that were concerned to preserve the peace of Italy. Afterwards, he wisely made use of it for a lure to amuse the king of France. But in reality he never desired to dispossess himself of it ^k.

Death of the duke of Milan. Herbert.

The emperor feigns not to intend to keep that duchy.

* This year, Wales, which had hitherto been only a province to the English nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the realm of England. Statut. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.—John Owen began this year to make brass cannons, being the first that made this kind of artillery in England.—The 8th of May, king Henry commanded all persons about

his court to cut their hair short, and to set them an example, he caused his own to be cut; and likewise began to wear his beard knotted, and was no more shaved.—August 16, the king's stables at the Meuse (so called because the king's hawks were there mewed and kept) were burnt down. Hall, fol. 225. Stow, p. 571.

1536.

Death of
queen Ca-
therine.
Herbert.
Stow.
Burnet.

Queen Catherine ended her days the beginning of the year 1536¹. Though her virtue had gained her an universal esteem, she died however little lamented by the publick, because she equally embarrassed her friends and enemies. Before she expired, she dictated a very tender letter to the king, who seemed to be extremely moved with it^m. But in all appearance his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her when first married, her mildness and modesty having a greater influence upon him than she could expect from her beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time, his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, though always with much civility. At last, after he had resolved to put her away, her obstinate refusal to comply with his will made him consider her as an enemy. Accordingly he used her rigorously when the sentence of divorce was pronounced, even to the not suffering her to keep servants who treated her as a queen. At last he publickly forbid to give her that title, though he was forced to connive at her disobedience.

Parliament
meets.

The parliament meeting the 4th of February finished the work begun, by abolishing every thing relating to the pope's power, not to leave the least pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the king had a farther view, namely, to suppress the monasteries, as well to be revenged of the monks and prevent their ill designs, as to procure their estates. In all appearance, the late visitation of the monasteries had convinced him that the monks were as unserviceable to religion, as prejudicial to his affairs in his present circumstances.

¹ On the 8th of January at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty three years after she came into England. In her will, she appointed her body to be buried in a convent of Observants, who had done and suffered most for her, but the king ordered it to be laid in the abby-church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to a cathedral. Stow, p. 572. Queen Anne Bullen wore yellow for the morning. Hall, fol. 227.

^m In the title she called him, "My most dear lord, king, and husband," and concluded with saying, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. She advised him to look to the health of his soul. She forgave him all the troubles he

had cast her into. She recommended their daughter Mary to him, desiring he would be a loving father to her. She also desired he would provide matches for her maids, who were but three; and that he would give her servants one year's wages more than was due to them." She was a devout and pious princess, and led a severe life. In her greatness she wrought much with her own hand, and kept her women well employed about her, as appeared when the two legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a skein of silk about her neck, and told them she had been within at work with her maids. Few such queens now-a-days! Burnet, tom. I. p. 192.

1536.

Reasons of altering the ecclesiastical constitutions.

As among the constitutions observed in the church of England, there were not a few that had a manifest relation to the papal authority, it was absolutely necessary to annul them and make others, which should have for foundation the king's supremacy. The parliament had already passed an act, empowering the king to nominate thirty two commissioners to examine such as were to be abolished. But the king had not hastened the nomination, because by this confusion, his authority was much more extensive. Indeed, the papal power was abolished by act of parliament, and yet it still subsisted in the constitutions, which not being abrogated threw the clergy into great perplexities because they knew not what to do. But this was what the king desired, that the clergy might be more at his devotion, since he could equally prosecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not observe them. The parliament taking this contrariety into consideration would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the king, to appoint commissioners to alter these constitutions. This was a sort of reproach for his negligence in that respect. But he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the same state it was ⁿ.

He had another thing in his thoughts which affected him much more, namely, to execute his design upon the monks. In this session, he represented to the parliament, that the great number of monasteries in the kingdom were a burden to the state, and earnestly desired them to remedy the evil by such means as they should judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, That all houses of two hundred pounds a year and under should be suppressed; and their effects given to the king ^o. Of this sort there were three hundred seventy six, and a revenue of thirty two thousand pounds a year fell to the crown, with above a hundred thousand pounds worth of plate, goods, ornaments of the churches, and the like. A new court was erected, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue, which was to take cognizance of all matters concerning this new acquisition ^p. The erecting of a court

Act for suppressing the lesser monasteries, Act. Pub. XIV. P. 575.

Herbert, Stow. Hollingsh.

Court of augmentations erected. Burnet.

ⁿ About this time, king Henry appointed an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and ordered a seal to be cut. The archbishop of Canterbury's title was also in convocation ordered to be altered: instead of legate of the apostolick see, he was to be called, metropolitan and primate, Burnet, tom. III. p. 104.

^o A commission was also directed, on

June 16, 1535, to the bishops of Meath and Kildare, to John Allen master of the rolls, Gerard Ailmer chief baron of the Exchequer, and some others, empowering them to suppress the monasteries in Ireland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 551.

^p The court was to consist of a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney and solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers,

ets,

1536.

Resolution
to let the
people have
the bible in
English.
Burnet.

a court for so small an income was a clear evidence, the king had no design to stop there, but intended to seize the revenues of all the monasteries in the kingdom⁹.

The convocation sitting, as usual, at the same time with the parliament, a motion was made there that there should be a translation of the bible in English, to be set up in all churches, and the same was approved of. It must be observed, the king's intent was only to show the people, there was nothing contrary to the holy scriptures in what was done against the pope. But Cranmer, Cromwell, and the rest of the reformers had much farther views. They hoped, when the bible was in the hands of the people, they would see their error in many other things which hitherto had been deemed essential to religion. But they took care to hide their designs from the king, knowing how contrary they were to his. Henry was absolutely against all reformation of doctrine, and consequently they were to bring him insensibly and by degrees to what they desired. They partly succeeded, but they fell extremely short of what they had expected at first. However, they thought it very considerable to obtain his consent that it should be moved in the convocation, to give the people the bible in English, and to have caused the motion to be approved. As there was then no other English version of the bible but Tindal's, made at Antwerp without the publick authority, the convocation petitioned the king for a good translation, which he was pleased to take upon himself^r.

The king
takes it upon
himself.

ers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger. Besides the present ones, the king was to have the lands of all those houses that had been dissolved within a year before this act. Burnet, tom. I. p. 194.

⁹ What remarkable statutes were enacted during this session, are as follows, 1. Whereas pirates used to be tried after the course of the civil laws, it was ordered, that they should be tried in such places as should be directed by the king's commission, and by juries, as offenders at land. 2. That every person who hath a park, shall keep two mares thirteen hands high, for breeding foals. 3. That clerks presented to benefices, shall not pay tenths the first year in which they pay their first fruits. 4. That tithes, offerings, and other duties, shall be paid according to the ecclesiastical laws and ordinances of

the church of England, and after the laudable uses and customs of each parish. 5. That all bargains and sales of lands shall be made by writing indented, sealed, and inrolled, in one of the king's courts of record at Westminster, or before the custos rotularum, two justices, and a clerk of the peace, of the county where the lands lie. See Statut. 27 Hen.

^r It is not known to whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it. For the account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this it was printed at Paris, which shows they made all convenient haste, in a thing that required so much deliberation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

Henry

Henry having obtained of the parliament all he desired, thought it time to dissolve it, which he did the 14th of April, after having continued it six years. Never had parliament lasted so long since the beginning of the monarchy.

1536.

The parliament is dissolved.
Burnet.

The care Henry took to secure himself from the cabals of the monks and his other domestick enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign affairs, and of means to avoid the emperor's attacks. Francis was invading Savoy, and it was but too manifest that his intent was to open a passage into the Milanese. But as this was a great undertaking.

P. Daniel.

considering the situation of France, the emperor could not believe, he had engaged in it without being first sure of Henry's assistance. Wherefore he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to break their union. From the death of Sforza,

He promises Milan to a son of Francis,

he had continued a private negotiation with Francis to resign the duchy of Milan to one of his sons, and acted so artfully that the treaty seemed to be very near a conclusion. This could not but inspire Henry with jealousy. He plainly saw if the negotiation ended to the king of France's satisfaction, he would be regardless of his interests. On the other hand, the emperor no sooner heard of the death of his aunt queen Catherine, but he sent and offered Henry to renew their alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was passed. But lest he should be taken at his word, he required three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleased, his aim being only to sow division between Francis and Henry by making them suspicious of each other. The first of these conditions was, that Henry should be reconciled to the pope, to which end he offered his mediation. By the second, he demanded a powerful assistance against the Turks. By the third, that pursuant to their treaty in 1518, he should join with him in the defence of Milan against the attacks of the French king. Henry replied, that what had been done against the pope could not be revoked: that as soon as christendom should be in peace, he would act against the infidels as became a christian prince: that he was ready to renew his alliance with the emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the king of France his ally, that being friend of both, he might be the better enabled to labour their reconciliation, or if he could not succeed, to assist him that should be unjustly attacked: that as to the rest, he refused not to agree with the emperor, provided he would own, the rupture came from him. The emperor perceiving Henry was upon his guard, thought not fit to push the affair

and offers an alliance with Henry.
Herbert.

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Henry's answer.
Herbert.

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1536.

any farther. Indeed Henry could easily see, his aim was to set him at variance with France, since at the very time these things passed, Francis imparted to him the private negotiation concerning the duchy of Milan. Moreover he warned him, that the emperor intended to force him to return to the pope's obedience, and it was only upon that condition he offered to resign the Milanese.

Henry tries to side with the league of Smalcald. Sleidan. Herbert. Burnet.

The league proposing terms; Sleidan. Herbert.

All these proceedings of the emperor convincing Henry that he sought occasion to attack him, he resolved to pursue his negotiation with the protestants of Germany, to make him a diversion in that country which should break his measures with regard to England. To the same end, he had sent Edward Fox to them last year. But they would not be his dupes, not imagining, as he would fain have made them believe, that he was inclined to their faith, whilst he ordered their brethren to be burnt in England. So, not to be engaged by faint hopes to be subservient to his designs at their expence, they delivered to his ambassador the terms on which they were willing to be strictly united with him. The terms were, that he should embrace the Augsburg confession; and defend it with all his power in a free council: that he should approve of no place for holding the council without their consent: that if the pope called a council at his own pleasure, Henry should join with them in protesting against it: that he should accept the title of protector of the league: that he should never return to the pope's obedience: that he should not assist their enemies: that he should find a hundred thousand crowns for the occasions of the league, and two hundred thousand if the war lasted any time. Adding, that when he should have declared himself upon these articles, they would send ambassadors and agree with him upon the rest.

he is at a loss about them.

These proposals threw Henry into some perplexity. He saw, the sole aim of the protestants was to support their religion, and that however was the thing which disturbed him the least. He was by no means satisfied with the Augsburg confession, and yet he perceived, in case he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the league of Smalcald. On the other hand, it was his interest to continue the negotiation, as well because the protestants might be serviceable to him, as to keep the emperor in awe by that consideration. So his interest required that he should favourably hear these propositions. But withal he resolved to insert in his answer something which should afford him occasion

occasion to break, if he thought proper. He replied therefore, that he was willing to furnish the sums required, in case a league, of which he would treat with their ambassadors, should be concluded between him and the protestants: that though he was sensible to what the title of protector of the league would expose him, he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a conformity of doctrine, otherwise he could not engage to defend a faith, of whose truth he was not convinced: that therefore he desired them to send commissioners with powers to mitigate some articles of the Augsburg confession, which he could not approve. Moreover as to the supplies, he required that the engagement should be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentic approbation of his divorce, and their promise to justify it in a council. These proposals on both sides were of a nature to keep a treaty long on foot. But though the members of the league of Smalcald saw no great likelihood of a strict union, they appointed however Sturmius, Draco, Bucer, and Melancthon to go and confer with Henry and his divines. It was especially provided in their instructions, that nothing should be concluded to the prejudice of the emperor or empire. This negotiation was interrupted by the death of Anne Bullen, which happened shortly after, and which very much altered the face of affairs as well as the king's mind, in respect to the reformation which she openly countenanced.

The king was possessed at once with two passions; a violent love for Jane Seymour maid of honour to the queen^s, and an extreme jealousy of his wife^t. Very likely, his jealousy was a consequence of his love. When Anne Bullen's enemies found, she no longer held in the king's heart the place she had formerly enjoyed, instead of fearing to accuse her of unfaithfulness to the king, they believed it would be grateful to him, who began to be himself unfaithful. It is certain the king had lost that affection for the queen, which made him surmount so many obstacles to possess her; whether enjoyment had quenched this first flame, or the queen's indiscretions given the king cause to suspect her, he so gave himself over to jealousy, that it was not in his power to o-

1536.

His answer.
March 12.
Sleidan.
Herbert.

The protestants send doctors to him.

The king falls in love with Jane Seymour, and grows jealous of the queen.
Burnet.
Herbert.

^s Daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf hall in Wiltshire, and of Elizabeth daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlested in Suffolk. Dugdale's baron, vol. II. p. 361.

^t She miscarried of a son, January

29, this year. Stow, p. 572. This was thought to have made ill impressions on the king, who from thence concluded, that this marriage was disagreeable to God. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

1536.

Burnet.

Motives of
the queen's
enemies to
sacrifice her.
Burnet.

Burnet.

She is ac-
cused of
adultery
and incest.
Burnet.

vercome it, or perhaps did not much endeavour it. However, the occasion was this. The queen had a great friendship for her brother the lord Rochford, but could not endure his wife, who lived very ill with her husband and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this lady that whispered in the king's ear the first report that the queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal commerce with her brother the lord Rochford. These seeds fell upon a soil already prepared to receive them. The king, now prejudiced by his passion for Jane Seymour, was overjoyed to find in the pretended unfaithfulness of the queen, a means to procure the possession of the person he loved. As soon as queen Anne's enemies saw how the king stood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite in his favour, by accusing her of sundry intrigues with her own domesticks. These enemies were the same with those of the reformation. They imagined, she had put the king upon all his proceedings against the pope, on purpose to favour the new religion. But though she had not done this, it was sufficient to hate her that she had been the cause by inspiring the king with love, since that had occasioned Catherine's divorce, and consequently all the innovations in religion. Policy might likewise enter into their project. They were sensible, so long as Anne lived she would be an invincible obstacle to a reconciliation with Rome, whereas if she were dead, they hoped, all difficulties would be easily removed. The duke of Norfolk inwardly burned with a desire to see religion again established upon the same foot it was before these alterations, though, like a good courtier, he took care not to discover it to his master. His quality, zeal, and credit, had made him head of the party of the old religion, and, as he had the king's ear, he could easily do ill offices to the contrary party. The king's jealousy of the queen was too favourable an occasion to be neglected, since he could at once serve his party, and make his court to his master. So, it is commonly believed, this lord contributed the most to the queen's ruin, because among all her enemies, he had most access to the king. But however, whether it was he or another, the king was inspired with a jealousy which threw him into a sort of fury. This is not very strange, considering his temper, the most impetuous and most impatient that ever was. The queen was accused of a criminal commerce, not only with the lord Rochford her brother, but also with Henry Norris groom of the stole, Francis Western and William Brereton of the king's privy chamber, and Mark Smeton a musician.

It

It must be confessed, the queen had some indiscreet ways, which the king never minded, whilst he was not prejudiced against her, but which afterwards were too capable of confirming his suspicions ^u. Besides, as soon as he hearkened to what was said against her, probably, her enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her most innocent words or actions. Without doubt, Henry was some time tormented with jealousy before he discovered it, but at last it broke out at a solemn jousts held at Greenwich ^w, from whence he suddenly withdrew with signs of great anger, the cause whereof could not be guessed. It is likely, he had observed something that confirmed his suspicions, of which none but himself took notice. Sanders says, the queen dropping her handkerchief, one of her gallants took it up and wiped his face with it. But this author is the only person that relates that circumstance ^x. However, the king was no sooner gone from the jousts, 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, and the next day conveyed to the Tower ^y. But what plainly showed the design of her enemies to destroy her was their procuring an order for the archbishop of Canterbury to

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Burnet.
Herbert.

She is apprehended.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.
Herbert.

^u She was, says Burnet, of a very chearful temper, which was not always limited with the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the king's servants more than became her. tom. I. p. 197.

^w May the first. Hall, fol. 227. At these jousts, George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was chief challenger, and Henry Norris, principal defendant. Stow, p. 572.

^x Burnet, who was at more than ordinary pains to learn all he could concerning this affair, observes, that this circumstance is not in Spelman, a judge at that time, who writ an account of the matter with his own hand, in his common place book, of which Burnet had a sight. Spelman says, the business was discovered in a very different manner. As for the evidence (says he) of this matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to one of her ——. And here unluckily the rest of the page is torn off. By this it seems there was no legal evidence a-

gainst the queen, and that it was a witness at second hand who deposed what they heard the lady Wingfield swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be when she swore. And this it seems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich during the jousts, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

^y Sir Thomas Audley lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell the secretary, and Sir William Kingston constable of the Tower, who were sent to apprehend her, letting her know, what crime she was charged with, she cried out, that she was wronged, and desired to see the king before she was conveyed to the Tower, but in vain. When she was brought to the Tower, she fell on her knees before the same lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accused, and desired those lords to beseech the king's grace to be good unto her. Stow, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194.

1536. retire to his palace at Lambeth, for fear if he could speak with the king, he would find occasion to vindicate the queen.

It is not surprizing, this princess in her sad condition should be disordered, and having none to advise with should be insnared by her enemies. Her uncle's lady, the lady Bullen was appointed to lie in her chamber, with whom she was at great variance, and from this lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, she said some things which helped to confirm the king's suspicions. However, upon her examination, she positively denied, she had ever been false to the king. Only when she was told that Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeton had accused her, though she might have easily seen it was purely to draw from her some confession, she believed she ought not to conceal certain things which had passed between her and them. She said concerning Norris, that asking him one day why he did not go on with his marriage, he replied, there was no haste. Whereupon she said, she plainly saw he was in hopes of having her, in case the king died. This seems to argue there was some familiarity between her and Norris. Otherwise, supposing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a queen should think of talking thus to one of her domesticks.

Snares are laid for her. Burnet.

She confesses some passages. Burnet. Strype's Mem. T. I. 280, &c.

Id. As for Smeton the musician, she said, he was never in her chamber but twice. That the last time she saw him there, she asked him why he was so sad; and that in her conversation with him he had the boldness to tell her, No, no, madam, a look suffices me^z.

Id. As for Weston, she owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that she thereupon desired him^z.

^z She said, "Smeton was never in her chamber but when the king was last at Winchester; and then he came to play on the virginals: she said, she never spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May day, when she saw him standing in the window; and then she asked him, why he was so sad? he said, it was no matter. She answered, you must not expect I should speak to you as if you were a nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, no, madam, said he, a look suffices me." Burnet, tom. I. p. 199.

^z She seemed more apprehensive of Weston than of any body. For on Whitson-munday 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 kind woman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his wife. But he answered her, that there were women in the house whom he loved better than them both: she asked, who is that? your self, said he; upon which, she said, she desired him." Ibid.

But after all, the question is to know, whether the registers from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not sufficient to clear the queen. But then, when it is considered, she had for adversary a husband, who was king, and jealous even to madness, very likely, they who were employed to examine her, gave her words such a turn and sense, as favoured the king's designs, by pretending to set down the substance of her answers instead of her very words.

As for the lord Rochford, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the queen his sister, amounted to no more than that he was once seen leaning on her bed. Burnet,

When these men were examined, Norris swore he believed the queen innocent, and persisted in his asseveration to his last breath. Smeton confessed, he had known the queen carnally three times; but he was never confronted with her; nay, he was condemned before she was brought to her trial, that he might not be a witness. This makes very much for the queen, since it is not likely such an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that Smeton would retract or the queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The rest pleaded not guilty; but however were condemned and executed ^b.

Three days after, the queen and the lord Rochford her brother were tried by their peers ^c, the duke of Norfolk being lord high steward for that occasion ^d. The queen was accused She is condemned with the lord Rochford.

^b Their trial came on the 12th of May, on which day they 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 they were charged with being said to be done in both counties. All protested their innocence, only Smeton confessed, he had well deserved to die, which gave occasion to many reflections. They were all beheaded but Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally said, he was bribed into that confession, and had his life promised; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king's favour, who sent for him, and offered him his life if he would confess

his guilt. He generously rejected the offer, affirming, that in his conscience he thought the queen innocent, and that he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person. Burnet, vol. I. p. 201. vol. III. p. 120.

^c In the Tower of London on a scaffold erected for that purpose in the king's hall. Stow, p. 572.

^d With him sat the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Suffex, and Huntington; the lords Audley, Delaware, Montague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Monteagle, Clenton, Sands, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordant. The charge ran, That she had

1536. accused of prostituting herself to her brother and four other men, and conspiring the king's death. But this last charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to insist upon it. The queen and the lord Rochford pleaded not guilty, and yet were condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence the sentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the lord Rochford should be beheaded and quartered. As for the queen, she was condemned to be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleasure.

Remarks on the sentence. Very probably, the king believed the queen guilty, and under his present prejudice, signs and tokens were to him as good proofs. But can the same thing be said of the peers who condemned her? Did their conscience suffer them to condemn a queen to death upon bare surmises? I say surmises, since had there been solid proofs, they would very likely have been published, in order to justify a sentence of this nature, which was unprecedented in England. Such reserve was not afterwards used with respect to another of Henry's queens, who was really guilty of the like crime. All that can be said in favour of those who passed sentence on Anne Bullen is, that their dread of turning against themselves the king's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them consider signs as real proofs. It is observable, there were but twenty six peers present at the trial, though there were then fifty three in England, as appears by the summons to parliament directed to them shortly after. This gives occasion to conjecture, that according to the method introduced by cardinal Wolsey, in the condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, care was taken to remove those, who were suspected not to have so much complaisance as to gratify the king's passion at the expence of their conscience. As for Dr. Burnet's saying in his history, that Anne Bullen's father was among her judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

The queen is beheaded. The sentence was executed the 19th of May. Anne suffered death with great constancy, after a short speech to those that were present, wherein she neither confessed nor denied

had procured her brother and the other four to lye with her, which they had often done; that she had said to them, that the king never had her heart; and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatever, which was to the slander of the issue that was between the king and her. And this

was treason according to the statute made in the 26th year of this reign (so that the law made for her and her issue, is now made use of to destroy her.) It was added in the indictment, that she and her accomplices had conspired the king's death; but this it seems was only put in to swell the charge. Burnet, vol. I. p. 202, 363.

the crime for which she was condemned. She contented herself with acknowledging her obligations to the king, with praying for him, and desiring the prayers of the people for herself^e. It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the king's anger on her daughter Elizabeth, prevented her from insisting upon her own innocence^f. As she knew the king's temper perfectly, and could not vindicate herself without charging him with injustice, she was afraid Elizabeth would become the sacrifice of the king her father's repentment. However, this was the tragical end of Anne Bullen, whom some have vehemently defamed, and whose conduct others have studiously justified, without any possibility yet of knowing for certain whether she was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her daughter Elizabeth and the reformation have

1536.
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

Different
opinions
about the
queen.
Burnet.

^e Her carriage the day she died will best appear from the following original letter of Sir William Kingston constable of the Tower to Cromwell.

S I R,

“ This shall be to advertise you, that
“ I have received your letter, wherein
“ you would have strangers conveyed
“ out of the Tower; and so they be,
“ by the means of Richard Gresham,
“ and William Loke, and Whitepole.
“ But the number of strangers past not
“ thirty, and not many hothe [other.]
“ And the ambassador of the emperor
“ 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 num-
“ ber 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 morn-
“ ing the sent for me, that I might be
“ with her at such time as she receiv-
“ ed the good Lord, to the intent I
“ should hear her speak as touching
“ her innocency alway 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 little. And then she said, I heard
“ say the executioner was very good,
“ and I have a little neck, and put her

“ hands about it, laughing heartily. I
“ I have seen many men and also wo-
“ men executed, and that they have
“ been in great sorrow, and to my
“ knowledge this lady has much joy
“ and pleasure in death. Sir, her al-
“ moner is continually with her, and
“ had been since two a clock after
“ midnight. This is the effect of any
“ thing that is here at this time, and
“ thus fare you well.”

She was beheaded a little before noon, on the green within the Tower. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor Audley, and secretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen of London. Her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, as being more expert at his business than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move, after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; her body was thrown into a common chest of elm that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock. Burnet, vol. I. p. 203. Hall, fol. 227. Stow.

^f On the 6th of May she writ a very moving letter to the king, wherein she insisted upon her innocence in the strongest terms: and at another time, affirmed, she could confess no more than she had already done. See Herbert, p. 194. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 283. Burnet, tom. I. p. 206.

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blackened her reputation as much as possible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the protestant religion. For a contrary reason, the protestants have forgot nothing that could help to give of her a quite different idea. But both have reasoned upon a false principle, since the goodness of a religion depends not upon the life and conversation of the professors. For my part, if I may speak my opinion, I can never believe, the peers, her judges, had sufficient evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the king's bed. However, it cannot be denied that by some familiarities unbecoming a queen, she gave too great an advantage over her. As she was young and handsome, without doubt she was not displeased to see the effect of her beauty upon all sorts of people, imagining that the love she inspired greatly heightened her merit. We see too many ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the spirit of party has not a little contributed to the diversity of opinions concerning the queen. Had she not countenanced the reformation, she would have undoubtedly fewer accusers among the catholicks, and had she led the king to persecute the reformed, not many of these would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the world. People are innocent or guilty according to the party they are of. But besides this general cause, a particular reason may also be found in the carriage of Anne Bullen. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the king, but which, after some years of enjoyment, served only to raise his jealousy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied she had very good qualities, and particularly great charity to the poor, to whom a few days before her disgrace she had given two thousand pounds ^z. A circumstance in the story of her death shows likewise, she had a very tender conscience. After she was condemned, she fell upon her knees to the lady Bullen her sister-in-law ^h, and conjured her for God's sake to tell the princess Mary, she begged her pardon for her ill usage of her. This charity, and this tenderness of conscience would little become a woman, who had held a shameful and criminal commerce with four men and her own brother. But they would be very consistent with great indiscretion and a little coquetry.

^z She had distributed in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor. And, in all appearance, if she had lived, the money that was raised by the suppression of religious houses, had

been better employed than it was. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

^h Burnet says, it was to the lady Kingston, the constable of the Tower's lady. tom. I. p. 204.

Though the king had procured the queen's condemnation, he was not satisfied. He was pleased to give her, before she died, a fresh cause of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he caused her to be so wrought on, that at last she confessed a contract between her and the lord Percy, now earl of Northumberland, though that lord protested upon his salvation, there never was any formal promise of marriage between them. It was believed this confession was drawn from her, by an intimation that the king would on no other condition be prevailed with to mitigate that cruel part of her sentence of being burnt, into the milder part of being beheaded. However, upon this confession, the archbishop of Canterbury was forced to pass a sentence of divorce between the king and her¹, and declare their daughter Elizabeth illegitimate. What is most strange in the king's proceedings is, the artifice he used, in causing the queen to be condemned before her marriage was nullified. Had the sentence of divorce been passed before the trial, she could not have been condemned for adultery, since her marriage with the king must have been considered only as a concubinage. But Henry had acquired such an absolute sway over his subjects, that his will was the sole measure of justice and law. Nay, he so little regarded the publick and his own reputation, that he married Jane Seymour the next day after Anne Bullen's death, wherein he expressed a passion which served greatly to justify the deceased queen.

The death of Anne Bullen revived the hopes of Mary the king's daughter by his first wife Catherine. Her attachment to the queen her mother, and her obstinate refusal to submit to the late acts of parliament, had quite thrown her out of the king's favour, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event causing the friends of Rome to imagine the king might be reconciled to the pope, they advised Mary to accommodate herself to the times, for fear of losing the fruit, this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obstructed the union of the king with the emperor, it was hoped the act which declared her illegitimate might be repealed, provided she made her submission to the king her father. To this end, she resolved to write a very humble and respectful letter to the king, protesting, for the future she would have no other sentiments but his. But Henry not satisfied with a submission expressed in such general terms, insisted, before he restored her to favour, upon

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Henry nulls his marriage with Anne Bullen. Hall. Herbert. p. 195. Burnet. Strype.

The king marries Jane Seymour. Hall. Stow. Burnet. The princess Mary reconciled to the king. Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet. Herbert. Strype.

ⁱ At Lambeth, May 17. Burnet, T. I. p. 203.

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her signing certain articles which she had hitherto rejected : namely, the supremacy, the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and the unlawfulness of her mother's marriage. Mary tried all possible ways to be excused. But at length, finding the king remained inflexible, she signed them, though contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the ill she committed in acting against her conscience, might be productive of much good ^k. As for the princess Elizabeth, then about three years old, she was divested of the title of princess of Wales, which she had enjoyed from her birth. However, the king still continued to educate her at court with all the care and tenderness of a father.

Parliament.
A new act
of succession.
Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.
Burnet.

A new parliament meeting the 8th of June ^l, an act was passed to settle the succession, that made, after their marriage being void by the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Bullen. By the new act the other was repealed, and the issue of the king's two first marriages declared illegitimate, and disabled from ever inheriting the crown. Moreover the act confirmed Anne Bullen's sentence as being grounded upon very just causes ^m, and settled the crown after the king's death upon the issue of queen Jane, or of any other queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally, they gave the king full power to declare the succession to the crown, either by his letters patents under the great seal, or by his last will signed with his hand ; and if any so designed to succeed in default of others, should endeavour to usurp upon those before them, or to exclude them, they were declared traitors, as were also those who should maintain the lawfulness of the former marriages. Hence it may be easily guessed, with what an absolute sway Henry then ruled, since, without any examination, the parliament approved of all his actions, and granted him even more than he desired, by giving him

^k There is one circumstance that shews the frugality of that time, or rather how far money went then, on account of its scarcity. In the establishment that was made for her family, there was only forty pounds a quarter assigned for her privy purse. Burnet, tom: I. p. 208.

^l Burnet observes, that if full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the writs must have been issued out the day before the late queen's disgrace ; so that it was designed before the just at Greenwich, and consequently did not flow from any thing that then appear-

ed. tom. I. p. 209. and III. p. 118. The writs of summons bear date, April 7. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 563.

^m Queen Anne is said in the act, to have been inflamed with pride and carnal desires of her body ; and having confederated herself with her accomplices, to have committed divers treasons to the danger of the king's royal person, (with other aggravating words) for which she had justly suffered death, and is now attained by act of parliament, Burnet, T. I. p. 210.

power to settle the order of his successors. By that it was in the king's power to replace Mary and Elizabeth in such order as he pleased, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence, that the parliament had not justice and equity so much in view as pleasing the king.

When pope Paul III. heard of Anne Bullen's death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done in England. And therefore declared his thoughts to sir Gregory Cassali, formerly the king's ambassador, and after some excuses concerning the sentence of excommunication which he had given, but was not yet published, told him he would willingly close with any expedients that should be deemed proper to procure a good agreement between the king and him. But Henry, who some few years before would have done much to obtain the pope's favour, was now of another mind. Nothing was capable of inducing him to dispossess himself of the authority acquired over the clergy, as well as over the rest of his subjects, and which rendered his power more extensive than he expected at first. On the contrary, entirely to destroy the pope's expectations, he caused the parliament to confirm by two new acts whatever had been done against him. By the first, all persons were to incur the pains of a præmunire, who endeavoured to restore in England the authority of the bishop of Rome; and all officers both civil and ecclesiastical were commanded, under severe penalties, to punish those who should dare to violate this statute. The second nulled and abolished all dispensations, immunities and privileges flowing from the court of Rome, saving to the archbishop of Canterbury the power of confirming what should not be contrary to the law of God, or common decency, which confirmation was to pass under the great seal.

In this session two considerable acts were also passed, but which related not to religion. By the first, it was forbid, under severe penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the blood royal, without the king's licence first had. This statute was made on account of Thomas Howard the duke of Norfolk's brother, to whom Margaret Douglas the king's niece, and daughter to the queen of Scotland, then living in the English court, had plighted her faith, without acquainting the king her uncle. Henry offended at their boldness sent them both to the Tower, and to prevent the like for the future, procured the forementioned act. By the second it was provided, that all usurpations of the parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty four years of

The pope tries to make up matters with Henry, Burnet. Herbert.

who rejects his proposals.

Statute against the pope. Burnet. Statut. c. 10.

c. 16.

Another about the marriage of the king's relations. Occasion of it. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh.

Another statute in favour of the king.

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Statut.
c. 18.The clergy
approves of
the king's
late divorce.
Burnet.Complaints
against the
reformers.
Burnet.Cromwell
is made
vicegerent.
Herbert.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

age, might be repealed by letters patents under the great seal. Thus both houses of parliament employed their whole authority to give the sovereign a power which his predecessors had never enjoyed, as if they had been assembled for that purpose.

But it was not only with respect to the civil government, that the bounds of the royal authority were enlarged. The clergy, unwilling to yield to the parliament in that point, used the same endeavours to become agreeable to the king, by approving all his proceedings.

The convocation being met at the same time, confirmed the sentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, upon the same ground which had served to procure it, namely, a precontract with the lord Percy, though that lord denied it upon oath.

A few days after, the lower house of convocation sent to the upper house sixty seven opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the same time the deputies made great complaints against those who were for making innovations in religion. These complaints were levelled at Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, Latimer, and some others who were noted as heads or promoters of the reformation, though they were not named^a. Care was taken to mix with these sixty seven opinions, mostly drawn from the doctrine of the Lutherans, several tenets of the old lollards and the anabaptists, to insinuate that those who were complained of embraced them all alike. The enemies of the reformers hoped to make them forfeit the king's favour, who affected a great rigour against such as were termed hereticks. After the death of Anne Bullen, they scarce doubted that all whom she had loved or protected would share in her ruin. But they were disappointed in their expectations. Cranmer and Cromwell were never more in the king's favour, who even gave presently after to Cromwell a fresh mark of his esteem, by constituting him his vicegerent in all ecclesiastical matters^o. So, the convocation's complaints, instead of

^a Burnet observes, that Cranmer promoted the reformation prudently and solidly. Latimer, zealously and simply; Shaxton, with much indiscreet pride and vanity, tom. I. p. 214.

^o In a publick instrument dated October 22, 1535. he is stiled vicegerent: and in the writ of summons, 1539, (in Dugdale) he is stiled vicarius generalis. So that these two titles

seem to have been promiscuously used. In right of his office of vicar general, he sat in convocation above the archbishop of Canterbury. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 402, 123. About this time he was made lord privy seal, upon the resignation of Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltshire; and on the 9th of July was created a baron. Stow, p. 573. Rymer's Fœd, tom. XIV. p. 571.

being

being prejudicial to the reformation or reformers, seem rather to have increased the credit of the two heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was seen that they had persuaded the king to advance the reformation, by retrenching in the publick worship such ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This resolution being taken, the king acquainted the convocation that he wished them to examine the ceremonies, to the end such as were useless and insignificant might be retrenched.

But those who were against the reformation had a much greater cause to be alarmed, when some days after, Cromwell brought into the upper house of convocation, articles by the king himself, containing sundry alterations in the doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the king the result of their debates. Then it was that the two parties openly divided, the one to promote, and the other to oppose, the reformation. Cranmer was at the head of the first, being supported by Godrick bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, Barlow of St. David's. Lee archbishop of York, was chief of the second, and with him were Stokesly bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn^p of Chichester, Nix of Norwich^q, Kite of Carlisle. These, who were private favourers of the pope, still hoping a reconciliation with Rome, strenuously opposed all innovations for fear the breach should become wider. But this party lay under a great disadvantage, as Cromwell and Cranmer, who had the king's ear, suggested to him that most of the abuses which they desired to be abolished, directly tended to support the pope's usurpations. In short, after many debates, the convocation agreed upon certain articles which were digested in form of constitutions, the substance whereof was as follows:

Articles proposed by the king to the clergy.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Grand debates between the two parties.
Burnet.

Constitutions made by the clergy.
Fuller.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 215.
Herbert.

I. The holy scriptures are laid down as the foundation of faith, jointly with the three Creeds, the Apostles, the Ni-

^p Sherburn, upon what inducement is not known, resigned his bishoprick, which was given to Richard Sampson dean of the chapel; a pension of four hundred pounds being reserved to Sherburn, and confirmed by parliament. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 570.

^q Nix had also offended the king signally, by some correspondence with

Rome, and was long kept in the Marshalsea, and was convicted and found in a præmunire: but the king considering his old age, upon his submission pardoned him. He died the last year, though Fuller in his slight way makes him sit in this convocation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 214. See Rymer, *ibid.* p. 573.

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cene, and the Athanasian, and the four first general councils.

II. The necessity of baptism is established in the second, which forbids also to repeat it.

III. In the third, penance is reckoned necessary to salvation, consisting of contrition, auricular confession, and amendment of life.

IV. The fourth establishes as a fundamental doctrine the real presence of christ's body in the eucharist^r.

V. In the fifth it is said, that justification is attained by regeneration, which consists of contrition, faith, and charity.

VI. It is appointed in the sixth, that images should stand in the churches, but that in incensing, kneeling, and offering to them, people should not do it to the image, but to God and his honour.

VII. In the seventh, saints are to be honoured, but without believing, such things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to bestow.

VIII. In the eighth, saints are to be prayed to, provided it be done without superstition. The days set apart for their memories are to be observed, unless the king should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The ceremonies used in the church are to be retained, as the vestments of the priests, holy-water, holy-bread, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving ashes on Ash-wednesday, bearing palms on Palm-sunday, creeping to the cross on Good-friday, and kissing it, hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead, but that it is necessary to correct the abuses advanced under the pretence of purgatory, the pope's pardons, masses said in certain places, or before certain images. In fine, that since the state and place of souls after death are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy in general terms only.

The king
approves
them.

These constitutions being presented to the king, who corrected them in several places^s, were signed by Cromwell, Cranmer,

^r It is observable, that there are only three sacraments mentioned in these articles. Hall, fol. 228.

^s The king did not correct the en-

grossed and signed articles, as Rapin, and others have been led to imagine, by misunderstanding Burnet's words in his vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was

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Cranmer, seventeen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation, among whom was Polydore Virgil archdeacon of Wells, author of a history of England, published afterwards by the king's order^t. Their publication occasioned great variety of censures. Those that desired a reformation had gained some ground, with respect to images and purgatory, but chiefly in that the scriptures were made the standard of faith, because they hoped from that principle to draw one day very great consequences. But the determinations concerning auricular confession, and the real presence of christ's body in the eucharist, troubled them extremely. Not only were these articles directly contrary to their sentiments, but they saw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reason of the king's prejudice, who believed them unquestionable. The other party were under an unspeakable consternation, to see articles so long since determined, brought under examination, the papal authority abolished, and the existence of purgatory called in question. Thus these constitutions pleased neither party. The one thought the reformers had acted too faintly, in not advancing the reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in suffering doctrines so repugnant to truth, to be established. But it was replied, that every thing could not be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent obstinately to require that the errors, the people were not yet sensible of, should be suddenly retrenched. The other party were very angry also with the bishops, for so basely abandoning truths, embraced for so many ages by the catholick church. But indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwise. The king himself managed the whole, having settled in his cabinet council what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not a counsellor that dared to oppose his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his sentiments, for fear a too great opposition should produce a quite contrary effect. All that could be done, was to try to enlighten the king gently and by degrees, without striving to bring him, by a sort of compulsion, to what was thought reasonable.

Opinions of the two parties upon these articles.
Burnet.

was, (as he explains it himself it in vol. III. p. 123.) That there are several draughts of these articles that are in many places corrected by the king's own hand, some of which corrections are very long and very material. Of

these he spoke, and not of the engrossed articles signed by the convocation.

^t And Peter Vannes archdeacon of Worcester. Herbert, p. 202.

Before

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The king being cited to a council, advises with the convocation.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Before the convocation broke up, the king communicated to both houses a summons he had received to a council, which was to meet at Mantua. The pope, without consulting him, had called this council in concert with the emperor, and was to preside by his legates. So Henry might well expect to lose his cause before such a council, had he been so unwise as to submit to its decisions. Indeed he had appealed from the pope to a general council, but there were many queries to be resolved, in order to know whether this called at Mantua was lawful, and furnished with a sufficient authority. Mean while, before he answered the summons, he was pleased to advise with the clergy, who, after mature deliberation, presented to him a writing to this effect: that a true and lawful general council was a very good means to preserve the peace and union of the church: but before a council was called, it was necessary to consider, first, who had authority to call it: secondly, whether the reasons for calling it were weighty. Thirdly, who should assist as judges. Fourthly, what should be the order of proceeding. Fifthly, what doctrines were to be discussed. Then, it was declared that neither the pope nor any prince in the world had power to call a general council, without the consent of all the sovereigns in christendom. Pursuant to this declaration, Henry published a protestation against the council which was to meet at Mantua, speaking very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the pope. He concluded with saying, that he could not consider as free and general, a council where the bishop of Rome should preside, which should meet in a suspected place, and which must be composed only of a small number of prelates, till the war between the emperor and France was ended.

The clergy's answer.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 219.
Herbert.
P. 203.

The king protests against the council of Mantua.
Burnet.

The parliament is prorogued.

The eighteenth of July, the parliament was prorogued, after a session but of forty days, wherein however several acts of moment were passed ^u.

Reginald Pole, falls out with the king.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Strype.

At this time cardinal Pole was in high repute for his learning and eloquence. His name was de la Pole; but every where, except in England, he is so well known by that of Polus, that he cannot be called by any other, with-

^u Namely, those mentioned above; against restoring the authority of the bishop of Rome; against immunities, &c.——By an act now made, it was also enjoined, that tithes, and other profits, arising or becoming due during the vacancy of any spiritual pro-

motion, shall belong to the person that is next presented thereto, toward the payment of the first fruits. And by another, that French wine should be sold by retail only eight pence a gallon; and sack or malmsey for twelve pence. See statut. 28 Henry VIII.

out danger of confounding the reader. He was descended of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and favourite of Richard II. From that time this family had been continually advanced, so that in the reign of Henry VI. the earl of Suffolk was honoured with the title of duke. After that, a lord of this family married a daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. Of this marriage was born among other children, Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, the cardinal I am speaking of, who consequently was cousin to the king ^w. Being a younger brother, he was designed for the church, for which also his natural qualities rendered him very proper. In his younger years, he made so great progress in all the sciences, that the king intending to raise him to the highest dignities of the church, conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, with several other benefices that he might go and finish his studies abroad. He went first to Paris, where he stayed some years, and forfeited in some measure the king's favour, for refusing to concur with his agents, in procuring the determinations of the French universities in the affair of the divorce. Notwithstanding this, he returned into England, where he assisted as dean of Exeter, at the convocation, which acknowledged the king supreme head of the church of England ^x. There is even reason to presume he was not of the number of those who opposed the new title, because he kept his deanery several years after. At length he travelled into Italy, and lived some time at Padua, where he contracted a friendship with Bembo, Sadoletti, and other celebrated wits. The reputation he acquired in that country, made the king desirous to recall him, intending to reward his merit, which was universally known. But Pole still declined, on some pretence or other to comply with the king's desire. At last, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the king the true reason of his refusal, which was, he could not approve either of his divorce, or his separation from the apostolick see. Henry, who was extremely desirous to gain him, sent him a writing, containing his apology, and the

^w This is one of the greatest mistakes concerning families Rapin has been guilty of. Cardinal Pole was no ways related to de la Pole duke of Suffolk. The cardinal's father Sir Richard Pole, knight of the garter, was a Welshman, and married Margaret daughter of the duke of Clarence. See

note ^e p. 96.

^x He says himself he was not present, which shews, that at that time he was contented to be silent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. Burnet, tom. III. p. 124.

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Burnet.
T. III. 403.
Herbert.

reasons of his proceedings against the pope *v.* Upon which Pole wrote his book *de Unitate Ecclesiastica*, wherein he takes the liberty to speak of the king in very offensive terms, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and exhorting the emperor and the rest of the princes to turn their arms against him. He was not satisfied with sending him his book in manuscript, but caused it to be printed and published *z.* Henry provoked, as may be easily judged, at such a violent and disrespectful behaviour, tried to allure him into England, by writing to him how much he esteemed his book, desiring him withal to come and explain some difficult passages by word of mouth. Pole took care not to be thus ensnared. So the king perceiving this artifice took not effect, divested him of all his dignities, the loss whereof was amply repaired by the pope and the emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. He thereby became still more attached to the pope's interest, and a greater enemy to the king, who not being able to reach his person, made his family and kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

Suppressions
of the lesser
monasteries.
Burnet,
T. I. coll.
P. 143.

The suppression of the lesser monasteries, enacted in the last session of the late parliament, was not executed till August, though the commissioners appointed for that purpose had received their instructions in April. Probably, the king had a mind to see the event of the new parliament before they proceeded. As their report was suppressed in the reign of queen Mary, it cannot positively be said what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the pope and the old religion accused them of committing numberless extortions and robberies, and of making false reports of what they discovered in this visitation, to lessen the horror of their oppressions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that these men, either from a desire to make their court to the king, or from a greediness to enrich themselves, exceeded their instructions. On the other hand, it is also probable, their accusers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immense numbers were extremely displeas'd at the suppression of so many religious houses, which were had in great veneration. All the friars of these suppressed houses who

y In a book writ by dr. Sampson. Idem. T. I. p. 221.

z Pole's book was answered by bishop Stokesly, and bishop Tunstall, in a long and learned letter, directed to

Pole. Gardiner published also against it, his book of true obedience; to which was added a preface by Bonner. Idem. tom. III. p. 126, &c. Herbert, p. 182.

wished to become seculars, had a dispensation from the king, and the rest were removed to the larger monasteries, which were untouched. The churches and cloisters were pulled down; and the materials sold to the king's use.

It may be easily judged, the monks spared no pains to excite the people to rebel. They found it the more easy, as great discontents reigned every where. The nobility and gentry took it very ill, that the king should have the lands of the suppressed monasteries, most part whereof were founded by their ancestors. Besides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger children; when they had too many; and of lodging; as they travelled; in these houses, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured still louder, because multitudes lived by the alms which were daily distributed in these houses. In short the devout bigots thought the souls of their ancestors must now lie in purgatory, since so many masses which were said for their deliverance, were abolished by the suppression of the monasteries.

The court hearing of these murmurs, endeavoured to compose them, by publishing the disorders, discovered in these houses. But this signified nothing. Besides that these reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was said, why were not these abuses severely punished and reformed; without destroying whole houses for ever? At last Cromwell found an expedient to allay the discontents in great measure, by advising the king to sell the lands of the suppressed monasteries at very easy rates, and oblige the purchasers, under severe penalties, to keep up the wanted hospitality^a. But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeasing the murmurs of the people, though the king strove to give them some satisfaction by re-endowing one and thirty of these houses^b.

Abundance
of people
discontent-
ed.
Burnet.

The dis-
orders of the
suppressed
houses pub-
lished.
Burnet.

The king
sells their
lands at easy
rates.

^a The purchasers being obliged to keep up the old hospitality, (which they were to do upon the penalty of paying every month six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, to be levied by the justices of the peace, who were empowered to enquire of the matter) the common sort, who, like those of old, that followed Christ for the loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a dinner on Sundays and holidays, were in a great measure satisfied; and the gentry, by having good bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to assist the crown for ever in the defence of these laws, their own interests being interwoven with the rights of the

crown. The commissioners, as was but just, paid all the debts of the suppressed monasteries: but when relics happened to be pawned, it seems they refused to redeem them. Thus one man lost forty pounds which he had lent upon St. Andrew's finger, except one ounce of silver with which it was covered. The writers that live near the time say, about ten thousand friars and nuns were sent to seek for their livings. The abbots and priors had small pensions. Burnet. Herbert.

^b Fifteen abbies, and sixteen nunneries. The king's letters patent for that purpose are dated August 17. Burnet, tom. I. p. 224. and Collect. p. 142.

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Injunctions
to the clergy.
Hall.
Burnet.
Herbert.
P. 204.
Stow.
The inferior
clergy mur-
mer at them.
Hollingsh.

Whilst people were in this fermentation, the king published, in the name of the vice-gerent, some injunctions to regulate the behaviour of persons in holy orders, many of whom led very irregular lives. These injunctions contained nothing but what had been ordained by several synods^c, and yet the clergy were extremely offended, because they could not endure to see themselves subject to the orders of the vice-gerent, by whom they said, they were going to be enslaved much more than by the pope. Thus the inferior clergy, the monks and the bigots being equally affected by what had been done, and by what, very probably, was intended to be done, inspired those on whom they had any influence, with a spirit of rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

Insurrection
in Lincoln-
shire.
Herbert.
Burnet,
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire^d, where Dr. Mackerel, prior of Barlings, drew after him great body of men, whom he headed under the name of captain Cobler. The rebels sent their grievances to the king in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his supremacy, and were content he should enjoy the tenths and first fruits of the livings, but withal prayed him to advise with his nobility concerning the redress of their grievances. This was taxing the king indirectly with following the counsels of Thomas Cromwell, who was of a mean extraction. These

^c The preamble of these injunctions ran thus: "In the name of God, amen. By the authority and commission of the excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head under Christ of the church of England. I Thomas lord Cromwell, privy seal, and vice-gerent to the king's said highness, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do for the advancement of the glory of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and honour of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you—these injunctions following, &c." This was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. They were penned, it is like, by Cranmer. They were not relished by the majority of the clergy. The great profits they made by their images and relicks, and

the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet severe impositions were laid upon them: a fifth for repairs; a tenth at least for an exhibitioner, in either of the universities, or some grammar school; and a fortieth for charity; which were cried out upon as intolerable burdens. Their labour was also increased, and they were bound up to a strict life. In short, the very same opinions about pilgrimages, saints, &c. and about instructing the people in the christian religion, in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago burnt, were now set up by the king's authority. See Burnet's Collection, tom. I. p. 160, &c.

^d In the beginning of October, occasioned by the levying of the fifteenth lately granted by parliament. Hall, fol. 229. Stow, p. 573. The duke of Suffolk was commissioned to go against them October 7. Herbert, p. 205.

grievances were, that he had suppressed a great number of monasteries: that large subsidies had been granted by parliament without any occasion: that he admitted into his council persons of mean birth, whose sole view was to enrich themselves, instead of consulting the good of the state: that several bishops had subverted the antient faith ^c, and embraced new doctrines, at all times condemned by the church: that having seen so many religious houses plundered, they were afraid the churches would undergo the same fate.

1536.

The grievance of the rebels, Herbert. Burnet. Speed. p. 772.

The king returned an answer to these grievances in a large manifesto ^f. But as his reasons were grounded upon principles not admitted by the malecontents, the manifesto had no great effect. Mean while the king was greatly embarrassed; his troops were few, and he had certain advice that a like insurrection was preparing in Yorkshire and other neighbouring counties. He ordered however the duke of Suffolk to march, though with very few troops, and try to stop the progress of the rebels. But the duke finding himself too weak, thought it more proper to endeavour to appease the commotion by way of negotiation than by arms. So when he sent to the malecontents the king's answer to their grievances, he took occasion to let them know, they should not despair of pardon. Upon which, some of their heads privately sent him word, they had joined with the rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to succeed, provided the king would be pleased to grant them a general pardon. The duke disliked not the overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the king, and solicit him in their behalf, offering however to march against the rebels if he was ordered. At the same time, the king received news that the Yorkshiresmen had taken up arms, and as he feared the others would join them, issued out a proclamation, granting an absolute pardon to all that should return to their homes. The proclamation succeeded according to expectation. The rebels immediately dispersed, and so freed the king from great perplexity. Some however chose rather to join the Yorkshire rebels than accept of the pardon ^g.

The king's manifesto. Hall. fol. 229. Burnet. Speed.

The rebels accept of a pardon.

^c Particularly they complained, that four of their pretended seven sacraments were taken away, and that they should soon lose the other three. Hall, fol. 228.

^f As to the suppression of the monasteries, he declared, that it was granted him by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of his realm, and by all

the commons in the same, by act of parliament, and not set forth by any counsellors of his upon their mere will and fancy. Hall, fol. 229.

^g Captain Cobler, with several others, were taken and executed. Hall, fol. 230. The rest made their submission, October 19. Hollingsh. p. 941.

1536.

A more dangerous rebellion in Yorkshire. Hall. Stow. Herbert. Aske head of the rebels. Speed.

The insurrection of Yorkshire was much more dangerous than that of Lincolnshire. This seemed to have been accidental and sudden. The other was in pursuance of a settled design, wherein were concerned several persons of note, who only waited, before they declared, to see how the people in general were disposed. Robert Aske, a man of good judgment, headed the malecontents of those parts, where the distance of the court, and the neighbourhood of Scotland, rendered the people more bold than elsewhere, besides that the monks had always been in more credit in the northern counties than in all the rest of the kingdom. Since July, Aske had tried to gain the lord Dacres, who had amused him some time with hopes that his negotiation would succeed. Probably, this lord sent the king the first notice of the plot. At last, the malecontents took up arms, and assembled in very great numbers about the end of August, just after the Lincolnshire rebellion broke out. When they saw themselves strong enough, they would not suffer the lords and gentlemen to remain neuter at home, but forced them either to fly or join with them, and swear they would be true to the cause, for which they intended to fight. This cause was properly religion, as they plainly intimated, by putting a crucifix in their banners ^h. Besides, they re-established the monks in some of the suppressed monasteries. As they met with no opposition, because the king's forces were employed against the rebels in Lincolnshire, they made great progress at first, and still much greater, after Richmondshire, Lancashire, the bishoprick of Durham, and the county of Westmoreland engaged on their side. George Talbot earl of Shrewsbury was the only person that ventured to take up arms for the king without receiving his commission, though he was not ignorant that at such a juncture his proceedings might be misinterpreted. But as he meant

The earl of Shrewsbury rises for the king. Herbert. Hollingsh.

^h Their march was called the pilgrimage of grace, and to inveigle the people, some priests marched before them with crosses in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds and a chalice, and every one wore on his sleeve as a badge, an emblem of the five wounds of christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the midst. All that joined them took an oath, "That they entered into this pilgrimage of grace, for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the

"nobility, and driving away all base-born and evil counsellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy, but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of hereticks, and their opinions." These were specious pretences. So people flocked about their crosses and standards in such numbers, that they grew forty thousand strong. Burnet, tom. I. p. 229. Hall, fol. 230. Stow, p. 574.

well,

well, he hoped the king would forgive a fault committed purely for his service. And indeed the king sent him a commission, constituting him his lieutenant against the rebels. At the same time, he ordered the duke of Suffolk not to stir from Lincolnshire, lest the malecontents there should think of joining those of the north. Moreover, he gave commissions to several lordsⁱ to levy troops, whilst on his part he assembled as many as possible, in order to form an army, the command whereof he designed for the duke of Norfolk. But, either from the backwardness of the people, or for some other reason, the army was not sufficiently numerous to resist the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk commands the king's forces.

Whilst the king was making his preparations, Aske was not idle. He approached Pontfract castle, where the archbishop of York and Thomas lord d'Arcy were, and forced them to surrender the place. As these two lords were reckoned well affected to the pope, many believed they were not sorry that the want of provisions furnished them with a pretence to deliver Pontfract to the rebels, and march with them in their other expeditions^k. Shortly after, Aske took also York and Hull, and by fair or foul means obliged all the nobility of the country to join his army^l. Thus the affair grew daily more important, and the court became apprehensive that the rest of the kingdom would follow the example of the northern counties. This apprehension was the more just, as at the same time there were in all parts men who made it their business, to spread reports capable of inciting the whole nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter subversion of the religion they had hitherto professed.

The archbishop of York and the lord d'Arcy surrender Pontfract, and are suspected. Hall. Herbert. The rebels take York and Hull.

Mean while, the king chose to amuse the rebels, till his army was ready. The 20th of October he sent a herald with a proclamation to be read to the troops. Aske gave the herald audience, sitting in state with the archbishop on the one hand, and the lord d'Arcy on the other. But when he heard the contents of the proclamation, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. Henry finding matters

The king tries to amuse the rebels.

ⁱ Particularly to George Stanley, earl of Derby, October 17. At the same time, George Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, and Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, sent the king offers of their services. Herbert, p. 206.

^k They were both made to take the oath in the note above.

^l Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland (17 Hen. VIII.) grandson of the

lord Clifford, slain in the first of Edw. IV. held out his castle of Skipton, against all that force, though five hundred gentlemen (retained at his cost) had deserted him. Sir Ralph Evers also defended Scarborough castle till he was relieved, though himself and men had nothing but bread and water for twenty days. Herbert, p. 206.

1536.
 The duke of
 Norfolk
 marches
 against the
 rebels.
 Hall.
 Hollingsh.
 Herbert.

Accident
 which hin-
 ders the
 royal army
 from being
 defeated.
 Hall.
 Stow.
 Hollingsh.

Sentiments
 and conduct
 of the duke
 of Norfolk.

A truce very
 advantageous
 to the king.
 Herbert.

were in an ill way, dispatched the duke of Norfolk with what troops he had ready, which were to be joined by those under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and some others levied in haste by the marquis of Exeter^m. But these three small bodies bore no proportion to the forces of the rebels. So the king found himself obliged to publish a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. Mean time, Aske, at the head of thirty thousand men, advanced towards Doncaster, where the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earl of Shrewsbury, were encamped with five thousand men only, and having no other refuge but to defend the pass of the river between the two armies. But as it was fordable in several places, they would doubtless have been extremely embarrassed, if a great rain, which fell very seasonably, had not made the river unpassable. This was certainly a very fortunate accident for the king. If his troops had been defeated on this occasion, as it was very likely, considering their small number, it would have done him an unspeakable damage.

I have before observed, that the duke of Norfolk approved not of the alterations made in religion. And therefore, it could not but be very disagreeable to him to command the king's army, against people who had taken up arms in a cause which he could not dislike. Mean while, he saw himself in a very dangerous situation, since he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the first case, a victory over the rebels would infallibly ruin the party he secretly favoured. In the second case, he ran the risque of being suspected by the king, and forfeiting his favour. Happily for him, his inability to hurt the rebels, freed him from this embarrassment, by affording him a pretence to proceed by way of negotiation. As he held intelligence with some of their leaders, he so ordered it by their means, that they came to a resolution to present a very humble petition to the king. That done, they acquainted the duke with it, intreating him to second it with his interest. The duke readily granted their request, but told them, that to obtain a favourable answer from the king, there must be a cessation of arms, during which he took upon him to go himself and present their petition. The proposal being accepted, the cessation was concluded, and the duke departed for Lon-

donⁿ. At such a juncture, the cessation was very advantageous to the king, because his army being very weak, he wanted time to raise more forces. For this very cause, many of the rebels seeing that contrary to all reason the king had leisure given him to assemble his troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their leaders, withdrew to their homes^o.

The discord which began to spread among the rebels, gave the king some hopes of coming off upon easy terms. And therefore he delayed sending an answer to their petition, expecting their army would disperse by degrees^p. But the leaders perceiving at length that the court purposely prolonged the negotiation, and that those delays must utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their hostilities, and resolved once more to attack the royal army. Had this resolution been executed, it would have probably changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain so swelled the river which parted the two armies, that it was not possible for them to pass it^q. The king hearing of this, thought it necessary to give them some sort of satisfaction, for fear they should execute their resolution before he was ready. To that end, he sent them an answer to their petition^r; but it was expressed in such general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promised therein. At the same time, he proposed, that if they would send three hundred deputies to Doncaster, commissioners should meet them there, and treat of a peace. His aim was to gain time, in hopes, the three hundred deputies would disagree, and their dissention by prolonging the negotiation give him time to prepare his army. A few days after, the duke of Norfolk returning to Doncaster, sent word to the rebels that he had brought them a general pardon, ten only excepted, six of whom were named, and four not. But the pardon was unanimously rejected, because the six persons named were some of the heads, and each was in fear of being one of the four whom the king had reserved. And indeed, the king had no other view but to sow discord among them, and make way for the treaty at Don-

Henry tries
to gain time,
Herbert.

Artifices of
the court.
Herbert.

Herbert.

ⁿ Together with sir Ralph Elecker, and Robert Bowes, whom the rebels sent with him. Herbert, p. 206.

^o Rumours were industriously spread among them, that some of their chiefs would compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the gallows. Herbert, *ibid*.

^p He also detained Elecker and Bowes, under pretence, that the rebels

had broken the cessation. *Ibid*.

^q The second swelling of the river, was not, according to Herbert, &c. till after the conference at Doncaster, when the rebels, upon the king's rejecting their demands, resolved to attack Doncaster, p. 207.

^r By the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, *ibid*.

1536.

Conference
at Doncaster.

cafter, which they accepted at laft, and fent their three hundred deputies thither ^s. The court had expected, thefe deputies would never agree about their demands, and fo would afford the time that was wanted. But as it was eafy for the leaders to difcover the court's intention, they gave the deputies their inftructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. Thefe inftructions contained ten demands, which the deputies made at the congress held at Doncafter the 6th of December.

The rebels
demands,
Herbert,
Burnet.

I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a parliament fhould be held at York.

III. That a court of juftice fhould be erected there, that the inhabitants of the northern counties might not be brought to London upon any law fuit.

IV. That fome acts of the late parliaments which were too grievous to the people, fhould be repealed ^t.

V. That the princefs Mary fhould be declared legitimate.

VI. That the papal authority fhould be re-eftablifhed upon the old foot.

VII. That the fuppreffed monafteries fhould be reftored to their former ftate.

VIII. That the Lutherans and all innovators in religion fhould be punifhed feverely.

IX. That Thomas Cromwell and Audley lord chancellor fhould be removed from the council, and excluded from the next parliament.

X. That Lee and Leighton, vifitors of the monafteries, fhould be imprifoned and brought to account for their bribes and extortions.

The confe-
rence breaks
up.

As the deputies had not power to qualify thefe demands, fo the king's commiffioners were not authorized to grant them. The king took care not to deftroy in a moment the work of many years. Thus the congress ended without any fruit. The duke of Norfolk was very forry to fee that the affair was like to be decided by arms. He heartily wifhed, the

^s Among whom, were John lord Scroop, lord Latimer, John lord Lumley, Thomas lord d'Arcy, fir Thomas Percy, Robert Afke, &c. who were to treat with the duke of Norfolk, fir William Fitzwilliam, admiral

of England, &c. Herbert, *ibid*.

^t Namely, thofe for the laft fubfidy, being a fifteenth, for ufe, for making of words mifprifion of treason, for the clergy's paying their tenths and firft fruits to the king. Herbert, p. 207.

1536.

The duke of Norfolk labours to make up matters without a battle. Hollingsh. Burnet. Herbert. Hall.

The rebels accept of the pardon.

Affairs between the emperor and Francis. Bellai. P. Daniel.

king would grant the rebels all their demands; but knew too well his humour and character to venture to make him such a proposal. Mean while, he was extremely embarrassed. He must either betray the king's interests, or resolve to fight the rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat. At least, he could not avoid, pursuant to the intent of the court, to prolong the affair till the king was ready to march, and then he saw, the ruin of the rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity, he chose to write to the king that the number of the rebels daily increasing, there was danger of their making some attempt which it would be difficult to resist; and therefore, to prevent the threatened mischief, it was his opinion, if his highness pleased, that some of their demands should be granted. Upon this letter, the king empowered him to offer them a general pardon without exception ^u, and promise them in his name, that the next parliament should be held in the north. But withal, he ordered him not to use these remedies except in extremity, and when there was no other resource. The duke receiving these powers, thought proper to use them without delay, since it was the only way to free him from his embarrassment. He was unwilling openly to betray the king's interests, and on the other hand, did not care to be instrumental in the rebels destruction, whose sentiments he approved, though he durst not show it. So, after having by his correspondents prevailed with the leaders to comply with the king's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every man returned to his home, to the great sorrow of the monks and bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts to excite the people to rebel ^w. But the agreement hindered not the friars and ecclesiasticks of those parts, from continuing to foment among the people a spirit of rebellion, which broke out again, as we shall see hereafter. Something must now be said of the emperor's affairs with the king of France, wherein all Europe was concerned.

When Francis I. began the war in Savoy about the end of the last year, the emperor was in Sicily upon his return from his Tunis expedition, but unable to assist the duke of Savoy. This made him choose to try to cool the king of France's ardour by a negotiation, till he could aid his ally.

^u Their pardon was signed by king Henry at Richmond, December 7. Herbert, p. 207.

^w The king sent also a long answer

to their demands, which the reader may see in Burnet, tom. I. p. 232. and Herbert, p. 207.

1536.

Negotiation
about the
duchy of
Milan.

The death of Francesco Sforza, which happened in the mean time, furnished him with an opportunity. He intimated to the French ambassador residing at his court, that he would not dispose of the duchy of Milan, till he knew the king of France's sentiments. Francis being informed of it, demanded the duchy for his second son the duke of Orleans, and the emperor put him in hopes, he would give it to his third son the duke of Angoulême upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the negotiation as much as he pleased. And indeed, he amused him in this manner till April 1536, one while insisting upon the person of the duke of Angoulême, another while seeming inclined to confer the duchy on the duke of Orleans. Francis willing to end this affair, and knowing, the emperor intended to go to Rome, sent the cardinal of Lorraine for a positive answer, but lest the events of the war should bring some obstacle to the negotiation, he ordered admiral Brion, who commanded in Piedmont, to cease hostilities.

The emperor
arrives at
Rome.
He offers
before the
pope and
cardinals to
decide his
quarrel with
the French
king in single
combat.

Whilst the cardinal of Lorraine was on his journey, the emperor arriving at Rome, went a few days after to a publick consistory, which was assembled at his request. There before the pope and the cardinals he inveighed against the king of France, intimating, he was the sole author of the wars that had afflicted Europe ever since his accession to the throne. He thence took occasion to say, that instead of shedding so much innocent blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by single combat with sword and poignard, in their shirts in some island or in a boat. But the next day, the French ambassador demanding whether he designed to challenge the king his master, he replied, he had no such intention, but meant only, that the expedient he proposed seemed to him more reasonable than a war.

He prepares
his forces.

Some time after, the emperor being at Sienna, the cardinal of Lorraine waited on him, and in his audiences discovered he had never intended to give the duchy of Milan to a prince of the royal family of France. He writ therefore to the king, that he was to expect war. And indeed, the emperor was now assembling all his forces, proposing to bring three armies into the field, one in Piedmont, which he intended to command in person, another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. This design was already so publick, that Francis could not be ignorant of it. So, believing the emperor meant to make his most powerful effort in Picardy, he recalled the greatest part of his army in Piedmont, having ordered

Francis
draws his
troops out of
Italy.

ordered Turin and his other conquests in that country to be well stored with ammunition.

1536.

The French troops quitting Piedmont, the emperor caused Turin to be invested, and during the siege headed his army and marched towards Provence. Francis, who was then at Lyons, speedily provided Marseilles with necessaries, and ordered two camps to be fortified, one at Cavaillon, under the command of the marshal de Montmorency, the other at Valence, where he came himself. There he received the sad news of the death of his son the dauphin, poisoned by Montecuculli.

The emperor marches into Provence. Francis forms two armies.

The emperor having entered Provence took Aix, and then laid siege to Marseilles, which was begun the 25th of August and raised the 9th of September. He had so ill taken his measures, that not knowing how to subsist his army in Provence, he was forced to retire in the utmost disorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if Francis had thought proper to attack him. He came to Genoa the 2d of October and embarked for Spain. This was the success of the Provence expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to France.

The emperor besieges Marseilles, and raises the siege,

and returns into Spain.

Whilst the emperor was waging war in Provence, the count of Nassau entered Picardy with an army of thirty thousand men and took Guise by storm. After that, he besieged Peronne, which was relieved by the duke of Guise.

Campaign in Picardy.

Francis returning to Paris with unspeakable satisfaction, at having disappointed the emperor's designs, met upon the way James V. king of Scotland, who was come to demand his daughter Magdalen in marriage. He was not without great difficulty prevailed with to grant his request, because the princess being sickly, it was thought marriage would but shorten her days. However, the king of Scotland expressing a very earnest desire for the marriage, it was concluded in December, and the nuptials were celebrated the 1st of January 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of England.

Marriage of the king of Scotland with Magdalen of France. Buchanan. Mezerai.

The northern rebellion was appeased, but in such a manner that the cause still subsisted, the malecontents having received no redress of their grievances, except only that the king had promised to call a parliament in the north, which he never intended to do. The pretence he used was, that they left in the monasteries the monks they had restored. But this was a precarious excuse, if ever there was one, since

1537.

Henry breaks his word with the rebels. Herbert. Burnet.

1537.

since it was not their business to turn them out, but the king's, who had the power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to say after quitting their arms. The king knowing how the people of the north stood affected, ordered the duke of Norfolk ^x to remain there with his army to keep them in awe. So the duke was employed for some time with causing persons of all conditions to swear to be true to the king ^y, a very improper remedy for such sort of evils, since the same compulsion which extorts oaths from a discontented people, serves also for pretence to break them upon occasion. In the mean time, Aske, who had commanded the rebels, was ordered to court; where he was well received; but the lord d'Arcy, who had not so readily obeyed the like order, was sent to the Tower upon his arrival at London.

Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.

New insur-
rection pu-
nished.
Hall.
fol. 231.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Shortly after, two gentlemen of the north, Nicolas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, put themselves at the head of eight thousand malecontents, and appeared before Carlisle in order to take the city. But being repulsed, and thereupon suddenly attacked by the duke of Norfolk, they were entirely routed. Musgrave had the good fortune to escape, but Tilby and seventy four others taken with him were hanged on the walls of Carlisle. Sir Francis Bigod and one Halam with another body of rebels, attempted at the same time to surprize Hull, but were made prisoners themselves, and executed.

Aske and
the lord
d'Arcy ex-
ecuted.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

These attempts rendered the king so fierce, that he put to death Aske and the lord d'Arcy, notwithstanding the general pardon to appease the first insurrection. The lord d'Arcy accused the duke of Norfolk of favouring the rebels, which perhaps was too true. But the duke cleared himself, or rather the king thought not fit strictly to examine the accusation ^z. Mean while, as he knew, the emperor was contriving

^x And the earl of Shrewsbury. Herbert, p. 211.

^y The contents of the oath they took, were, 1. To revoke all oaths and promises made in the former insurrection, asking the king's forgiveness on their knees. 2. To be true to the king, his heirs, and successors. 3. To observe and maintain all acts of parliament, since the first year of the king's reign. 4. Not to take arms again, but by the king's authority. 5. To apprehend all seditious persons. 6. To

remove all the monks and nuns they had reimplaced in the late dissolved monasteries. Herbert, p. 211.

^z Aske had left the court without leave, and being taken again, was hanged in chains on a tower in York. The lord d'Arcy and the lord Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, before the marquis of Exeter, then high steward, and found guilty of treason. The lord Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln, the lord d'Arcy on Tower-hill, the 20th of June, and buried in St. Botolph's

contriving some plot in Ireland, he gave order that Thomas Fitzgerald, son of the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, after a long imprisonment at London, should suffer death for a terror to the Irish. But the earl of Kildares youngest son had the good fortune to escape and fled for refuge to cardinal Pole ^a.

The king could not be persuaded but that it was the monks who most contributed to preserve and foment the people's discontents. He considered them as the chief authors of the late insurrections, and consequently as his personal enemies. He believed to see in their behaviour, that if they had power, they would not spare him, and therefore he projected their ruin to prevent their designs. Herein he found two considerable advantages, the one to free himself from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their spoils. It is not to be doubted, this last consideration had also a share in his project of vengeance upon them. The suppression of the lesser monasteries having only whetted his appetite, he resolved to suppress all the rest and seize their immense possessions ^b. The more easily to accomplish his design, he used the same means, he had practised to suppress the lesser monas-

1537.
Six of the families of Kildare put to death.
Hall, fol. 226, 231.
Herbert.
The king strives to suppress all the monasteries.
Burnet.
Herbert.

He appoints a strict visitation.
Burnet.

tolph's church. He endeavoured to purge himself, that he was forced to a compliance with them; and pleaded, that the long services he had done the crown for fifty years, he being fourscore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's displeasure. He died much lamented, every body thinking he had had hard measure. Sir Robert Constable was hanged at Hull; sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicolas Tempest, and William Lumley, suffered at Tyburn; and Margaret Cheney, alias, lady Bulmer, was burned in Smithfield, Hall, fol. 232. Stow, p. 574. Burnet, tom. I. p. 234.

^a Gerald Fitzgerald, the eighth earl of Kildare, was made deputy of Ireland, in 1515, and again in 1524. But a quarrel arising between him and James Butler, earl of Ossory, the earl of Kildare was charged with male administration, and ordered by king Henry to repair to London. At his departure, he left his son Thomas, deputy in his room; who, upon a false report, that his father, (then a prisoner in the Tower) was beheaded, desired king Henry and his authority, proclaimed open

war, and applied to the emperor for assistance; whereupon, he and five of his uncles were attainted, and upon the king's sending an army into Ireland, were taken, and brought over to London, and now beheaded on February 3. Gerald Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's youngest son was packed up in a bundle of clothes, and conveyed to Ireland, and so to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; in both which places being required of our king, he at length fled to cardinal Pole, who finding him a fit instrument for his purpose, kept him till he might be restored to his country and place. Herbert, p. 212, 181.

^b In the records of this year there are extant, the surrenders of three monasteries only; namely, of the abby of Furness in Lincolnshire, on April 9, valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year. Of Bermondsey in Surrey, June 1, valued at five hundred and forty eight pounds, and of Bushliffam, or Bishtam, in Berkshire, July 5, valued at two hundred and thirty seven pounds. Burnet, tom. I. p. 235. Colleft, p. 143.

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teries, that is, he appointed a very strict visitation of those that remained, not questioning but the discoveries which should be made would promote his design.

Birth of
prince Ed-
ward.
Hall.
Herbert.
Death of
queen Jane.

The 12th of October the queen was delivered of a prince, who was called Edward. But his birth cost his mother her life, who died two days after her delivery ^c. As the king had caused his two daughters by his former marriages to be declared illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a son, who put the succession of the crown out of all dispute. And therefore in a few days he conferred on him, as his heir apparent, the title of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. At the same time, he created Edward Seymour the queen's brother and the new born prince's uncle, earl of Hertford ^d.

Edward
Seymour
made earl of
Hertford.
Hall.

The war
continues
between the
emperor and
Francis.
Bellai.
Truce for
Picardy and
Italy.

Whilst these things passed in England, the war still continued between the emperor and the king of France, but was interrupted in Picardy by a six months truce concluded in July, which was followed by another in November, for Italy. As by the last truce, it was agreed that each should keep what he possessed, the duke of Savoy remained equally despoiled by his enemies, and by those he had called to his assistance; the common fate of petty princes!

Death of the
queen of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

The queen of Scotland died in July, to the great joy of those who dreaded the progress of the reformation, because that princess had been educated by her aunt the queen of Navarre. Buchanan says, the custom of wearing mourning was first introduced into Scotland on occasion of her death, which custom, though of forty years standing, was however not yet established in his time. James V. removed the uneasiness of those, who were afraid of his being biased by the deceased queen in favour of the new religion, by demanding

James V.
demands
Mary of
Guise in
marriage.

^c The queen was delivered at Hampton Court, and died the 24th of October, as appears in a journal written by Cecil, that was in twelve days after Edward's birth: so it is in the Herald's office. Strype Correct. to Burnet, tom. III. p. 406, 419. She died not by the cruelty of the surgeons ripping up her belly to make way for the prince's birth, as some writers gave out, but as the original letters yet extant show, she died, after being well delivered, of a distemper incident to women in that condition. Burnet, tom. III. *ibid.* Queen Jane

was buried in the choir at Windsor, whose loss so much afflicted the king, he having always found her discreet, humble, and loyal, that notwithstanding some good offers, he continued a widower above two years. Herbert, p. 212.

^d Sir William Fitzwilliams was made earl of Southampton, and in March following sir William Paulet, treasurer of the king's house, was created lord St. John, and sir John Ruffel, controller, lord Ruffel. Herbert, p. 212.

in marriage Mary of Guise sister of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorrain.

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The affairs of religion daily grew more important in a great part of Europe, by reason of the progress of the reformation. Those who had embraced it wished only to live in quiet with liberty of conscience. But this was what the old religion would never allow them. The glory of God and zeal for the interests of the church served for pretence to this refusal. But the real causes were, first, the pride of most men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong. Secondly, the temporal interest of the clergy, who, wherever the reformation was established, saw themselves deprived of their rich benefices, the revenues of the church being applied by the reformed to uses very different from those in which they had hitherto been employed. Thirdly, the pope's interests, who daily lost his subjects, his revenues, his credit, his authority. There was another particular cause in Germany, which inflamed the troubles occasioned by religion, and that was, the emperor and his brother the king of the Romans had formed a design to use the pretence of obliging the protestants to re-enter the pale of the church. For that reason, instead of healing, they fomented the divisions to the utmost of their power. The protestants complained, among other things, that a council was called at Mantua, contrary to an express promise that it should be in Germany. Besides, they meant not to submit to the decisions of a council, where the pope presided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The emperor amused them with evasive answers, till all should be ready to attack them. Mean while, the pope, having deferred the opening of the council from May to November, charged in that interval the cardinals Contarini, Sadoletti, Pole, Bembo, all persons of great reputation, to examine wherein the church wanted reformation. These able divines found nothing amiss as to the doctrines. They only drew up, as to discipline, a list of fundry trifles, which, in their opinion, deserved to be rectified. To these alone they thought the reformation ought to be confined.

Divisions in
Germany a-
bout religion.
Sleidan.

They are fo-
mented by
the emperor.

Grievances
of the pro-
testants.

The empe-
ror's evasive
answers.

The pope
orders com-
missioners to
examine the
state of the
church and
religion.

The empe-
ror's designs.

Mean while, the emperor was very seriously thinking of the affairs of Germany, though he took great care to conceal his designs from the protestants. In order to free himself from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the truce with Francis, in hopes it would soon be followed by a peace. He perceived, the Smalcaldick league would be an everlasting obstacle to the
execution

1537.

execution of his vast projects, by Francis's and Henry's endeavours to gain it to their interests. So, his chief aim was to dissolve that league; that he might afterwards proceed against England with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries ^e.

1538.

Final resolution to suppress all the monasteries.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Henry easily judged, Charles V. and Francis I. had agreed to a truce, only in order to conclude a peace very soon, which would rob him of the assistance of France: So, finding he had no refuge but in his own forces in case of attack, he considered early of means to prevent insurrections at home: which must have greatly embarrassed him, if he should be engaged in a foreign war. He knew, the monks hated him mortally. They were the persons that inspired the English with a spirit of rebellion, the more dangerous as religion was the principal cause. So, to deprive the pope and the emperor of such a support in his own realm, he resolved to suppress all the religious houses still remaining in England. He had a farther motive, which was not inconsiderable, namely, to have a fund sufficient to maintain the war, without being forced to overburden his subjects. But as the suppression of part of the monasteries had already occasioned troubles in the kingdom, it was likely, the suppression of all would raise still greater. Wherefore he believed he should prevent all commotions by removing the people's veneration for the monks. To that end, the report of the last visitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be immediately published. Very probably, the facts inserted concerning the disorderly lives of the friars and nuns, were set forth so as to be subservient to the king's designs ^f. But what conduced most to recover people out of their superstitious fondness for the religious houses, was the discovery of the frauds committed there with respect to relicts and images. Had the business been only the debaucheries of the monks and nuns, it might have been objected, that it sufficed to make strict inquiry of those who were guilty, and to punish them severely: But

Henry publishes the report of the last visitation.
Burnet.
Several pious frauds are discovered.
Herbert.
p. 213.
Burnet.

^e This year, the manner of casting pipes of lead for conveyance of water under ground, was first invented by Robert Brock, one of the king's chaplains; Robert Cooper, goldsmith, making the instruments, and putting the invention first in practice. Hollingsh. p. 944.

^f Of the confessions then made to the visitors, there is only now one extant, which, probably, escaped the de-

struction of all papers of that kind in queen Mary's time. It is from the Benedictines of St. Andrews, in Northampton, wherein they acknowledge their past ill life, for which the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up. They confess, they had neglected the worship of God, lived in idleness, gluttony, sensuality, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 237.

for the pious frauds (as they are called,) it could hardly be thought but that the whole society was concerned. For this reason therefore, the king, to make them as visible as the sun, took care publickly to expose the counterfeit relicks found in the monasteries, and the springs by which the images of our Saviour, the virgin Mary, or any of the saints were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as the effect of a divine power. If the reader desires to see a particular account of these pious impostures, he will find it, though withal very short, in the history of the reformation of England. These frauds being thus detected, whatever had served to engage the people in superstition, was by the king's order burnt in publick. But what grieved the votaries most was, to see the bones of Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, publickly burnt. They accused the king of acting from a motive of a sacrilegious avarice, in order to have a pretence to seize the rich shrine of that saint, whereon, besides other precious stones, was a very fine diamond offered in 1179

Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.

Becket's
bones burnt,
and his
shrine
seized.

Stow.
Hollingsh,
Herbert.

§ And here, says lord Herbert, out of our records I shall mention some of the images and relicks to which the pilgrimages of these times brought devotion and offerings; as our lady's girdle showed in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, a remedy for the headach; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his shirt, much revered by great bellied women; the coals that roasted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Ursula; Malchus's ear; and the paring of St. Edmund's nails; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought hither the spear's head that pierced Christ's side; an image of our lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon; it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of wood. The crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the rood of grace, was a famous imposture, to which many pilgrimages were made, being contrived so as to be able, by the help of springs, to roll the eyes, and move the lips, to bow, to shake the head, hands and feet. It was shewed publickly at Paul's cross, by John, bishop of Rochester, and after a sermon upon it, there

broken in pieces, Feb. 24. Another great imposture was at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ, brought from Jerusalem, was showed in a christal vial, and was said to have this property, that if a man was in a mortal sin, and not absolved, he could not see it. Therefore every man that came to behold this miracle, was forced to continue to make presents, till he bribed heaven to give him the sight of so blessed a relict. This was now discovered to be the blood of a duck, renewed every week, and the one side of the vial was so thick, that there was no seeing through it, but the other was transparent. It was so placed near the altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn which side he pleased outward. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood, called Darvel Gatheren, which served for fuel to burn one friar Forrest, who advised people in confession not to believe the king's supremacy. Besides which, the images of our lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Penrife, of Islington, and St. John of Osulston, called otherwise mr. John Shorne, who was said to shut up the devil in a boot, and many others, were publickly burnt. Herbert, p. 213. Compl. Hist. Stow, p. 575.

1538.

by Henry I. king of France, when he came in pilgrimage to Canterbury^h. This proceeding so exasperated the adherents of the old religion, that they writ in a most virulent manner to Rome against the king, comparing him to the greatest tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at Rome and other places, numberless satyrs were penned, which painted Henry as the most execrable of men to those who were not used to the hyperbolical expressions of the Italians. The king had his spies at Rome, who acquainting him with what was published against him, told him withal that to cardinal Pole the informations sent from England were generally addressed, and that his stile was visible in some of the satyrs. This so highly incensed the king against the cardinal, that he made all his family and friends feel the effects, inso-much that he would sooner have pardoned any crime than a correspondence with him. It is strange that the cardinal, who seemed otherwise very prudent and moderate, should so give way to his zeal or his passion against the king, that he feared not, by so unadvised a behaviour, to expose his friends to Henry's utmost resentment. His obstinacy in this respect was so great, that at length he was the occasion of his mother's losing her head on the scaffold, as will be seen hereafter.

Bitter in-
vectives a-
gainst the
king sent to
Rome.
Burnet.

He is very
angry with
cardinal
Pole.

Paul III.
publishes a
bull against
the king.
Herbert.
Burnet.
A violent
book of
Pole's.

All the king's proceedings convincing the pope that he was to expect no change in him, he published at length the bull of excommunicationⁱ, drawn and signed in 1535. Moreover, he tried to excite all the princes of Christendom against Henry, and offered the kingdom of England to the king of Scotland. Nay, Pole maintained in a book, published shortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight against Henry, than against the Turk. But the pope's thunders had so lost their force in England, that the bull caused

^h For three hundred years he was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, as appears from the accounts of the leger books of the offerings to three of the greatest altars in Christ's church in Canterbury. In one year there was offered at Christ's altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* At the virgin's altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But at St. Thomas's, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* The next year the odds grew greater: at Christ's altar not a penny; at the virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; but at St. Thomas's, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* The rich stone was offered by Lewis VII. of France, which our king fet in a ring and wore on his thumb. The spoil of

the shrine in gold and precious stones filled two chests, which were so heavy, that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church. His name was struck out of the Kalendar: the day of raising his body, or as they called it, his translation, being the 7th of July, which was not only a holiday, but every 50th year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence granted to all that visited his shrine. Burnet, tom. I. p. 244. Stow, p. 576.

ⁱ On Decemb. 17. Herbert, p. 216. Burnet, tom. I. p. 245,—248.

no commotion, or if it produced any effect, it was quite contrary to what the pope expected. Henry being more provoked with him, took so good precautions to hinder him from executing his designs, that he thereby advanced the reformation much more than he intended. As soon as he had heard of the bulls being published, he required the bishops and abbots to swear again to renounce the papal authority. At the same time, the new translation of the bible being presented to him, he ordered fifteen hundred copies to be printed, and set up in the principal churches, being satisfied that nothing would be found there to support the exorbitant power assumed by the pope over all Christendom ^k.

Shortly after, an injunction was published by the vicegerent, to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English. Moreover, all incumbents were ordered to instruct the people by declaring, they must not trust in other men's works, but in their own; and that relics, beads, and the like, were unnecessary to salvation. They were also to take down all images, to which offerings were wont to be made, and to suffer no candles to be set up before any image, except our saviour's. In fine, they were to suppress all the Ora pro Nobis's which were added to the prayers addressed to the saints ^l.

This injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old religion, whose adherents were in the utmost consternation. But no man dared to stir, so absolute a sway had the king acquired over his subjects. Nay, the most discontented affected a blind submission to his will, knowing the least suspicion would ruin them.

^k Grafton the printer, printed fifteen hundred at his own charge, which amounted to five hundred pounds. This bible was presented to the king by Cromwell, who procured the king's warrant, allowing all to read it without controul. For which Cranmer wrote Cromwell a letter of thanks, dated the 13th of August. The translation had been sent over to be printed at Paris; the workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to Bonner's care, then ambassador at Paris, and much in Cromwell's favour. It was printed in a large volume; but upon complaint of the French clergy,

the press was stopped, and most of the copies seized and burnt: but some were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms brought over to England, where it was now finished. And one of these bibles were to be set up in every church, at the joint charge of the incumbent, and the parishioners. Burnet, tom. I. p. 249. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 308.

^l Every incumbent was likewise enjoined to keep a register of weddings, christenings, and burials. And to preach one sermon every quarter of a year at least. See Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 180. Stow, p. 576.

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Henry orders the new version of the bible to be printed. Burnet. Stow. Strype. The vicegerent's injunctions about images. Burnet. T. I. p. 249. Strype.

Submission of the English to the king's will. Burnet.

1538.

Gardiner
puts the
king upon
prosecuting
the reform-
ed.
Burnet.

Gardiner bishop of Winchester was now returned from his embassy to France. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old religion. Nay, he was suspected of being privately reconciled to the pope, and of holding correspondence with the emperor. But he so artfully dissembled his sentiments, that he persuaded the king, it was only the devices of his enemies, on purpose to ruin him. It is however certain, though the king seemed satisfied, he had no great esteem for him, and yet suffered him to be near him on account of his extreme submission. His blind condescension to the king's will afforded him many opportunities to serve the party he privately favoured. The king considering him not as a suspected person, since he so readily complied with his orders, freely listened to him when he spoke against the Sacramentarians, being still extremely prepossessed in favour of the doctrine of the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Then Gardiner could explain his sentiments without fear, because they agreed with the king's. He insinuated to him, that so long as he left that doctrine untouched, he would never be accused of changing his religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it in preserving the essentials. Thus Gardiner engaged him to persecute the Sacramentarians, not so much from a religious as from a political motive. He knew the king's temper to be impatient of contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a doctrine which those of the new religion could not admit, he hoped their resistance would provoke him against them, and thereby he would be more easily led to be reconciled to the pope. That is to say properly, he employed, to alienate the king from the protestants, the same means they used to prejudice him against their adversaries. But neither could succeed. Henry reformed himself but by halves, and was never reconciled to the court of Rome. As he was grown absolute, he would never suffer his subjects to go farther than himself, but compelled them to stop where he was pleased to stop, equally severe, or rather unmerciful, to those who refused to follow him, and to those who would go beyond him. He showed this year an instance of rigour capable of making the reformers despair of any farther progress.

One John Nicolson, alias Lambert, being informed against as a Sacramentarian^m, the king convened a great assembly

in

^m Lambert had been minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, where being acquainted with Tindal, and Frith, he became of their opinion. He afterwards

Henry disputes publicly with Lambert. Hall. Burnet. Fox. Stow.

He is highly flattered. Burnet.

Negotiations with the German protestants, Herbert.

in Westminster-hall, where he was pleased himself to dispute publicly with the party accused. The match was by no means equal. Lambert stood alone without a second; but the king was surrounded with a crowd of persons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve of what Lambert asserted. The dispute ended with the king's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate Lambert, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But whatever advantage the king seemed to have, he may be said to be vanquished, since he was forced to fly to so rigorous a method to convince his adversary, after flattering himself to persuade him by dint of reason; otherwise, probably, he would not have engaged in the dispute. However, he succeeded not by this extraordinary way, since Lambert chose rather to die than abjure the opinion he still believedⁿ. Henry had no occasion to be flattered. He had but too good a conceit of himself. Nevertheless, Gardiner and the rest of his party took occasion from the dispute to extol him above the most learned divines of the age. They inspired him with such an opinion of his learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a standard to all. But contrary to the expectations of his flatterers, this conceit of himself was no less fatal to them than to the other party, since he resolved to punish severely and indifferently all who dared to swerve from what he himself deemed reasonable.

About this time the emperor concluded with France a ten years truce, of which I shall speak presently. Henry, not

afterwards kept school at London, and hearing doctor Taylor preach of the real presence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his reasons in writing, why he could not believe the doctrine he preached. Taylor carried these arguments to Cranmer, who was at that time of Luther's opinion, which he had imbibed from his friend Oslander. Latimer was of the same belief. Lambert being brought before them, they studied to make him retract his argument, but all was in vain, for Lambert fatally appealed to the king. Whereupon Gardiner persuaded the king, to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The king was soon prevailed with. So letters were written to many of the nobility and bishops to come and hear this trial. In November, on the

day prefixed, there was a great appearance in the hall. The king's guards were all in white, and so was the cloth of state. Burnet, tom. I. p. 252.

ⁿ Lambert disputed with ten one after another, particularly the king, Cranmer, Tunstal, and Stokesly; Cromwell read his sentence, declaring him an incorrigible heretic, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in Smithfield, in a barbarous manner; for when his legs and thighs were burnt to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest, two of the officers, raising his body up with their halberds, let him fall into the fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 254.

1538.

doubting, it was in order to invade him, considered of means to raise the emperor troubles, which should divert him from his purpose. The Smalcaldick league furnished him with a good opportunity. But the preservation of the Augsburg confession being the sole foundation of that league, he did not see that he could possibly join in it, to support a religion, all whose articles were not approved by him. So his design was, either to bring the protestants to conclude with him a general league, which should not be limited to the defence of their religion, or prevail with them to be satisfied with the reformation he had himself introduced into England. To that end he sent ambassadors^o with instructions to see who were the confederates, and in case the league was confined to religion only, to desire them to send some of their ablest divines to try, whether a common religion might not be agreed upon. The protestants replied, their league consisted of twenty six imperial cities, and twenty four princes, among whom the king of Denmark was lately admitted: that at present they could not be without their divines, but desired him to declare himself positively upon the proposition made him, of embracing the Augsburg confession. Some time after, they sent ambassadors capable of disputing upon the points of religion. But this embassy was fruitless. Henry found in the Germans men of a very different stamp from his own subjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him communion in one kind, private masses, auricular confession, celibacy of priests, and gave him their reasons in writing; to which he replied, though to very little purpose. As he could not put the same choice to them as he had done to Lambert, he was forced to dismiss them without any conclusion, being as little satisfied with them as they were with him.

Herbert.
p. 212,
213.
Strype's
Mem.
T. I. p. 328.

The interest
of the re-
formers de-
clines at
court.
Burnet.

Characters
of the heads
of the party.

Mean while, the interest of the reformers began visibly to decline at court since the queen's death. There were only Cromwell and Cranmer that supported it by their credit and merit. Cromwell however was accused of being too self-interested, and of thinking much more of his own than of the concerns of religion. As to the rest of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. Shaxton bishop of Sarum was proud and litigious: Latimer bishop of Worcester was despised for his weakness and simplicity; Barlow, who had been prior of Bisnam, and afterwards bishop of St. Asaph,

^e Christopher Mount, and Thomas Paynel, in March. Herbert, p. 212, 217. Strype, p. 328.

had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new religion suffered themselves to be carried away with an indiscreet zeal, and without considering the king's temper, followed the motions of their conscience, let what would be the consequence. So, never troubling themselves about the effects of their zeal, they publicly preached doctrines, not yet approved by the king, which very much conduced to prejudice him against them, and all others who desired to advance the reformation.

In the mean time, Edward Fox bishop of Hereford departing this life, the reformers thought to do a good act in procuring Edmund Bonner that see, who had been ambassador in Spain, and afterwards in France, from whence he was lately recalled at the instance of Francis I. who was not pleased with him. Shortly after, they caused him to be promoted to the see of London, vacant by the death of Stokesly P. But they were greatly mistaken in their choice, since this prelate, who was so much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their most mortal enemies.

Bonner made
bishop of
Hereford,
and then of
London.
Burnet,

At length, Cromwell and Cranmer seeing their party decay, and that the king began to listen to the enemies of the reformation, in such a manner as made them dread the consequences, deemed it necessary to support their party by means of a queen, who should afford them protection. They had happily experienced, how much Anne Bullen, and Jane Seymour had helped to soften the king's temper towards the reformed, and they did not question, that in case they could give him a wife of the like disposition, she would produce the same effect. For this reason, they turned their eyes towards Germany, and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleve, sister to the duke of Cleve and the duchess of Saxony. We shall see the next year the success of the negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs.

Cranmer and
Cromwell
project to
marry the
king with a
protestant.
Herbert.

They cast
their eyes
upon Anne
of Cleve.

The emperor's and the king of France's forces were too equal, for either to expect any great advantages from a war they were left to wage all alone. Francis had ill taken his measures, in imagining that Henry would declare for him, that the potentates of Italy would endeavour to shake off the emperor's yoke, and that the protestants of Germany

The truce
between the
emperor and
Francis is
prolonged.
Bellai.
Mezerai.

P He was elected bishop, October 20. Stow, p. 576.

Q The emperor had some time before proposed a marriage between king Henry, and Christiana, duchess of Mi-

lan, second daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark; but the proposal did not take effect. See Herbert, p. 214. Hall, fol. 233.

1538.

Both inclined to peace.

The pope and emperor.

Herbert.

Truce for ten years.

League against the Turks.

Francis I. slighted Henry Herbert.

would embrace the opportunity of the war, to establish the liberty of conscience to which they aspired, and of which they were threatened to be deprived. But nothing of all this happening, he saw himself charged alone with almost an insupportable burden. On the other hand, the emperor was afraid Francis would at length unite all these powers against him, and the emperor of the Turks improve so favourable a juncture to invade Germany. The pope also feared the same thing, and that the coasts of Italy would be infested by the infidels. This, added to the desire of being revenged of the king of England, put him upon seeking means to procure a peace between the emperor and the king of France, that Henry being left alone, might be more easily invaded. To this end he proposed to the two hostile monarchs a meeting at Nice, where he offered to come and act as mediator. The proposal being accepted, they all three met at that place about the middle of June, the pope conferring sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, without the two monarchs ever seeing each other during the whole negotiation. The pope had his reasons for hindering them from conferring together, but by his means. He had a mind to treat privately of a marriage between Octavian Farnese his nephew, and Margaret the emperor's natural daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, and indeed the project succeeded to his wish.

Mean while, as the peace between the emperor and the king of France could not be effected, by reason of the many difficulties which occurred, the pope obtained of the two monarchs at last their consent to a ten year's truce, which was almost as effectual as a peace. The truce being concluded, Paul III. immediately thought of means to form a league against the Turks. But as several reasons hindered the kings of France and England from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the emperor, the king of the Romans. and the Venetians.

When Francis had nothing more to fear from the emperor, he grew very cool to Henry, though he had extremely caressed him so long as he stood in need of him. Henry was exceedingly incensed, and showed his resentment, by ordering Bonner, in his return from Spain, to stop at the French court, and demand an English rebel, who was retired into France, and the arrears of his pension, there being now four years due. Bonner, who was naturally very bold, delivered his message so haughtily, that Francis, offended at his insolence, sent an express to Henry to know whether he

he had ordered his ambaffador to use fuch language, and to desire Bonner might be recalled. Henry thought fit to comply with his demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with Bonner, fince at his arrival he promoted him, as has been faid, to the fee of Hereford, and fhortly after, to that of London.

Whilst Henry ufed all poffible precautions to fecure himfelf from the attacks of his enemies, cardinal Pole was labouring with all his power, by means of his correffpondents in England, to alienate from him the hearts of his fubjects, by publifhing every where that he had fubverted all religion to fet up his own fictions. This accusation was the moft fenfible wound that could be given the king, fince he pretended, religion confifted not in the things he had changed, but in thofe he had retained. This is what he ftove to demonftrate to the people, becaufe he plainly perceived, the general accusation of having fubverted religion could not but greatly poifon their allegiance. Accordingly, Pole and his emiffaries chiefly infifted upon this, in order to raife difturbances in the kingdom. Several have thought, the cardinal had fome private views which concerned not religion. He was of the houfe of York by his mother, and is faid alfo to have an inclination for the princefs Mary, and to beftir himfelf thus, in order to marry, and fet her on the throne in the room of her father. At leaft, there is reafon to fufpect, his extraordinary zeal was fortified by fome hidden views, and that in acting for the pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir Jeffrey Pole, near relation of the cardinal ^r, privately acquainted the king that he held correffpondence with Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter, grandfon of Edward IV. ^s: with Henry Pole ^t lord Montague: with fir Edward Nevil ^u and with fir Nicholas Carew, mafter of the horfe, and knight of the garter: and that his inftruments were a prieft and a mariner. Upon this information, thefe perfons were apprehended, condemned and executed ^w, but the informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumftances of their trial are known but their correffponding with Pole, an unpardonable crime, as the king then flood affected to that cardinal.

1538.

Bonner behaves info-
lently to the
king of
France,
who has him
recalled.
Cardinal
Pole labours
to raife the
king trou-
bles.
Herbert.

The cardi-
nal's private
views.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 221.

Several of
his correff-
pondents in
England are
executed.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert,

^r The cardinal's own brother.

^s By the princefs Catherine, married to the earl of Devonshire.

^t Another of the cardinal's brothers.

^u Brother to the lord Abergavenny.

^w The marquis of Exeter, and lord Montague were arraigned on December 31, and Sir Edward Nevil, January 2. Thomas lord Audley, fitting as high fteward, Hall, fol. 233.

During

THE HISTORY

During the course of this year, Henry established several suffragan bishops. He required also of all the religious a new oath, whereby they expressly renounced the papal authority, and acknowledged the king's supremacy. There were some that refused to swear, but I know not in what manner their obstinacy was punished.

bishops.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 577,
&c.
554, &c.
The council
is removed
to Vicenza.
Sleidan.

The pope and the emperor being then employed in their preparations against the Turk, his holiness made use of that pretence to put off the meeting of the council to the 1st of May 1540, and at the same time removed it from Mantua to Vicenza.

The new
queen ar-
rives in
Scotland.

The marriage between the king of Scotland and Mary of Lorrain being concluded this year, the new queen came to Scotland about the middle of June.

1539.
Surrenders of
the monaste-
ries to the
king.
Burnet.

The last visitation of the monasteries tended only, as has been observed, to seek apparent reasons to suppress them.

Supposed
motives
thereof.
Act. Pub.
tom. XIV.
p. 603, &c.

The king had now resolved it, and the enormities, true or false, of the monks, were only a cover for his revenge and perhaps for his avarice*. The visitation being over, he sent into the several counties commissioners to receive the surrenders, the abbots and priors were to make to their houses.

Ib. p. 610,
&c.
Burnet.
T. I. Coll.
p. 150.

There are extant in the collection of the publick acts, many of these surrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained however the feigned reasons which had moved the monks and their superiors to resign of their own accord all their lands to the king. In some, they were made to say only, they were induced thereto by just and reasonable causes. But in others of greater length they were made to allege, "That what they had hitherto observed, consisted only in dumb ceremonies, and constitutions of the bishops of Rome and other foreign potentates; who had taken no care of their instruction, or to reform the many abuses which had hitherto prevailed in their houses; but that desiring to live for the future according to the rule prescribed by Christ, the evangelists, and the apostles, they deemed

* Though great faults were discovered by the visitors, yet it is certain, that they were themselves guilty of great acts of violence and injustice. They embezzled most part of the plate and furniture that was found in the monasteries. Doctor London, one of the visitors, corrupted several of the nuns belonging to Chepstow; and generally it was cried out, that underhand and ill practices were used. There-

fore to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to what was done, all the foul stories that could be invented, were published to defame the visited monasteries. Burnet, T. I. p. 241.

y During the year 1538, there were twenty one monasteries suppressed, and in 1539, a hundred and one. See the names of them in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 590, &c. and Burnet, T. I. Collect. p. 144, 145.

1539.

“ it expedient for them to be governed by the king, their
 “ supreme head on earth: that therefore they submitted
 “ themselves to his mercy, and surrendered to him their
 “ houses, with all things belonging thereto: that they be-
 “ sought him to grant to each of them a pension for their
 “ subsistence, and an expresse licence to take a secular habit,
 “ and be admitted into livings like other ecclesiasticks.”

Others said, “ They had considered that christianity con-
 “ sisted not in the practice of ceremonies, in wearing black,
 “ grey, or white habits, and in nodding with the head,
 “ wearing cords, with great knots about their middle, and
 “ the like, wherein they had been instructed and seduced.
 “ But that the true way of serving God was taught in the
 “ gospel. And therefore, desiring for the future to walk by
 “ that good rule, they submitted themselves to the supreme
 “ head of the church of England, and renouncing all su-
 “ perstitions and foreign traditions, they resigned their houses
 “ to the king, with all things thereunto belonging.” Others

surrendered their houses by way of agreement between them
 and the king, for the causes specified in the deed itself ^z.

But there are not in the collection of the publick acts, any
 deeds of this kind at full length, where any of these causes
 may be seen. It can only be gathered from what some au-

thors say, that these causes were, either the houses were
 overwhelmed with debts, or the revenues had been ill ma-
 naged ^a, or there had been committed crimes deserving a se-
 vere punishment, from which they were exempted on account
 of the surrender. Be this as it will, the king having resolved
 at any rate to suppress all the monasteries, the opposition of
 the abbots, priors and monks would have been ineffectual.

Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or force
 they should be compelled to submit to his will, the greatest
 part thought it most prudent to do it with a good grace,
 and make the best bargain they could for themselves. The
 abbot or prior, with the chief monks of each house, be-
 ing gained beforehand either by promises or threats, the

^z The general form in which most
 of the surrenders begin, is, “ That
 “ the abbot and brethren, upon full
 “ deliberation, certain knowledge, of
 “ their own proper motion, for cer-
 “ tain just and reasonable causes, es-
 “ pecially moving them in their souls
 “ and consciences, did freely, and of
 “ their own accord, give and grant

“ their houses to the king.” See Ry-
 mer’s Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 604. Bur-
 net, tom. I. p. 238.

^a The visitors found such depreda-
 tions committed in the rich abbey of
 St. Albans, that an abbot could not
 subsist any longer, the rents being so
 low. Burnet, T. I. p. 236, &c.

1539. rest had hardly courage enough to make a fruitless resistance ^b.

The first suppression of the lesser monasteries was done by act of parliament. But the king was pleased this should appear to be entirely voluntary, as if the abbots, priors and monks had been induced of themselves to surrender their houses. A thing however so notoriously false, that not a man could be ignorant how forced these surrenders were. It must be confessed, that herein Henry strangely abused the absolute power he had acquired over his subjects, of whom not one dared publicly to find fault with his conduct, and still less, openly to oppose his will. However he used artifice to make the suppression of the monasteries to be received with less concern. Whilst the commissioners were receiving the surrenders, he called a parliament for the 28th of April. At the same time, he caused a report to be spread that the kingdom was going to be invaded ^c. He confirmed the report by going in person to visit the coasts, by commanding forts and redoubts to be built in several places ^d, and by giving pressing orders to fit out a fleet, and keep the troops in a readiness to march upon the first notice. The intent of all these proceedings was, to let the people see that the parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes to resist the pretended invasion, but that the king acquiring a large revenue by the suppression of the monasteries, would have no occasion for a subsidy. The yearly value of the religious houses amounted to one hundred sixty one thousand one hundred pounds sterling, according to the rate they had been last farmed at ^e. But it must be observed, the abbots and priors foreseeing

The king's
artifice to get
the suppressions received.
Hall.
fol. 234, 235
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Revenues of
the suppressed
monasteries.

^b Besides promises and threats, the king had another way of gaining the abbots to his will. Upon a vacancy, an abbot was put in only to resign up the house. For after the king's supremacy was established, the abbots formerly confirmed by the pope, were placed in this manner. The king granted a *congé d'elire* to the prior and convent, with a missive letter, declaring the name of the person whom they should chuse; then they returned an election to the king, who, upon that, gave his assent to it by a warrant under the great seal, which was certified to the vicegerent; who thereupon confirmed the election, and returned him back to the king to take the oaths; upon which the temporalities were re-

stored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally pickt out to serve this turn. Burnet, tom. I. p. 236.

^c By several princes, who were stirred up by the pope and cardinal Pole. Stow, p. 576.

^d Many of which we have at this day. He built particularly Dover-pier. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 306. Herbert, p. 217.

^e They were given in at one hundred and fifty two thousand five hundred and seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings and ten pence. Stevens's Hist. of taxes, p. 215. The number of monasteries suppressed first and last in England and Wales, according to Camden, were six hundred forty three, together

foreseeing the impending storm, had set the yearly rents very low, and raised the fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to subsist when they should be turned out of their houses ^f. The king pretended not to mind it, being on the contrary very glad, the people were not acquainted with the whole profit which accrued to him from these suppressions. Besides the rents of the lands belonging to the monasteries, the king had moreover a very considerable sum arising from the church ornaments, plate, goods, lead, bells, materials, which he thought not proper to have valued, but it may be judged of by this single article, namely, that in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury alone there was found five thousand marks of gold and silver in bullion ^g.

1539.

Speed.
p. 80r.
Burnet.
Herbert.
p. 218.

The ruin of the monks was a great occasion of joy and triumph to those who had already embraced the reformation, or who wished it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cause long to rejoice. Henry resolving to show, that in abolishing the papal authority, and destroying the monasteries, he had not changed his religion, gave very soon an unquestionable proof of it. The parliament meeting the 28th of April, immediately made, by the direction of the court, a law, entitled, "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion." This is the law that is more commonly known by the name of the bloody statute. The penalty of burning or hanging was enacted against those,

Henty shews
he intends
not to alter
religion.
Burnet.
Herbert.

The parlia-
ment.
Hall.

The bloody
statute.

I. Who by word or writing denied transubstantiation.

II. Who maintained that communion in both kinds was necessary.

gether with ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy four chantries, and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. Herbert, p. 218.

^f This had been the practice all along, as well as just before the dissolution of the abbies. The abbots were wont to hold the leases low, and raise great fines; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their house, and so enriched themselves and their brethren by the said fines. This turned greatly to the king's advantage. Burnet,

^g As this was the last parliament the abbots were summoned to, it will

not be amiss to insert the names and number of the mitred or parliamentary abbots, who in the journals of parliament in this reign had their writs, being twenty eight; Abington, St. Albans, St. Austins Canterbury, Battel, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeney, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glasfenbury, Gloucester, Hyde, Malmesbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsay, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavestock, Tewksbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, Winchelcomb; to whom the prior of St. John may be added. Burnet, tom. I. p. 268.

III. Or

1539.

- III. Or that it was lawful for priests to marry.
 IV. Or that vows of chastity may be broken.
 V. Or that private masses are unprofitable.
 VI. Or lastly, That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation ^h.

The laws concerning religion serve to increase the king's authority.

Gardiner author of the six articles.

By this and some former laws, which settled what was to be believed in matter of religion, all the subjects were almost equally liable to the pains enacted therein. Indeed, this last law with those that were made before against the pope's authority, contained the king's belief, but not the nation's. There was hardly a person in the kingdom but what believed either more or less, and yet no one dared openly to swerve from it either to the right or left. The reformed however were the greatest sufferers by it, and indeed it was levelled against them. Gardiner bishop of Winchester was the real author of it. He had intimated to the king, that it was the only means to hinder a league from being formed against him. That what he had abolished not being essential to religion, nor considered as such by the generality of christians,

^h There was first a committee appointed for examining the different opinions, and drawing up articles for an agreement, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle and Worcester. But having spent eleven days in debates, the duke of Norfolk on the sixteenth of May told the lords, that the committee had made no progress, not being of one mind. Therefore he offered some articles to their consideration, that they might be examined by the whole house, and a perpetual law made for the observation of them. These were the six articles above. Cranmer argued against them three days together, though his arguments are lost, there being nothing remaining of what passed in the house, out what is conveyed to us in the journal, which is short and defective. On the twenty fourth of May, the parliament, for what reason is not known, was prorogued to the thirtieth. When being met, the chancellor moved in the king's name, that a bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these articles. Whereupon a bill drawn up by the archbishop of York, was after long

contest brought to the house the seventh of June; it was read a second time on the ninth, and on the tenth it was engrossed, and read the third time. When it passed, the king desired Cranmer to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. On the twenty eighth, after passing in the house of commons, it had the royal assent. Besides the six articles, "All the marriages of priests are declared void, and if a priest lived with a woman as his wife, he was to be judged a felon; and if as his concubine, upon the first conviction to forfeit all his benefices, &c. and upon second conviction to suffer as a felon. The women so offending were to be punished in the same manner. For the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, and such others as the king shall name, to hold their sessions quarterly or oftener, and to proceed upon presentments by a jury." Burnet, tom. I. p. 257, &c.

stians,

ftians, no man of found judgment could deem him heretical, fo long as he maintained thefe fix articles, which entirely diftinguifhed true catholicks from feftaries and innovators. This was really taking the king by his weak fide. But, be- fides this motive, the king had another which was no lefs powerful, namely, by adding this law to thofe already made againft the pope, he rendered his fubjects fo dependent upon him, that there was fcarce a man but what was obnoxious to be called to an account. So the pope's friends and the reformed were equally in his power. Confequently they were equally concerned not to difpleafe him in any thing, but rather blindly to fubmit to his will. Cranmer alone ventured pub- lickly and for three days together, to argue againft the bill before it paffed. But as foon as it had received the feal of the publick authority, he fent away his wife into Germany till better times ^l.

Cranmer argues a- gainft them in vain.

By another act the parliament granted to the king the lands of the religious houfes, which were fupposed to have been freely furrendered to him. So, this ftatute was rather a confirmation of what had been done, than an or- dinance for the fuppreffion of the monafteries ^k. As the king had intimated that he intended to employ the reve- nues, he had acquired, in ufeul foundations, the parli- ament paffed a bill for giving him power to erect new bi- fhopricks.

The parlia- ment grants the lands of the monaste- ries to the king. He is em- powered to erect new fees. Burnet.

Never

ⁱ He married a kinfwoman of Osi- ander's the divine of Noremberg dur- ing his embaffy with the emperor, a- bout the year 1532. Herbert, p. 219.

^k This act paffed in the houfe of peers without any proteftation made by any of the abbots, though it appears by the journal, that at the firft read- ing of it, there were eighteen abbots prefent, at the fecond twenty, and fe- venteen at the third. It was foon dif- patched by the commons, and offered to the royal affent. By it no religious houfes were fuppreffed, as is generally taken for granted, but only the fur- renders that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The laft proviso in it for annulling all exemp- tions of churches and chapels, had been a great happinefs to the church, if it had not been for the claufe, " That the king might appoint others to vifit them." For many of thofe who purchafed thefe lands with the

impropriated tithes, got this likewise in their grants, that they fhould be the vifitors of the churches formerly exempted, from whence great diforders have fince followed; for the incum- bents being under no reftraints, have often been fcandalous to the church. This abufe, which firft fprung from the ancient exemptions granted by the fee of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual remedy. It was queftioned, whether the lands belonging to the abbies ought to have returned to the founders and donors by way of rever- ter, or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden by way of efcheat, or to have come to the crown. The endowments of the hea- thenifh temples were, in Theodofius's time, after a mature debate, adjudged to the emperor's exchequer, upon this reafon, that by the will of the donors they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. But in England it

1539.

An extraordinary act for increasing the royal power.

Never was parliament more devoted to the king's will. They were not satisfied with approving whatever the king had done, but also whatever he might do for the future. It was enacted this session, that the same obedience should be paid to the king's proclamations, or to the orders of the council during a minority, as to the acts of parliament. It was pretended, that cases might happen where the king had not time to call a parliament, and yet it was necessary for the good of the realm that his orders should be executed, otherwise there might be danger of falling into great inconveniences. Thus to avoid a possible but withal an uncommon inconvenience, another much more considerable was run into, by giving the sovereign a despotick power. For if his orders were to be obeyed without the concurrence of the parliament, he had no occasion to call one if he did not think it proper. It is true, there were some limitations in the act, as that no person should be deprived of life or estate by virtue of the king's proclamation, nor any laws or customs broken or subverted thereby. But these restrictions were so ambiguously worded, that it was easy for the king to evade them. Upon this act were grounded the great changes of religion in the nonage of Edward VI.

Another about precedency. Statut. c. 10.

In this same session the parliament passed an act to regulate the precedency of the officers of state, by which Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, though a locksmith's son, had the precedence of all persons next the royal family¹.

Lastly,

went otherwise, for when the order of the knights templers was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by escheat. And this must have held good, if those alienations and endowments had been absolute without any condition. But the endowments being generally made in consideration of so many masses to be said for their souls, then it was most just, that upon a non-performance of the condition, and when the cheat which the monks had put upon the world was discovered, the lands should have returned to the founders, and their heirs and successors. Now was there any grounds for the lords to pretend to them by escheat, especially where their ancestors had consented and confirmed those endowments? therefore there was no need of excluding them by any special provi-

so. But for the founders and donors, certainly if there had not been a particular proviso made against them, they might have recovered the lands their ancestors had superstitiously given away, and the surrenders to the crown could not have cut off their title. But this act did that effectually. It is true, many of them were of royal foundation, and these would have returned to the crown without dispute. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 262.

¹ By this act, it was ordered, 1. That no person of what state, degree, or condition soever, except only the king's children, shall thenceforward sit at any side of the cloth of estate in the parliament chamber (as the two archbishops used to do. See Fiddes's life of Wolsey, p. 302.) 2. That the bishops shall sit in this order, on the

Lastly, The parliament confirmed the sentence of death passed upon the marquiss of Exeter and the rest who had been executed for holding a correspondence with cardinal Pole. Moreover for the same reason, they attainted the countess of Salisbury the cardinal's mother, and the marchioness of Exeter, without bringing them to a trial. This last act met with great opposition in the parliament, many objecting that to condemn persons unheard was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice. But Cromwell having sent for the judges to his house, asked them, whether the parliament had power to condemn persons accused without a hearing? The judges replied, it was a nice and dangerous question; that equity, justice, and all sorts of laws required that the accused should be heard; that however, the parliament being the supreme court of the realm, from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their sentences, of what nature soever they were, could not be questioned. This was saying in other words, that the parliament would therein commit an injustice, for which they could not be called to an account. Cromwell having reported to the parliament the opinion of the judges, the two ladies of the blood royal were condemned to die, by a sentence which established a precedent the most pernicious that had ever been seen in England, and which proved fatal to its author, as will appear. Mean while the king granted a full pardon to the marchioness of Exeter, and a reprieve to the countess of Salisbury, who was not executed till two years after. Thus the king daily acquired some fresh degree of authority. It might be said, he usurped it not, since it was given him by the parliament, if the circumstances of the times had not rendered the very parliament slaves to his will.

Cranmer had strenuously opposed the law of the six articles, and such an opposition would have infallibly ruined any other person but that prelate. But the king had an esteem for him which could not be easily changed, because he was

1539.
Sentence against the marquiss of Exeter, &c. is confirmed. Countess of Sarum and marchioness of Exeter attainted. Herbert. Burnet. T. I. p. 264.

Act. Pub. XIV. p. 652. Decem. 21. Herbert.

The king takes care to encourage Cranmer. Burnet.

the right hand side of the parliament house; first, the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, then the bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, and the rest according to the time of their creation. 3. That the lord chancellor, treasurer, president of the council, and lord privy seal, being barons, shall sit, on the left side of the parliament house, above all dukes, except

the royal family. 4. That the lord chamberlain, marshal, high admiral, lord steward and chamberlain, shall be placed above all persons of the same estates and degrees they shall happen to be of. 5. And the king's secretary, being a baron, shall sit above all barons. See Statut. 31. Hen. VIII. c. 10.

1539.

persuaded the archbishop acted according to the dictates of his conscience, whereas he had a quite contrary notion of the rest of his ministers and courtiers. Their blind compliance served only to make him despise them, though he liked to reap the advantage of their baseness. So having a real esteem and sincere affection for Cranmer, and imagining, he must have been extremely mortified that the act had passed contrary to his opinion, and even apprehensive of having displeased him by his opposition, he sent the duke of Norfolk to encourage him, and assure him of his constant kindness. Cranmer ^m very thankfully received this testimony of the king's esteem and goodness. Shortly after, the king talked with him himself concerning the law of the six articles, and was pleased that he explained to him the reasons which led him to oppose it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, though by the statute itself, it was a crime worthy of burning. But Cranmer, trusting to the king's equity, drew up a memorial which he intended to give him. This writing being accidentally lost, was found by one who was going to carry it to the king, if Cromwell had not prevented him ⁿ. Doctor Burnet represents this to be

He orders him to give him reasons for opposing the six articles.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 265.
Herbert.

^m Burnet says, the king sent for him first, on June 28, and next day ordered the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Cromwell, to dine with him. When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they ran out much in his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the act with so much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed to fear nothing from the king. Cromwell said, when complaints were brought against any of his counsellors, the king received them, but would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the archbishop. From that he went on to make a parallel between him and cardinal Wolsey: that the one lost his friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his mildness and gentleness. Upon which the duke of Norfolk said, he might best speak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who answered, that though he had served him, he never liked his manner, and

that though the cardinal had designed (if his attempt for the popedom had succeeded) to have made him his admiral, yet he resolved not to accept it. To which the duke of Norfolk replied with a deep oath, "That he lied," with other reproachful language. Collier says, Cromwell told the duke, that he (the duke) offered to serve the cardinal as his admiral, upon which the duke said that it was a lie. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty friends. Burnet, tom. I. p. 265.

ⁿ Cranmer's secretary having writ out the book in a fair hand, and returning with it from Croydon, where the archbishop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber carried away by Cranmer's almoner; so being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the wherry with him, would needs go to Southwark side to see a bear-baiting, where the king was in person. The bear broke loose into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were

be an unexpected and happy escape for Cranmer. But since the king himself ordered him to compose the writing, the danger does not seem to be so great, unless it be supposed the king would have condemned him unheard. But this supposition destroys itself by the particular esteem the king had for him.

Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, were not treated so favourably. As they could not resolve to approve of the law of the six articles, they believed that in resigning their bishopricks, they should be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off so easily. They had no sooner put the instruments of resignation into the king's hands, but they were accused as having spoken against the six articles, and committed to the Tower.

When the parliament broke up, the king sent commissioners into the several counties to make enquiry of those who were against the six articles, being determined rigorously to execute the statute. As Cromwell and Cranmer could not but be suspected in this affair, the enemies of the reformation easily made the king sensible, that to leave to them the nomination of the commissioners would be labouring in vain. And indeed, persons who strongly opposed the act were very unfit to see it executed as the king desired. Some of the contrary party therefore were appointed, who discharged their commission with such immoderate zeal and passion, that they frustrated the designs of those who employed them. In the city of London alone, there were within few days above five hundred persons thrown into prison, and involved in the breach of the statute. Nay, the king was shown that, contrary to his intention, the commissioners had laid snares for these prisoners, to oblige them to discover opinions which they intended to conceal in obedience to the laws. Besides,

Shaxton and Latimer resign their sees, and are sent to the Tower. A.G. Pub. XIV. p. 641; 642. Burnet. Strype. Inquiry of those who rejected the six articles. Burnet.

Hall. Stow. Burnet. Hollingsh.

were in the boat leaped out, and left the secretary alone. The bear got into the boat with the dogs about her, and sunk it. The secretary shifting for himself, lost the book in the water. But being brought to land, he saw his book floating upon the water. So he desired the bear-ward to bring it to him; who taking it up, gave it to a priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The priest finding it to be a confutation of the six articles, told the bear-ward whoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. The secretary thinking to mend the matter,

said it was his lord's book. This made the fellow more untractable, being a spiteful papist, and an enemy to the archbishop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the secretary applied to Cromwell, who was then going to court, where he expected the bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the book to some of Cranmer's enemies. And so it happened, whereupon Cromwell called to him, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him for meddling with a privy counsellor's papers. Burnet, tom. 1. p. 265, 266.

1539.

The king
pardons
them all.
Hall.
Burnet.

Extreme
condescen-
sion of both
parties for
the king.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Burnet.
T. I. p. 267.

since in so short a space, such numbers were imprisoned in London, it was easy to judge how many there might be in all the rest of the kingdom, and of what ill consequence it would be to execute the law upon numberless persons of all ages and sexes. This the chancellor, who was no enemy to the reformation, represented to the king, and prevailed with him to pardon all the prisoners. From this time to Cromwell's death, the proceedings upon the act were suspended, though it still subsisted, and might have been executed if the king had pleased. Thus every thing was regulated by the king's will, who hastened or retarded the execution of the laws according to the times and persons. This gained him a blind condescension from both parties, every one having to fear his own ruin according to the king's humour and disposition. It is certain, those that desired a reformation were constrained to feign an approbation of many things which in their hearts they detested, and that Cromwell and Cranmer who had most access to the king, dared to press him only indirectly to advance the work already begun. Hence they preserved their credit, and were enabled to do their party service. Their adversaries took the same course, and went still greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the king's confidence. Bonner bishop of London, though a favourer of the pope, and persuaded that the king had no spiritual authority, took a commission from him, which adjudged to him both the spiritual and temporal power of his bishoprick, during his good pleasure. After this, the excessive power which the king daily acquired must not be thought strange, since every one strove to submit to his will. Gardiner bishop of Winchester was one of the principal favourers of the old religion, to which he was very serviceable by a profound dissimulation. He expressed great zeal to execute as well the act of the six articles, as those made against the pope. He thereby maintained his credit, though the king had but little esteem for him.

o The substance of the commission was: that since all jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the king as supreme head, it became those who exercised any power only by the king's courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it should please

him to call for it. And since his viceroy could not look into all matters, therefore the king did empower Bonner in his own stead to exercise all the parts of episcopal authority, for which he was duly commissioned; and this to last during the king's pleasure only. See the original in Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 184.

The actual suppression of the monasteries was begun and ended in the course of this year ^p. The commissioners appointed for that purpose settled every thing relating thereto. They awarded pensions to the abbots, priors, monks, and nuns, for their livelihood. They valued the plate, goods, ornaments of the priests, of the altars, of the churches, and ordered what buildings should be demolished, and what left standing. I have already observed that the rents of all the suppressed monasteries amounted to one hundred sixty thousand one hundred pounds sterling. But if it be true that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the last leases, and that these were not above the tenth part of the real value, as some affirm, it follows that these rents were worth above sixteen hundred thousand pounds ^q, besides the ready money which accrued to the king by the sale of the effects ^r. Here was wherewithal to make useful foundations to the church and state, had all these riches been employed that way. The king seemed at first to have formed such a design. Nay, this was what had served for the principal ground of the suppression of the monasteries. But the greediness of the courtiers and favourites allowed but a very small part to be expended on things useful and necessary. Henry had at first resolved to erect eighteen new bishopricks ^s, but as the money was lavished away, he found reasons to reduce them to a much smaller number. In short, he contented himself with founding six, and establishing canons in some cathedrals which the monks had possessed. In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thousand pounds. He laid out likewise part of the money in fortifying some ports, and all the rest was squandered away in presents and other

1539.

Value of what the suppression of the monasteries produced. Herbert. Burnet. T. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. Speed.

Strype.

The king lays out the money in needless things. Burnet. Herbert.

^p There are fifty-seven surrenders upon record this year; and the originals of about thirty of these are yet to be seen. Thirty seven of them were abbies or priories, and twenty nunneries: among the rest, Godstow, Westminster, St. Albans, Waltham, Glastenbury, St. Peter's in Gloucester, &c. The method used in the suppression of these houses, may be seen in Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. The hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark was also suppressed this year. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 267, 268.

^q Some compute, that the lands taken from the monasteries, at twenty years purchase, would amount, at this present time, to thirty millions, five

hundred and three thousand, four hundred pounds. Those formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Albans, being worth at this day, about two hundred thousand pounds a year; and those belonging to Glastenbury abbey, above three hundred thousand pounds yearly. See Stevens hist. of taxes, p. 188—216.

^r The treasure found in the monasteries was valued at one hundred thousand pounds. Ibid. p. 217. As for an account of the other valuable effects found there, see *Monasticon Anglic.*

^s On which he intended to bestow eighteen thousand pounds a year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 269.

1539.

Remarks
upon the
conduct of
the parlia-
ment.

Burnet.
T. I. p. 269.

The protes-
tants avoid
the emper-
or's snares,
Sleidan.

needless expences. For this cause he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the church; whereas had he employed the best part of these lands in things useful to the church and state, he would have gained the blessings of his subjects and their posterity. As to the parliament, they are inexcusable for having put into the king's hands such immense riches designed for pious uses, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no slender evidence of what has been already observed, that the parliaments met in this reign only to be instrumental in gratifying the king's passions, without ever examining either the motives or consequences of what he required. Henry had also formed the project of founding a college for young students, that they might be qualified for the service of the state, either in embassies or other affairs of the government^t. But this project miscarried with many others, because the king having sold the lands of the suppressed abbies, was very loth to put to such uses the ready money raised by the sale. He chose rather to lavish it upon his pleasures, or his courtiers, who used all sorts of artifices, condescensions, and base flatteries, to procure some part of these vast treasures.

Whilst Henry was employed in his domestick affairs, he had an eye however to what passed abroad. The emperor feigned the last year a firm intention to adjust the religious differences which occasioned troubles in Germany. But this

^t As this was the noblest design that ever was projected in England, it will not be amiss to give some short account of it. Sir Nicolas Bacon (who was afterwards one of the wisest ministers that ever this nation bred,) together with Thomas Denton and Robert Carey, were ordered to make a full project of the nature and orders of such a house, which they brought to the king in writing, the original whereof is still extant. The design of it was, that there should be frequent pleadings, and other exercises in the Latin and French tongues; and when the king's students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with his ambassadors to foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; and so the house should be the nursery for ambassadors. Some were also appointed to write the history of all embassies, treaties, and foreign transactions; as also of arraignments and publick trials

at home. But before any of them might write on these subjects, the lord chancellor was to give them an oath, that they should do it truly without respect of persons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble design miscarried, but if it had been well regulated, it is easy to gather what great and publick advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a rabble of ill writers of history, who have without due care and inquiry delivered to us the transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of inquiring into registers and papers for these matters: which in such a house had been more clearly conveyed to posterity, than can now be expected after such rature of records, and other confusions, in which many of these papers have been lost. Burnet, tom. I, 269.

1539.

was only to draw money from the protestants to be expended in his war with the Turk. He expected that upon the bare hopes, he was pleased to give them, of redressing their grievances, they would drain themselves of men and money, and so become less formidable. But the protestants would not suffer themselves to be deceived to such a degree. They plainly answered to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without sufficient security of being left in peace.

Henry finding that a rupture between the emperor and the protestants was not very remote, sent fresh ambassadors to Germany to strengthen the resolutions of the Smalcaldick league, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared protector. But the Germans had now discovered his design, which was to amuse them, and keep the emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them. They returned therefore the same answer as before, that the sole intent of their league was to maintain the Augsburg confession, and if the king refused to admit that confession, it was in vain to treat of other points: that moreover, they heard with extreme grief that he persecuted in his realm such as held the same opinions with them on sundry articles of religion, and therefore, so long as the act of the six articles subsisted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. Melancthon even writ him a letter in very strong, though respectful terms, to show him the unreasonableness of that statute.

Henry, to whom all was obedient in England, and whose will was a law, was offended at the firmness of the German princes. On the other hand, Gardiner, who dreaded of all things the king's union with the Smalcaldick league, failed not to use this occasion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He represented to him, that it was very strange, petty princes should pretend to be a pattern to a great monarch, and dictate to the most learned prince in Europe, in matters of religion. He added, that whatever the protestants might pretend, they would never approve of his supremacy in England, because it would be a tacit engagement to own that the emperor had the same right in Germany. This was false reasoning, since there was a wide difference between the authority which the king had over his subjects, and that which the emperor could claim over the sovereigns and free cities of Germany. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldness between the king and the protestants.

1539. Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the reformation, if, on the other side, the reformers had not raised a counter battery, of which they made wonderful use. The king was so jealous of his supremacy, that he neglected nothing to support it. Indeed, the absolute power acquired over his subjects placed him above all opposition, but he wished of all things, the nation was convinced of the justice of that prerogative. Hence the reformers took occasion to remonstrate to him, that nothing but the reading of the holy scriptures could undeceive the people of their false notion of the papal authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there should be a bible fastened with a chain in every church, to be freely perused by all persons, But as many scrupled publickly to read the scriptures for fear of being suspected of heresy, Cranmer, meeting with a favourable opportunity, represented to the king that it was necessary to give his subjects leave to have a bible in their houses. He insinuated to him, that every one having liberty to read it, would easily be convinced that the pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the scriptures. This was an innocent stratagem, to procure the people an opportunity to instruct themselves in many other articles, though the king had only one in view. Gardiner readily perceived the consequence of the archbishop's request, and seeing the king inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it. He disputed upon this subject with Cranmer in the king's presence, who heard them very attentively. At last, perceiving solid learning in what Cranmer said, and nothing but vanity in the reasonings of his adversary, he suddenly rose up, saying to Gardiner, that such a novice as he was not fit to contend with an old experienced general ^u. Shortly after, he issued out a proclamation, declaring he was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of true religion in God's word; and therefore he would take care they should have an exact translation of the bible. He forbid however, in order to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from the difference of the versions, the selling of any bible but what should be approved by the vicegerent ^w.

Bibles are set up in the churches.

Burnet.

People allowed bibles in their houses.
Idem.

Gardiner opposes it.
Idem.

Proclamation about the bible.
Act. Pub. XIV. p. 649, 650.
Novem. 4. Strype.

^u Gardiner challenged Cranmer to shew any difference between the authority of the scriptures, and of the apostolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apostles. Upon which they disputed

some time. Burnet, tom. I. p. 270.

^w And about the same time issued out a proclamation for uniformity in religion, which the reader may see in Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 354. Coll. p. 295.

About the end of this year was seen a fresh effect of the mutual confidence which appeared between Charles V. and Francis I. A mutiny arising in Gaunt by reason of a tax laid upon wine by the governor of the Low Countries, the mutineers applied to the king of France to implore his protection, and even offered to submit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the emperor of what was plotting against him. This seems very strange, considering that hitherto he had never professed much generosity to that monarch. But the reason of this proceeding was, the emperor still allured him with the hopes of the duchy of Milan, and so diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by arms. However, the emperors's presence in Flanders being alone capable of appeasing the sedition of Gaunt, he was at some loss which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by sea, as well on account of the season, as because he had no fleet to convoy him. The way through Italy was no safer, by reason he could not afterwards cross Germany without passing through the territories of the protestant princes. There remained no other way but by France, which he resolved upon, though he had as much reason to suspect that kingdom as Germany. But he hoped to amuse the king by means of the duchy of Milan, as he did in effect. He set out therefore and entered France with a small train, upon the bare security of a safe conduct. Nay, he refused to take in hostage the dauphin and his brother the duke of Orleans, who came and received him at Bayonne, offering to stay in Spain so long as he should be in the king's dominions. Wherever he came, the same respect was paid him as to the king himself, and he arrived at Paris the first of January 1540.

1539.

The emperor crosses France to go to Gaunt. Haræus. P. Daniel. Hall. Herbert.

Hall.

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves being at length concluded by Cromwell's diligence, who had been charged with the negotiation, the princess arrived in England about the end of the year 1539^x, at the time the emperor was travelling through France in his way to the Low Countries. Henry receiving advice of her arrival at Rochester, went down incognito, being very impatient to see whether he had

The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves is concluded. Hall. Herbert. She arrives in England. Stow. Hollingsh.

^x On December 27, she landed at Deal. William Fitzwilliams earl of Southampton, being sent with a fleet of fifty sail to bring her over. Hall, fol. 238.———This same month, king Henry renewed his guard of fifty

gentlemen pensioners, with a salary of fifty pounds a year; they had been discontinued since the first year of his reign. Hall, fol. 237. Hollinghead, p. 948.

1539.

The king
aſſikes her.

Stow.

p. 579.

Burnet.

T. I. Coll.

p. 197.

been deceived. But, to his ſorrow, he found her very different from what her picture, drawn by Hans Holbin, had cauſed him to expect. This firſt fight gave him ſuch an averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the marriage, if he had not been prevented by ſtrong reaſons ^y. The ſame conſiderations which had made him conclude it ſubſiſted, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The duke of Cleves was the emperor's neighbour in Flanders, and had alſo a pretenſion as well as he to the duchy of Guelders, after the death of the duke of that name. Conſequently, in caſe of a war between the emperor and England, that prince could give the emperor a very troubleſome diverſion in Flanders. On the other hand, his ſiſter was married to the duke of Saxony, head of the Smalcaldick league, with whom it was of great moment to the king to live in a good underſtanding. But this was not all. The emperor, then in France, was labouring with all his power to diſingage Francis I. from the intereſts of England. Nay, Henry had private intelligence, that the emperor offered to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans upon that conſideration. If therefore, in ſuch a juncture, he had ſent back the princeſs of Cleves without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the princeſs of Smalcald, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being forſaken by the king of France, who by degrees forgot the aſſiſtance he had received from him in his moſt urgent occaſions. So, lamenting his miſfortune to be forced to marry a princeſs for whom he had conceived an averſion, he reſolved to make this ſacrifice the 6th of January 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his marriage than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his ſentiments however as much as poſſible, though it was eaſy for all to ſee his vexation and trouble. Cromwell, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his reſentment, though the king was very careful to hide it from him ^z.

1540.

He marries
her how-
ever,
Hall.

Stow.

Hollingſh.

and bears
Cromwell
an ill-will.
Stow.

Burnet.

The

^y He ſwore, when he firſt ſaw her, they had brought over a Flanders mare to him. Nicholas Wotton, doctor of law, employed in this buſineſs, gives her this character: ſhe could both write and read in her own language, and ſew very well; but for muſick (in which the king delighted) it was not the manner of the country to learn it, Her-

bert, p. 221.

^z Cromwell aſked him next day how he liked her; the king told him, he liked her worſe than he did. For he ſuſpected ſhe was no maid, and had ſuch ill ſmells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the marriage. This was ſad news to Cromwell.

The parliament meeting the 12th of April, Cromwell made a speech to both houses, informing them that the king seeing with extreme concern so great division among his subjects in matters of religion, had appointed commissioners to examine the points in dispute, that the articles of faith might be fixed without respect of parties, by the word of God: that he was very desirous his people should have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was resolved to punish without mercy, such as should presume to prefer their private, before the established, opinions. The commissioners named by the king were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay ^a. Two days after the king created Cromwell, earl of Essex ^b.

During this session, the parliament suppressed the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who are now called knights of Malta. Their dependence on the pope and the emperor was the cause or pretence of their ruin. There is no doubt, the desire of enjoying their spoils induced also the king to procure their suppression. And indeed, the parliament gave him all their lands as they had given him those of the abbies. Though they had large revenues both in Ireland and England, the king allowed however but three thousand pounds for their maintenance after their suppression ^c. The affair being ended, the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of May.

1539.
 Parliament.
 Hall.
 Herbert.
 The king
 appoints
 commission-
 ers to exam-
 ine the
 doctrines of
 religion.
 Burnet.
 Strype.
 Cromwell
 created earl
 of Essex.
 Knights of
 St. John
 suppressed,
 Hall.
 Herbert.
 Stow.
 Hollingsh.
 Burnet.

well, who knew how nice the king was in these matters, and that so great a misfortune must needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief promoter of it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 273. Stow, p. 578.

^a The king appointed the two archbishops, with the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, St. Davids, and eleven doctors, to draw up an exposition of those things that were necessary for the institution of a christian man. He also appointed the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff, to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them. These committees were to sit constantly Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and on other days in the afternoon only. Burnet, tom. I. p. 275.

^b April 17. One would think by this that the king was not angry with him about his marriage, since he con-

ferred so great a title on him. Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, the last of his family, venturing to ride a young horse, had the misfortune to be thrown, and by the fall to break his neck. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 130, 137.—On November 20, 1538. Sir Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, was created lord Audley of Walden: and on March 9, 1539, sir William Poulet was advanced to the title of lord St. John; on the 29th, sir John Ruffel, to that of lord Ruffel; and William Parr, to that of lord Parr. Idem. p. 376, 378, 381.

^c He allowed a thousand pounds pension to the prior of St. John's near London, and five hundred marks a year to the prior in Ireland, (for there was but one house in each kingdom) with very considerable allowances for the knights, amounting in all to three thousand pounds a year. The House in Ireland was at Kilmainan. Burnet, tom. I. p. 276. Stow, p. 579.

A few

1539.

Cromwell's
disgrace.
Burnet.

A few days after, there fell upon Cromwell a storm, which probably had been gathering some time before. This minister had many enemies, and enviers. He was son of a farrier or lock-smith; and though his birth was so mean, he was raised to great honour, even to the having the precedence of all the lords in the kingdom, except the royal family. All the nobility envied him. The whole popish party also hated him mortally, deeming him the first adviser of the suppression of the abbies, and one of the principal encouragers of the king to all the innovations he had made in religion. Among these, who were very numerous, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner were the persons that could do him most hurt, because they had free access to the king. These two courtiers perceiving the king's coldness for the new queen, doubted not of his ill-will to Cromwell, for engaging him in that marriage, and resolved to make use of this occasion to ruin him. They hoped when he was removed, it would not be impossible to procure an agreement between the emperor and the king, and then, a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell had always opposed to the utmost of his power. Two other things greatly contributed to the downfall of this minister. The king had always employed him, in his correspondence with the Smalcaldick league, and so long as he thought he wanted that league, he could not be without his assistance. But growing cold at length to the German princes, as I before observed, and knowing, the dreaded union between Charles V. and Francis I. was only a chimera, and consequently he should have no need of Germany, Cromwell became less necessary. The second thing which helped to ruin Cromwell was, the king fell in love with Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece. Norfolk finding his credit considerably increased, made use of it to procure the minister's destruction. As soon as he had a fair opportunity, he presented to the king. "That there were many malecontents in the kingdom, and good men could not be persuaded that a prince like him, would willingly give any occasion of discontent to his people: that they inferred from thence, he must have been ill served by his minister, who doubtless had abused his confidence: that as the people seemed dissatisfied only with regard to religion, it was natural to think, this happened through the vicegerent's fault, whose conduct perhaps it would be proper to examine: that he was accused by the publick of many things, which, if true, rendered him the

" most

Burnet.

The duke of
Norfolk stirs
up the king
against
Cromwell.

“ most guilty of all others, considering the favours heaped on him by the king: that besides, though no particular fact could be proved upon him, it was however a very great crime to rob the king of the hearts of good part of his subjects: that he took the freedom therefore to tell him, in order to quiet their minds, there was no better way than to sacrifice to them so odious a minister.” These insinuations, which were doubtless seconded by Gardiner and other enemies of Cromwell, produced at length the desired effect. The king, prejudiced against him, resolved to dispatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage. First, he discovered his resentment against him on account of the marriage, he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed to make his people a sacrifice capable of silencing all their murmurs ^d. This resolution being taken, and the parliament meeting the 13th of June, the duke of Norfolk accused Cromwell of high-treason at the council board, and received orders to arrest him ^e and send him to the Tower. This illustrious prisoner had the common fate of all disgraced ministers. In a moment, he was forsaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpose.

Cromwell's death is decreed.

He is accused of high treason, and sent to the Tower.

Hall. Hollingsh. Cranmer writes in his behalf.

Burnet. Herbert. He is condemned without being heard.

Burnet. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Burnet. T. I. p. 278.

Cromwell being in the Tower, the articles of his impeachment were drawn, consisting in generals, of which not so much as the least proof was offered to be given. The king knew, if his process was made according to the usual forms, he might produce warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be disclaimed. For this reason it was thought proper to bring his affair before the parliament, and cause a bill of attainder to be passed against him, without allowing him to make his defence ^f. In this manner had he himself proceeded in the affair of the marchioness of Exeter and the countess of Salisbury, and therefore could not think it strange the same thing should be practised in his case. The parliament, ever slaves to the king, deemed the impeachment just, though destitute of proof. So by an act, declaring him attainted and convicted of here-

^d See above, p. 339. Note b.

^e He was arrested July 9. Hall, fol. 242.

^f The bill was brought into the house of lords, Cranmer being then absent, on the 17th of July, and read the first time; and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the commons, where it stuck ten days. And then a new bill,

conceived by the commons, was brought up with a proviso annexed to it. They also sent back the lords bill. It seems they rejected the lords bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in respect to the lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two they would offer to the royal assent. Which was an unparliamentary proceeding. Burnet, tom. I. p. 277.

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fy and treason, he was condemned as a traitor and heretick, the parliament leaving it to the king's choice to make him suffer the punishment of either of those crimes. This, joined to some other foregoing, as well as following instances, shew to what height the king had carried his authority, since to discover his will was sufficient to be immediately obeyed, even by those whose business and interest it chiefly was to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the sentence was deferred till after the session of the parliament.

The king is determined to null his marriage. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

Pretence of the divorce. Burnet. Herbert.

Henry was so tired of his queen, that he could not bear the vexation to see himself engaged for the rest of his life in so disagreeable a marriage. He resolved therefore to divorce her, let what would be the consequence, especially as the reasons which induced him to marry her no longer subsisted. He had lost all hopes of making a league with the protestants of Germany, and his fears of the emperor were vanished, since he saw every thing tending to a rupture between him and France. He only wanted a pretence to demand a divorce, and give some colour to the proceedings of the clergy and parliament, of whose concurrence he was sure, however slight the pretence might be. He found one in a precontract between the queen and the duke of Lorraine's son. But this contract was so slight, that the consequences were to be much pressed, to make it serve for the foundation of dissolving Anne's marriage with the king. The duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorraine, had formerly, it seems, in a treaty, agreed upon a marriage between Anne of Cleves and the prince of Lorraine both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the parties when of age. On the contrary, the ambassador of the duke of Gueldres, who acted as mediator in that treaty, declared afterwards by an authentick instrument, that this article was deemed null. However, when Henry's marriage with Anne was concluded, this preengagement raised a difficulty. But the ambassadors of Saxony and Cleves positively promised to clear that point and put it out of all doubt, as soon as the princess should arrive in England. Anne being come to Greenwich, the king, who liked her not, insisted upon this article, in order to send her back. For that purpose, he called a council, and sending for the ambassadors, the explanation, they had promised, was demanded. But they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty as little material. Mean while, the council telling them that good proofs were expected and

not

not bare words. they offered to produce within three months an authentick abstract from the chancery of Cleves, to prove what they had alledged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the king to proceed, if, as has been said, there had not been strong reasons to cause him to accomplish his marriage. So, the council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the marriage might be lawfully solemnized. The abstract from the chancery of Cleves being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word espousals, because it was not expressed whether they were espousals by the words of the present or of the future tense. But as the king would not yet commence the affair of his divorce, he caused the abstract to be kept, in order to make use of it when there should be occasion. Upon this therefore he resolved to found his divorce.

The parliament, after a prorogation of some days, meeting again, Henry sent the queen to Richmond. A few days after, a motion was made in the house of lords, to present an address to the king, to desire him to suffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been seen, it can't be imagined any lord would be so hardy as to dare to make such a motion, unless he was sure of the king's approbation. So, the motion being assented to, the lords desired the concurrence of the commons ^g; after which, they went in a body ^h to present their address to the king. Henry protested to them, that he sought only the glory of God, the good of his people, and the declaration of truth. Then he agreed that the affair should be referred to the clergy, who immediately appointed commissioners to examine the witnesses ⁱ. All that could be gathered from the king's own deposition, and those of the witnesses, was, that there had been a precontract between the queen and the prince of Lorrain, which was not sufficiently cleared: that the king having espoused the queen against his will, had not given an inward consent to his marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promises could not be obligatory, a

The parliament pray the king to examine the validity of his marriage. Hall. Stow. Burnet. Herbert.

The matter is brought before the convocation, Extraordinary reasons alledged for the divorce. Burnet. Strype's Mem.

^g The lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, were sent to desire their concurrence. Burnet, tom. I. p. 280.

^h The whole house of peers, with twenty commoners, on July 6. Burnet, tom. I. p. 280.

ⁱ On the 7th of July it was brought before the convocation, and the case was opened by the bishop of Winchester, and a committee appointed to consider of it; and they deputed the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Thirleby, and Leighton, dean of York, to examine witnesses that day. Burnet, *ibid*,

1540. man's act being only what is inward: that the king had never consummated his marriage: that the whole nation had a great interest in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by the queen.

T. I. Coll.
P. 306, 307,
&c.

Burnet.

The king must have had a very ill opinion of the convocation, the parliament, and the publick, to alledge such extraordinary causes of his divorce. The first had been discussed before the celebration of the marriage, and the council was of opinion, it could be no just impediment. As to the second, if that maxim took place, contracts would be of no use, since one of the parties might say, he had not given an inward consent. This would be establishing, without remedy, insincerity, fraud and perfidiousness in the highest degree. As for the third, the king had doubtless forgot what he had alledged in the process of his divorce with Catherine. He then maintained, pursuant to his clergy's opinion, that the consummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine was not necessary to render it valid, but that the bare consent of the parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, since there was no necessity of nulling the marriage, under colour that the king was not pleased to lie with the queen. Besides, he had now an heir. In short, his word must be taken, when he said, he had not consummated his marriage, his word, who sued for the divorce, and who used this argument to obtain it. Mean while, the clergy thought these reasons solid, and passed a sentence of divorce upon them, and the parliament were so abject, as to prostitute themselves to the king's passion, and confirm the sentence^k. There is no distinction to be made here, since neither in the convocation, nor in the parliament, was there one single vote against the divorce; so much did every one dread to incur the king's displeasure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing transacted in England during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the parliament and clergy ought to be considered only as the king's instruments to gratify his passions. To him is due the praise of whatever was good and useful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for what-

Sentence of
divorce.
Burnet.

^k Sentence was given the 9th of July, which was signed by both houses of convocation; and had the two archbishops seals put to it, of which whole trial the record does yet remain, having escaped the fate of the other books of convocation. The original depositions are also extant. Burnet observes, this only can be said for their excuse,

that the king's reasons were as just and weighty as used to be admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce; and most of them being canonists, and knowing how many precedents there were to be found for such divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the popes had formerly done. Burnet, tom. I. p. 281.

ever

ever was amifs. Mean while, the parliament and clergy are inexcusable for not having endeavoured to fupport the caufe of Juftice and truth, when they believed them to be oppreffed.

The queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her abfence, and even without her being examined. Probably, ſhe had entertained no great affection for a ſpouſe, who had never given her any token of his love. However, though the king had thought it needleſs to aſk her approbation, when he was meditating the divorce, becauſe then the clergy and parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her conſent to what had been done, thinking no doubt the better to juſtify himſelf to the world. At the ſame time he offered by letters patents to declare her his adopted ſiſter, with a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year^l, and her choice either to live in England. or return home. She agreed to all without ſolicitation, and choſe to live in England, where ſhe hoped to paſs her time more agreeably than at Cleves, in her brother's court. Beſides it is likely ſhe believed her penſion would be more ſecure if ſhe remained in England, than if ſhe lived abroad. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſhe writ to the duke her brother, that ſhe approved of the divorce, and deſired him to live in a good underſtanding with the king^m.

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Anne conſents to the divorce.
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 710.
Burnet.

This grand affair being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed an act to moderate one of the fix articles in the bloody ſtatute. This article, as the other five, made it death for the prieſts to break their vow of chaſtity; but by this laſt act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of goods.

Act to moderate the pains of one of the fix articles.
Burnet.

All the reſt of this reign will be only a continued ſeries of ſenſible proofs of the ſlavish ſubjection the Engliſh nation was reduced to. But, in this very ſeſſion of parliament,

Proofs of the ſlavish attachment of the parliament.

^l There is, in Rymer, a liſt of the ſeveral manors and eſtates, granted her by the king for life; but it is no where ſaid, that they were four thouſand pounds a year. See tom. XIV. p. 710, &c. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was only three thouſand pounds a year. See tom. I. p. 282.

^m The 10th of July, Cranmer reported to the houſe of lords, the convocation's ſentence, who ſent him down to the commons to report the

ſame. On the 11th, the king ſent the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Wincheſter to the queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the offers above mentioned. Next day, being the 12th of July, the bill was brought into the houſe for annulling the marriage, which eaſily went through both houſes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 282.

1540. ment, there are three, which ought not to be passed over in silence.

The parliament confirms whatever the king shall please to enjoin in matters of religion.

The commissioners appointed by the king, pursuant to an act of parliament, to examine the doctrines of religion, having drawn a long memorial, and set down certain articles as undeniable and absolutely necessary, it was moved in the house of lords, to pass into a law what the commissioners had already done, and whatever they should do for the future by order of the king. This motion being received, a bill was brought in immediately, and when passed sent down to the commons, who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next day. By this statute it was enacted, that not only the memorial drawn by the commissioners, provided it were approved by the king, but likewise whatever the king should enjoin for the future in matters of religion, should be believed and obeyed by all his subjects. This was investing the king with the infallibility taken from the pope. Greater signs of slavery can hardly be seen, since the parliament gave the king power over conscience, after having in a manner rendered him master of life and fortune. Moreover a clause was inserted in this act, which under colour of limiting the king's authority sensibly enlarged it, namely, "That nothing should be done or determined by virtue of this act, which was contrary to the laws of the realm." These contradictory clauses in the same statute rendered the king arbiter of the lives of his subjects, since on the one hand, they were enjoined to submit to the king's will in matters of religion, without knowing however what he would please to prescribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the laws. Consequently, in case the king commanded any thing contrary to the law, they were liable to be prosecuted by virtue of this statute, whether against law they obeyed the king, or in obedience to the law refused to comply with his will. The acts passed in this reign are full of such contradictions, which were not inserted without design.

Law about marriage in favour of the king.

The parliament passed another bill which carried no less marks of servitude. It was enacted, that a marriage already consummated should not be annulled, on pretence of pre-contract or any other impediment not mentioned in the law of God. Without doubt the parliament had, or perhaps feigned to have, forgot that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was annulled by reason of a pre-contract, and upon the same foundation, during this very session, they had approved the dissolution of his marriage with Anne of Cleves.

It

It is true, the king declared, it was not consummated. But Catherine of Arragon protested the same thing with respect to her marriage with prince Arthur, and yet it was decided, that a party concerned should not be believed even upon oath, when they were presumptions to the contrary. These were real contradictions but not minded by the king. His aim was to legitimate the princess Elizabeth by virtue of the former branch of the act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the canon law, to his intended marriage with Catherine Howard, who was cousin-german to Anne Bullenⁿ.

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Intent of the act.

Before the parliament broke up, the clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in convocation, offered the king a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, of all ecclesiastical preferments to be paid in two years, in acknowledgment (as they said in their address) of his care to free the church of England from the tyranny of the pope. The king gladly accepted their present, which was readily confirmed by the parliament. But this was not sufficient for the king's occasions. In a few days, he demanded also an aid of money of the commons. Though for some time the parliament had been wont to submit without examination to the king's pleasure, this demand met with some sort of opposition in the lower house. And indeed, it could not but seem strange, considering the king was in peace with all the world, and besides, he could not be imagined to have already consumed the money procured by the suppression of the abbies. Some of the commons represented, that if in time of peace, and within the space of one year, the king had spent such immense sums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the lands in the kingdom, which too would not suffice for the expence of few years. But these speeches had no great effect. It was answered by the king's party, that he had laid out vast sums in securing the coasts^o, and that the keeping his subjects in peace and plenty cost him

Money granted to the king by the clergy. Burnet. Strype.

Burnet.

ⁿ By other statutes it was enacted, 1. That physicians in London shall be discharged from watch and ward, and not serve the office of constable, or any other. That the president, and four fellows of the college, shall see each and examine the wares and drugs of apothecaries; and that they may practise surgery. 2. By another, the barbers and Surgeons were made one company. 3. And by another it was er-

dered, That a court of first fruits and tenths, (consisting of a chancellor, treasurer, two auditors, two clerks, a messenger, and an usher,) should be erected. 2. As also a court of wards. This last was abolished 12 Car. II. See Statut. 32 Hen. VIII.

^o In building havens, bulwarks, and other forts for the defence of the coasts. Burnet, tom. I. p. 284.

1540.

more than the most burthenfome war. These reasons, though very weak, passed for incontestable, and the commons granted the king a subsidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous war ^p. This is a third proof of the parliament's slavery. Mean while, the people could not conceive what was become of all the money the king had lately received, and which should have supplied his necessities for many years.

The parliament is dissolved. A general pardon, with abundance of exceptions. Burnet.

This parliament, which had given the king so great testimonies of a boundless compliance, was dissolved the 24th of July. But the king was pleased first to requite his subjects with a free and general pardon, as it was called, though the exceptions limited the benefit to few persons. All those were excluded who had been condemned for denying the king's supremacy, or for transgressing some one of the six articles of the bloody statute, and even those who were only accused of these crimes which were then unpardonable. The countess of Salisbury, cardinal Pole's mother, and Thomas Cromwell were excepted by name.

Cromwell's execution. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Burnet.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in some hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having writ to the king a very submissive letter, he was so moved with it that he caused it to be thrice read. But the solicitations of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, seconded by those of Catherine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the prisoner fruitless. The king signed a warrant to cut off his head the 28th of July ^q, about six weeks after his condemnation. As Cromwell left a son of whom he was very fond, he would say nothing on the scaffold that might do him a prejudice. He contented himself with showing, that he willingly submitted to the sentence the law had passed on him. He prayed for the king's prosperity, and declared he died in the profession of the catholick religion ^r. These last words were variously interpreted, according to the passions and prejudices of the two parties in matters of religion. Though it was certain, Cromwell had lived in the opinions of the Lutherans, the contrary party maintained, he recanted at his death, and that by the catholick religion was to be understood the old religion, pro-

Burnet.

Hall. fol. 242. Stow. p. 580. Hollingsh.

^p A tenth, being two shillings in the pound of lands, and twelve pence of goods; and four fifteenths. Hall, fol. 241. Stow, p. 579.

^q Which it seems was done very barbarously. Hall, fol. 242.

^r His words were, "I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the catholick faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church." Hall, fol. 242.

ferred in the kingdom before all the innovations. The others pretended, these words ought to be taken in a more general sense, and at most to signify only the religion which was then established. However, the care Cromwell took when he came to die, to say nothing that might offend the king, turned to his son Gregory's advantage, who was this year created a peer of the realm, by the title of lord Cromwell. The office of vicegerent enjoyed by the father died with him, no one desiring a post so obnoxious to envy, and so fatal to the first possessor. Besides, the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester, who were then in great credit, took care not to solicit the king to fill a place, which would engage the person who held it, to use all his interest to hinder a reconciliation with Rome*.

A^ct. Pub.
XIV. p. 703.
Dec. 18.

Some days after Cromwell's death[†], was seen at London a fight, which very much perplexed both parties. This was a company of people condemned and executed all together, some for denying the king's supremacy, others for maintaining the Lutheran doctrines. Among these last were Robert Barnes doctor of divinity, Thomas Gerard parson of Hony-lane, and William Jerom vicar of Stepney. These three being impeached before the parliament, were condemned to

Several
persons of
both reli-
gions exe-
cuted.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh

* Thomas Cromwell from being but a blacksmith's son at Putney, found means to travel into foreign countries, to learn their languages, and to see the wars, being a foldier in the duke of Bourbon's army at the sacking of Rome. Whence returning, he was received into cardinal Wolsey's service; and after his fall, the king voluntarily, (for his fidelity to his old master) took him for his servant. He obtained successively the offices and dignities of privy counsellor, master of the jewel house, clerk of the hanaper, principal secretary of state, justice of the forests, master of the rolls, lord privy seal, baron, the king's vicegerent in spirituals, knight of the garter, earl of Essex, great chamberlain of England, &c. Herbert, p. 225. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 370. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 363. As his extraction was mean, his education was low; all the learning he had, was, that he had got the New Testament in Latin by heart. His ministry was in a constant course of flattery and submission, but by that he did great things that amaze

one, who has considered them well. The setting up the king's supremacy, and the rooting out the monastick state in England, considering the wealth, numbers and zeal of the monks, were bold undertakings, and executed with great method. But in the end, an unfortunate marriage, to which he advised the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what himself had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the design of breaking it when the king had told him of it. And then, upon no other visible ground, but because Anne of Cleves grew more obliging to the king than she was formerly, the king suspected that Cromwell had betrayed his secret, and engaged her to a softer deportment, on design to prevent the divorce, and did upon that disgrace and destroy him. He carried his greatness with wonderful temper and moderation, and was thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance. Burnet, tom. I. p. 284. Stow, p. 580. Hollingsh. p. 952.

† July 30. Hall, fol. 243,

1540. be burned upon a general accusation of sowing heresy, perverting the scriptures, and maintaining errors destructive of religion, without the act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the parliament's examining the proofs. By the same act were condemned to suffer the same punishment four men, one of whom was accused of maintaining the papal authority, another for holding correspondence with cardinal Pole, a third for designing to surprize Calais, a fourth for harbouring a rebel^u, and lastly, three more convicted of denying the king's supremacy^w. All these were burned or hanged at the same time and place. It is to be presumed, they were not admitted to speak for themselves, since Barnes, after a declaration of his faith to the people, asked the sheriff whether he knew why he was to suffer. The sheriff answering, he did not, he turned to the stake and said, the punishment he was going to suffer plainly taught him the crime of which he was supposed to be guilty. He prayed however for the king, and even for Gardiner whom he suspected to be the author of his death. The bishop endeavoured to clear himself by a printed apology, but had the misfortune not to be believed^x.

Hall.

Catherine Howard declared queen. Hall. Stow. Herbert. The friends of the old religion triumph at it.

Designs against Cranmer. Burnet.

On the 8th of August, Catherine Howard the duke of Norfolk's niece^y was declared queen, the king having privately married her some time before. She was so devoted to the duke her uncle, and the bishop of Winchester, that she was entirely guided by their counsels. As she had a great ascendent over the king, very likely she would have induced him to give himself over to the guidance of these two ministers, who were preparing to procure by her means great alterations in religion, had not her fall, which will be presently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as possible so favourable a juncture, to strike at the reformation and the reformed. Certainly Cranmer was then in a very dangerous situation. He could not

^u These four were, Gregory Buttolph, Alan Danahp, Edmund Binnholms, and Clement Philpot, who were attainted for assisting Reynald Pole, adhering to the bishop of Rome, denying the king's supremacy, and designing to surprize the town of Calais. Derby Gunnings, was also attainted for assisting Fitzgerald a traitor in Ireland. Burnet, tom. I. p. 297.

^w Thomas Abel, Richard Fetherston, and Edward Powell. Hall, fol. 243. Stow, p. 381.

^x At the same time was attainted and executed the lord Hungerford. His crimes were, keeping a heretical chaplain, applying to a conjurer to know how long the king was to live, and the practising bestiality. Herbert, p. 225. Hall, fol. 242.

^y She was daughter of Edmund Howard (third son of Thomas duke of Norfolk, son of John first duke of Norfolk) by Joyce daughter of Sir Richard Culpeper of Hollingburn in Kent. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 272.

doubt

doubt that the authors of Cromwell's ruin, desired his destruction with the same ardour, nay, were privately working it. Complaints of him were already heard in several places, and even a member of parliament^z said openly in the house, he was the protector and head of the innovators. These things would have doubtless taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their plots. But as they knew the king had a real esteem for him, they intended to proceed by degrees, plainly perceiving, they could not without danger to themselves, press his ruin so directly as Cromwell's. Besides, there was but one article which gave them any advantage upon Cranmer, namely, religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the reformation under such a prince as Henry, was not directly to oppose his will.

The change produced at court by Cromwell's disgrace and the new queen's advancement was quickly perceived. The commissioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the christian doctrine, having presented their work to the king, he ordered it to be immediately published². Though the declaration corrected sundry abuses, the popish party had so prevailed, that instead of promoting, it sensibly obstructed the reformation, as it is easy to see by the abstract doctor Burnet gives of it in his history of the reformation of England. However, as several principles were laid down which might be of great use in a more favourable juncture, the re-

Exposition of the christian doctrine, which every one was obliged to receive. It is very disadvantageous to the reformation. Burnet. T. I. p. 286, &c.

^z Sir John Gostwick knight of the shire for Bedfordshire. Burnet, tom. I. p. 285.

² It was published with a preface written by those who had been employed in it. First, the true nature of faith is stated. After this, there followed an explanation of the apostles creed, with practical inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the seven sacraments. Then followed an explanation of the ten commandments, which contains many good rules of morality. After that, an explanation of the lord's prayer was added. Then followed an exposition of the angel's salutation of the blessed virgin, and the ave-maria explained. The next article is about free will, which they say must be in man. After this they handled justification. Next good works are explained, which are said to be absolutely necessary to salvation. The

method they followed was this, (as appears in some authentick writings,) first, the whole business they were to consider was divided into so many heads or queries, and these were given to so many bishops and divines, and at a prefixed time every one brought in his opinion in writing upon all the queries. When their answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an extract of the particulars, in which they agreed or disagreed; which the one did in Latin, the other in English. As this was the way that was used concerning the seven sacraments, (as may be seen Collect. N. 21. vol. I. of Burnet's Reformation,) so 'tis reasonable to believe they proceeded with the same maturity in the rest of their deliberations, though the papers are lost. Burnet, tom. I. p. 286, &c.

1540.

reformers were glad, in hopes these principles would serve one day to destroy the errors advanced in the declaration. On the other hand, the popish party thought they had gained much, because they saw doctrines laid down, to which probably the reformers would never consent, and hoped this opposition would draw the king's indignation upon their whole party. As for themselves, having always had an absolute compliance for the king, they intended to pursue the same course, in order to put him entirely into the disposition they desired. Other commissioners, who were ordered to reform the missals, made so slight alterations, that excepting a few razures of those collects, in which the pope was prayed for^b, there was nothing changed, nor was it necessary to reprint the mass books. Thus by the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, supported by the new queen, archbishop Cranmer, and those of his party saw a storm approaching, which probably would overwhelm them all. Perhaps it was very fortunate for them, that the king was diverted some time by other affairs, from his attention to what concerned religion.

Reformation of the missals very inconsiderable. Burnet.

The emperor breaks his word with Francis. Bellai. Mezerai.

The emperor's passage through France seemed at first to create a sincere reconciliation between him and Francis. During his stay at Paris, he positively promised to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans. But when Francis pressed him to sign an instrument of investiture, he answered such an act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in France, and that it was more honourable for him and the king too, that it should be signed in some town of Flanders. Afterwards, when he was out of France, he found some fresh excuse not to perform his promise. Mean while, he subdued the Gantois, and punished them severely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to Flanders. After that, when Francis claimed his promise, he clogged it with such restrictions, that it was easy to perceive he had no mind to part with a country, by which Spain had a communication with his other dominions in Italy and Germany. Francis vexed to be thus deceived turned out of favour chancellor Poyet, and constable Montmorency, who had advised him to take the emperor's word.

^b And of Thomas Becket's office, and the offices of other saints, whose days were by the king's injunctions no more to be observed. So the old books served still. But in queen Mary's time, care was taken that posterity should not know how much was dashed out

or changed. For as all the parishes were required to furnish themselves with new complete books of the offices, so the dashed books were every where brought in and destroyed. Burnet, tom. I. p. 294.

About the end of the year 1540, there were some beginnings of a quarrel between Francis and Henry, which ended at length in a war. Francis ordered a fortress to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the English pale. But the governor of Calais not suffering this incroachment, sent a detachment of his garrison and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the English demolished it a second time. Whereupon the king of France ordering marshal de Biez to raise troops in Picardy, Henry reinforced the garrison of Calais^c, and repaired the fortifications. Mean while the two kings willing to avoid a rupture upon so slight an occasion, agreed to send commissioners^d upon the spot, with powers to adjust the difference. But the conference producing no good effect, each provided for his defence in case of an attack.

1540.
Beginning of a quarrel between Francis and Henry.
Hall.
Herbert.

It was this year that the famous jesuitical order was founded by a bull of Paul III. dated the twenty seventh of September^e.

The order of the jesuits.

The uneasiness the emperor had given Henry for some time was now almost vanished, since Francis had been disappointed in the affair of Milan. Henry knew sufficiently that prince's temper and character, to foresee without much difficulty that he would soon break with the emperor. A war between these two monarchs could not but be advantageous to Henry. It would of course procure him quiet, and

1541.
Henry fears nothing from the emperor and pope.

^c He sent fifteen hundred workmen, to wall and fortify Guines, and five hundred soldiers to defend them. And also Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton, and John lord Ruffel, were sent over with two hundred horse. Hall, fol. 243.

^d The English commissioners were Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and Sir Edward Karne. Herbert, p. 226.

^e The founder of this order was Inigo (or Ignatius) de Loyola of Guipuscoa in Spain. He was born 1492, the very year the Indies were discovered, and Granada taken by Ferdinand. He lived obscurely till he came to twenty nine years of age, and then turned soldier in the wars of Navarre 1521, where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof seems to have wakened devotion in him to a religious life; for as soon as he recovered, he went to our lady of Montserrat, and offered

his sword and dagger; then giving his cloaths to a poor man, took upon him a shirt and miserable habit, which he girt about him with a rope of rushes; and in these arms (as Sandoval terms them) he watched one whole night before our lady, and so went to an hospital three leagues off, and there attended sick persons, whence he travelled to the Holy Land; being returned, and in his thirty third year, he began to learn grammar at Barcelona, which in two years he attained. Then he went to the university of Alcala, and so to Salamanca, where being opposed and persecuted, he left all and came to Paris, and there studied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thus about 1536 going to Venice, he stay'd till his companions overtook him, and went from thence to Rome, where he obtained of Paul III. the foundation of the jesuits order 1540. Herbert, p. 226.

1541.

enable him to preserve an equality of power between them, which was the firmest foundation of his own and his kingdom's security. So fearing nothing from the pope or the emperor, or the king of France, or his own subjects, whose attempts must be in vain without a foreign aid, he confined himself wholly to his domestick affairs. He had chiefly two things in view. The first was, to preserve and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the second, to take care that no alterations should be made in religion, but such as he himself judged reasonable. These were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was positively bent upon these two points, and the parliament durst not oppose his will, it may be easily judged that none of his ministers had the courage to contradict him in any thing. So, it was himself alone that ordered every thing according to his fancy, his council only approving his motions. However, there were in the council, as well as in the kingdom, two opposite parties with respect to religion. But every one had always his eyes upon the king, to try to discover his thoughts for fear of combating his opinion.

He is absolute in his kingdom.

Cranmer's character. Burnet.

Archbishop Cranmer was at the head of the party who wished for a greater reformation. He was still very much esteemed by the king, especially on account of his integrity, But sincerity, which he professed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a court where instead of hearkening to reason, justice, and equity, the king's inclination only was to be considered.

Audley's.

Chancellor Audley was a person of good sense. He served the reformers when he could without danger. But he was too much a courtier to insist upon what he judged reasonable, if the king was against it.

The duke of Norfolk's.

The duke of Norfolk was as eminent for his merit as for his birth. He was reckoned a good general, but was still a better courtier. Ever submissive to the king's will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleased to command him. But in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in religion, and could not endure either the reformation or the reformed. He would have been glad to see the king reconciled to the pope, but the small hopes of their reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended so unforgiving a master. Nevertheless, as the king was not always in the same disposition, the duke found frequent occasion to serve his party, especially in the punishment of those who disliked the six articles, and were so hardy as publickly to show it. In a word, he was as head of the favourers of the pope,

and the old religion. But he carefully concealed from the king his inclination for the former; and as for the latter, he showed his zeal only in supporting what the king had retained. 1541.

Gardiner bishop of Winchester was in the same sentiments, and behaved in the same manner. But he was very far from being so much esteemed by the king, who made use of him however because he was pliant and dexterous, and had an extensive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater insight than the rest of the ministers, he sometimes engaged the king in proceedings, the consequences whereof might be advantageous to his party, and of which the king himself did not always know the motive. By a blind submission to the king's will, he kept himself in some degree of favour, being convinced himself, and having also convinced his friends, that compliance was the only means to procure a revocation of what had been done against the pope. Gardiner's.

Bonner bishop of London was also one of the heads of the same party, but however always ready to sacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, passionate, and excessively cruel, as he plainly showed upon many occasions. As he was of very little merit, he supported himself by court-ing those who were in favour, and by making the king's will the rule of his actions. Bonner's.

Queen Catherine blindly followed the directions of the duke of Norfolk her uncle, and used what power she had over the king, to support the credit of the enemies of the reformation. Thequeen's.

Such was the situation of the court, when the king, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domestick concerns. The kingdom however was in profound tranquillity, because the terror with which people were seized silenced all contradiction. In December the last year, he began the foundation of the new bishopricks, by converting the abbey of Westminster into a bishop's see^f. In this year 1541 he founded three more, Chester^g, Gloucester^h, Foundation of six new bishopricks.

^f With a deanery and twelve prebends, with the officers for a cathedral and a choir. Of which Thomas Thirleby was the only bishop. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 705.

^g August the fourth, out of the monastery of St. Werburgh at Ches-

ter. with a deanery and six prebends. Rymer, *ibid.* p. 718.

^h September the third, out of the monastery of St. Peter's at Gloucester, with a deanery and six prebends. *Ibid.* p. 724.

1541. and Peterboroughⁱ, and the next year Oxford^k and Bristol^l. These foundations, and some others of little consequence, were the only charitable uses to which he applied the immense riches acquired by the suppression of the abbeys^m. His courtiers magnified these pious acts, whilst others took notice of the little proportion between seven or eight thousand pounds a year, employed in these uses, and what was acquired by the ruin of near seven hundred religious houses.

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 731,
748, 754.
Burnet.

The king declares hereticks all those who reject the exposition of faith.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Mean while, Henry had a mind to show his zeal for religion, as if his sole aim was to procure the eternal salvation of his people. The book of the exposition of christian faith being printed, he prefixed an ordinance, declaring all those to be hereticks, who believed more or less than was contained in that bookⁿ. However, as it was not possible that all should conform to it, and it does not appear, any person suffered upon that account in the course of this year, it is likely the king had intimated that he desired not his ordinance to be rigorously executed.

Francis prepares to make war upon the emperor.
P. Daniel.

Whilst Henry was congratulating himself upon triumphing over the pope, and enjoying a tranquillity which the court of Rome had in vain attempted to disturb, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon what passed between the emperor and the king of France, and upon the preparations in Turkey. The war between the emperor and Francis was going to be renewed, but very unseasonably for the emperor, when Soliman was preparing to invade Hungary, on occasion of the death of John de Zapol, competitor of the king of the Romans. These two princes, after long contending for the crown of Hungary being at last tired of war, agreed that Zapol should hold, during his life, what he possessed

ⁱ The fourth of the same month, out of Peterborough abbey, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 731.

^k September the first, out of the abbey of Osney at Oxford, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 754.

^l June the fourth, out of St. Austin's at Bristol, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 748.

^m The priories at most cathedrals, as Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely, were also converted into deaneries, and colleges of prebends.—As all

this came far short of what the king had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed. For he had projected, that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion; whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery, into all the parts of his diocese. Burnet, tom. I. p. 300, 301.

ⁿ He added a sort of a preface about two years after the book was first published. Idem. p. 293.

with the title of king, but after his death the crown should descend to Ferdinand. Zapol dying, and leaving a son called Stephen, under the guardianship of his mother, Ferdinand expected that the treaty should be executed, and would have taken possession of all Hungary. But young Zapol's mother implored Soliman's protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this dissention, to become master of Hungary, and penetrate afterwards into the imperial territories.

The emperor seeing Hungary threatened with a powerful invasion, which might be of fatal consequence to Germany, used all his art to pacify the protestants, without giving them however any satisfaction, endeavouring only to amuse them, and obtain some assistance against the Turk. On the other hand, he laboured to persuade Soliman, that he was in perfect union with the kings of France and England, that the dread of a general league of the christian princes might divert him from his design. Wherefore, he tried to amuse Francis with putting him in hopes, he would give the Low Countries to his second son, and erect them into a kingdom.

At the same time he gave the Ottoman port to understand, this affair was in a manner concluded. Francis fell not into the snare. But hearing from all parts that the emperor's ministers every where gave out, the negotiation was upon the point of conclusion, he resolved to send an ambassador to Venice, and another to Constantinople, to undeceive the emperor of the Turks, and the senate of Venice. He chose for these embassies Rincon and Fregosa, who set out in order to pass through Italy. But the marquis of Guasto, governor of Milan, receiving advice that they were to embark at Turin, and go down the Po, caused them to be so narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the boat. Francis made great noise about the assassination, but the emperor gave him no satisfaction. This was a fresh occasion of the rupture between the two monarchs.

About the same time, the emperor called a diet at Ratibon for the fifth of April. As it was then no proper juncture to disturb the protestants, the diet resolved at last to grant them a second delay, which was called the interim, that they might continue quiet and more readily engage to furnish supplies against the Turks.

In the mean time, the king of the Romans ordered Buda, capital of Hungary, to be invested, in hopes of taking it before the Turks should arrive. But the siege proving more difficult than was expected, the Turks had time to relieve

The emperor's artifice to divert Soliman from invading Hungary.

Francis to break the emperor's measures, sends ambassadors to Turkey and Venice. Mezerai. Bellai.

The ambassadors are murdered on the Po.

The interim granted in Germany to the protestants. Sleidan.

Battle of Buda gained by the Turks,

1541.

it, and give the Germans battle, over whom they obtained a signal victory. Shortly after, Soliman coming to Hungary made his entry into Buda, and under colour of taking young Zapol under his protection, became master of the city, and great part of the kingdom.

The emperor's expedition into Africa.
Hist. d'Esp.
Mezerai.

Mean while, the emperor having ended the diet, instead of marching into Hungary to assist the king his brother, took the rout of Italy, and embarking at Portovenere with an army of twenty thousand men, sailed for Africa to make war upon Barbarossa, who had made himself king of Algiers. This proceeding gave occasion for many speculations. It was ridiculed at the French court, as if, instead of fighting the Turks, he had sought a pretence to fly from them. But as the African expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the troops were now on the coast of Italy; it is certain he would not have had time to relieve the king of the Romans, if he had attempted to march his army into Hungary. However, he landed his army near Algiers the twenty second of October. But, two days after a sudden and violent storm destroyed part of his fleet. This accident obliged him to reembark the beginning of November, after having lost good part of his troops and ships. It is pretended, Francis out of mere generosity would not proclaim war against him, whilst employed in this expedition. It is however difficult to believe that Francis, who actually held intelligence with Soliman, and afterwards scrupled not to make use of the assistance of the Turks, should scruple to interrupt the emperor's designs against the infidels of Africa.

It miscarries.

Mezerai.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.

Henry saw with pleasure that the king of France and the Turks were going to find the emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of England. But though he was easy in that respect, he was however in some pain with regard to the king of Scotland, who, though his nephew, had no reason to love him, and could easily assist the English malecontents, who were very numerous in the northern counties. Henry was afraid also, that a religious zeal would carry that prince to undertake something against him, because he began to suffer himself to be governed by the churchmen, who under colour of persuading him to destroy heresy, strongly attached him to the pope's interest. The reformed had now been burned many years in Scotland. But these punishments caused there the same effects as elsewhere, that is, they increased instead of lessening the number, and yet the clergy were still obstinately bent to root them out with fire and sword. James V. was a prince

Burnet.

much

1541.

much addicted to his pleasures, and very greedy of money. Besides, he had several natural sons whom he could not enrich as he wished, because he had exhausted his treasure in needless expences. There were two parties in his court, whereof the one favoured the king of England and the reformed, and the other, chiefly consisting of churchmen, was entirely against Henry, and continually strove to induce the king to extirpate all who swerved from the old religion. The former endeavoured to persuade him to imitate the king of England his uncle, and secure a large revenue by the suppression of the abbies. The latter represented to him, that by strictly executing the laws against hereticks, he would raise by forfeited estates above a hundred thousand crowns a year. After some consideration, James closed with the last advice, and suffering the clergy to take their own course, there followed in Scotland a violent persecution °.

Henry perceiving the king his nephew to be thus governed by persons wholly addicted to the court of Rome, feared, he would at last be led to unite against him with the pope and emperor. This apprehension seemed to him the more just, as he could hardly rely any longer on the assistance of the king of France, who was wont to direct the court of Scotland, because that ancient ally was grown extremely cold to him. Whereupon, he resolved to use all his art to gain the king his nephew, and persuade him to break, like him, with the pope. To this end he sent ambassadors to desire an interview at York, not questioning that in an amicable conference he should have eloquence enough to persuade him to what he pleased. James accepted the overture, and promised to come to York, where Henry went and expected him. But the Scotch ecclesiasticks and their whole party so bestirred themselves to prevent this interview, the consequence whereof they perceived, that they succeeded at last, and prevailed with the king to find some pretence to be excused.

Henry resumes his design of gaining the king of Scotland. Burnet. Buchanan.

James agrees to it. Hall. Herbert.

° George Buchanan, the famous Scotch historian, was in danger at this time, and would have died with the rest, had not he escaped out of prison. See his history of Scotland, l. 14. The sharpness of his poems against the clergy was the cause of his confinement. He went beyond sea, and lived twenty years in exile, and was forced to teach school most part of the time.

In his writings there appears not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a great vigour of mind and quickness of thought. His stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems) that he is justly stiled the best of our modern authors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 211.

1541.

Henry goes
and stays for
him at York.
Proclama-
tion in fa-
vour of all
the people.
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 311.
Herbert.

Mean while, Henry who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited at York for the day appointed for the interview. In the interval, he issued out a proclamation, that all who had been aggrieved for want of justice by any of his former ministers, should come to him and his council for redress. His aim was to throw all past miscarriages on Cromwell, and put his subjects, particularly the northern people, in hopes of better times ^p. But whilst he was preparing for the king of Scotland's reception, he received letters of excuse that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refusal, which he deemed an affront, soon after caused a breach between the two kingdoms. But his vexation at this affair was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with upon his return to London.

The queen's
lewdness is
discovered.
Hall.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

Since his last marriage, he daily blessed God for the happiness he enjoyed with his queen, and upon all occasions publicly testified his extreme satisfaction: nay, during his journey to York, desiring to give God thanks in a manner suitable to the sentiments of his heart, he ordered his confessor ^q to draw up a particular thanksgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the same. All this shewed his esteem and tender affection for the queen, who seemed to have the same fondness for him. But when he came to London, he heard things which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilst he was at York, one John Lassels came to the archbishop of Canterbury, who remained at London, and told him that his sister, an old servant of the duchess dowager of Norfolk, under whose care the queen was brought up, said to him, that the queen had been very lewd before and since her marriage, and that two men, among others, namely, Dirham and Mannock ^r had often enjoyed her. Cranmer communicating the secret to the lord chancellor, and other privy counsellors, it was agreed that the archbishop should inform the king of it, as soon as he returned to London, though they were not igno-

Herbert.
p. 228.

^p In April this year, there broke out a new insurrection in Yorkshire, which was soon suppressed. During this progress, the places the king passed through made their submission to him, thanking him for his pardon, and made him the following presents: Stamford 20l. Lincoln 40l. Boston 50l. Lindsey 300l. Kesteven, and the church of Lincoln 50l. The chief

persons of Yorkshire 900l. The archbishop of York, with three hundred priests, 600l. The mayors of York, Newcastle, Hull, 100l. a-piece. Hall, fol. 244.

^q The bishop of Lincoln, on November 1. Herbert, p. 228.

^r Two of the duchess of Norfolk's domesticks. Herbert, p. 228.

rant of the danger they exposed themselves to, if the accusation could not be proved. But on this occasion it was no less dangerous to be silent.

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his commission, chose to set it down in writing, and put it in the king's hands^s, desiring him to read it in private. Henry took it at first for a calumny, resolving in himself to punish the authors severely. Nay, it was with this view only that he was pleased thoroughly to examine the matter, though with all possible secrecy, for fear of vexing the queen. He ordered therefore the lord privy-seal to examine Lassels in private. Lassels boldly stood to what he had said upon his sister's report, who also confirmed what she had told her brother. Upon these depositions, some pretence was used to arrest Dirham and Mannock, who discovered in their examination more circumstances than were desired. They confessed not only that they had lain with the queen, but also that three court ladies, her confidants, were commonly eye-witnesses to her lewd practices. One of the three was the lady Rochford, who accused the lord Rochford her husband of a criminal commerce with queen Anne Bullen his sister^t. They farther deposed, that the king being at Lincoln, one Culpeper, by the lady Rochford's means, was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven a clock in the night, and staid there till four in the morning, and that when he went away the queen gave him a gold chain and a rich cap. Moreover, the queen had taken Dirham into her service, which shewed she intended to continue the same course of life. The queen at first denied all. But in a second examination she confessed^u, that before marriage she had prostituted herself to several men. This confession shook the king's resolution, who lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear bursting out into tears. In short, after Dirham, Mannock, and Culpeper were condemned to die^w, he was pleased the queen's impeachment should be brought before

1541.

Cranmer informs the king of it. Burnet, Herbert.

Depositions are taken in private.

Several witnesses against the queen. Hall. Burnet. Hollingsh.

The queen's confession. Herbert. Burnet.

^s November 2. Herbert, p. 228.

^t In an original letter sent from divers of the council to William Paget our ambassador then in France, wherein all the circumstances of the affair are set forth at large, it appears that there were three fundry women one after another, that had lain in the same bed with them when Dirham lay with the queen. One of these women the queen had taken into her service as well as Dirham. See the

letter in lord Herbert, p. 228. Compl. Hist.

^u To the archbishop of Canterbury, who took the confession of the same in writing subscribed with her hand. Herbert, p. 229. This confession is extant in Burnet's Hist. Ref. tom. III, Collect. p. 171. whereby it appears that she confessed more than enough.

^w Dirham and Culpeper were executed at Tyburn, December 10. Hall, fol. 245.

1541. the parliament, which met the 16th of January the next year 1542.

Act Pub.
XIV. p. 737,
&c.

1542.

Act of
attainder
against the
queen and
her accom-
plices.
Burnet.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The commissioners * named by the parliament to examine the queen, reported, that the facts she was accused of, were sufficiently proved. Whereupon both houses declared her guilty, and petitioned † the king that she might be punished with death, together with the lady Rochford, accomplice of her lewd practices, the duchess dowager of Norfolk, the lord William Howard and his lady ‡, the countess of Bridgewater, five other women, and four men, for misprison of treason, in concealing what they knew of the queen's vicious life. Here again may be observed, the servileness of the parliament, who did not dare to condemn the queen and her accomplices, without knowing whether the king would be pleased to suffer them to be punished. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to Anne Bullen and the lord Rochford, because the king's authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am speaking of. The king consenting they should be punished, they were condemned to die by an act of attainder. There was also a very extraordinary clause in the act, declaring: "That

* Cranmer, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Westminster examined the queen, January 28. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament, which only says, "she confessed," without mentioning the particulars. Burnet, vol. I. p. 312. Journals of parliament.

† The bill for her attainder was read January 21, for the first time; and for the second and third times, Feb. 6. and 8. Journals of Parl. — The act, passed in both houses, began with petitioning the king: 1. Not to be troubled, since it might shorten his life. 2. To pardon every thing spoken against the queen. 3. That the queen and her accomplices might, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 313.

‡ Rapin, by mistake, supposes these to be her father and mother, whereas they were her uncle and aunt. Her father was the lord Edmund Howard. As the family of the Howards spread themselves into several branches, in order to prevent confusion, it will be proper to insert here a short genealogical account of that family, which shall

be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret daughter and coheir to Thomas de Mowbray duke of Norfolk; by whom he had John, created duke of Norfolk, June 28, 1 Ric. III. and slain afterwards at Bosworth fight, who married, 1. Catherine, daughter of William lord Molins, by whom he had Thomas created earl of Surrey, 1 Rich. III. and restored to the same title 4 Hen. VII. and to that of duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. 2. Margaret daughter of sir John Chedworth. The said Thomas married, first, Elizabeth daughter and sole heir to sir Frederick Tilney, by whom he had Thomas the third duke of Norfolk, sir Edward knight of the garter and high admiral, and Edmund father of Catherine, fifth wife of Henry VIII. His second wife was Agnes, sister and heir of sir Philip Tilney, by whom he had William created baron of Essingham, March 11; (1 Mary) and Thomas who died in the Tower in 1537, where he was confined about Margaret Douglass daughter of the queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 265—278.

“ whoever

“ whoever knew any thing of the incontinence of a queen, should reveal it under the pains of treason: that if the king or his successors should intend to marry a woman as 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 reveal it, were guilty of misprision of treason: that if the queen or the princess of Wales should procure any by messages or words, to know her carnally; or any other by messages or words should solicit them; they, their counsellors and abettors, are to be adjudged high traitors.”

Henry giving his assent to the act by his letters patents ^a The queen is beheaded. the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill the 12th of February. The queen stood to what she had confessed, concerning the miscarriages of her former life before she was married; but denied upon her salvation, that she had ever defiled the king's bed. As for the lady Rochford, she died unlamented by all. But her death and infamy served at least to raise again the reputation of the lord Rochford her husband, and of queen Anne Bullen, whose death she procured by her evidence, which her own condemnation caused to be universally suspected.

The extreme severity of the parliament to the queen's relations was much censured by the publick. It was thought unnatural to punish a grandmother for not discovering her grand daughter's incontinence ^b. Accordingly the king moderated the severity, by pardoning her and most of those who were condemned, some of whom however remained long in prison. As for the last clause, which made it treason for a woman, courted by the king, not to reveal the loss of her virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jestingly said, the kings of England for the future could only marry widows, there being no reputed maid who would run the hazard of being attainted of treason, in case the king happened not to like her ^c.

^a Which he was empowered to do by this act. He did it Feb. 11.

^b It was not her parents (as Rapin repeats here again by mistake) but her grandmother, the old duchess of Norfolk (under whom she had been bred) that people thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the king her grand-daughter was a whore, which would

have been inconsistent with the rules of justice or decency. Her parents seem to have been dead before now, seeing there is nothing said of her father since 12 Henry VIII. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 272.

^c This part of the act was afterwards repealed in the first parliament of Edward VI.

1542.

Ireland is erected into a kingdom.

Herbert.

Hall.

Stow.

The king designs to suppress the colleges and hospitals.

Burnet.

An act to pave the way.

Dispute concerning the version of the bible.
Burnet,

This affair being ended, the parliament confirmed ^d an act passed in Ireland, whereby that island was erected into a kingdom. From thenceforward the kings of England inserted among their titles, that of king of Ireland, whereas before they were stiled only lords ^e.

Before the parliament broke up, the king began in some measure to shew his intention to seize the colleges and hospitals as he had done the abbies. But the execution of this design was very difficult. By the local statutes of most of them, the governors, presidents, or any of the fellows, had no power to surrender the lands belonging to their houses, without the consent of the whole society. So it was not easy to gain whole bodies of men, who were so much concerned to keep the revenues on which they subsisted. It is true, the king had prevailed with some, who were not bound by such express statutes, to resign their houses to him. But, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the rest to follow this example without breaking their oath. To that end, all the local statutes of colleges and hospitals were annulled by act of parliament, and the governors, presidents and fellows were no more to be sworn to the observance thereof. This obstacle being removed, a few more were surrendered to the king. But this affair was not entirely finished till 1545, by a much shorter method.

Whilst the king's affairs were thus transacting in the parliament, the convocation, which sat at the same time, were much divided about the new translation of the bible, that was going to be published. Many affirmed, it was full of faults, and to suffer it to be read before it was revised, would be very injurious to the people. Gardiner moved this dispute, in hopes the revival would take up some time, and the king in the mean while alter his mind ^f. His party was so numerous, that he would have carried his point, if Cranmer, who perceived his design, had not moved the king to refer

^d January 23, as appears by the journals.

^e Among other acts, these that follow were also then made: 1. That persons, who by privy tokens and counterfeit letters, deceitfully obtain any money, goods, or chattels, shall suffer such punishment (except death) as shall be appointed by those before whom they are convicted. 2. That no person, except what has lands, tenements, fees, annuities, or offices, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, shall

keep or shoot with any gun. 3. That no man shall be justice of assize in the county where he was born, or dwelleth. 4. By another, the court of surveyors of the king's lands is settled. And 5. the punishment of those that are guilty of murder, or bloodshed, within the verge of the king's court. Statut. 33 Henry VIII.

^f Gardiner had a singular conceit. He fancied there were many words in the New Testament of such majesty, that they were not to be translated, but

refer the perusing of the translation to the two universities, where he had much more interest than in the convocation. Several bishops strenuously opposed it, and some even entered a protestation against it ^g. But all signified nothing, since the king declared it to be his pleasure: nay, he granted, the 12th of March, a privilege to a London bookseller ^h to print the bible in English. This gives occasion to presume, the universities revised not the translation, since it was impossible they should have examined it in so short a space.

1542.
 }
 Act. Pub.
 XIV. p. 745.

The king wanted money for the war with Scotland, on which he was entirely bent, but durst not ask the commons. Not that he doubted of success, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his subjects, who were much more tender of matters of interest than of all others. He wished the commons would voluntarily offer him money, without being asked. It was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a sheriff to be imprisoned for arresting a member of parliament ⁱ, and offered to leave it to them to punish him as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed money to let them see his necessity ^k. But for once the commons feigned not to understand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious custom of granting the king subsidies unasked. Besides, as they were yet ignorant of the design of a war with Scotland, they saw no occasion to offer him money. So, the parliament broke up without granting the king any thing, except the act concerning the colleges and hospitals, which was a seed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due season.

The king wants the commons to offer him a subsidy;

Stow.
 Hollingsh.

but they do not.

The war with Scotland being resolved, Henry sent fir William Paget to France, to sound Francis I. and try to hinder him by some treaty from assisting the king of Scotland. The ambassador's instructions were, to demand of the king of France, that the treaty of perpetual peace between France and England should be renewed. Francis easily perceived there was some hidden mystery in the overture. As he knew Henry was displeas'd with the king of Scotland,

He endeavours to hinder the king of France from assisting Scotland.
 Herbert.
 Burnet.
 T. III. 155.

but must stand in the English bible as they were in the Latin. A hundred of these he put into a writing which was read in convocation. His design was visibly to make the translation unintelligible to the people. Some of these words were, ecclesia, penitentia, contritus, justitia, justificatio, idiota, elementa, baptizare, martyr, sacramentum, simulachrum, gloria, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 314.

Canterbury, except Ely and St. David's, protested against it. Burnet, p. 315.

^h Antony Marlar. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 745.

ⁱ George Ferrers, member for Plymouth. Hollingsh. p. 955.

^k Stow says, he took in May a loan of money of all such as were valued at fifty pounds or upwards in the book of subsidy, p. 583.

^g All the bishops of the province of

1542.

he did not doubt that he desired the peace to be renewed, on purpose to insert in the new treaty some article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his ally. He answered therefore, that it was needless to renew a treaty, the conditions whereof the king of England had not performed. The ambassador replied, there was no sort of terms in the treaty of peace, and consequently his master could not be accused of breaking them. But this dispute was entirely founded on a mistake. The ambassador understood by the treaty of peace, a private treaty of one single article, namely, that there should be a perpetual peace between France and England. But Francis meant some other treaties signed the same day, and which belonged to the first, though this was written apart. It was this separate treaty which Henry wanted to renew, imagining he should thereby hinder Francis from assisting the king of Scotland. But Francis did not design that, under this pretence, Henry should be suffered to crush an antient ally of France, and France not be able to oppose it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifest breach of the peace, to attack his allies without any just cause. Mean while, as neither would mention the king of Scotland, though both had him in their thoughts, Francis, to embarrass Henry demanded pursuant to the former treaties, his assistance to recover the Milanese. Henry required on his part, that Francis, according to his promise, should abolish the papal authority in France. These reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach than a renewal of the treaties. Besides, the English had already begun hostilities, by seizing some French ships which were supposed to be pyrates, and the French had detained some English vessels by way of reprisal. So, the ambassador having taken his leave without effecting any thing, reported to his master, that the king of France was ill inclined to him; that is, he would not, without opposing it, suffer the king of Scotland to be oppressed. This was the meaning of Francis's being ill affected to England, he being at that time very far from wishing a war with the English, since he was just going to begin another which he much more desired.

Embassy of
France to
the diet of
no effect.
Sleidan.

Francis was so provoked at all the emperor's artifices, that, to proclaim war against him, he only staid to see him so embroiled with the Smalcaldick league, that there should be no more hopes of agreement. To foment the dissention, he had sent ambassadors to the diet assembled at Spire, in February, under colour of clearing himself from the pretend-
ed

ed calumnies he was aspersed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the Turks. His ambassadors complained to the diet, in very strong terms, of the murder of Rincon and Fregosa, pretending that Rincon was sent to Constantinople, only to dissuade Soliman from his design of carrying war into Germany. However, in the sequel of their discourse, they would have persuaded the German princes, that it was their interest to fortify their frontier towns and abandon Hungary to the Turks. So their presence at the diet having produced no great effect, they returned very dissatisfied.

1542.

Shortly after their departure, the pope's nuncio offered to the diet, in his master's name, a council at Trent. The catholicks gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the nuncio. But the protestants rejected it, because they would not have a council called by their adversary, and in a suspicious place, since the city of Trent belonged to the king of the Romans. The diet however ended to the emperor's and Ferdinand's satisfaction, after having unanimously resolved to give them a powerful assistance, under the conduct of the elector of Brandenburg.

The pope offers a council at Trent.
Herbert.

Though the protestants refused the pope's offer, Paul III. called a council at Trent for November following, by a bull of the 22d of May. But this was only to amuse the world. He knew that when a war between the emperor and France was going to commence, there would be obstacles enough to hinder the council from assembling.

The calling of the council of Trent.

And indeed at this very time Francis I. was bringing five armies into the field, to attack the emperor in five places at once; namely, in Roussillon, Luxemburg, Piedmont, Flanders and Brabant. But the success answered not his expectations. The great effort he made this year to invade his enemy, served only to disable him to do the like again when he came himself to be attacked. The dauphin besieged Perpignan in vain. The duke of Orleans his brother took Luxemburg and Montmedy: but these places were retaken before the end of the campaign. As for the other three armies, they performed nothing considerable.

Francis invades the emperor in five places.
Bellai.
Mezerai.
Herbert.

Whilst Francis was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the emperor, Henry came to a final resolution to make war upon Scotland. He had been in hopes, that in the expected conference with the king his nephew, he should persuade him to renounce the papal authority, and was extremely concerned to see himself disappointed. This affair seemed to him of the utmost importance, because not hav-

Henry resolves upon a war with Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Burnet.

1542.

ing much to fear from abroad, where the naval forces were not comparable to his, Scotland was the only country which could give him any uneasiness. From thence alone could the English malecontents receive any succours, and he remembered with terror, the danger he should have run when the rebels were in arms in the north, had they been supported by a Scotch army. In this war therefore upon Scotland, his aim was not to make conquests, but to bend the king of Scotland to his will by force, since he could not do it by fair means. This he deemed absolutely necessary, in order to procure a settled peace. At the time of the northern rebellion, the junctures were very favourable to him; for, being then in strict union with France, king James could not engage to support the English malecontents without Francis's consent, who instead of approving such a design, would have rather diverted him from it. But affairs were now upon another foot, since Henry could no longer rely upon the king of France's friendship. It is true, that prince was not to be much feared, whilst at war with the emperor; but he considered that the equality of these two monarch's forces would probably oblige them to make peace very soon, and this peace, in which no doubt the pope would interpose, necessarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a question whether it would not occasion a league against him, and the king of Scotland join in it. In that case, England could be invaded in the north with the more ease, as the northern counties were most inclined to rebel. It was therefore of very great consequence to Henry to gain the king of Scotland to his interest, since, being secured from that side, an invasion was not to be much feared, which he looked upon as impossible, considering the superiority of his naval forces.

He had intended to make use of two ways to gain the king of Scotland in the proposed conference. The first way was, to show him that it was in his power to secure to him the succession of the crown of England, after his son Edward, or remove him from it, since by the act of parliament made for that purpose, he could call to the succession his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, or exclude them for ever. In the former case, king James could not pretend to the crown, till after the posterity of these two princesses was extinct; but in the latter case, he came immediately after prince Edward. As therefore to gain two degrees, was a considerable advantage for the king of Scotland, Henry hoped he would not be so unwise as to flight it. The second way he designed to make use of to win that prince, was to lay

lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him in case he renounced the pope, as well by reason of the facility this would give him, to succeed to the crown of England, if there should be occasion, as by the riches he would acquire in suppressing the monasteries of Scotland. As James was very greedy of money, Henry did not question succeeding by this second means, though the first should prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to see himself disappointed of his hopes, by the king his nephew's refusal to meet him at York. He found, the new queen had too great an influence over him, and even suspected it to be the effect of the intrigues of the pope, the emperor, and perhaps the king of France. So, despairing to succeed in his project, by fair means he resolved to try to accomplish it by force.

Scotland was little able to resist England without the assistance of France. But Francis was so employed, that there was no likelihood of his interposing in the quarrel. Henry hoped therefore, if he could gain at first some advantage, he should render the Scots less intractable, and more easily dispose the king his nephew to hearken to his proposals. Thus the war he intended to wage with Scotland was properly designed to oblige the Scots to a compliance with his desires, and not founded upon caprice only, or to be revenged of the affront he received, as the historians pretend. However, as he could not discover the real motives without doing himself a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the truce. James's denial of some lands of small value lying on the frontiers, and his reception of some English rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he thought himself of reviving the old pretensions of the kings of England to the sovereignty of Scotland. To that purpose, he set out a long declaration, in which was inserted the memorial largely spoken of in the reigns of Edward I. and Henry VII. containing the pretended proofs of the homage, Scotland had formerly paid to England. The declarations was however so ambiguously expressed, that it plainly appeared, Henry was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretensions without injuring his honour. It is entirely needless to repeat the contents of the memorial. It will suffice to observe, that the English writers speak of it, as if the sovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland was there demonstrated, and the bare citation of it sufficient to carry the cause. Doctor Burnet, though a Scotchman, seems to give into this opinion universally spread in England, since he speaks

The design of this war.

Hollingsh.

He revives the pretensions to the sovereignty of Scotland. Declaration upon that head. Hall. fol. 247. Burnet.

1542.

of this memorial in his history of the reformation without making any remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the sentiments of the English without any necessity, in respect to his history.

War with
Scotland.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Henry published not his declaration till his army was just entering Scotland. His design was to surprize the Scots, which he believed the more easy, as there appeared to be no just cause of breach between the two kingdoms. However, king James hearing that soldiers were raising in England, put himself in a posture of defence, in case he should be attacked. In the mean while, he sent two ambassadors¹ to the king his uncle, to see to content him if possible, or at least to gain time till the king of France could assist him. The ambassadors were long detained at the court of England upon frivolous pretences, and whilst Henry was making his preparations, he gave them no answer. Nay, they were not suffered to return but with the army which was to enter their country, under the command of the duke of Norfolk^m, and where they were as prisoners. Two other ambassadors of Scotland who were going to London, meeting the English upon their march were also detained till the army arrived at Berwick.

Buchanan.

Hall.
Buchanan.
Stow.
Burnet.

Mean while, king James hearing the duke of Norfolk was marching towards the north at the head of twenty thousand men, sent a body of ten thousand to the frontiers, under the command of George Gordon, expecting the rest of the troops who were marching from several parts to join him. But Gordon could not hinder the duke of Norfolk from entering Scotland about the end of Octoberⁿ, and ravaging the country north of the Tweed. After this short expedition, the English army retired to Berwick, the season which was now very bad preventing them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, king James ordered the lord Maxwell to march with fifteen thousand men, whilst the English were retiring to Berwick. The Scots pretend, upon the news of Maxwell's march, the English retreated in such confusion that they might have been easily defeated, if Gordon had ventured to attack them, and that the king was extremely angry with him for this disappointment. However, James heading his army in person held a council of war, and ap-

Hall.
Buchanan.
Lesley.

The king of
Scotland is
resolved to
fight.

¹ The bishop of Orkney, and James Leirmouth, master of his household. Hall, fol. 254.

^m The duke was accompanied with the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cum-

berland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, Rutland; and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse to the king, sir John Gage, comptroller of the household, &c. Ibid.

ⁿ October 21. Ibid.

peared fully resolved to give battle, let what would be the consequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the kingdom would be exposed in case of a defeat was strongly represented to him. In short, as he would not alter his resolution, the generals and nobles told him, they would not obey him, if without any necessity he obstinately exposed the kingdom to so manifest a hazard. This opposition threw him into a fury. He swore he would punish their disobedience, and called them all traitors, since they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain victory. Cardinal Beaton inspired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impossible for such hereticks as the English to conquer him. The truth is, James was a little disturbed in his mind, ever since he had unjustly put to death a nephew of the duke of Albany, whose apparition was ever present to his imagination. So being extremely troubled to be thus disobeyed, he left the command of the army to the lord Maxwell, with orders to march towards the enemy, and remained himself within distance to join him, in case there was occasion to fight. But a few days after as he was extremely incensed with his generals, and greatly mistrusted them, he gave a commission in form to Oliver Sinclair his minion, to command the army. The new general, very unfit for such a post, repairing to the camp, caused his patent to be publickly read at which all were offended. This bred such discontent among the troops, that they began to disband, when a body of five hundred English horse appeared on a hill, where they were posted to watch the motions of the enemy. This sight increased the confusion among the Scotch troops, who imagined the whole English army was approaching to give battle. In this condition, being without a general. since Maxwell's commission was revoked and none would obey Sinclair, they chose to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back and observe the small number of their enemies. The English horse seeing them fly with such precipitation, closely pursued them, and without meeting any resistance slew great numbers, took prisoners seven lords, two hundred gentlemen, eight hundred soldiers, with four and twenty pieces of ordnance°. Never was victory so easily won. Among the chief prisoners were the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair the king's favourite.

1542.

The nobles
refuse to
follow him.
Buchanan.

He gives the
command of
the army to
Sinclair.
Buchanan.
Burnet.
Lefley.

Rout of the
Scotch army.
Buchanan.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

° The battle or rencounter happened on November 25. Idem. fol. 255.

1542.

Death of the
king of
Scotland.
Buchanan.
Hall.

Birth of the
princess
Mary.
Buchanan.

Henry orders
the prisoners
to be brought
to London.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Hollingsh.
p. 959.
Burnet.

He projects
a match be-
tween his
son and the
new queen
of Scotland.
He sends
away the
prisoners.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The news of this rout threw king James into a dismal melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied, his generals and nobles had betrayed him, and in that belief, resolved to put most of them to death. His vexation was still increased, upon hearing that a herald, sent by the duke of Norfolk, was murdered by an English refugee. He immediately feared the ill consequences of such an accident, after his late misfortune. So imagining it would be impossible to free himself from his present embarrassment, he could not withstand his immoderate grief, which brought him to his grave the 14th of December 1542. His death happened seven days after the birth of a princess called Mary, of whom his queen was delivered and who was his only heir. A little before he lost two sons in one day.

Henry not knowing what passed in Scotland, had ordered the Scotch prisoners to be brought to London, where they arrived the nineteenth of December ^p. The next day ^q they were conducted through the city from the Tower, (where they had been confined) to Westminster, where the king was pleased to see and talk with them. He expostulated with them, for having by their pernicious counsels persuaded their king to quarrel with him, and told them they justly bore the punishment of a war raised by themselves. Nevertheless, as he intended to make use of them to procure such a peace as he desired, he ended his discourse with some obliging expressions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the custody of several noblemen. The earl of Cassilis had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and to receive from him during his short stay at London, such instructions as induced him to embrace the reformation when he returned to his own country.

A few days after ^r, the news of the birth of Mary princess of Scotland, and of the king her father's death arriving together, Henry thought it a favourable juncture to unite Scotland to England by marrying his son Edward to the new queen of Scotland. He caused the captive lords to be sounded, and finding them inclined to second the overture, set them at liberty, on condition they would give hostages for their return, in case the project of the marriage did not succeed. This condition being accepted, they were con-

^p Being conducted by sir Henry Savil, and sir Thomas Wentworth, Herbert, p. 274.

^q Two days after, viz. the twenty

first. Hall, foll. 255. Stow, p. 583.
^r December 22. Hollinghead, p. 959.

ducted to Newcastle, from whence they returned into their country. We shall see presently what was the event of this project.

1542.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty second of January granted the king a subsidy *, as well for his charges in the war with Scotland, as for his other occasions. By that was meant a war with France, of which there was no longer room to doubt, since the king was upon the point of concluding a league with the emperor. The union which was going to be formed between these two monarchs, was like to be so favourable to the adherents of Rome and the old religion, that they questioned not but the destruction of the reformation in England was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to see an act of parliament passed, which much checked their hopes. The act moved and at length obtained by Cranmer ran, that lords, gentlemen, merchants, might have in their houses an English bible, with some other religious books, mentioned in the act, for the instruction of their families. But it was expressly forbid to print, sell, buy, or keep any other religious books, and to preach or speak against the ordinance of the year 1540.

1543.

The parliament grants the king a subsidy.
Herbert.
Burnet.

There was also a very considerable clause in the statute, that the offenders, if ecclesiasticks, should not be condemned to be burnt till the third offence; and the punishment of the laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of goods and chattels [and perpetual imprisonment.] Moreover, the act allowed the party accused to bring witnesses for his own purgation, which had never been practised before in the case of heresy. Lastly, It was enacted, that the accused should be tried within a year at farthest after the indictment. But on the other hand, the law of the six articles was confirmed, and the parliament left it in the king's power to annul or alter the act at his pleasure. By this last clause the king still continued to be master of the lives of the reformed, since by

An act allowing the bible in private houses.
Burnet.

Advantageous clause to persons accused of heresy.

Power granted the king to repeal this act.

* This subsidy was as follows: every person worth in goods 20 l. and upwards, paid two shillings; from 20 l. to 10 l. sixteen-pence; from 10 l. to 5 l. eight-pence; from 5 l. to 20 s. four-pence. And for lands, fees, and annuities, they paid according to this rate: they that were worth 20 l. and upwards, paid three shillings in the pound; from 20 l. to 10 l. two shill-

ings; from 10 l. to 5 l. sixteen-pence; and they that were worth from 5 l. to 20 s. paid eight-pence in the pound; All these were doubled on strangers. The clergy also granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and every priest having but an annual stipend, was to pay six shillings and eight-pence. These several subsidies were to be paid in three years. Stow, p. 585.

1543. repealing this act, he could prosecute them upon the former statutes^t.

Henry concludes a league with the emperor. Act. Pub. XIV. p. 768. February 11. Hall. Herbert. Burnet.

Reasons of Henry's being displeas'd with Francis. Herbert. P. 236.

A fortnight after the parliament broke up, Henry concluded with the emperor a league, which however was not published till June. It was not the interest of England, that the king should join with the emperor to render him more powerful. He was already but too potent. On the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have assisted France. At least, it is undeniable that a neutrality would have been advantageous to the English. But the king's passion ran counter to the nation's interest. He was extremely dissatisfied with Francis upon several accounts. In the first place, he observed in him a great indifference for his concerns, ever since he had not wanted his assistance. Secondly, He perceived at length, that all his promises to renounce, like him, the papal authority tended only to amuse him. He knew, Francis on several occasions had blamed his conduct with respect to religion, and ridiculed his marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns, nor that of ten thousand for the salt of Brouage, though bound by divers treaties. As for the debt of two millions, Francis indeed could produce acquittances for good part of that sum, but then Henry had received no money, the acquittances being in lieu of the succours he had voluntarily promised to lend him in his former wars. However, there was a round sum still left unpaid, and the debtor never endeavoured to satisfy him. Moreover, Henry had presented the king of France with what was due to him from the emperor, solely on condition he would perform the treaties, and complained, Francis had not been punctual. But what most offended Henry was, the obstacles Francis had raised him in Scotland by means of a faction, which openly opposed his designs. Here was sufficient cause for a breach, if the nation's interest had been the same with the king's. But in such an opposition, seldom does it happen that the people's advantage prevails over the sovereign's. Henry resolved therefore to make the king of France sensible, that it was worth his while to have shown a greater regard for him, and to that end,

^t In this parliament, an act was made for authorizing the county and city of Chester to send, each, two representatives in parliament; which they used not to do before. And an-

other for empowering persons that are not common surgeons to minister medicines, notwithstanding the Statute 3 Henry VIII.

chose to be reconciled with the emperor, and join in a league with him.

1543.

Charles V. desired nothing more earnestly. He plainly saw that with the assistance of England, he should soon bring the king of France to reason and destroy all his hopes of recovering Milan by arms. His constant fear of Henry's uniting with France and the German protestants, caused him to consider the alliance with England as what would enable him to accomplish his ambitious designs. He found his account much better in hindering Francis from setting foot again in Italy, and in subduing the protestants, than in executing or rather in trying to execute the pope's sentence against Henry, an undertaking which, probably would not have ended to his honour. Besides, the death of queen Catherine his aunt had much lessened and it may be entirely stifled his desire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the princes of Europe that Francis held private intelligence with the Infidels, he scrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated king, who, according to the principles of the Romish church, ought not to have been looked upon with less horror than the Turk. One single difficulty retarded the conclusion of this alliance. The emperor would have Mary queen Catherine's daughter acknowledged for legitimate, which Henry obstinately refused. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his divorce with Catherine, and all his proceedings upon that occasion. He promised however, that pursuant to the power granted him by parliament, he would give Mary a place in the succession, but would never consent, this article should be inserted in the treaty. The emperor's friends in England advised him to be satisfied with this verbal promise, apprehensive as they were that the league, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obstacle. Bonner bishop of London, who had been sent into Spain for the negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accomplish it, in hopes that an union between the emperor and the king, would re-establish religion in England upon the same foot as before the divorce.

The advantages of this league on the emperor's side.

Difficulty upon the conclusion of the league. Burnet.

It is removed.

The treaty was therefore concluded at London the eleventh of February 1543. It contained a league for England only with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the emperor's part, for the provinces of the Low Countries under his dominion^u, without

Treaty of league between the emperor and Henry.

^u The places and dominions mentioned on king Henry's part, are, the

kingdoms of England and Ireland, the islands of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, and

1543. without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect :

Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 768.
Herbert.
p. 236.

That the emperor and the king of England should send ambassadors to the king of France to declare to him, that by his solicitations only the Turks had invaded Christendom. That therefore the two confederate monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correspondence with them. That they demanded moreover, he should satisfy the damages done to Christendom, by his calling in those cruel enemies. That he should give over the war he had begun in several places, that the emperor might apply himself to the defence of Christendom. That he should cause the town of Maran, taken by the Turks, to be restored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor, Castro-novo, which they had besieged with the aid of twelve French gallies. That he should repair the losses the Germans had sustained by the Turkish invasion. Lastly, that he should satisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him security for the payment of the hundred thousand crowns.

After these preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce but upon these conditions : that Francis should pay the king of England whatever was due to him, and for security of the annual pension, surrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Boulogne, Montreuil, Ardres, and Terouenne, free from all homage, for which however Henry should consent that the yearly revenues thence arising should be in lieu of the pension. Moreover, that Francis should restore to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy.

That if the king of France should delay but ten days to accept these conditions, the two confederate monarchs should proclaim war against him, with a declaration that they would never make peace till the king of England was in possession of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France, and the emperor of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quinty, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

and Man ; the castle and earldom of Guyfnes, and the towns of Calais and Berwick : and on the emperor's part, are named, the kingdom of Spain [regna Hispaniarum,] the provinces of

Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hanow, Artcis, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Friesland, the countries of Dureffel, Utrecht, and Mechlin. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 769, 770.

Lastly,

Lastly, They agreed, that each should take the field, and invade France with twenty five thousand men, of whom five thousand should be cavalry ^w. 1543.

These were vast projects. But these princes were too wise to imagine, that with twenty five thousand men each, they were able to conquer France. It is likely therefore, they agreed in the treaty to bring into the field so small a number of troops, only to engage Francis to make preparations accordingly. And indeed we shall see hereafter, that they invaded France with above a hundred thousand men.

One of the chief reasons why Henry joined in a league with the emperor was to find the king of France so much employment at home, that it should not be in his power to break his measures for the union of Scotland with England, by a marriage between Mary and prince Edward. Henry had this affair extremely at heart and very justly, as it is easy to imagine. But unhappily for him, there was a queen dowager in Scotland of the house of Lorrain and a cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, who being both devoted to France and the pope laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of Scotland will be very soon intermixt with those of England, it is absolutely necessary to see what passed in that country, after the death of James V. without which it would be very difficult to understand what will be said hereafter. Henry's chief aim.

After the decease of James V. Scotland was in a very ill situation. The late king had not settled the regency during his daughter's minority. The next heir to Mary was James Hamilton earl of Arran, a person of a mean genius, a lover of books and ease, but little capable of managing the publick affairs, and still less those of war*. He had shown some inclination for the new religion, and thereby rendered himself as much suspected and odious to the clergy, as agreeable to those who had embraced the reformation. The queen dowager, sister to the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guise, had an extreme aversion to the reformed. This aversion was cherished by cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, a violent and cruel man, who had already given several proofs of his barbarous temper towards those who embraced the new religion. Most of the lords who by their counsels could have supported the state in such a Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan, Burnet.

^w And also each of them should fit out ships, with two or three thousand armed men. Rymer, p. 775.

^x This is Buchanan's character of him. Rapin.

1543.

junction, were either slain in the late rout, or in the hands of the English. But though they had been alive or in Scotland, it would have been very difficult to succeed. There had long been such a division among the nobles, that what one moved was sure to be opposed by another. This was the consequence of the factions raised by the kings of France and England in the kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in religion. To all these evils was added that of a war against a powerful neighbour, who had just gained a very considerable advantage, and could easily improve the consternation, all Scotland was under.

Buchanan.
Hall.
Hollingsh.

Amidst this confusion, cardinal Beaton seeing none able to withstand him, formed the design of seizing the regency. To that end, he forged a will for the late king, wherein he was appointed regent or viceroy during Mary's minority with three counsellors or assistants, of whom the earl of Arran was one, and caused it to be published till the parliament should meet and confirm it. Mean while, he strove by all sorts of ways to gain proper persons to support him, as well among the people as among the great men. The queen dowager was the first that declared for him.

But whilst the cardinal was labouring to strengthen his party, the friends and relations of the earl of Arran were earnestly solliciting him, not to yield the regency to one who had no right to it. They represented to him, that the will on which the cardinal grounded his pretensions, was a forgery, because the late king never valued him so as to commit the regency to him in prejudice of the princes of the blood: that it was a contrivance to destroy the Hamiltons with their whole party, and hinder the progress of the reformation: that the cardinal was known to be a man of ill principles, of little or no conscience, cruel, and superstitious, and if once he had the power in his hands, the flames of persecution would quickly be kindled all over the kingdom, not only against the reformed, but against all in general who would not blindly submit to his orders; that infallibly the princes of the blood, and the chief of the nobles would be first sacrificed to his ambition and jealousy. The earl of Arran was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition. If he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the cardinal quietly to enjoy the authority he had usurped. But his friends having in a manner forced him by their remonstrances to prosecute the right due to his birth, he resolved to demand the regency, and shew the forgery of the pretended will on which the cardinal rested.

1543.

Whilst these things were transacting, the prisoners, who had been released, came to Scotland, and with them Archibald Douglafs earl of Angus, and William Douglafs his brother, who had been fifteen years exiles in England. By their arrival, the earl of Arran's party was considerably strengthened, whereas the cardinal lost many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publickly said, that the earl of Arran's right was indisputable, though the king had capriciously disposed of the regency in favour of the cardinal, which however was incredible. The parliament meeting in March, the will was examined, and the forgery being detected, the cardinal was removed, and the earl of Arran declared regent with almost unanimous consent. It was not without reason that most of the lords and nobles were desirous to free themselves from the dominion of cardinal Beaton. Before the parliament met, a paper was found written with the king's own hand, wherein were set down the names of three hundred lords and gentlemen, whom he had resolved to dispatch. As most of the proscribed persons were of the reformed religion, or favoured the reformation, it was not doubted, that the cardinal had greatly contributed to put the king upon this barbarous resolution, by representing to him that those who had refused to fight against the English, were secret friends of the king of England, and favourers of the new opinions. It is certain, many of the nobility were of the reformed religion, or well wishers to the reformation. The earl of Arran was of this number, and upon that account was so well supported when he demanded the regency, because those of the new religion intended to make him their protector. But this was an ill choice, the earl's unactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to support the party who put themselves under his protection.

Hall.
Stow,
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Buchanan.

Whilst the parliament was sitting, Henry sent an ambassador ^y to Scotland to propose the marriage of prince Edward his son with the young queen, according to the agreement with the captive lords. The ambassador was furnished with a good sum of money to facilitate the negotiation, Henry knowing by experience how effectual that means was in Scotland. The queen and cardinal Beaton used all their credit and address to cause the overture to be rejected. But as their party was too weak to balance the king of England's, the cardinal made it his business to confound all the conferences

Henry proposes to the Scots the marriage of their queen with prince Edward.
Buchanan.
Hall.
Herbert.

^y Sir Ralph Sadler, his secretary. Herbert. p.234.

1543.

Buchanan.
Herbert.
The king's
proposal
accepted.

Treaty be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
XIV. p. 781,
—796.
Herbert.
Burnet.

held upon this occasion, by long speeches, affected disputes, invectives against the contrary party, with design to raise quarrels, which would obstruct the conclusion of the affair. His artifices being at last perceived, he was confined to a room till the debates were ended. The moment the cardinal no longer appeared, the king of England's proposal was accepted without much difficulty, and the parliament appointed ambassadors to go and treat at London with the king, concerning a peace and the marriage. George Douglas, the earl of Angus's brother, and some other lords^z were charged with the negotiation, which ended at length in two treaties concluded at London the 1st of July 1543. The first was to settle a good and firm peace between the two kingdoms. The second, for the marriage of prince Edward with the young queen of Scotland. Henry did all he could to have Mary put into his hands. But the Scotch ambassadors not consenting, it was at last agreed, she should not be brought into England till she was ten years of age: that in the mean time the parliament of Scotland should appoint four lords^a to take care of her education, and Henry might add a fifth of his own nation to convey his advices to the governors^b: that the parliament of Scotland should give the king six hostages of distinction for security that the marriage should be consummated.

Buchanan.

This affair being ended, the cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in custody to the lord Seaton. But that lord suffering himself to be corrupted by his prisoner, afforded him means to make his escape. As soon as he was at liberty, he used all his art to break the treaties with England, wherein he was powerfully assisted by the queen dowager. As they were both firmly attached to France and the old religion, they could not see, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a prince whom they looked upon as a heretick, and whose interests had for some time been contrary to those of Francis I. They plainly perceived, this alliance was capable of producing great alterations as well in church as state, and would infallibly destroy the antient union between France

^z William earl of Glencairn, William Hamilton, James Leirmouth, and Henry Balnavis. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 781.

^a The number is not specified in Rymer, it is only said ———certos ejusdem regni [viz. Scotiæ] Barones— See p. 793.

^b The king might send a nobleman and his wife with other persons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of the marriage, six noblemen were to be sent from Scotland for hostages. Rymer, ib. p. 794. Burnet, vol. I. p. 323.

and Scotland. To prevent this, the cardinal assembled at his house the heads of the clergy, and represented to them that religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution to assist him to support it. This money served him to maintain his creatures, and gain some of the contrary party. In a word, he so well caballed, that he quickly put things in extreme confusion. By his solicitations and intrigues he so managed, that the prisoners who had been released resolved not to go and redeem their hostages. The earl of Cassilis alone could not be prevailed with upon any consideration to break his word. In short, the cardinal's party being grown very numerous by his liberalities, strongly opposed the sending of the hostages promised to the king of England by the treaty. Besides that, the cardinal resolving at any rate to set the two nations at variance, caused the English ambassador to be highly affronted by some of his party, and his servants to be insulted. But the ambassador knowing how desirous the king his master was, that the treaties should be executed, bore all with patience for fear of raising an unseasonable quarrel, which he saw to be the cardinal's view. Thus the cardinal had brought things to such a state, that the regent, who wanted resolution, tried in vain to stop these violent proceedings, since his commands were openly disobeyed.

At last, the day being come that the three hostages were to be delivered, the English ambassador demanded them of the regent, complaining withal of the affronts he had received. The regent told him, " he was very sorry any disrespect had been shown to his person and character, and would give him at a more convenient season what satisfaction he desired, but at present it was no proper juncture. That he was himself witness of the troubles raised by the cardinal, and how contemptible the authority of the government was rendered by that prelate's cabals: as for the hostages, it was no longer in his power to put them into his hands, since the cardinal and his whole party were against it, who were now grown too strong to be compelled." The ambassador was sufficiently convinced of the truth of what the regent said; and as he saw little appearance of a change in favour of the king his master, he contented himself with summoning the prisoners to return to England according to their promise. But in that he succeeded no better. They refused to return, though they were released only upon parole. The earl of Cassilis alone, abhorring the perfidiousness of his fellow prisoners,

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Cardinal
Beaton
breaks these
measures.

His party is
stronger than
the regent's,

The prisoners
refuse to
go back, ex-
cept the earl
of Cassilis.

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set out for London, and put himself into the king's hands. This action met with its due reward. Henry very civilly received the earl. He commended his faithfulness, and making him rich presents, dismissed him without ransom. Mean while, finding his party in Scotland was neither very strong, nor firm enough to his interest, he resolved to proclaim war with that kingdom. He might easily have subdued it some months before, if he would have taken advantage of the consternation of the Scots, after their defeat and the death of their sovereign.

The queen's and cardinal's artifices to seize the government. Buchanan. Burnet.

The queen and the cardinal having accomplished their design with respect to a rupture with England, considered of means to procure the government of the kingdom, by supplanting the earl of Arran, head of the contrary faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the earl, as they had lately shown. But he bore the title of regent, and very possibly, by the counsels of the able men of his party, and the king of England's assistance, he might find means in the end to make himself formidable. The war Henry had proclaimed against Scotland afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They represented to the king of France, "That it was almost impossible for Scotland to maintain a war against England without a powerful aid from him: that the earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, favoured the English, and, instead of opposing them, would certainly make use of them to establish his authority, and complete the queen's projected marriage: that probably, this marriage would break the old alliance between France and Scotland, and produce a strict union between Scotland and England: that he might plainly see how much he was himself concerned in a war, which, as it would infallibly be unsuccessful, would cause him to lose Scotland: that indeed they perceived how difficult it was for him to assist them, when he wanted all his forces against the emperor: but they had devised an expedient to gain time, in breaking the measures of the contrary party. The expedient was, that he should send over Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox who was in France, that they might oppose him to the Hamiltons, whose sworn enemy he was, because they had killed his father: that this lord being in Scotland, would be immediately acknowledged for head of the party against the regent, and by the assistance they were ready to lend him, would become so superior, that it would not be possible for the regent to execute his designs in favour of England." The better to persuade the earl

They send for the earl of Lenox from France to set him up against the regent.

1543.

earl of Lenox to come to Scotland, they put him in hopes of marrying the queen dowager, and of being placed on the throne in case the young queen died before she was married. They told him, this would be so much the easier, as before the birth of Mary the late king had designed him for his successor, though farther removed than the earl of Arran, because he looked upon Arran as a bastard, by reason of the unlawfulness of his father's marriage. These remonstrances had the desired effect. Francis I. glad to strengthen his party in Scotland, without being forced to send great supplies, sent away the earl of Lenox with all speed, promising him his protection.

Mean while, the regent having some notice of this project, resolved to support himself by becoming master of the queen's person, then in the castle of Linlithgoe^d. But as he was not secret enough, the cardinal, who was informed of it, came to Linlithgoe well attended, in order to hinder the queen's removal. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived from France, and after saluting the regent, withdrew to his own house, where he assembled his friends, to consult with them what was to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in possession of the regency, the queen mother, and the throne, if the young queen happened to die. The friends he consulted being all enemies to the regent, unanimously advised him to improve the present opportunity, and each made him an offer of his person, his estate, his vassals, and his friends. So the earl being determined to pursue his point, drew together four thousand men, and putting himself at their head, came to the queen, under colour of guarding her against the attempts of the regent, for fear she should be delivered to the enemies of the kingdom. Indeed, the earl of Arran had resolved to secure her, and was preparing to execute his designs. But when he found himself prevented, and considered, the queen could not be got out of the hands of the earl of Lenox, without coming to an open war, he sent to treat of an agreement. Lenox consented, on condition the queen should for the future be educated in Sterling castle, and four neutral lords, whom both parties could equally trust, appointed to guard her and take care of her education. The four lords^e being chosen and approved of,

The cardinal hinders the regent from having the queen's person in his power. The earl of Lenox arrives, and opposes the regent's designs. Buchanan,

^d Under her mother's care. Buchanan.

John Lindsay, and William Livingston, Buchanan, l. 15.

^e William Graham, John Erskin,

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The regent
sides with
the queen
and the
cardinal.
Buchanan.

He abjures
at Sterling.

The queen
and the car-
dinal try to
send back
the earl of
Lenox to
France.
Buchanan,

They pre-
judice the
king of
France a-
gainst him.

the queen was removed to Sterling castle, where, a few days after ^f, she was crowned.

The regent seeing the party of his enemies daily gathered strength, believed himself unable to withstand the storm which was forming against him. So his courage and resolution failing him when most wanted, he chose to give way to the torrent, rather than strive in vain, as he thought, to resist it. Persuaded as he was, that he should be too weak to oppose the queen mother and the cardinal; he believed he ought to alter his measures, and strictly unite with them. But even here he met with difficulties, which he could not surmount, without acting against his conscience. He had hitherto almost openly professed the new religion. But the queen and the cardinal, as they could not resolve to be reconciled to him, so long as he was engaged in the party of the reformed, managed him so well, that at last they persuaded him to abjure in the church of the Franciscans at Sterling. By this action he lost all his old friends, and was reduced to depend upon the opposite party, with whom the cardinal had more power than himself. From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the counsels of that prelate, who was the true regent, whilst the earl, that bore the name, was only the shadow.

When the queen and the cardinal were possessed of the government, they were at a loss about the earl of Lenox, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promise. So, their chief care was to be rid of that lord, who greatly embarrassed them. They agreed therefore, to desire the king of France to recall him, and whilst an answer was expected, the queen should continue to cherish his hopes, but withal should use sundry artifices to delay her marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This project was executed as it had been resolved. The queen for some time amused her lover, who, not suspecting what was contriving against him, spent his time in procuring her diversions, imagining, that would hasten his marriage; but the queen still found some fresh excuse to defer it. This behaviour at last bred in him suspicions, which were confirmed by some friend of greater penetration, or better informed than himself. He heard, the queen and the cardinal had writ to the court of France, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the king's interest than his stay in Scotland, since they had gained the regent to their side.

Lenox was so provoked at being thus mocked, that he swore to be revenged, and without taking leave of the queen and the cardinal, retired to Dunbarton. In the mean while, Francis, who was not yet informed of the alterations in Scotland, sent thirty thousand crowns to the earl of Lenox, to be distributed among those of the party, or to gain some of their adversaries. By these means the court of France had long maintained a faction in Scotland, whilst the court of England opposed her by the same methods. The money arriving when Lenox was at Dunbarton, he sent part to the lords who had the care of the young queen, and gave some to his own friends. But the cardinal had none, though he had flattered himself with having the best share, and expected it with impatience. He was so very angry, that he persuaded the regent to raise an army and surprize Glasgow, where Lenox was retired with his money. The preparations which were making at court, though under other pretences, giving the earl of Lenox suspicion they were designed against him, he resolved to put himself in a posture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw forces together. The cardinal had many enemies, and the regent had lost his friends, since they had been forsaken by him. So, the regent's levies were made very slowly, whilst the earl's visibly increased. Within a few days, he raised ten thousand men, and sent the cardinal word, he would save him the trouble of coming to Glasgow. The cardinal received the defiance with a seeming contempt, and pretended to pursue his enterprize. But it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not sufficiently rely on the regent's experience, who was no warrior. Besides, he foresaw, that by prolonging the time, he should oblige his enemy to dismiss his troops, because he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

1543.
He takes up arms.

A peace is made to his disadvantage.

What the cardinal had foreseen came to pass. The earl of Lenox finding himself destitute of money, and seeing the desertion was great in his army, was forced at last to accept a peace that was offered him. He came to Edinburgh, where he was outwardly reconciled with the regent and the cardinal; after which they went together to Sterling. But a few days after, having notice that the court had ill designs against him, he privately withdrew, and returning to Glasgow, furnished the bishop's palace with a garrison and ammunition, and shut himself up in Dunbarton. There he

The cardinal has all the power under the regent's name.

‡ From Leith where he was. Buchanan.

1543.

was informed, that the king of France had been so prejudiced against him, that there was no hope of obtaining his assistance for the future. Such was the situation of the affairs of Scotland, when Henry resolved to renew the war against that kingdom. We must now see what passed in England.

The king's
sixth mar-
riage.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

In July, Henry married his sixth wife, the lady Catherine Parr^h, widow of John Nevil, lord Latimer, verifying what was only said in raillery upon the act passed in 1541, that the king must marry a widow. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed. But she was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a husband, whose absolute will it was, that none should believe, but what was believed by himself. For that reason she durst not, just after her marriage, intercede for three protestants who were burnt at Windsorⁱ, at the instigation of Gardiner bishop of Winchester. This prelate never missed an opportunity to exasperate the king against those who refused to submit to the act of the six articles. But he showed not the same zeal against those who were still attached to the pope. This affair however went farther than he desired, since it occasioned the discovery of a plot, formed to ruin several families at Windsor, upon false accusations. The king was so offended at these diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The event was, that the contrivers of the plot^k were carried on horseback, with their faces to the horse-tails, and then set in the pillory. 'Tis said, Gardiner had a great share in the project. But he was a very crafty man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to show it.

Protestants
burnt at
Windsor.
Hall.
Stow.
Burnet.
Fox.

Plot disco-
vered and
punished.
Burnet.
Herbert.

Plot against
Cranmer.
Burnet.

It was easy for the enemies of the reformation to perceive, that Cranmer most obstructed the execution of their designs, and they should never succeed so long as he was in favour with the king. Whereupon they resolved to apply themselves before all things to his destruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole party would follow of course. There were in this undertaking two contrary things, whereof one seemed to promise success, and the other ren-

^h Daughter of sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, on July 12. Stow. p. 584.

ⁱ July 28. Their names were, Anthony Persone a priest, Robert Testwood a singing man, and Henry Filmer a taylor. John Marbeck another singing man was also condemned, but

pardoned afterwards. He was the first that compiled an English Concordance. Hall, fol. 256. Burnet, tom. I. p. 326.

^k Dr. London prebend of Windsor, and William Symonds. Ibid.

dered the execution very difficult. The first was, the king seemed fully bent not to spare those who were called hereticks, that is, those who did not entirely conform themselves to the declaration of faith lately published. Now every one knew the archbishop was of this number, though he used great caution not to give his enemies any advantage either by word or deed. The second was, the king's singular esteem for the archbishop, against whom several unsuccessful attempts had been made. Notwithstanding this, his enemies thought, if they could convince the king, that Cranmer's opinions were very different from his, it would in some measure incense him. After that they hoped the king would require of him, as of the rest of his subjects, a blind submission, and that Cranmer's opposition, would destroy the king's affection for him. The business therefore was to inspire the king with suspicions, which should induce him to examine what were the archbishop's opinions upon religion. To that end, no occasion was lost to hint to the king, that it was in vain to punish hereticks whilst their chief supporters were suffered to live unmolested. Henry perceiving Cranmer was aimed at, made no answer: He hoped, his silence would demonstrate, it was in vain to try to incense him against that prelate. But at last these insinuations were so often repeated, that he seemed to give ear to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened therefore to whatever was said against Cranmer, and desired to have the intended articles of accusation, with the names of his accusers. The duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and their party, believed the archbishop ruined, since the king was pleased to examine his conduct. But they took care not to make themselves parties, their design being to appear unconcerned, to strike the sorer. They caused therefore the accusation to be drawn by some prebendaries of Canterbury, and certain Kentish justices of the peace, whom they persuaded to be his accusers. The articles being put into the king's hands, he went in his barge to Lambeth, the archbishop's palace on the other side of the Thames. Cranmer hearing the king was coming, hastened down to his stairs to receive him, and by his order went into the barge. When the king was alone with him, he lamented the growth of heresy in the kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to punish them according to the utmost rigour of the law, about which he was come to ask his advice. Cranmer answered without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but in-

He is accused to the king.

Henry feigns to listen to the accusation.

treated

1543.

He informs him of the whole plot, and orders him to proceed against his accusers.

treated him for God's sake to consider well what heresy was, least, instead of punishing hereticks, he sought against God. After some conversation upon the subject, the king told him at last, he was the man who was accused of being the protector and chief encourager of the hereticks, and then gave him the articles of accusation against him. Cranmer perusing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the king, he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the six articles; but that he had done or said nothing against them. Then he humbly desired to be tried by the laws, because he was sure he should never be convicted of transgressing them. Whereupon the king asked him, whether it was true that he was married. Cranmer confessed it, but said he had sent away his wife to Germany upon the passing of the act of the six articles. Henry, who had long seen about him only such as dissembled their sentiments, was charmed with the archbishop's candor and sincerity. Instead of being displeased with his confession, he could not forbear admiring his steadiness, which made him dare the greatest danger he had ever been in, and that he so wisely allied it with an inviolable regard for the laws. Wherefore he gave him a very sensible proof of his esteem and affection, in discovering to him the plot his enemies had laid against him, naming his accusers, and ordering him to proceed against them. Cranmer excused himself, but the king told him positively he would be obeyed, and that he should name his judges himself. If Cranmer had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on those who would have ruined him, and particularly on Gardiner chief contriver of the plot, as appears in letters under his own hand. But he showed so great backwardness to push the affair, that at length the king was tired with pressing him, since he did it so unwillingly. Mean while, he had not the less value for him. Shortly after, one of his secret enemies, known for such by the king, though he himself had no suspicion of him, desiring his assistance in a suit he had at court, he went immediately and spoke to the king in his behalf. The king surprized to see him speak for that person, asked him if he knew him well; and upon his answering, that he took him for his friend; "No, (replied the king) he is your mortal enemy, and I command you when you see him next to call him knave." Cranmer modestly answered, such language did not become a bishop; but the king insisted upon his compliance. Nevertheless Cranmer found means to be excused, and the king, content with admiring his goodnes,

Cranmer excuses himself.

The king gives him another mark of his esteem.

goodness, would not press him any farther. Thus the plot, contrived for the archbishop's ruin, served only to indear him the more to the king, and demonstrate to his enemies how dangerous it was to attack him.

The 23d of December, the king created the lord Parr, the queen's brother, earl of Essex¹, and conferred on sir William Parr her uncle, the title of lord Parr, of Horton, with the office of chamberlain to the queen^m.

The queen's brother is made earl of Essex. Herbert.

Whilst these things passed in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on in several places. In the beginning of the campaign, Francis had some advantages in the Low Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapanume, Maubeuge and Luxemburg. But the emperor arriving about the end of the summer with a strong supply of Spanish troops, Francis being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at some distance. This gave the emperor an opportunity to invest Landrecy, of which however he was forced to raise the siege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in succours. But he made himself amends by taking Cambray.

Continuation of the war between the emperor and France. Bellai. Mezerai. Stow.

At the same time Barbarossa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marseilles the beginning of July with a hundred and ten Turkish gallies, found there the earl of Enghien, of the house of Bourbon, with twenty two French gallies. After their junction, they went together and attacked Nice the 10th of August, and on the 20th became masters of the town. But the castle made so brave a defence, that the Turkish admiral finding he lost both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turkey the beginning of the spring. I shall say nothing of the war in Piedmont, because it produced no remarkable eventⁿ.

Siege of Nice by the French and the Turks.

During the whole campaign, Henry assisted the emperor only with a small body^o of troops, commanded by sir John

¹ He had married Anne daughter and heir of Henry Bouchier earl of Essex. Stow, p. 585.

^m Also, some of the Irish nobility that came and submitted to king Henry, June 3, were, on July 1, advanced to the following honours; namely, William Boruck, or Bourk, alias Macwilliam, was created earl of Clanreckard, and baron Dunkellyn. Mawer Obrien, earl of Tomon, or Thomond, and baron Insykwyne. And Conaught Obrien, baron of Ibrackayn. Sir Conaught O'Neal came

also and made his submission to king Henry, and was created earl of Tyrone, Septemb. 1. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 797—Sco. tom. XV. p. 7. Hall, fol. 247, 256.

ⁿ This year, the first cast pieces of iron (both cannons and mortars) that ever were made in England, were made at Buckstead in Suffex, by Peter Baud, Ralph Hoge, and Peter van Colen. Stow, p. 584. Hollingsh. p. 960.

^o Six thousand men. Hall, fol. 256.

1544.

The emperor's and Henry's vast projects. Act. Pub. XV. p. 1, 2. Hall. Stow. Hollingsh. Parliament. Act to settle the succession to the crown. Herbert. Burnet.

Wallop p. But they both formed vast projects for the next year. They intended to enter France, the one by Champagne, the other by Picardy, each at the head of forty thousand men, and to join about Paris. To execute this project it was necessary to act with union and a good understanding. So, Henry could not dispense with performing his promise to the emperor, to give the princess Mary a place in the succession. The parliament meeting the 14th of January 1544, immediately passed an act, settling the order of those who could pretend to the crown after the king's death. I have frequently observed, that the parliament was held in subjection, and did nothing but what the king pleased. Several instances have been seen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this act prince Edward was ranked first, with his issue. In the second place, the heirs male by the king's present or future marriage with their issue. In the third place, the princess Mary and her line. Lastly, the princess Elizabeth and her heirs. But there was no mention of the king's divorces with the queens, mothers to these two princesses. So notwithstanding the acts, which approved and confirmed these divorces, and were never repealed, the parliament seemed to consider these princesses as legitimate, though before they had been declared bastards, and, as such, excluded from the succession. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the king their father for this favour, the act made them liable to such limitations or conditions, as the king should please to declare by his letters patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in case of disobedience on their part, or if they died without heirs, the parliament gave the king power to settle the crown on any other by his letters patents, or his last will signed with his own hand. Was not this considering these two princesses as bastards, since their right to the succession was made to depend on the king their father's pleasure? without pretending to question the right of the king and representatives of the nation to settle the succession as they please, I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried on that occasion as far as it can be stretched. Supposing these two princesses bastards, the parliament empowered the king to call them to the throne, contrary to the laws and customs

Remarks on this act.

p Sir Thomas Seymour was marshal, and sir Richard Cromwell captain of the horse. Hall, *ibid*. They depart-

ed from Calais, July 22. Stow, p. 585.

of the realm since the conquest. On the other hand, supposing them legitimate, they left the king free to exclude them from the succession, contrary to the same laws and customs, since it was in his breast to impose on them conditions impossible to be performed. This was a power no king of England had ever enjoyed, and which shows, this act flowed not so much from the parliament as from the king himself. To palliate in some measure these contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the act, the king's divorces with Catherine and Anne. Only every one was free to guess the motives of the act, which was not very difficult, since there was no other than that of complying with the king's will. By a clause in the statute, all persons were obliged to take a new oath against the authority of the bishop of Rome, which whosoever refused, or should break any of the articles of the act, was to be adjudged a traitor.

A new oath ordained.
Act. Pub.
XV. p. 28.

By another act passed this session, the title of king of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, was united for ever to the crown of England.

The king's title settled for ever.

By another it was enacted, that no person should be indicted on the statute of the six articles, but upon a presentment by the oaths of twelve men, before commissioners appointed by the king: that no person should be imprisoned but upon an indictment; and lastly, the presentment should be made within forty days after the pretended offence was committed, otherwise it should be rejected ^q. Hereby the ecclesiastical courts were tied up in some measure, from oppressing the subjects on pretence of heresy, since the same privileges were allowed for that crime, as were enjoyed by the English with respect to all other offences.

Act to limit the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

Lastly, the parliament granted the king a subsidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining that those who had lent him money should be obliged to forgive the debt ^r. However unjust this act was with respect to the particular

The parliament declares the king clear of all debts,

^q Here is a mistake. The presentment was to be made within a year after the offence committed. And if any preacher or reader should speak any thing in his sermon or reading, contrary to any matter contained in the six articles, he must be complained of within forty days, unless a just cause were given why it could not be so soon. See the act. This act had clearly a relation to the con-

spiracies mentioned in the former year, both against the archbishop, and some of the king's servants.

^r Nay, those who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the sums so lent the king, were to repay what they had received, to the exchequer. There was such an act passed in the 21st year of the king's reign. See above, p. 322, note c, Burnet, tom. I. p. 330.

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persons who had lent the money, the parliament was not sorry the king desired it, in order to put a stop to the custom of loans, which in time would have rendered parliaments useless.

and revives the authority to appoint commissioners.

The power formerly granted the king was also revived during life, of appointing commissioners to examine all canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, and to make the necessary alterations, which the king had hitherto neglected.

The lord Wriothesly made chancellor.

Before the end of the session, Thomas Wriothesly great friend of the old religion was made lord chancellor in the room of the lord Audley deceased.

May 3.
War in Piedmont.
P. Daniel.
Battle of Cerisoles.
P. Daniel.
Herbert.

In the beginning of the year, Francis I. sent into Piedmont the earl of Enghien who was but two and twenty years old, to take the command of the army in the room of Boutiers who had not been very successful. The young prince engaging the marquiss of Guasto at Cerisoles, obtained the 14th of April a signal victory over him, which cost the imperialists ten thousand men, besides the wounded and prisoners. In the consternation the marquiss of Guasto was under, after the loss of the battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep Milan for the emperor, if the earl of Enghien had not been stopped in the midst of his career by express orders. As the king of France was informed, that the emperor and the king of England were to join and invade him in the center of his dominions with an army of eighty thousand Foot and twenty two thousand horse, he deemed it more necessary to provide for the defence of his kingdom than to think of making conquests in Italy. For that reason he ordered the earl of Enghien to send him twelve thousand men of his army. This diminution disabled the young prince to reap any other advantage from his victory than the taking of Carignano, which he reduced to the king's obedience.

Francis recalls his troops out of Italy.

s There were thirty two commissioners appointed, sixteen of the clergy, and the same number of the laity. The bill for examining these laws was read, for the first time, January 18; and for the second, third, and fourth times, the 19th, 22d, and 24th of the same month, and passed March 6. Upon mention of this bill's being read the fourth time, it is observed in the journals of the house of lords, that bills of moment have been usually or often read four times. See Jour. Procer. Burnet, tom. III. p. 161;

and Statut. 35 Hen. 8.——— In this session of parliament, there was a very good act made for the preservation of timber and woods, which ought to be better observed. See *ibid.* c. 17.

t The lord Audley died April 30, and sir Thomas Wriothesly was created baron of Tichfield, January 1. this year. Hall, fol. 257. Stow, p. 585. Sir William Petre, Cranmer's great friend, was about this time made secretary of state. Burnet, tom. I. p. 331.

Mean while, the formidable armies which were to invade France not being yet ready, Henry resolved to use part of his troops to finish the affair of Scotland, which he had ever at heart, Though he had declared war against Scotland, it was not to make conquests, but solely to compel the Scots by the terror of his arms, to agree to the marriage of their queen with the prince his son. He could not conceive, that in their present circumstances, they could flatter themselves with the hopes of success in a war so unequal and capable of ruining Scotland in one single campaign. But cardinal Beaton, an obstinate man if ever there was one, who governed in the regent's name, chose rather to expose the kingdom to become a prey to the English than consent to a peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So Henry seeing it was necessary to press him more closely, resolved to send into Scotland part of the troops designed against France. The lord Edward Seymour earl of Hertford and sir John Dudley lord Lisle high admiral were appointed for the expedition. Seymour led the army to Newcastle, where the admiral arrived with a fleet and two hundred transport ships, on which the troops were embarked. The earl of Hertford landing near Leith^u, took that town without difficulty, and then marched directly to Edinburgh, of which he became master with the same ease. The regent and cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the king's threats would be without effect. The city of Edinburgh was sacked and burnt, but the English attacked not the castle, for fear of being engaged in too long a siege. After that, they returned to Leith and burning the town retired to Berwick the 18th of May^w. If Henry had resolved to improve his advantages, he would have subdued all Scotland, considering the great consternation of the Scots upon the invasion. But two reasons prevented him. The first, that he wanted his troops to send them to France, where he intended also to go in person. The second, that his aim was only to let the Scots see what they were to expect, if they did not speedily resolve to execute the treaty for their queen's marriage, and he scarce doubted but this method would succeed. Mean while, it must have been thought very strange, that he should court the young queen of Scotland for the prince his son in so extraordinary a manner, and the world was

1544.
 War with
 Scotland.
 Buchanan.
 Herbert.

Hall.
 Stow.
 Hollingh.
 Herbert.

^u May 4, Buchanan, l. 15. They set out from London in March. Hollinsh. p. 961.

^w See an account of the villages they plundered and burnt, in Hall, fol. 238; and Hollingh. p. 963.

1544. of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough.

The earl of Lenox sides with Henry. Buchanan. Stow.

Though Henry had withdrawn his army out of Scotland, he had not however relinquished his project of harrassing the Scots till they should agree to the marriage. To this end he improved an opportunity that offered, to give the regent and the cardinal fresh disturbances. The earl of Lenox, as I said, having quitted the court, was retired to Dunbarton, the governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himself greatly embarrassed. His friends in France had informed him, that the king was exceedingly incensed against him, and accused him of having lavished away the money sent him to maintain the war against the English. This was in effect what had been hinted to Francis by the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, who were seconded by the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise, and in this manner the French historians represent it. The earl, willing to clear himself, had sent a man into France to acquaint the king with all that had passed in Scotland since his arrival, and with the present situation of affairs. But the king, prepossessed by the cardinal of Lorraine, refused to give the messenger audience, nay, was going to order him to prison. The earl seeing himself thus forsaken, both by the king of France and those who had at first joined him in Scotland, sent to the king of England to know whether he would take him into his service, with the earl of Glencarn his intimate friend. Henry received the overture more favourably than the two lords durst have expected. He promised them his protection on certain conditions, which he would settle with them, if they would send some trusty person to England. Whereupon the earl of Glencarn came himself to Carlisle with the bishop of Cathness, brother of the earl of Lenox, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the king's commissioners ^x a treaty, wherein the earl of Lenox and Glencarn promised,

A & Pub. XV. p. 19.

Conventions between Henry and the earl of Lenox. Ib. p. 22. May 17.

I. That they would cause the pure word of God to be preached in their territories.

II. That they should hinder to the utmost of their power. the young queen from being carried out of Scotland, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the king of England.

^x Thomas lord Wharton warden of Bowes master of the requests. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 23.

III. That

III. That they would assist the king with all their forces, to procure him ^y the direction of the government of Scotland, and the title of protector of the realm.

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IV. That the bishop of Cathness and Hugh Cunningham should be given in hostage to the king of England.

The king promised on his part :

1. That his army should not oppress their lands.
2. That he would constitute the earl of Lenox regent of the kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his express consent.
3. That he would give him out of the revenues of the crown, what should be reasonable to support the dignity of regent.
4. That in case the young queen should die, he would support the earl of Lenox in obtaining the crown against the pretensions of the earl of Arran.
5. That he would give the earl of Glencarn a yearly pension of a thousand crowns.
6. That he would consent, that Margaret Douglafs his niece should espouse the earl of Lenox, provided she were willing.

The treaty was signed at Carlisle the 17th of May, whilst the English army was quitting Scotland and retiring to Berwick.

Some days after, the earl of Lenox came to the court of England, where the foregoing treaty was confirmed the 26th of June, with the following additional articles :

Other conventions.
Act. Pub.
XV. p. 29.
Herbert.

That the earl of Lenox should surrender to the king the castle of Dunbritton and the isle of Bute.

That if he married Margaret Douglafs, he should assign her an honourable dower.

That the king engaged on his part, to aid him with five hundred men, to give him a pension of seventeen hundred marks ^z for himself, and one of a hundred marks for George Striveling, governour of Dunbritton.

In consequence of this treaty the earl of Lenox came to Dunbritton with thirteen ships and about six hundred men.

^y The possession of Jedburgh, Kelfo, Roxburgh, Hume castle, the Hermitage, the Mers, and Teviotdale. Ibid. p. 24.

^z Which made six thousand eight hundred Scottish marks. Rymer, p. 31.

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The earl of Lenox cannot surrender Dunbritton to the king. Buchanan. Herbert.

Upon his arrival, he went to the castle with a few followers, to try to persuade the governor ^a to deliver the place to the king of England. But the governor preferring his duty to his affection for the earl, refused to admit the English. This attempt failing, Lenox ravaged the isles of Arran and Bute, where he met with no opposition. Then he made a descent upon Kintyre, and after plundering some villages sailed to Bristol, where he expected the king's return, who was now in France.

Another English invasion in Scotland. Buchanan.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran and cardinal Beaton prosecuted with the utmost rigour the earl of Lenox's friends, and confiscated their estates. But a fresh invasion of the English, who, though few in number, took Jedborough, Kilsnoe, and Coldingham, caused them to cease these proceedings, and raise an army to enable them to repulse their enemies. The Scotch army amounting to eight thousand men, being ready to march, the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, led them to Coldingham, where the English, when they retired, had left a garrison. But whilst they were employed in the siege, the regent having advice that the English were marched from Berwick to relieve the town, was seized with such a panick, that speedily mounting his horse he fled all alone to Dunbar. This hasty flight threw the whole army into such a consternation, that there was no hindering the soldiers from disbanding. The earl of Angus alone resolved to stay with a few men and carry off the artillery, which was going to be deserted. The Scots being dispersed, the English ravaged without mercy, Teviot, Merch, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the king of England. Buchanan adds, that the earl of Angus reviving the regent's courage, they assembled some troops, and causing the English to fall into an ambush, slew eight hundred ^b of their men and took a thousand prisoners. But there is nothing like this in the English histories.

l. 15.

Diet of Spire favourable to the protestants. Sleidan.

Whilst the king of England was acting against Scotland, till all was ready to begin the war in France, the emperor was at Spire, where he had called a diet to try to obtain some assistance from the princes of Germany. The protestants at first scrupled very much to assist him, whilst he left them exposed to the insults of their enemies. But the moment they obtained a decree that they should not be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, they granted whatever was

^a His own lieutenant.

^b Two hundred. Buchanan, l. 15. required,

required. This was all they desired, and it was deemed a signal favour to grant it, even with such limitations and ambiguous clauses, as would one day render it fruitless. So the diet broke up about the end of May to the mutual satisfaction of the states of the empire. The pope alone was offended at the decree in favour of the protestants, and to hinder them from long enjoying the toleration granted till the council should meet, he fixed the opening of the council of Trent to the 25th of March 1545.

1544.

The opening of the council of Trent fixed to March 25. 1545.

Whilst the emperor was at Spire, he ordered Luxemburg to be invested, which surrendered about the end of May. Then, he headed his army in person to begin the execution of the projects concerted with Henry. Since the conclusion of the treaty in February last year, whereby they were each to bring into the field but twenty five thousand men, they had agreed to increase the number of their troops, to invade France with two armies, which together were to make above a hundred thousand men, and to join them about Paris. The emperor's first exploits, till the king of England's arrival, were the taking of Commercy and Ligny in le Barrois. After that he entered Champagne, and besieged St. Didier the 8th of July. This place, though weak, held out above six weeks, and then was taken by a false intelligence carried to the governor.

The emperor takes Luxemburg. Bellai. The designs of the emperor and Henry.

The emperor besieges St. Didier.

The war with Scotland having prevented Henry from being ready so soon as he had promised, it was about Whitfuntide before he embarked part of his army for Calais, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk^c. As for himself, he still remained in England with the rest of his troops till the middle of July^d. When the duke of Norfolk was beyond sea, he joined the count de Bure, who commanded ten thousand men of the emperor's troops, and they jointly besieged the town of Montreuil. This was probably with the emperor's consent, who at the same time laid siege to St. Didier. He was in hopes that place would detain him but few days, and then he should march to Paris, whilst Henry was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed according to agreement, Paris and all the country as far as the

The duke of Norfolk joins the count de Bure. Act. Pub. XV. p. 40. Hall. Stow.

They besiege Montreuil. Hebert.

^c Who was accompanied by John lord Russel, captain of the vanguard. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 43; and Henry Howard earl of Surrey marshal, John Vere earl of Oxford, the lord Grey of Wilton, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, sir Francis Bryan, &c. Herbert, p. 244.

^d Before his departure, he appointed queen Catherine regent of the kingdom; and named for her assistants, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriothesley, the earl of Hertford, the bishop of Westminster, and sir William Petre. Rymer, tom. XV. p.

1544. Loire would have been in great danger, since Francis had not above forty thousand men. But the emperor was preposterously bent upon the siege of St. Didier, which detained him above six weeks. In the mean time, Henry arriving at Calais with the rest of his army, found that the emperor's design was to leave him to march alone to Paris and keep the king of France employed, whilst he pursued his affairs in Champagne. So, perceiving that instead of marching to the rendezvous, the emperor was employed in a siege, he ordered likewise Boulogne to be invested, and came himself to the siege the 26th of July. By this means their project was suspended, whilst they separately amused themselves with the taking of towns. This error proved the safety of France. From thenceforward these two princes mutually charging one another with non-performance of agreements, had no longer any confidence in each other. And therefore the emperor by indirect means caused a peace to be offered to Francis, whilst Henry more openly granted a safe conduct for French ambassadors to come and treat with him at a league from his camp.

The siege of St. Didier breaks the measures of the two confederate monarchs. Henry arrives at Calais, Suspects the emperor, and besieges Boulogne. Aët. Pub. XV. p. 53, &c. Hall. Stow. Herbert. The emperor privately, and Henry openly, offer peace to Francis.

Mean while the emperor, having at last taken St. Didier about the middle of August, sent to Henry to march towards Paris, as was agreed. Henry answered, that since he had given the emperor time to take St. Didier, it was but reasonable the emperor should stay till he had taken Boulogne, which could not be long. After the taking of St. Didier, the emperor advanced to Chateau-Thierry, and filled Paris with terror and confusion. But Henry's answer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects during the rest of the campaign, he renewed his private negotiation with Francis, which had been suspended. Shortly after, he concluded with France a separate peace, signed at Crepy the 19th of September, not only without including Henry, but even without acquainting him for fear of prevention.

The emperor takes St. Didier, calls upon Henry to march to Paris. Henry chooses rather to take Boulogne. Aët. Pub. XV. p. 50. Herbert. Treaty of Crepy between the emperor and France. Bellai. Herbert, Mezerai. Henry complains of the emperor in vain.

Henry was not much surprized at the emperor's proceedings. He ought not to have expected less from such a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own business. It is certain, Charles V. no more than Maximilian

* July 14. Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk was captain of the middleward, and had with him Edward Seymour earl of Hertford lord chamberlain, Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel the marshal, sir John Gage comptrol-

ler of his household, and sir Anthony Brown master of the horse, &c. Hall. The ship wherein the king was conveyed over had sails of cloth of gold, Herbert, p. 245.

and Ferdinand his paternal and maternal grandfathers, never pretended much to sincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. Henry complained of his breach of faith. But it was easy to alledge fundry reasons, little capable however of balancing the oath he had taken to conclude neither peace nor truce without the consent of his ally. But these oaths are generally so ill kept in most leagues, that they seem to be considered only as a sort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for Henry, Boulogne had capitulated the 14th of September before the treaty of Crepy was signed ^f.

A& Pub.
XV. p. 56.
Boulogne
surrenders
by capitulation.

The emperor thought himself very politick in easing himself of the burden of the war, and leaving Francis and Henry embroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had it not been acquired by breach of faith. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, he sent orders to the count de Bure to raise the siege of Montreuil, which obliged Henry also to recall the duke of Norfolk. In the situation of Henry's affairs, he had nothing to do but retire for fear the dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, should oblige him to fight with great disadvantage or retreat with precipitation. Besides that the dauphin was at the head of forty thousand men, he would have found the English army much lessened, as well by their losses at two sieges as by the numerous garison they were forced to leave at Boulogne. So, having well stored that place and left admiral Dudley governor, Henry departed for England the 30th of September, whilst his troops were returning to Calais.

The siege of
Montreuil is
raised.
Hall.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.
The dauphin
marches
against
Henry,

who retires
to Calais.
Stow.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

The dauphin came a few days after ^g, but did not think proper to pursue the English, who were too far before him, and too near Calais for him to expect to overtake them. He contented himself therefore with trying to surprize Boulogne, the breaches whereof the English had not time to repair. He was very like to have succeeded in his attempt. The French were now masters of the lower town, where all the English ordnance lay, when a sally from the upper town compelled them to retreat in disorder. Marshal Montluc in his commentaries speaks of this action, in a different manner from the English historians, though he agrees with them

The dauphin
fails in his
attempt to
surprize
Boulogne.
Bellai.
A& Pub.
XV. p. 57.
Herbert.
Hall.
Comment. of
Montluc.
Herbert,

^f The reader may see a very full account of the siege of Boulogne, in a journal of it, extant in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 52, &c. and Herbert,

p. 245. Compl. Hist.

^g October 7. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 57.

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Conference
for a peace
fruitless.

A&T. Pub.
XV. p. 57.

Herbert.

Henry for-
tifies his
maritime
places.

Herbert.

Colleges and
hospitals re-
signed to the
king.

A&T. Pub.
XV. p. 65,
&c.

1545.

Preparations

of France
against
England.

Bellai.

Mezerai.

Herbert.

Hall.

Stow.

Hall.

Burnet.

Herbert.

that the French were repulsed. Some days after ^h, a conference was held at Calais, to try to procure a peace between the two kings. But the aim of the French being to persuade the English to restore Boulogne upon the bare hopes of a peace, it is not strange, the conference should be fruitless.

Henry at his return to England took great care to put in a posture of defence the places on the Thames, and on the southern coast ^l, imagining Francis would not fail to invade him the next year. At the same time he sent into Scotland the earl of Lenox who took Dumfreys.

This year, most part of the colleges, collegiate churches, and hospitals were surrendered to the king ^k by acts and deeds, seemingly voluntary, but which were no more so than those signed by the abbots and priors, when they resigned their monasteries ^l.

In the beginning of the year 1545, the marshal de Biez encamped near Boulogne, in order to raise a fort at Portet ^m to command the harbour of Boulogne. But the earl of Hertford who had succeeded Dudley, sallying out with a body of troops, dislodged the marshal from his post, and forced him to defer his project till another time.

Mean while Francis was making great preparations against England, in hopes of retaking Boulogne, and even Guisnes and Calais, in order to expel the English entirely out of France, to that end he equipped in the several ports of France one hundred and fifty great ships, and sixty smaller ones ⁿ, with ten hired of the Genoese. Moreover, he had ordered five and twenty gallies to be brought from the Le-

^h October 12. The English commissioners were the earl of Hertford, and sir William Paget. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 57.

ⁱ Gravesend, Tilbury, Dover, Portsmouth, &c. Herbert, p. 249.

^k There were in the kingdom several colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and fraternities, consisting of secular priests, who enjoyed pensions for saying mass for the Souls of those who endowed them. Now the belief of purgatory being left indifferent by the doctrine set out by the bishops, and the trade of redeeming souls being condemned, it was thought needless to keep up so many endowments to no purpose. Those priests were generally ill affected to the king's proceedings, since their trade was fo

much lessened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make resignation; and twenty four of them did surrender this year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 338.

^l Also this year, king Henry reformed the publick offices, and put out a form of procession, with a litany in English. Burnet, tom. III. p. 164.

^m A little creek of the sea, half a mile from Boulogne. The marshal encamped there January 26, with fourteen thousand men. The earl of Hertford dislodged him, though he had only four thousand seven hundred men. Herbert, p. 249.

ⁿ Our king set out about a hundred. These ships on both sides were only merchantmen hired for this war. Burnet, tom. I. p. 332.

vant, in imitation of Lewis XII. who, on the like occasion, had sent for four from thence. At the same time, he prepared to raise an army of forty thousand men, with whom he intended to join twelve thousand landsquenets levied in Germany. His design was to attack Boulogne by land, and so block it up by sea, that it should be impossible for the English to relieve it. To execute this project, he sent a reinforcement to the marshal de Biez, ordering him to build at Portet the fort he had been forced to leave unfinished, being unwilling to approach Boulogne before the fort was in a state of defence. The marshal putting him in hopes, the work would be finished by the middle of August, he came about the end of June to Havre de Grace, to give orders for an expedition by sea. His gallies and ships arriving shortly after, he commanded the fleet to sail towards England. But in seeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of the largest, called the Grand Carracon, burnt before his face, she having taken fire whilst the anchor was weighing.

Admiral Annebaut who commanded the fleet, arrived the 18th of July, at the Isle of Wight, in sight of Portsmouth, where lay the English fleet of sixty ships only. Notwithstanding the disproportion between the two fleets, the English approached the French; but after a slight skirmish retired behind the sands, with design to draw the enemies after them. The French admiral consulting how they might be attacked, was told it was impossible, because the channel which led to the place where they lay was so narrow, that hardly could four ships sail abreast. That besides, there was no venturing among the sands without pilots. These difficulties obliged the admiral to content himself with provoking the English to fight by means of the ga lies, in order to draw them from their post. At first the gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the English ships. But a land-breeze arising, deprived them of their advantage, and caused them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large Ships. The English did not pursue them very far, their design being to draw the enemies among the sands, with which they were unacquainted.

Expedition
of the
French fleet.
Bellai.
Hall.
Stow.

At last, the French seeing the English would not lose the advantage of their post, landed in three places in the Isle of Wight. But all this ended only in burning some villages. It was moved in a council of war, to fortify and keep the island. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reason of the time which such a project would necessarily require. The admiral therefore was satisfied with ordering a descent on

Descent of
the French
on the Isle of
Wight,
Hall.
Herbert.
Stow.
and in Eng-
land.

the

1545.

the coast of Suffex ° imagining the king, who was at Portsmouth, would send out his fleet to assist the country. But he was mistaken. The English fleet still lay behind the sands, and the descents which the French made in three several places, gained them no considerable advantage, because the coasts were well guarded. In the mean while, the English fleet daily increasing, consisted now of a hundred sail. So, Annebaut seeing little hopes of making great progress, retired towards France, after having watered at the Isle of Wight, not without losing some soldiers and officers.

The French fleet retires.

It is driven upon the coast of England. A short engagement.

Some days after, a south wind blew the French back towards the coast of England, and put their fleet in confusion, which the English resolved to improve, if the wind continued favourable. And indeed, the two fleets engaged for two hours. But as the wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging however too far. At last, they parted without much loss on either side; and thus ended the greatest effort France had ever made at sea.

The design of besieging Boulogne and Guisnes miscarried by de Biez's fault. Herbert.

The attempt to fight the English fleet, or to ravage the coast, was not however the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of Boulogne was the king of France's chief end, and the fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by sea. But as the landsqenets were not yet arrived, and the fort marshal de Biez was building not finished, Francis was vexed to see the time proper for executing his designs insensibly slide away. At length, hearing the landsqenets were on the borders, he sent to view the fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and marshal de Biez's promise, was yet very far from being finished. Besides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the harbour. The marshal alledged, if it had been built at Portet, the garrison would have wanted water. But he affirmed, the fort he was raising at Outreau would be finished in eight days. Whereupon the king sent him his whole army, of which he gave him the command, and remained himself at Chateau-Montier about ten leagues from Boulogne.

The marshal de Biez lay encamped near the fort till it was finished, his design being to throw in ten thousand men to awe the garrison of Boulogne, whilst he besieged Guisnes. But the engineer had so ill contrived his work, that after much time spent in it, he was forced almost to begin again. This occasioned a delay, which broke all the measures that

° Near Brightelmston, and New Haven. Stow, p. 539.

were taken. Mean while, the king hastened the work the more, as he knew that ten thousand landsquenets, and four thousand horse, raised for the service of England were marching for Picardy. In short the marshal perceiving the season would be too far advanced before his fort could be put in a state of defence, pretended to have certain advice that the king of England designed to land a strong army at Calais, to relieve Boulogne by land; this is at least what du Bellai imputes to him in his memoirs. However, the marshal leaving the fort unfinished, encamped on mount Lambert, to be ready to oppose the succours. But the English appeared not. As for the landsquenets sent for by Henry from Germany, they returned home, because they received not on the borders the money, they were made to expect. Mean while, the French army continued encamped, without undertaking the siege either of Guisnes or Boulogne, though Francis had made so great an effort for that purpose.

1545.
Herbert.
P. 250.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau-Montier, to the great grief of the king his father, who, by his death, saw the peace with the emperor very much shaken, since it was properly founded upon that prince's life, as will quickly appear.

Death of the
duke of
Orleans.
Mezerai.

The French army being encamped on mount Lambert, within cannon shot of Boulogne, there were skirmishes every day in the space between the mount and the town. In one of these conflicts, the duke d'Aumale, known afterwards by the name of the duke of Guise, was wounded with a lance, which entering at the corner of his eye, came out behind his head. The wound, though deemed mortal by all, was however cured by the great skill of Ambrose Paré, the king's surgeon, who was even forced to draw out with pincers, the head of the lance which remained in the wound. The scar in the duke's face, gained him the surname of Balafre [or Gashed.]

A terrible
wound cured
by Ambrose
Paré.
Bellai.

The season was now so advanced, that the siege of Boulogne was not practicable. So Francis was forced to be contented, with ordering the marshal de Biez, to ravage Terre d'Oye, belonging to the king of England. But the sudden rains made the country so watery, that the marshal was soon obliged to retire with his army. Indeed the inhabitants were great sufferers, because the garrison of Calais, which should have protected them, was unable to resist so numerous forces. On the other hand, Brissac, afterwards marshal of France, defeated a body of two thousand English.

The French
army ravage
Terre
d'Oye.
Herbert.

These

1545.

These were all the damages Henry sustained during the campaign, from an army of above two hundred thousand men, which had put his enemy to a prodigious expence. In all likelihood, this expence, and the ill success of the campaign, contributed most to the peace which was soon after concluded.

Francis's
motives to
make peace
with Henry.

Besides that France was exhausted, Francis had still another motive to make peace with England. He was apprehensive of being soon compelled to renew the war with the emperor. By the treaty of Crepi, it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans should marry one of the daughters, either of the emperor, or of the king of the Romans, and on account of the marriage, should have the duchy of Milan, or the earldom of Flanders. In consideration of so advantageous a settlement for the duke his son, Francis had resigned above twenty places, which he held in Piedmont or Montferrat, and relinquished the interests of his brother-in-law the king of Navarre. So, the hopes of the advantages this marriage was to procure, vanishing by the death of his son, Francis was to find some other way to obtain them, or break a treaty now become useless. For this reason, being desirous to know the emperor's intentions, he sent admiral Annebaut to Antwerp, to offer him to renew the treaty of peace upon other conditions, since the death of the duke of Orleans had rendered those of the treaty of Crepi of no effect. But the emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that prince, he believed himself freed from his engagement, when he told the ambassador, he would not attack the king of France, if he was not first attacked. Francis easily judged by this answer, he should infallibly have a war with the emperor. This, added to the little progress he had made during the last campaign, made him desirous of a peace with England. But as he was unwilling to sue for it, he applied to the princes of the Smalcaldick league, who offered to become mediators. This mediation seemed the less precarious, as the protestants themselves were highly concerned to procure a peace between the two kings. They saw themselves upon the brink of being attacked by the emperor since he had made peace with France, and knew moreover, he was negotiating a truce with the Turks. Nothing therefore could be more for their advantage, than a good understanding between France and England, that both kings might be able to protect them. They sent therefore to France, Christopher de Veninger, John Bruno of Nidepout, and John Sturmius; and to England, Lewis Bambach,

Heibert.

He got the
protestant
princes to
negotiate for
him;
Sleidan.
l. 16.

who send
ambassadors
to France
and Eng-
land.

and

1545.

and John Sleidan, to perform the office of mediators between the two kings, in the name of the league. These ambassadors meeting the plenipotentiaries of France and England between Ardres and Guisnes^p, presently found it was not easy to make peace. Francis insisted that Henry should restore Boulogne, and Scotland be included in the peace. But Henry absolutely rejected both these articles. Whereupon a truce only was negotiated, but with no better success, because Henry would never agree, that the Scots should be comprised in the treaty. This appears in the secret instructions sent to sir William Paget one of the English ambassadors^q, and inserted in the collection of the publick acts. We find also in his instructions, that sir William Paget attempted to bribe Bruno, one of the German mediators, with the offer of a considerable pension, and in all appearance, the mediator hearkened to his proposals. Mean while, to obtain the better terms, Henry feigned a desire to be reconciled with the emperor, and even sent in embassy to him, the bishops of Winchester and Westminster. But this was only to give a jealousy to Francis.

Sleidan.
Herbert.
Burnet.
Difficulties
of a peace,

and of a
truce,

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 82,
83.

Cranmer took the advantage of Gardiner's absence to advance the reformation, which he knew that prelate would oppose with all his power. Some vacant bishopricks were, by his means, given to persons who favoured the reformation, and he had thereby among the bishops a much stronger party than ever^r. Nay, he found means afterwards to obtain the king's consent to some alterations advantageous to religion. But Gardiner, who was then at Bruges with the emperor, having notice of it, sent the king word, that the pope and the emperor being joined in a league against the protestants of Germany, the least innovation in England, with respect to religion, would be apt to induce them to give the king of France all the satisfaction he could desire, to engage him in their league, in order to act all together against him. This caused Cranmer to find more difficulty than he expected.

Cranmer
procures bi-
shopricks for
his friends.
Burnet.
Fox.
Herbert.

Gardiner
breaks his
measures.

In August this year Cranmer lost a good support by the death of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, who had always

Death of the
duke of
Suffolk.

^p In November. Herbert, p. 257.

^q The other Ambassadors were, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Tregonel. Hall, fol. 260.

^r Lee, archbishop of York dying, Robert Holgate, bishop of Landaff, was promoted to that see, Kitchen being made bishop of Landaff, who turned

with every change. Heath was translated from Rochester to Worcester, and Henry Holbeach was made bishop of Rochester. Day, a moderate man, upon Sampson's translation to Litchfield and Coventry, was made bishop of Chichester. Burnet, tom. I. p. 333.

1545. continued in the height of favour*. He was Cranmer's friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther reformation. But he was too much a courtier, to attempt directly to oppose the king's will. However, as Henry was not always in the same disposition, with regard to religion, this lord did the reformed good service, when he saw the king in a favourable situation.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

Continuation of the war with Scotland.
Buchanan.
Herbert.
Hollingsh.

The war with Scotland was faintly continued on both sides. Henry's design was only to terrify the Scots, and induce them to execute the treaty concerning their queen's marriage. On the other hand, the Scots had no thoughts of invading England. Nevertheless, Francis, who, as was observed, had formed vast projects against England, sent betimes to the regent an ambassador, called la Brosse, to assure him of his protection, and a powerful aid, which was instantly to depart. Besides that a diversion in Scotland could not but be advantageous to him, he was also excited by the Lorrain princes, who was desirous to support the queen their sister. So, causing the Seigneur de Lorge, count of Mongommeri, to embark with five thousand men, he ordered him to use his utmost endeavours to persuade the Scots to make a powerful diversion on the frontiers of England. Mongommeri arriving in Scotland the second of July, joined his troops with the Scots, and both making together fifteen thousand men, advanced towards the Tweed. For some days several parties passed the river, and did some damage to the English. But the French general could never persuade the Scots to venture with the whole army beyond the Tweed. On the contrary, upon news that the earl of Hertford was advancing at the head of twelve thousand men, they hastily retired, and presently after disbanded as usual. This is all that passed in Scotland worth notice during the campaign of 1545.

Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.

The parliament grants the king a subsidy, and the lands of the colleges, &c.
Herbert.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty third of November, the convocation continued for two years the subsidy given the king for six shillings in the pound. At the same time, the parliament suppressed by an act, all the colleges and hospitals, and gave their lands to the king. The motive, or rather pretence of this suppression was, the abuse

* He died August 24, and lies buried in St. George's chapel at Windsor, by the door of the choir near the place where Henry VI. is interred. He had four wives. His third was Mary daughter of Henry VII. and widow of Lewis

XII. of France. He had a son by her, who died before him, and two daughters. His two other sons by his last wife, died without issue, 5 Edward VI. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II, p. 300.

of these foundations. The parliament designed it also towards the expence of the king's wars with France and Scotland. But this not sufficing, the commons granted him moreover a large sum ^t, and as they were assembled only for that purpose, they were dismissed the 24th of December. Before the session ended, the king came to the house of lords in great solemnity, and made a fine speech, saying, among other things, that never had prince a greater affection for his people, or was more beloved than himself. He added many such expressions, which, though very far from the most part from the truth, were however received by the people with loud acclamations ^u.

1545.

Burnet.
Hall.
Stow.The king's
speech to the
parliament.
Hall.
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

During this year, the German protestants began to feel the effects of the emperor's late peace with France, and of the truce he was going to conclude with the Turk. Hitherto they had been used a little gently. But the emperor coming to Worms, where the diet of the empire was held, plainly declared to them, he could not any way dispense with their submitting to the council, which was to meet at Trent. This convinced them, there was in reality a design to reduce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was spread of a league between the pope and the emperor, which could not but be against them. Their suspicions were farther confirmed by a sermon preached by a certain Franciscan before the emperor, to whom he represented in very strong terms that he could not discharge the duty of a good emperor, unless he laboured to the utmost of his power to extirpate the Lutherans. They knew also, the emperor had writ to the king of Poland to excite him against them. Moreover, he summoned the archbishop of Cologne to appear before him within thirty days, because he had embraced the reformation, and tried to introduce it into his diocese. All this showed plainly what they were to expect. Nevertheless, as the emperor had not yet concluded the truce with the Turk, and as his affairs were not quite ready, he ordered that a new diet should be held at Ratisbon the following January. But the better to amuse the protestants, he decreed that the divines of both parties should come to Ratisbon a month be-

Affairs of
Germany.
Sleidan.

^t Four shillings in the pound of lands, and two shillings and eight pence of goods to be paid in two years. Hall, fol. 260.

^u The most remarkable acts made in this parliament were these: 1. That the *custos rotulorum* in each county shall be

appointed by a bill signed with the king's hand; and that the said *custos* shall appoint the clerk of the peace. 2. That no higher interest, than ten pounds per cent, for a year, shall be paid. 3. An act for the payment of tithes in London. See Statut. 37 Hen. VIII.

1545.

fore the diet, and hold a free conference that something might be afterwards settled in matters of religion. The Roman catholicks did not like the conference, and the protestants were still less pleased with it, because they foresaw that the stiffness of the divines of both sides, on the points which would be the subjects of their conference, would give the emperor and the diet a pretence to refer the decision to the council of Trent. The diet breaking up the 18th of August, the emperor returned to the Low Countries. Some time after, he received advice that the truce with the Turks was concluded. He then saw himself at full liberty to make war upon the protestants, and under that pretence to set about the execution of his project to become master of the empire.

Remark on
the council.
Sleidan.
Herbert.

It was properly at the instance of the protestants only, that the council was to meet: but it was very far from being such a council as they had required. They expected it to be held in Germany in an unsuspected place, and it was convened at Trent, a city belonging to the king of the Romans, whom they justly considered as their enemy. Their design was to combat the papal authority, and it was the pope who was to preside by his legates. They intended to show that the Romish clergy had corrupted religion both in doctrine and discipline, and it was the Romish clergy who were to assist as judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they should be allowed to produce their reasons. Mean while, it was pretended, that out of great condescension, a council was called for their sakes, and at their sollicitation. It is therefore no wonder, they should refuse to submit to such a council, which they as much feared, as they desired one free and impartial. So the emperor and the protestants acted directly contrary to their first proceedings. The protestants rejected a council, after desiring it with great earnestness, and the emperor, after amusing them many years on that account, pressed with all his power the meeting of the council of Trent, the authority whereof he intended to make use of to oppress them. The pope would have been glad to have had no council at all, but finding he was too far engaged with the emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of March. After that, he put it off, because on that day there were too few bishops at Trent. But he had a much stronger reason. He was very glad to wait the event of the diet of Worms, in hopes that vigorous resolutions would be taken there against the protestants, which would engage both parties in an open war, and furnish him with a pretence,

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pretence, either to delay the opening of the council, or to remove it to some town in Italy. But the emperor, who had now formed his plan of making use of the council's authority to proceed against the protestants, caused the pope at last to order it to be opened at Trent the 13th of December. That day the legates (meeting in the cathedral) declared, the council was assembled for three causes, to destroy heresy, to reform discipline, and to settle a lasting peace between christian princes. This first session was properly held only for the opening of the council. There were so few prelates at Trent, that it would have been ridiculous for so small a number of persons to pretend to make decrees upon the articles for which the council was called.

Opening of
the council
of Trent.
F. Paul.
Vaigas.
Herbert.

1546.

The protestants seeing a council opened quite different from what they had required, easily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reason to fear it, as the kings of France and England being at war with each other, there was no hopes of assistance from them. Mean while, though the German mediators had not succeeded in their negotiation, the peace between France and England was not more remote. The reason was, both kings were equally concerned to end a war, which only did them damage, without a possibility for either to expect any considerable advantage. The war continued however during the winter of the year 1546. The earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded at Boulogne, having intelligence that the French were conducting a convoy to the fort of Outreau, sallied out ^w with part of the garrison to intercept it. But he succeeded so ill, that instead of taking the convoy, he was himself defeated and forced to retreat in great disorder. This news extremely troubled the king, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the earl's imprudence, or suspected him of some hidden design, he recalled him immediately, and sent the lord Gray to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the earl of Hertford to depart with about ten thousand men, for fear the French should seize some post, and cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais. And indeed that was their design. But the earl of Hertford, preventing them by two days only, posted himself at Ambleville, where he ran up two forts which secured the communication. The French having missed their aim, encamp-

Henry and
Francis with
for a peace.
A&G. Pub.
XV. p. 80.
Stow.
p. 591.
Hollingsh.
Herbert.

Hall.
Herbert.

^w January 7. sir Thomas Poynings, with several others, were slain. Stow, p. 591.

1546.

ed on mount Lambert; and as the two armies were not far from each other, there were skirmishes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the interest of both kings to run no hazard for fear of breaking off the negotiation of the peace, which was treating between Ardres and Guisnes.

Reasons of
both kings
for a peace.

Francis wished for a peace, because his Exchequer was drained by his great and continual expence, from the beginning of his reign, and particularly by the naval armament of the former campaign. Besides, as he was entering into a war with the emperor, he wanted such a friend as the king of England. In fine, he perceived that after his fruitless efforts to retake Boulogne, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. Henry was no less desirous of peace for several reasons. He was grown so fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occasion for an engine with pulleys to lift him up and down stairs. This made him extremely uneasy, and gave him a distaste for business, so that he attended to affairs with some reluctance. In the next place he had no farther thoughts of making conquests in Picardy. His sole aim was to procure what was due to him before Boulogne should be restored, which was of little use to him, since Calais could serve all his purposes. But he had still a more urgent motive to renew his old friendship with Francis. He saw the emperor with the pope's assistance upon the point of making war on the protestants, and much questioned their ability to withstand him. In this belief, he was afraid the emperor, after subduing Germany, would turn his arms against England, with all the forces of the empire, Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. He could use the pretence of executing the pope's sentence, and even cause a like sentence to be passed by the council of Trent. It was therefore not at all advantageous to Henry to be in war with France. It was rather his interest to have Francis's friendship, as it was also very advantageous to Francis to be secure of Henry's assistance, in case the emperor turned his arms against France.

Burnet.

Difficulties
of the peace.

The obstacles to the conclusion of the peace consisted in Henry's demand of what was due to him, and in Francis's want of money to content him. Besides, Francis insisted upon Boulogne and upon Scotland's being included in the treaty. These difficulties would have been sufficient to hinder the conclusion of the peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the two kings to seek expedients to surmount them. Henry consented at last to the article concerning Scotland, and as to the rest, a way was found to satisfy both,

both: Henry was to keep Boulogne till he was paid, and Francis promised to discharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being thus settled, the peace was signed the 7th of June *. The treaty ran :

1546.

That the king of France shall pay regularly the pension, due by the treaty of Moore of the 30th of August 1525, confirmed by several subsequent treaties. As also the pension of salt contained in a treaty of the 25th of April 1527, valued afterwards at ten thousand crowns a year. But as Henry pretends the said pension given in lieu of the salt is to be perpetual, and as Francis maintains, on the contrary, that it is to cease at Henry's death, it is agreed that the dispute shall be amicably decided by umpires; and if the pension shall be found to be perpetual, Francis shall pay it to Henry and his successors for ever.

Treaty of peace between France and England. Act. Pub. XV. p. 95. June 7. Hall. Stow. Herbert. p. 255.

Moreover Francis shall pay to the king of England, on the feast of St. Michael 1554, or within a fortnight after, the sum of two millions of crowns de soleil, as well for the arrears of the pension of the ten thousand crowns, as for Henry's expence in the siege of Boulogne, undertaken solely to procure his money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the article of the five hundred thousand crowns, which Henry presented to Francis on condition he punctually observed the treaties, as the two kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed, the dispute shall be decided by commissioners appointed on both sides within such a time, or by four impartial lawyers, in case the commissioners end not the affair.

It is further agreed, that the king of England shall keep Boulogne with its territories, the limits whereof are settled by the treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the sums shall be paid, Boulogne shall be restored to the king of France, and nothing that is fastened to the ground shall be impaired or carried away.

That from the date hereof to the surrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes shall raise any fort or new fortification within the territory of Boulogne, but those already begun may be finished.

* The English plenipotentiaries were, John Dudley viscount Lisle baron Malpas and Sommerey, sir William Paget

the king's secretary, and Dr. Wotton dean of Canterbury and York. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 93.

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The emperor was included by both parties in the peace. As for Scotland, Henry agreed, it should be included, on condition the Scots gave him no fresh cause to make war upon them; and in case they did, they were to be deemed included no otherwise than according to the treaty of the 5th of April 1515.

Henry's advantages in this treaty.

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages than those he received from this peace, which seemed to secure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but also the yearly and perpetual pension of a hundred thousand crowns. But the most solemn treaties are not always sufficient security for the performance of what sovereigns promise. It will appear in the following reigns, that Francis's successor not only broke the treaty with respect to Boulogne, and the sums for which his father was bound, but that even the pension was never charged in the treaties he made with England.

The peace proclaimed at London. Hall.

Stow. Henry calls in all the church plate. Stow.

The peace was very solemnly proclaimed at London the 13th of June with a general procession, wherein were carried all the richest silver crosses, and the finest copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the last time these things appeared in publick. Shortly after, Henry called them in together with the church plate into his treasury and wardrobe, without giving any other reason than his will and pleasure.

Charges of the late war. Herbert. p. 256.

It is said, the late war with France cost Henry five hundred eighty six thousand seven hundred and eighteen pounds sterling, and the charges of keeping Boulogne eight years amounted to seven hundred fifty five thousand eight hundred thirty three pounds. So large a sum which was not to be repaid under eight years, had consumed whatever had been granted by the parliament, and received from the chapels, colleges, and hospitals. So, he was forced in the beginning of the year to lay a tax upon his subjects under the name of benevolence *y*, as appears in the collection of the publick acts.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 84.

Strype. Henry stands god-father to the dauphin's daughter. Hollingsh.

The peace restored between the two kings, the good understanding which had been interrupted some years, rather by the artifices of the emperor and his party in England, than for any just cause. Catherine de Medici, dauphiness of France, being at this time delivered of a princess, and Henry

y This benevolence amounted to seventy thousand seven hundred and twenty three pounds. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 390.

desiring to stand godfather ^z, he called her Elizabeth. Presently after, the two kings sent ambassadors to each other to receive the oaths concerning the peace, and chose for these embassies their two high admirals ^a. It is said, that whilst admiral Annebaut was at London, he began a negotiation about religion, and that the two kings intended to abolish the mass in their dominions ^b. As for Henry, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the reformation: nay, it is certain, that on account of this negotiation, he ordered Cranmer to set down in writing how such a change might be effected, and to strengthen all with arguments and passages from the scriptures. But this project soon vanished into smoke. Probably, Francis had entered into the negotiation only because he desired to be in strict union with Henry, and knew by experience that the bare proposal of conforming himself to his sentiments in point of religion, was a most effectual way to succeed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any reformation in his kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of persecution all over France against the reformed, of whom fourteen this year were burnt at Meaux, and many others at Paris, and in other places, not to mention the massacre of Cabrieres and Merindol, for which none were punished. The cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon his chief ministers were too much incensed against the protestants, for any man to believe, that so long as they were in favour, the king ever seriously thought of abolishing the mass in France.

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Embassy
from France.
Hall.

Stow.
Project of
abolishing
the mass.

Burnet.
T. I. p. 340.
Herbert.

Francis's
design.

The emperor
prepares to
attack the
protestants.
Sleidan.

Negotiations
of the pro-
testants with
Henry.
Act. Pub.
XV. p. 88.
Herbert.

Before the peace between England and France was signed, the protestant princes of Germany seeing themselves going to be attacked by the emperor, who had at last taken off the mask since his peace with France and truce with the Turks, sent to Henry prince Philip, brother ^c to the elector palatine, to desire assistance. It appears in the king's letter to this prince, extant in the collection of the publick acts, that Henry had sent to desire him to come, and the lord Herbert assures, that Philip aimed at marrying the princess Mary. However, the king answered his demand of aid by seven propositions, containing the terms on which he was

^z Sir Thomas Cheiny, treasurer of the household, and warden of the cinque ports, stood, as king Henry's proxy. Hollingsh. p. 973.

^a The English admiral, John lord Lisle, was accompanied by Cuthbert bishop of Durham, and several other lords.

The French ambassador landed at Greenwich, August 19. Hall, fol 262.

^b The mass was changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form of it. Fox. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

^c Lord Herbert says, nephew.

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willing to enter into a defensive league with the protestants, But as his propositions tended only to render him head and sole director of the league, they did not think proper to put themselves blindly into his hands. They only told him, if he would deposit somewhere in Germany a hundred thousand crowns to serve for the defence of the league, they would prefer his alliance to that of Francis. But finding they offered no advantage for himself, he had no such zeal for the Augsburg confession (from which he was yet very remote) as to engage in its protection without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the protestants were persuaded, he had no desire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them for fear they should submit to the emperor, as also to hinder them from putting themselves under the French king's protection, with whom he had not yet made peace. For the same reason it was, that under colour of continuing the negotiation, he kept the count palatine at his court, till he saw the peace with France was near a conclusion.

League between the pope and emperor against the protestants. Sleidan.

It was now some time since the pope and emperor had formed the project of a league against the protestants of Germany. They had agreed upon all the articles, but the emperor had thought proper to defer the signing, that he might say he did it merely in his own defence. At last, about the middle of June he sent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, where the league was signed the 26th of the same month. The pope promised to find for six months twelve thousand foot, five hundred horse, and two hundred thousand crowns, for the war in Germany. Moreover, he gave the emperor a moiety of one year's revenue of the benefices in Spain, with power to alienate a hundred thousand crowns-worth of church lands. This was a demonstration that it was a religious war, though the emperor affected to publish the contrary.

The German war.

The emperor having notice that the pope's troops were beginning to march; that the count de Bure had forwarded his levies in the Low Countries, and duke Maurice of Saxony, whom he had engaged in his party, was ready to act when there should be occasion, assembled his army about Ratisbon. His design was to meet the pope's troops, who were crossing Tirol under the conduct of Octaviano Farnese. At the same time to hinder this junction, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse marched the same way with an army of forty thousand men. Without entering into the particulars of this first campaign, I shall only say in general, that the protestants,

protestants, though superior in number, could not hinder the junction of the Italian troops nor of those of the Low Countries with the emperor. The different tempers of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong measures. In short, the campaign lasting till November, without either of the two armies desiring to engage, the elector of Saxony received the ill news that the king of the Romans and duke Maurice were destroying his country with fire and sword. This obliging him to march with part of the army to the relief of his subjects, the landgrave, grown too weak by this separation, chose likewise to retire into his dominions. Thus the emperor meeting with no more opposition, took Frankfurt, Ulm, and several other towns belonging to the league, which furnished him with the money he wanted for the maintenance of his army.

1546.

Whilst the war was carrying on in Germany, the council languished at Trent and proceeded very slowly. Besides that the members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the legates, who durst not themselves undertake any thing without orders from Rome. But it was the pope's interest to prolong matters, because he hoped, time would procure him at last some occasion to dissolve the council or remove it to Italy. Thus the council was but an empty name, made use of by the pope and the emperor for their own private views and to cast a mist before the eyes of the publick.

Continuation of the council of Trent. F. Paul. et Herbert.

Religion began also to cause troubles in Scotland, or at least to produce the seeds thereof, by the despair to which those that embraced the reformation were driven. Since cardinal Beaton and the earl of Arran had enjoyed the peace procured them by the king of France, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furnished them with a pretence, because the opposite faction almost wholly consisted of the reformed. In the course of this year 1546, they put to death several persons for religion at Perth, St. Andrews, and other places ^d. The regent suffered himself to be so led by the cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the flames those whom he had formerly considered as his brethren. Among those who were sacrificed to the furious

Persecution in Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

^d Some of the Scottish priests were so ignorant, that they maintained, the New Testament was lately written by

Martin Luther, and therefore they desired only the old. Buchanan, l. 15.

1546.

Withart's
martyrdom.
Buchanan.
Burnet,

His predic-
tion about
cardinal
Beaton.

The cardi-
nal is mur-
dered.
Buchanan.

The state of
religion in
England.

Henry is
much trou-
bled with a
sore leg and
his corpu-
lency.

passion of the cardinal, a minister *, who suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews, was particularly remarkable. This man being condemned to the fire, the regent at the instance of one of his friends would have saved his life, and to that end sent a note to the cardinal, desiring him to suspend the execution. But the barbarous prelate, without regarding the regent's request, not only caused the sentence to be executed, but would also feed his eyes with the sad spectacle, sitting in state in a great window of his castle. It is said, that, before he was delivered to the flames, the minister told the executioner, "That within few days the prelate who beheld him with such pride from yonder high place, should lie in the same as ignominiously as now he was seen proudly to rest himself." This prediction proved but too true for the cardinal. Presently after he was murdered in his own palace, and his body thrown into the street, out of the very window from whence he looked on, while the minister was burning.

As for England, religion was still upon the same foot, as the king had been pleased to establish it. The reformation had made some progress, but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the reformed could not forbear hoping, the king himself would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually consulted the welfare of their religion by remaining in silence and waiting for better times. This is the true reason why there were fewer persons that suffered for religion in England than in France. It is not to be questioned that if there had not been hopes of a farther reformation, many people would have openly declared the opinions which these hopes induced them to conceal. For a like reason, those who retained all the tenets of the old religion durst not directly oppose the king, for fear their opposition should carry him beyond the bounds he seemed to have prescribed to himself. From hence sprung a blind and universal compliance with the king's will, and the excessive power he had acquired over all his subjects, of which he made a very ill use. He had been troubled for some time with an old sore in his leg, which was grown very painful. This, added to his great corpulency, which rendered him almost unable to stir, made

* The author means Mr. George Withart, descended of a noble family, who finished his studies in the university of Cambridge, and returned to

Scotland in 1544. See the story of his death in Burnet, vol. I. p. 333; and Buchanan, l. 15.

1546.

him so froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always stern and severe, but was incomparably more so towards the end of his days than in the beginning. Flattery had so corrupted his judgment and sense, that he deemed it an unpardonable crime to contradict his opinions, though he changed them himself very frequently. I have observed that he treated with admiral Annebaut of abolishing the mass and changing it into a communion, after the manner of the protestants. And yet, shortly after, Shaxton, who had resigned the bishoprick of Salisbury and been long a prisoner for refusing to conform to the six articles, being accused afresh of denying the real presence in the sacrament ^f, the king was pleased to have him tried according to the rigour of the law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this man, who had endured the hardships of a long imprisonment, could not behold with the same firmness the punishment prepared for him. The king having sent the bishops of London and Worcester to persuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon and abjuring his pretended heresy, the king granted him his pardon. He became afterwards a cruel persecutor of the reformed.

He grows cruel. Herbert. p. 263.

Shaxton is accused of denying the real presence. Burnet. He is condemned to be burnt.

He abjures and is pardoned. Burnet. T. I. p. 340.

This example was not capable of moving Anne Askew, who was accused of the same crime and rigorously prosecuted, though she had good friends at court, where she was well known ^g. She firmly persisted, notwithstanding all the promises to save her life in case she would recant ^h. Some court ladies, touched with compassion for her, having sent her some money when in prison for her subsistence, were the occasion of her being more cruelly tormented ⁱ. Chancellor Wriothesly, great enemy to the earl of Hertford, hoping

Anne Askew burnt. Hall. Burnet, Strype.

^f His words were, That Christ's natural body was not in the sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial of his body that was crucified. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

^g She was nobly descended (being sister of sir Francis Ascue, or Ascough, of Lincolnshire) and educated beyond what was usual in that age to those of her sex. But she was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who being a violent papist, drove her out of his house, when he found she favoured the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 341.

^h Upon her examination, being asked by the lord mayor of London, whe-

ther the priests cannot make the body of Christ? she wittily replied, I have read that God made man, but that man can make God, I never yet read. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 337.

ⁱ Being asked what favour or encouragement she had from any in the court, she would confess nothing, but that one in livery had brought her some money, which he said came from two ladies in the court. This made the chancellor put her to the rack. She had been oft at court, and was much favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had showed kindness to her. Burnet, p. 341.

1546. to draw something out of the prisoner against that lord or his countess, caused her to be racked. Nay, it is said, he would be present himself, and observing the executioner was moved with pity to the prisoner, threw off his gown and taking upon him the honourable office drew the rack so severely, that he almost tore her asunder. But this is a fact that scarce seems credible. However, the woman's bones being put out of joint, she was carried in a chair to the place of execution and burnt with four men condemned for the same crime^k.
 Fox. But to add to their sufferings, they were made to hear a sermon preached by Shaxton their false brother, who upbraided them with obstinacy in very severe and abusive terms. All this was not capable of shaking their constancy, which endured to their last breath.

Hall.
Stow.

Designs against Cranmer and the queen.
Burnet.
T. I. p. 342, &c.

The enemies of the reformation seeing the king incensed against the sacramentarians, thought it a favourable opportunity to ruin the queen and the archbishop of Canterbury, whom they considered as the grand protectors of the reformation. Among the supporters of the old religion, the chief were, chancellor Wriothesly, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey his son, Bonner bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester; and these had doubtless, among the courtiers and the king's servants, creatures who failed not to be serviceable on occasion. But whatever project they formed, the archbishop of Canterbury was still in their way, who having great influence over the king, commonly broke their measures. So to be entirely freed from this formidable adversary, they resolved to complain of him openly to the king and accuse him of being the head and protector of the sacramentarians, and of all in general who rejected the six articles. This resolution was executed. The person who took upon him to speak to the king told him, there were evident proofs ready of what was alledged against Cranmer, and if he was sent to the Tower, so many witnesses would appear against him that the king would himself be surprized. Henry was not ignorant that Cranmer was against the six articles in his mind, since he had himself frankly owned it. But he really loved him, and therefore would not expose him to a trial which must have been fatal to him. Besides, he took it very ill that such pains were taken to destroy a man, for whom he had so often and so openly declared. However,

Cranmer is openly accused.
Burnet.

^k John Lascelles a gentleman, (probably the same that accused Catherine Howard) Nicholas Otterden and

Belenian two priests, and John Adlam a taylor. Hall, fol. 263. Strype, tom. I. p. 388.

resolving to see how far the malice of his enemies would go; he consented that he should be the next day called before the council and sent to the Tower, if they saw cause. But in the night the king sent for Cranmer, and telling him what had been resolved, desired to know how he meant to answer for himself. Cranmer thanked the king and prayed him, that since he was to be questioned for his religious opinions, judges might be assigned him who understood those matters. The king replied, he went the wrong way to save his life, for most certainly his enemies had witnesses ready to convict him in such manner, that the judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore since he took so little care of himself, he would look to it. So he ordered him to desire the council to use him as a privy counsellor, and as they would expect to be used in the like case, that is, that his accusers might be brought face to face before he was sent to the Tower; and if his request was not granted, he was to appeal to the king. At the same time he pulled off his ring, and giving it to him, said, if his appeal was rejected, he should show the council that token of his protection. Next morning Cranmer coming to the council door, was so long kept waiting in the lobby, that the king hearing of this disrespect, sent word, that he should be presently brought in¹. It happened as the king foresaw, so that Cranmer was forced at last to produce the king's ring, which terribly mortified his enemies. Then they all rose up and went and informed the king of what had passed, who told them, he thought he had a wiser council than now he found they were, and laying his hand on his breast, swore, that he took the archbishop to be the most faithful subject he had. The duke of Norfolk willing to excuse the council, said, They meant the archbishop no harm, but only to vindicate his innocence by such a trial as would have freed him from all aspersions. But the king looking sternly at him answered, "He would not suffer men who were so dear to him, to be thus handled with impunity. He knew the factions that were among them, and their malice to one another, which he would either extinguish or very speedily punish." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the archbishop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward appearance. But

1546.

The king gives him a sensible mark of his affection.

The king mortifies the archbishop's enemies.

¹ Dr. Buts the king's physician, who loved Cranmer, went and told the king what a strange thing he had seen: the primate of all England waiting at the council door among the footmen

and servants. Whereupon the king sent to the board to have him brought in immediately. Burnet, tom. I. p. 343.

1546.

for Cranmer, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly showed afterwards.

The queen
is accused,
who happily
brings her-
self off.
Herbert.
Burnet.

It seems, so great a mortification should have made these men more cautious. But their extreme desire to succeed in their plots would not suffer them to desist with regard to the queen. They perceived, if the king had opposed their accusation of Cranmer, it was not to hinder the execution of the law of the six articles, but from a pure motive of affection for that prelate. That therefore their proceedings could not have displeased him as to the thing, but only in respect of the person. This made them think they should find it easier to destroy the queen, because the king would never willingly suffer that his own wife should differ from him in matters of religion. Catherine Parr, who was then on the throne, had gained the king's affection by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him daily fresh marks of her gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and even sometimes took the liberty to have sermons preached in her privy chamber before some of her ladies. It came to the king's ears, but he took no notice of it. Nay, he suffered her to dispute with him upon religion, imagining she did it only for instruction. But at last these disputes having been carried too far, he expressed his displeasure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the queen than formerly. This made her enemies think it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilst, ignorant of their designs, she was seeking occasions to inspire the king with favourable thoughts of the reformation.

Burnet.

The king first vented to Gardiner his displeasure with the queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial man. Gardiner failed not to cherish the king's resentment by aggravating the queen's obstinacy, and her pains to instill her notions into the ladies who served her. The chancellor, who was also let into the secret, confirmed what Gardiner had said and hinted to the king, that the queen had encouraged Anne Askew in her obstinacy, and even insinuated that she was plotting against the state. In short, they went so far that articles were drawn against her and signed by the king. The chancellor putting up the paper carelessly in his pocket, it dropt from him and the person that found it carried it to the queen, who seeing the king's hand to such a paper concluded herself lost. However, being advised by one of her friends to go to the king and try to appease him, she came into his room with a settled countenance, as if she knew nothing of what had passed. The king received her very kindly

Herbert.

kindly and began to talk of religion. She answered, these things were above her, and she ought to learn of him, what he was to believe. "Not so, by St. Mary (said the king,) you are become a doctor, and able to instruct us." The queen feigning to be surprized at his manner of speaking to her, answered very mildly, "She saw with grief he was offended at the freedom she had sometimes taken to dispute with him in matters of religion, but she had done it innocently, with the sole view of diverting him, knowing what pleasure he took in talking of those things, which none understood better than himself; her chief aim had been, not only to make him forget his pain by such sort of discourses, but also to receive instruction herself, and indeed she had profited much; and if she had started objections, it was only to give him occasion to clear the difficulties, which were above a woman's understanding."

And is it even so, said the king, then we are friends again. So he embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant love to her^m. On the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the Tower, the king going to take the air in the garden sent for her, and presently after came in the chancellor with forty of the guard. But the king stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse was heard to call him in an angry tone, knave, fool, and beast. Then he came again to the queen, who seeing him in a passion with the chancellor endeavoured to appease him. But the king told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

These two attempts against the archbishop and the queen not only proved unsuccessful but also very prejudicial to the enemies of the reformation. From thence forward the king could not endure them, being satisfied their chief aim was to overthrow whatever he had established. Gardiner was turned out of favour immediately, and the king would not suffer him to be present in the councilⁿ.

15. 46.
Herbert.
Burnet.

Burnet.

The king begins to hate the enemies of the reformation.
Burnet.
Gardiner's disgrace.

^m Whether the king had really designed her ruin or not, is differently represented by the writers who lived next that time. Some, says the lord Herbert, believe it was not so much the king's intention to use the rigour of the law, as to deter her from reading forbidden books, p. 263.

ⁿ Lord Herbert says, though it appears by Gardiner's submission, extant in our records, that not long after he

fell into the king's displeasure, yet whether on this occasion, or that he was a special friend to the duke of Norfolk, (who was now also in disgrace) or any other cause, is not there determined. However, the king excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his executors, and counsellors to his son Edward VI. Herbert, p. 263.

1546.

The king
solves to put
the duke of
Norfolk and
the earl of
Surrey to
death.
Herbert,
Stow.
Hollingsh.
Burnet.

But a greater storm fell on the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surrey. Henry almost choaked with fat and perceiving his leg visibly to grow worse, plainly saw he had not long to live. In this belief, he considered the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey as two lords who could greatly embroil the prince his son during his minority. The duke of Norfolk was the head of the favourers of the pope and the old religion, though like a good courtier he had outwardly complied with all the king's innovations. Henry was contented with this external compliance, though he knew he was ever attached to the pope, whose party was still very powerful in England, and that his son the earl of Surrey was in the same sentiments. This sufficed to inspire him with a just fear, that after his death these two lords, assisted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would labour to set the crown on the head of the princess Mary, and so what he had been at such pains to establish during his reign would be entirely overthrown. And indeed, he could not question, if that party prevailed, they would deem his divorce with Catharine of Arragon null and void. In which case, Mary was his only lawful issue, and the prince his son a bastard. He could hope for no remedy to this evil from the parliament, having learned by long experience, with how much ease that body consisting of so many members, was carried away with the prevailing party. He thought therefore, the best and shortest way to prevent these mischiefs and free himself from his fears was, not to leave these two lords behind him, whom he believed capable of disturbing his son's minority, and even of robbing him of the crown. For this sole reason their ruin was resolved, after which some pretence was to be found. And this is seldom wanting to those who have the power in their hands. As soon as it was perceived, his affection for the father and son was grown cold, there were persons ready to insinuate, they had pernicious designs against the state^o and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the earl of Surrey had refused several good matches^p since the loss of his countess, and it was generally reported, he aspired

Herbert.
Burnet.

^o Their chief accusers were some of their own family. The duchess, daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, had, for above four years, been parted from the duke her husband; his daughter, Mary duchess of Richmond, was grown an extreme enemy of her brother. From these

two ladies came the first information against those unfortunate lords, as appears from lord Herbert, p. 263; 264.

^p Henry Howard earl of Surrey had married Frances daughter of the earl of Oxford, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Henry, and three daughters. The duke of Norfolk would have

aspired to the princess Mary: that it was not without some private reason he used the arms of St. Edward the confessor, though his father had taken them out of his escutcheon, but however the duke himself had left that quarter blank, in order to resume them at a proper season. Upon these general accusations, the king ordered them to be arrested, and sent to the Tower ⁹. After that, care was taken to let the publick know that they who had any thing to say against the prisoners should be graciously heard, and the king would pardon all persons concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a discovery ^r.

They are sent to the Tower. Herbert. Stow. Burnet.

Some time before this affair was begun, the king restored the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge to all their estates, rents, and privileges, though by the act of parliament which gave the lands of the colleges to the king, they were to be suppressed. It might be thought very strange, the parliament should not distinguish the two universities from the rest of the colleges, considering their antiquity, and the advantages the kingdom had thence received and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently seen, that they had long acted solely by the direction of the court. It is probable, the king remained long doubtful, whether he should dissolve or preserve the two universities, since having received their humble petitions the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his answer till October. Nay, it

The two universities are preserved. Herbert. Burnet.

have allied himself to the Seymour family, by engaging his son to marry the earl of Hertford's daughter, which his son would not consent to, and the duchess of Richmond his daughter, to Sir Thomas Seymour, Herbert, p. 263, 264.

⁹ December 12. Stow, p. 592.

^r This year, in the latter end of March, the publick stews which had long been allowed by the state, were suppressed. Stow, p. 591. They were a continued row of houses along the Thames side in Southwark, eighteen in number, and distinguished by signs. In the reign of Henry II, there were several regulations made concerning these houses, to be seen in Stow's survey of London, book IV. p. 7. Camden thinks they were called stews, from the fish-ponds near them, for the fattening and cleansing pike and tench. Camden in Surrey.—April 27, William Foxley fell asleep, and could not be waked by any means, till

he had slept fourteen days and fifteen nights. The king's physicians, as well as the king himself, examined him, but the cause of his sleeping thus could not be known. He was potter to the mint in the Tower. When he awoke he thought he had slept but one night. He lived forty one years after, till 1587, Stow, p. 591. Hollingsh. p. 972.—Of much the same nature is what we find mentioned in Rymer's Fœd. There is, in vol. XIV. p. 447, a bull of Clement VII. for John Scot a layman in the diocese of Glasgow in Scotland, who lived a hundred and six days without food.—This year, on Feb. 18, died the famous Martin Luther aged sixty three years. Sleidan, l. 16.—In Henry VIII's reign (though the particular time is not mentioned) was instituted the government of the president of the north: Tunstal bishop of Durham was the first president.

1546. was talked at court for some time of making great alterations in their charters. But at last, the king resolved to continue them upon the same foot they had all along been. Shortly after, on the 19th of December he founded Trinity college in Cambridge, which is one of the noblest foundations of that kind in Europe ^s.

The king strikes Gardiner out of his will. Burnet. T. I. p. 349. Mean while, diligent search was making by the king's order, after every thing that could serve to form an impeachment against the duke of Norfolk and the earl his son, the king, who found himself near his end, being absolutely bent, they should go out of the world before him. In this interval, he ordered his will, made before his late expedition into France, to be brought him, and perusing it, caused Gardiner's name to be struck out of the number of the counsellors appointed for the council of state during Edward's minority. Sir Anthony Brown, who was present, would have spoke in the bishop's behalf ^t. But the king answered, he knew Gardiner, and though he himself could govern him, yet none of those who were to come after him would be able to do it.

Act. Pub. XV. p. 110. This will, extant in the collection of the publick acts, is dated December the 30th, 1546, and the king's name is at the bottom, with those of ten witnesses. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was signed with the king's own hand. This was afterwards questioned. Mr. Rymer, who collected the records, would have done well to have put the thing out of dispute, and informed the world, whether he had the original in his hands, and if so, whether the king's name was his own hand writing. This he might have easily known, by comparing his name on the will with his usual signings, of which doubtless he had several by him ^u. The importance of this inquiry consists, in that the

^s It was founded out of three others, St. Michael's college, built by Harvey of Stanton, in Edward IId's days; King's-hall, founded by Edward III. and Fishwicke, or Fysycke hostel. King Henry founded it for a master, and sixty fellows and scholars, but it has been since augmented by several benefactions. Camden in Cambr.— About the same time the king also founded Christ church hospital in London, and endowed it with five hundred marks. It was, before the suppression, a convent of Franciscans or grey friars, but the king bestowed both the ground

and buildings of the said convent, as also the adjoining hospital of St. Bartholomew, on the city, for the relief of the poor. Stow, p. 592.

^t Thinking it was only an omission. Burnet, tom. I. p. 349.

^u Some gentlemen were deputed in queen Anne's reign, by persons of the first rank in the kingdom, to go to the chapter house of Westminster abbey, to search for the original will among the records of the exchequer. They found one consisting of several sheets of soft coarse paper, tacked together with a braid of green and white ribband; the

the act of parliament, empowering the king to settle the succession, ordered, it should be by letters patent under the great seal, or by his last will, signed with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the line of Scotland, not being placed in the order which belonged to them, questioned the validity of the will, maintaining that Henry had not signed it with his own hand writing. Indeed it could be alledged against this pretension, that the will being dated a month before the king's death, there was no room to suppose, Henry was then unable to sign it. On the other hand, it is not impossible, that, having ordered his will to be transcribed the 30th of December, he delayed to set his hand, and so was prevented by death. But there is moreover a strong presumption he did not sign it with his own hand, namely, he was very probably unable to write several months before his death, doubtless, by reason his fingers were so swollen, that he could not hold his pen. This conjecture is confirmed by two papers in the collection of the publick acts, both prior to the will. The first is a power of the 31st of August 1546, given by Henry to three of his ministers ^w to sign in his name all the royal commissions, and acts of grace. The second is a like power of the 16th of October following to some of his council to put the king's stamp to, and seal with his signet, all acts to which the king's hand was required ^x. The reason alledged for these powers was taken from the multiplicity of affairs, wherewith the king was overwhelmed. But as he had never less than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloke to hide his indisposition. However, as this dispute, which concerned only the royal family of Scotland, was ended by the accession of that family to the throne of England, it is now of no consequence. And therefore it suffices to mention wherein it consisted ^y. Here follows the manner wherein

1546.

Act. Pub.
XV. p. 100.

Ib. p. 102.

Order of the
succession.

the writing of a mean and slovenly character. The will was signed at the top of the first, and the end of the last page, with the king's hand writing, as pretended, but the character was fairer than ever he could make, and the hand stiff, like a counterfeit hand. Upon comparing his name on the will, with his stamp and his usual hand writing, it agreed with neither. See Acta Regia, p. 343. vol. III.

^w Sir Anthony Denny, John Gate, esq; and William Clerc, gent. Rymer, tom. XV, p. 101.

Vol. VI.

^x There is the like order before, dated October 12, 1545. Ibid. p. 81.

^y Maitland secretary to the queen of Scotland, accounted the ablest man of his nation at that time, in a letter to sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, says, "The king neither signed the will, nor ordered the stamp to be put to it. He had been oft desired to sign it, but always put it off: but when he saw his death approaching, one William Clarke, servant to Thomas Henneage, put the stamp to it, and some gentlemen

1546. wherein Henry settled the succession, pursuant to the power given him by act of parliament in the year 1543.

I. Prince Edward and all his posterity.

II. The children he might have by his present queen, or any other whom he should marry after her.

III. The princess Mary and her issue, provided she married with the assent and consent of the executors of his last will and testament, or of the major part of those who should then be alive, given under their hands and seals. This consent of the executors was a condition so annexed to the right he granted Mary to succeed in her turn, that without it his intent was, she should entirely forfeit her title to the crown.

IV. The princess Elizabeth upon the same condition with Mary.

V. Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of his sister Mary and the duke of Suffolk.

VI. Eleanor Brandon, Frances's younger sister.

If all these persons should happen to die without heirs, or their issue come to fail, it was the king's will, that the crown should go to the next rightful heirs. By that he could mean only Mary the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of his eldest sister Margaret, who ought naturally to have preceded the children of the king's younger sister Mary.

Lastly, He added, that in case Mary performed not the condition required of her, the crown should devolve to Elizabeth, as if Mary had died without heirs.

In like manner, if Elizabeth neglected to perform the same condition, his intent was that the crown should go to Frances Brandon, as if Elizabeth had died without issue.

Executors.

He appointed for executors of his last will thirteen lords, most of whom were privy counsellors, as the archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor Wriothesly, the earl of Hertford, young Edward's uncle, &c. These thirteen ² executors were

“ men that were waiting without,
 “ were called in to sign as witnesses.
 “ For this he appealed to the deposition
 “ of the lord Paget, and desired
 “ the marquis of Winchester and Northampton,
 “ the earl of Pembroke, sir William Petre,
 “ doctor Butts, &c. might be examined,
 “ and their depositions entered in the chancery.
 “ He also appealed to the original will,

“ by which it would appear, that it
 “ was not signed but stamped only;
 “ and therefore not being according to
 “ the act of parliament, was of no
 “ force.” See this letter in Burnet,
 vol. I. p. 349. and Collect. p. 267.

“ There are sixteen named in all,
 of whom there were only seven that
 were lords or bishops; viz. the arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor
 Wriothesly,

were also nominated for the prince his successor's privy council, till he was eighteen years of age. Moreover, he named certain persons who were to be called to the council upon extraordinary occasions.

1546.

He ordered his executors to pay first all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to several particular persons.

Debts.

He made the prince his son heir to all his goods, plate, jewels, money, cannons, ammunition, ships, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of those who were appointed for his privy counsellors, till he had attained to eighteen years of age.

Heir.

He gave till their marriage to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth a yearly pension of three thousand pounds sterling, and to each a portion of ten thousand pounds or more, if the executors thought proper.

Legacies.

He left his queen a legacy of three thousand pounds, either in jewels or plate, as she pleased, and a thousand pounds in ready money besides her dower.

Lastly, he gave five hundred marks to each of his executors who were lords, and to the others three hundred each.

The most extraordinary thing in this will was, the king's passing over in silence the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret, or at least his placing them after the line of his youngest sister Mary. Besides, the clause in his will, which said that after the posterity of Eleanor Brandon the crown should go to the next heir, must have been favourably explained for this first branch, since these general words were liable to sundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power, the parliament had given the king to settle the succession, or rather to unsettle and put it in a horrible confusion, if divine providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not possible to devise any other reason of his proceedings than his hatred of the Scots, and his fear that the kingdom of England would one day fall under the dominion of a prince or princess of that nation, which however all his precautions could not hinder.

Remark on Henry's settlement of the succession.

Whilst the king was ordering his will to be transcribed, the duke of Norfolk's and the earl of Surrey's process was

1547.

Wriothesley, earl of Hertford young Edward's uncle, lord St. John, lord Russel, viscount Lisle, bishop Tunstall. The rest were, sir Anthony Brown, sir Edward Montague, justice Bram-

ley, sir Edward North, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Harbard, sir Edward Wootton, and doctor Wootton his brother.

1547.

The earl of
Surrey is be-
headed.

Herbert,

Stow.

Burnet,

Hollingsh.

Herbert,

p. 263, 264.

forming with great warmth. The king being resolved to dis- patch these two lords, nothing was able to save them. The son was first brought to his trial at Guildhall^a, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners, and put upon an inquest of commoners, because he was not a peer of the realm, the duke his father being alive. Several witnesses were examined, whose depositions the lord Herbert has inserted in his history. But there appears nothing sufficient to convict him of high treason, of which he was accused. What was chiefly urged against him was his bearing St. Edward's arms, from whence it was inferred, he aspired to the throne. However, the king being resolved he should die, he received sentence of death, and was be- headed on Tower-hill the 19th of January^b.

The duke of
Norfolk
tries in vain
to obtain his
pardon.
Herbert,
p. 265.
Burnet.

Mean while the duke of Norfolk used all sorts of means to obtain the king's pardon. He knew him well enough to be sensible, that nothing but an entire submission was capable of appeasing him. To that end, he wrote him a very humble and submissive letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him, and entreated him for God's sake to let him know the cause of his disgrace. He prayed likewise that his accusers might be brought face to face before his majesty, or at least his council, that his cause might be maturely examined. He knew not, he said, that he had offended any man, otherwise than in appearing very zealous against the sacramentarians. But therein he had only complied with his majesty's sentiments and orders. He concluded with conjuring him to be satisfied with taking all or part of his lands and goods as he pleased, leaving him only a subsistence.

^a January 13. Herbert, p. 264.

^b Henry Howard (eldest son of Thomas third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham) died much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities. His sentence was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. Sir Richard Southwell deposing, that he knew certain things of the earl, which touched his fidelity to the king; the earl vehemently affirmed himself a true man, and offered to fight in his shirt with

his accuser. As to the giving the arms of the confessor, he said, he did it according to the opinion of the king's heralds. His sister Mary, duchess of Richmond being examined, confessed that the earl her brother should say, These new men (meaning the Seymours) loved no nobility, and if God called away the king, they should smart for it, with some other passionate words and circumstantial speeches, little for his advantage. He lies buried at Framlingham in the county of Suffolk. Herbert, p. 263, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 345, &c. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 275.

1547.

This letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the duke expected. By clearing himself, he accused the king of injustice, an offence which would not have been easily pardoned, though his destruction had not been resolved. The duke, seeing the king unmoved, signed, the 12th of January, before the lord chancellor and several other privy counsellors, a writing wherein he confessed, "That on several occasions he had been guilty of high treason, in concealing from the king that his son the earl of Surrey bore the arms of St. Edward the confessor, which did only belong to the king: that himself had born in the first quarter of his arms, ever since his father's death, the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of silver, which were the proper arms of the king's eldest son, and of no other. That he owned this to be high treason by the laws of the realm; and that he signed this submission without compulsion or advice, and threw himself entirely upon the king's mercy."

Herbert,
p. 265.
Burnet.

Very probably the duke was induced of himself, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confession, in the belief, he should never obtain his pardon, unless he confessed himself guilty, that the king might have room to show mercy. But it was all to no purpose. His ruin was resolved, and the king was not wont to desist from such resolutions when once they were taken. Mean while, as it was easy to see that the peers, who were the duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced against him, the king thought he should more easily compass his ends by an act of attainder. So the parliament meeting at this time, a bill of attainder was brought into the house of lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January, and passed. In all likelihood the duke's confession under his own hand contributed very much to the passing of the bill. At least it served for an excuse to those who durst not oppose it. The bill being sent down to the commons was read thrice, and sent up also passed on the 24th of January. According to the method too frequently practised in this reign, it contained only general accusations, without specifying any thing, except the duke's bearing the arms of England, with three labels of silver. It was very strange that his arms should not have been taken notice of before, which he had borne so long in the sight of the king himself and the whole court, which he had received from his ancestors, and for which he had the opinion of the heralds. The bill having passed in both houses, the lord

He is attainted in parliament.
Burnet.

Act Pub.
XV. p. 118.

1547.

A warrant
for his exe-
cution.
He escapes
narrowly.

Cranmer
retires to
Croydon du-
ring the
duke's pro-
cesses.
Burnet.

The kings
death ap-
proaches.

He is warn-
ed of his
approaching
end.
Burnet.

He shews
signs of re-
pentance
Ibid.

chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and some other lords were commissioned under the great seal to give the royal assent^c. After that, a warrant was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to cut off the duke's head the 29th of January. But happily for him the king died the night before, and the council did not think it advisable to begin the new reign with the execution of one of the greatest lords of the kingdom. It is to be observed, that during all the proceedings both of the court and the parliament against the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, the archbishop of Canterbury withdrew to Croydon, without ever appearing at court. As these two lords were justly deemed his most mortal enemies, he would not be accused of being concerned in what was transacting against them.

Whilst these processes were forming, the king was seized in his bed with an illness which brought him insensibly to his end. However, the consideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to use compassion towards two lords, of one of the most antient families in England, who had done him great services, and hitherto were guilty of no crime which deserved so severe a punishment. On this occasion, prevailed, as on many others, passion and policy in the king's mind, over justice and mercy. He was bent at any rate, to sacrifice these two lords to his son's safety, and to establish, by their death, all the alterations he had made in religion, being persuaded they would use their utmost endeavours to destroy them. The sequel plainly showed, he was not mistaken with regard to the duke of Norfolk who survived him. This lord's life, preserved by a sort of miracle, was a demonstration how vain are human precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God.

The king's illness continually increased, and no man dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that a prince who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and punish it according to an act of parliament, by which those who should dare to foretel the king's death were adjudged traitors. But at last sir Anthony Denny, one of his privy-counsellors, had the courage and charity to warn him that he had but a few hours to live. The king thanked him, and expressed his great grief and horror for all the sins of his past life. Whereupon, Denny asked him if any clergyman should

^c Which they did January 27. Journals Parl.

1547.

be sent for, and he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, being then at Croydon, could not come till the king was speechless. He had but just time to desire him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. The king squeezed his hand, and presently after expired in the night between the 28th and 29th of January 1546-7, in the fifty sixth year of his age, having reigned thirty seven years and nine months. His death was kept private three days. Probably the council took time to consult whether the duke of Norfolk should be executed. At last, after three days, the lord chancellor signified to both houses, that the king was dead and the parliament thereby dissolved ^d.

He sends for Cranmer, and cannot speak.

He dies. Herbert. Burnet.

His death is kept private. Burnet.

Two

^d The reader may see Henry's character drawn at length by the lord Herbert. But as his life and actions sufficiently make him known, I shall only add what bishop Burnet says of him at the end of his first volume of the history of the reformation. King Henry VIIIth is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both persuasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.—King Henry's body lies buried at Windsor, under a most stately tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but not finished. The reader may see the model of what it was intended to be, in Speed, p. 784.

half of the double rose, or two hundred and one half crowns, making by tale twenty five pounds two shillings and six pence; and a pound weight of silver of the old sterling, was coined into one hundred and thirty five groats, or two hundred and seventy half groats, or five hundred and forty sterlings, (or pence,) or one thousand and eighty half pence, or two thousand one hundred and sixty farthings; so that every pound weight of sterling silver was coined into forty five shillings by tale.—In the 34th. of this reign, a pound weight of gold of twenty three carats fine, and one carat allay, was coined into twenty eight pounds sixteen shillings by tale; by which indenture there were coined sovereigns at 20s. a piece, half sovereigns at 10s. angels at 8s. and quarter angelets at 2s. a piece; and a pound weight of silver of ten ounces fine, and two ounces allay, was coined into forty eight shillings by tale, namely into testoons (which were 12 d. a piece) groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings.—In the 36th. of Henry VIII. a pound weight of gold of twenty two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale; viz. into thirty sovereigns at 20s. a piece, or sixty half sovereigns at 10s. a piece, or one hundred and twenty crowns at 5s. a piece, or two hundred and forty half crowns: and the king had two carats of fine gold for coinage, which yielded him fifty shillings. Silver was coined by the same indenture, of six ounces fine and six ounces allay, into forty eight shillings by tale. It was coined into testoons, groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings.

By indentures of the 1st. and 23d. of Henry VIII. a pound weight of gold of the old standard, was to be coined into twenty seven pounds by tale; viz. into twenty four sovereigns, at 22s. 6d. a piece, or forty eight rials at 11s. 3d. a piece, or seventy two angels at 7s. 6d. a piece, or eighty one george nobles at 6s. 8d. a piece; or one hundred and forty four half angels at 3s. 9d. a piece, or one hundred and sixty two forty penny-pieces at 3s. 4d. a piece; and a pound weight of gold of the fineness of twenty two carats only, was to be coined into one hundred crowns and a

N n 4

things.

THE HISTORY

things.—In the 37th. of this reign, a pound weight of gold of twenty carats fine, and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, as in the last; and the king had four carats which yielded him five pounds two shillings: and a pound weight of fil-

ver, of four ounces fine, and eight ounces allay was coined into forty eight shillings by tale, which raised the pound weight of fine gold to thirty six pounds; and the pound weight of fine silver to seven pounds four shillings.



The gold coins of Henry VIII. are sovereigns, rials, half sovereigns, angels, george nobles, half and quarter angels, forty penny pieces, crowns, and half crowns: and the silver coins, testoons, groats, half groats, sterlings, half pence, farthings; to which may be added crown pieces of silver, which were first coined by this king. Henry's sovereign has on one side HENRIC. 8. D. G. AGL. FRANCIE Z HIB. REX, the king in his robes crowned upon his throne, with the scepter and ball. Reverse, the arms of France and England quarterly, supported by a lion and a dragon, IHS. AVTE. TRANSIENS PER MED. ILLOR. IBAT. (fig. 5.) The angel of this king is like his father's; a half angel has this inscription on the reverse, CRUX. AVE. SPES. VNICA. The crown and half crown of gold, have on one side a large rose and crown betwixt H. I. crowned, HENRIC. VIII. RUTILANS. ROSA SIN. SPINA. Reverse, the arms of France and England quatered under a crown; and H. I.—DEI. G. R. ANGLIE Z. FRA. DNS. HIBERNIE. (fig. 6.) As for the silver coins, there were

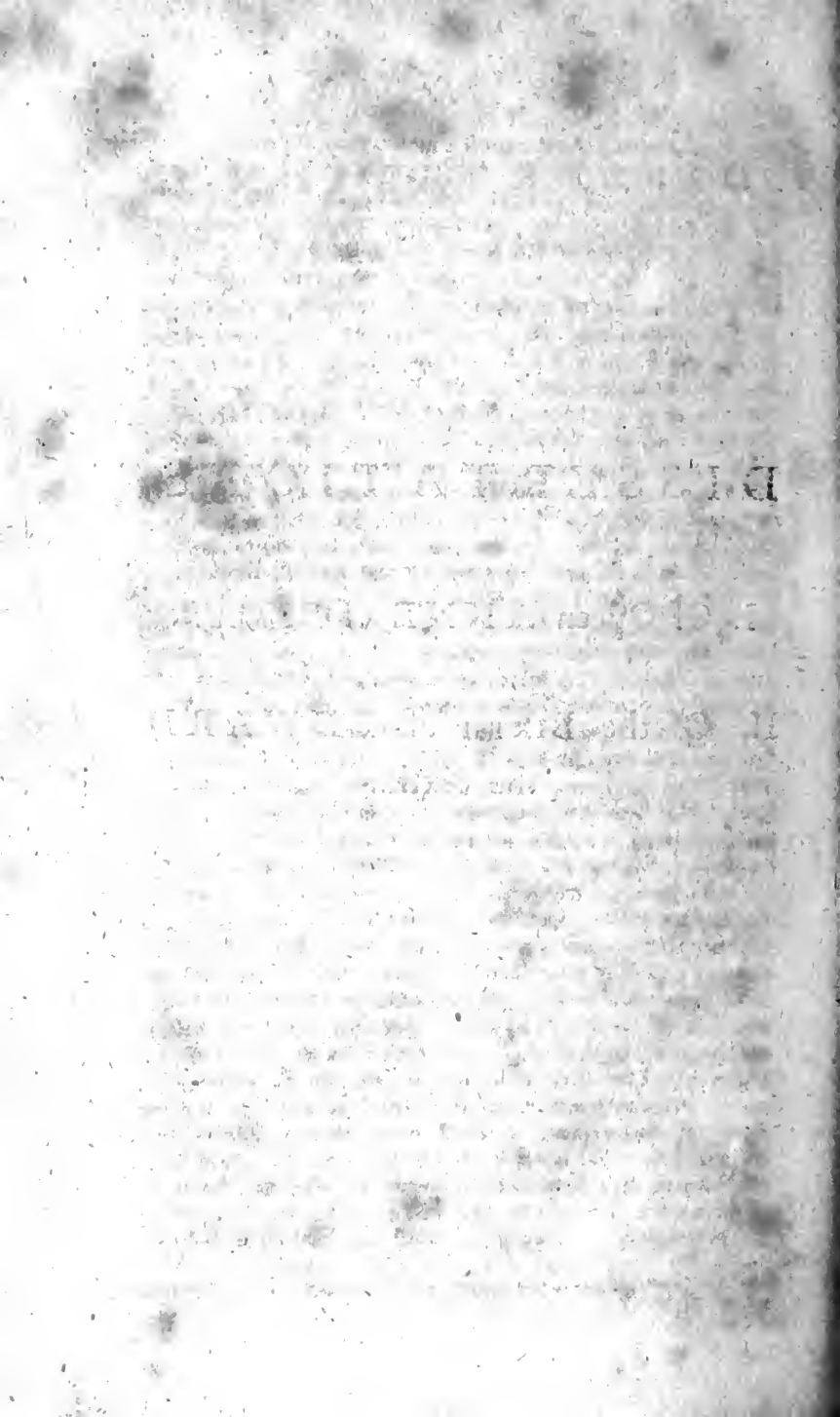
two sorts of testoons or shillings. That of fine silver exhibits the king half faced, whereof one has CIVITAS EBORACI. The other shilling called the broad faced shilling, of a baser alloy, has on one side HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Reverse, POSVI, &c. a rose crowned, with H. R. likewise crowned. (fig. 1.) The groat has his head with the side face, HENRIC. VIII. DI. GR. AGL. Z. FRANC. Reverse, the arms, POSVI, &c. (fig. 3.) Another has HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. REX. ANGLIE. Reverse, FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE REX. a crowned harp between the letters H. and R. crowned (fig. 7.) Some coined by cardinal Wolsey at York, have a cardinal's hat under the arms. His pence and half pence give him seated on a throne, with (and sometimes without) the globe and scepter. H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPIA. (fig. 2.) The farthing has on one side a portcullice (whereby it is distinguished from half pence, which it was not before,) and a cross and pellets on the other. (fig. 4.)

T W O

DISSERTATIONS.

I. Of Queen ANNE of BULLEN.

II. Of the BIRTH of EDWARD
the Sixth.



DISSERTATION I.

Of Queen ANNE of BULLEN².

THE life of this unfortunate lady, is a remarkable instance of the great instability of human affairs. She had a sufficient share of prosperity and adversity. She was seen one day at the top of fortune's wheel, and the next at the very bottom of it. She had been raised by king Henry to the highest pitch of glory, to the wearing of a crown, and sitting upon the throne; and by the same hand was sunk as low afterwards, deprived of her good name and reputation, and brought at last, like a malefactor, to the block. As her case has been very differently reported by some writers, and very hardly and unfairly represented by others, I shall examine it with all the candor and impartiality I can, and endeavour to clear up, and vindicate the character of that unhappy princess. A piece of justice which cannot fairly be denied to one who first occasioned, and zealously promoted, the reformation of our church, and also gave life to an excellent princess, who became the glory of her sex, the envy of her neighbours, the honour of her nation, which she more than once delivered from ruin and destruction. But before I enter into the merits of the cause, and consider what was alledged against that queen, I beg leave to make a reflection or two upon the unhappy situation she was in, when the storm broke in so violently upon her. First, though a sudden elevation from a low estate to the highest pitch of power and greatness is generally apt to raise the envy of the world and to create enemies, she lay the more open and exposed to these, as she was thought to be the occasion of the king's breaking with the pope, and shaking off the yoke of Rome and the greatest instrument and promoter of all the bold steps, that were taken by that prince, which could not but render her very odious to a formidable party, the whole body of the Roman catholicks, who, during her life could never expect to see a reconciliation with the church of Rome, but might hope, after her death, to make up the quarrel, to heal the wound, and to close up the breaches. But secondly, what bore the hardest upon

² These two dissertations were communicated by the same hand as those at the end of vol. V.

her, and was indeed the main occasion of her ruin, was the passionate and violent temper of the king. No sea in a full storm was ever more boisterous and tempestuous than he. Nothing could stem the tide of his rage and passion. He never stuck at any thing to gratify his lust, and satisfy his desires. He was then tired and surfeited with the queen, and resolved to marry Anne Seymour, whom he had been in love with before, so must be sure to get rid of his wife. Lord Herbert, and Rapin after him, impute his severity to a fit of jealousy, but with submission it is giving it too good a name. It was downright disguise and surfeit, and a violent passion for another woman. Jealousy (as is truly observed) is never without some mixture of love, but that Henry had not the least grain of that left, plainly appeared by his hasty, precipitate, and indecent marriage with Anne Seymour, the very day queen Anne lost her head upon the block. He had found a great deal of trouble and difficulty in breaking through his first marriage with queen Catherine, and was now resolved to make quicker work of it, and to cut a knot he could not easily untie. It is true, that, in order to save appearances, he got a kind of divorce to pass under the pretence of a contract, and pre-engagement on the queen's side, and prevailed with the bishops, (who shamefully complied with every thing he required) to favour that absurdity. I call it an absurdity, because it was ruining and in effect destroying all that had been done before. For if there had been, as was trumped up, a precontract between her and lord Percy, (though by the way he swore by his salvation and upon the sacrament that it was entirely false;) if I say there had been such a contract, then her marriage with the king was actually null and void, the proceedings against it of course must be so too, and she could not without the utmost injustice be punished for adultery. I come now to examine the charge that was brought against her. And here, to clear my way, I shall remove like so much dirt and rubbish the evidence, or, to speak more properly, the invectives of the jesuit Sanders. He is a writer of so low and profligate a character for veracity, that he is given up by those of his own communion, who are not a little ashamed, and out of countenance at his heat, forgeries, and falsehoods. He does not think it enough to revile and asperse the character of this princess, but makes a monster of her person. He saith she was lean visaged, long-sided, gobbertoothered, of a yellow complexion, and had a wen in her neck. But sure king Henry must have had a better taste, he must have been
a more

See the letter of that lord at end of these papers.

a more elegans formarum spectator, “and could not (as Fuller saith) have been drawn to so passionate a love, without a stronger loadstone.” Besides such palpable falsehoods were easily confuted by the sight of her pictures, which represent her very handsome, and by the passionate letters from the king to her, that are still kept at Rome, by which it appears she was a beautiful person, and that it was her beauty that struck and charmed the monarch, and advanced her to the throne. The same writer asserts, that sir Thomas Wyat assured the king he had himself first corrupted and debauched her. But the falsehood of this appears by a relation of his own son. For sir Thomas was esquire of the king’s body, and always continued in that post, except when he was employed in embassies abroad. But if Sanders’s story had been true, he must have fallen under the king’s jealousy, or the queen’s power, and would have withdrawn himself, or been produced as evidence against her at her trial. To proceed, it is said there was a solemn tournament at Greenwich on May day, and that at this diversion the queen dropt her handkerchief, which was taken up by a supposed favourite, who wiped his face with it^b. The king, taking notice of this passage, immediately withdrew, to the great surprize of the queen, and the court. The next day, the earl of Rochford, the queen’s brother, and one Henry Norris were committed to the Tower. But this also relies upon the bare report of Sanders, which I should not have taken notice of, but that I find it related by Collier, without naming the author he took it from, or passing any censure upon it. Lord Herbert rejects it, as not being mentioned by any good historian. Rapin saith it relies wholly upon the credit of Sanders, so I look upon it to be a meer fiction and invention of that fabulous writer, or a silly imitation of the handkerchief plot in the Moor of Venice, which, by the way, is the only weak part, and blemish in that noble tragedy.

But to come now to more material evidence. The queen was accused of committing incest with her own brother, the earl of Rochford. This is a heavy and grievous charge indeed. But how was it made out? for sure there is some difference between proving and asserting. Why he was seen by her bed side, and stooping over the bed, while he

^b Bishop Burnet saith it proceeded from a letter which the king received at those justs, to inform him that the lady Wingfield one of the queen’s ser-

vants had, upon her death bed, charged her upon oath, with some criminal affair.

Fuller’s church hist. p. 206.

Collier’s eccl. hist.

was talking to her, doctor Howel saith, that he was then seen to kiss her. Allowing the full of the allegation, allowing he did actually salute her, shall the kiss of a brother to a sister be branded with the name of incest, and be construed as a breach of conjugal fidelity? It is certain the earl denied the crime, and asserted the queen's innocence, and his own to his last dying breath. But the evidence that seemed to be the most material, and to bear the hardest upon her, was the deposition of Smeaton the musician, who confessed, (saith Burnet) that he had lain three times with the queen. But this was too hastily asserted by that prelate. For there is not the least word of it in the lord Herbert, who is a very exact writer, and could never have omitted so material a proof, upon which the whole issue of the matter seemed to turn. He speaks indeed of a confession made by the queen herself, in relation to Smeaton. It appears (saith he), by a letter from Cromwell to the king, that she had confessed some particulars, but he saith they amounted to no more than some indiscretions and unguarded expressions. However, let Smeaton's confession be what it would, it is certain he never was produced face to face to the queen, and every body knows what stress is to be laid upon an uncontroverted evidence^e. But her enemies had taken care of that. They had condemned Smeaton before her, that he might not appear as a witness against her; and this, as Rapin judiciously observes, looks very favourably on the queen's side; since it is not to be thought her accuser would have neglected so full a proof as this, if there had been the least ground and foundation for it. This looks very suspicious, and as if they were afraid to produce him before her face, lest she should confound him, and oblige him to recant. But it is most likely it was only a feint and artifice of her enemies, who told her of this deposition of Smeaton (as it appears they did by her reply), to see whether they could draw a confession from her mouth. However the stratagem did not take. For she answered resolutely, "hath he not then cleared me?"

^e This is what she heartily desired; she earnestly begged of the king that she might have a fair and legal trial, by which her innocence might be cleared, the king's suspicion and conscience satisfied, the slanders and ignominy of the world stopped, or her guilt openly declared. This appears by a very moving letter she writ to the king when she was in the Tower the day before she died, which carries such marks of the queen's innocence, and of her husband's hard-

ship and cruelty towards her, that I thought I could not better illustrate this matter than by annexing it to these papers, together with the lord Percy's solemn protestation of there never being any marriage contract between him and the queen.

N. B. These two letters were published by Hern, anno 1717, at the end of Titus Livius Forojulienensis, from some original papers of Dr. Smith.

“ I fear his soul now is suffering for it, but as for Norris
 “ and my brother, I doubt not but they are in the presence of
 “ the great King with whom I am to be to-morrow.” So
 that this evidence of Smeaton, upon which so much stress
 was laid, and the issue of the whole affair seemed to turn,
 will be found, if duly weighed, to be mighty light in the ba-
 lance, and to come very short of a full proof and conviction.
 Collier saith, “ her language was broken and disturbed. She,
 “ seemed to discover a mixture of assurance and confusion
 “ in her discourse, for she laughed one minute, and wept ano-
 “ ther.” But sure that historian did not know, or at least
 did not consider the nature and effects of vapours and hyste-
 rick fits in women, which are frequently brought upon them
 by meer grief and trouble. In these fits the patients are dis-
 turbed and disordered in their heads, they know not what
 they say or do, and often laugh and cry all in a breath. This
 I take to have been exactly her case. She was no doubt in
 the vapours occasioned by her troubles. But from these
 no proof can fairly be drawn of her innocence or guilt.
 What I have said on this subject will, I hope, suffice to clear
 that unhappy lady, and to show she was not guilty of the
 crimes laid to her charge, but was merely sacrificed to the
 violent passion, and cruel and merciless prince, of a glutton
 and surfeited husband, who was resolved, cost what it would,
 to get rid of his wife, and to marry another lady, whom he
 loved before. And this he was so strongly bent upon, that
 till he could gain his end, he enjoyed no rest or quiet, and
 had no taste or relish for his pleasures and diversions. He
 went out with his hounds and breakfasted under a great
 tree ^e in Epping forest, that very day she was to be ex-

Burnet's
 hist. of the
 reformation.
 vol. 2.

Collier's
 eccles. hist.
 vol. 2. p. 116.

^d Cruelty indeed was the reigning
 vice of that king, and the great stain
 and blemish of his reign. He took a
 kind of pleasure in raising men from
 the meanest condition to the greatest
 dignities, and sinking them again to
 the bottom of misery. He was one
 that never did his work by halves, but
 always went through it in cruelty, of
 which his reign affords a sad and me-
 lancholy scene. For, besides a great
 many private men, papists, and gospel-
 lers, that suffered for their religion
 under him, he put to death 77 ab-
 bots, priests, priors, and monks, 18
 barons and knights, 12 dukes and
 marquises, and one cardinal. Ano-

ther he attainted, and would have
 used him in the same manner, but
 could not get him into his hands. He
 executed two of his queens, and was
 just going to cut off a third, for he
 had signed the warrant to send Cath-
 erine Parre to the Tower; so I think
 there is no strain in what Raleigh
 saith of him, that if the world had
 lost the character of a merciless and re-
 lentless prince, it might be truly found
 in him.

^e This tree is called Henry the
 VIIIth's oak to this day, as I was in-
 formed by a gentleman living in that
 forest.

cuted in the Tower, from whence he had ordered notice to be given him by the firing of a gun, the minute her head was struck off. He no sooner heard the signal, than he cried out the business is done, the business is done, uncouple the hounds, and let us follow our sport; and that very day at his return he married Jane Seymour, and took her to his bed. This single circumstance, were there no other in her favour, would be sufficient for any impartial person to acquit Anne Bullen, and to show her innocence. Rapin very justly observes that this lady's case became a party business, and an affair of religion. As she was a principal occasion, and a zealous promoter and favourer of the reformation, the protestants asserted her innocence, and extolled her to the skies. The papists, for the same reason, that they might cast a blemish upon the protestant religion, and wound it through her sides, blackened and reviled her to the utmost of their power. It was this bigoted zeal that whetted the pen of Sanders the jesuit, and tinged it in deepest and rankest gall. But some writers of the same communion have been more candid, and have done more justice to her character. I shall mention but two, whose testimonies I dare oppose to all the calumnies of that virulent writer. The first is Metteren, who, in his justly esteemed history of the Low Countries, speaks of her in these terms: "When she heard her sentence, (saith he) she was not in the least concerned and terrified, but lifted up her hands to heaven, and said, O Father, who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest well I have not deserved this death." This is the account this writer gives of her behaviour at her death, without insinuating that there was the least prevarication, falsehood, and hypocrisy in her carriage. The other author I shall produce is Thevet, a friar, who in his history saith, that king Henry at his death owned and declared her innocence, and heartily repented of his injustice and cruelty towards her. Now the testimony of this writer is very material, and carries much weight along with it. For, besides that he was a Franciscan friar, he had been a considerable sufferer himself for the sake of Catherine, the divorced queen, and therefore can never be suspected of any favour and partiality for queen Anne her rival, so that nothing but the force of truth could have drawn such a confession from his pen.

Letter of queen ANNE BULLEN to king HENRY VIII.

C. O.

A Copy.

S I R,

YOUR grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment are things so strange to 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 to obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy: I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded; and to speak a truth, never a prince had a wife more loyal in all duty and true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bullen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration, as now I find. For the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient (I know) 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 with your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of my enemies withdraw your princely favour from me. Neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your grace ever cast so foul a blot on 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 enemies sit as my accusers and judges. Yea, let me receive an open trial. For my truth shall fear no open shame. Then shall you see either my innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from open censure, and my offence being

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so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute a worthy punishment on me, as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could some good while sithence have pointed unto you, 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 joying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strait account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment seat, where both you and my not must shortly appear, and in whose just judgment, I doubt self, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whom I understand are likewise in strait prisonment for my sake. If I have ever found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bullen hath been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request. And so I will leave to trouble your grace any farther, with my earnest prayer 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, the sixth of May.

Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BULLEN.

The king sending a messenger to queen Anne, being prisoner in the Tower, willing her to confess the truth, she said she could confess no more, than she had already spoken; and she said, she must conceal nothing from the king, to whom she did acknowledge herself so much bound for many favours, for raising her first from a mean woman to be a marquess; next to be his queen; and now seeing he could bestow no further honour upon her on earth, for purposing to make her by martyrdom a saint in heaven.

Earl of Northumberland to secretary ———, denying that there was a contract between queen ANNE and him.

C. O.

An Original.

Master Secretary,

THIS shall be to signify unto you, that I perceive by Sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is supposed a precontract to be between the queen and me; whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon mine oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same, before the duke of Norfolk and other the king's highness council learned in the spiritual law: assuring you, mr. secretary, by the said oath and blessed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there was any contract or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newington Green, the 13th day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the eighth.

Your assured,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the birth of EDWARD VI.

MY last discourse was upon the death of Anne of Bullen, the wife of Henry the VIIIth, whom I endeavour to vindicate of the crime of adultery that was laid to her charge. The subject of my present remarks shall be the birth of that king's only son, Edward the VIth. And here one could hardly think an affair of this nature, as the birth of a prince (especially when there was not the least doubt and contest about the legitimacy of it) should afford much matter for a review.—But as the nativity of Edward hath occasioned controversy among the writers, and given room to some of them to show their spleen and malice, I shall examine the matter with all the fairness and impartiality I am able.—Now the main of the dispute seems to turn upon these two points; 1st, The day on which king Edward was born; 2dly, The manner of his coming into the world. For the better clearing these matters, it will be necessary to consider three things; 1st, The very day of the month on which he was born; 2dly, The precise time of his mother, queen Jane's death, and how long it happened after the birth of her son. This last particular may perhaps be thought a matter of small consequence, but it will appear to be material, as it may help to disprove the third thing which I design to examine, I mean a story related by some writers, that he was born by incision, and violently cut out of his mother's womb. As to the first of these, the very day of his nativity, the opinion of historians in general is, that he was born the 12th of ^a October, on the eve of the feast of Edward the martyr. It is probable his father laid hold

^d Three days after, i. e. the 15 of October he was baptized with great splendor and solemnity, those of the highest nobility, the bishops, abbots, dignified clergy and chaplains, with abundance of knights and gentlemen being summoned to be present. The prince was carried from his lodgings to the chapel by the marchioness of Exeter, with a most illustrious attendance. The two princesses, and the lady Ma-

ry and the lady Elizabeth were in the retinue and assisted. The godfathers at the font were archbishop Cranmer, and Thomas duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Suffolk was godfather at his confirmation at the same time. After he had been baptized by one of the bishops, his title was also proclaimed by garter king at arms, and called prince Edward, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester.

on this, as a happy omen, and so gave him the name of that saint. There is one writer indeed that differs from them in this, and places his birth on the 10th day of that month, and that for a reason best known to the person himself. I mean the jesuit Sanders, who asserts in his book *de Schismate Anglicano*. But this author's character is such, that when he deviates from other writers, we may take it for granted, it is either to lead the reader out of his way, or to vent his spleen, and to display his malice. He was an inveterate enemy to the reformation, and to all the authors and promoters of it, and by consequence to king Edward the VIth, who had so great a hand in that pious work. Had he been a catholick prince, and a favourer of the popish cause, Sanders, no doubt, would have laid hold of this circumstance of his birth, would have enlarged upon it as a happy omen, that seemed to promise and foretel all the glories of his reign. But, as he was unwilling an heretical prince should be so happy as to be born on the eve of that English king and saint, he made no scruple to hasten and advance his birth, and to make him come into the world two days before he really did. The next thing to be considered is the exact time of queen Jane Seymour's death, and how many days she lived after the birth of the prince. And this Stow, Polydore Virgil, and the rest of the writers have fixed, by a mistake, on the 14th day of October, that is, two days after the nativity of Edward. In this they are followed by Mr. Rapin, which is the more strange, because he must have seen the remarks upon Hayward's life of this prince in doctor Kennet's edition of the Complete History of England, which clear up that matter, and set it in a true light. Heyward indeed varies from those writers, and sets her death four days after her delivery; but this does not at all mend the matter; for it is certain, she did not die till twelve days after the birth of the prince; and this appears from an authentick manuscript of the solemnity of her funeral, as also from a journal of secretary Cecil.

Annotations on the life of Edward VI. in Kennet's edition.

I have been the more exact in settling this date of the queen's death, in order, 3dly, to disprove a story that has been related by some writers, that Edward was born by incision, and violently cut out of his mother's body. The first who mentions this is Heyward, who saith, "All re-ports constantly run, that he was not, by natural passage, delivered into the world; but that his mother's body was opened for his birth, and that she died of the incision the fourth day following." How these reports were first

Hayward's life of Edward the VI. Kennet's edit. 3. p. 273

spread, and how justly grounded they are, will I hope appear in the sequel of these papers. After this he saith, that the Romans thought such births fortunate; and fancied, that those proved commonly great men, that came into the world in that manner. For this he quotes Pliny, whose words are, *Auspiciatius enectâ matre nascuntur, sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus*; and that they were called *Cæsones*, and afterwards *Cæsares*. But, by the way, his observation and quotation out of Pliny are little to the purpose here. For whatever * conceits and superstitions the Romans had in relation to these violent births, it is certain there was no such notion in England at that time; nor is there in the present age in which such a birth, attended with the mother's death, is esteemed a great misfortune and sad calamity to the family it happens in; and I dare say, that the first inventors and spreaders of the story had this very thing in their view, namely, to cast a slur and blemish upon the birth of this prince as tragical and unfortunate. I make no doubt but the enemies to king Henry and the reformation were highly pleased with the report, looked on it as a judgment upon him for his hard usage of the good catholick queen Catherine, and as a fatal curse upon the two wives which he married after that divorce, the first of which died like a malefactor on a scaffold, and the last lost her life by the ripping up of her womb.

This is the opinion of the judicious author of the remarks upon Edward's life, in doctor Kennet's edition. "No historian (saith he) that wrote before Heyward, give any countenance to this, except it be Sanders, whose pen was not directed so much by truth, as malice, who frames a story that when the queen was in extreme labour, and they asked the king, whom he would have spared, the queen or his son? he answered, his son, because he could

* The notion that the common people in England have of such births, is, that children so born will be eminent physicians. And this is no new opinion, but may be traced as far as Virgil, who saith of Lycas, that he was cut out of his mother's womb, and consecrated to Apollo.

Inde Lycham ferit, exectum matre peremptâ & tibi, Phœbe, sacrum, *Æn.* l. X. v. 315.—Upon which place, Servius observes such children were dedicated to Apollo, the god of physick, by whose help and assistance they owed their life. But I think it more probable this notion was derived from *Æsc-*

culapius, who was himself thus taken out of his mother's body after her death, as is related by Pindar, who saith, that Apollo, having discovered the infidelity of his mistress Coronis, and the affairs she had with Ischys, sent his sister Diana to put her to death. But she, unwilling that the child should perish with the mother, came to the flames, which separated of themselves, and taking the babe out of the parent's body, gave it to old Chiron to bring up, and to instruct in the practice of physick.—Pindar *Pyth. Od.* III.

“ easily

“ easily find out other wives: but even he has not a
 “ word of cutting out the young infant out of his mother’s
 “ body. So that I make no question that this was at first
 “ an idle fable, invented by papists, improved upon what
 “ Sanders wrote, and the report soon became current among
 “ that party, out of ill will to king Henry, to make him
 “ appear cruel, and the prince his son to have been un-
 “ luckily born.” The truth is, this was a very good
 handle for a forgery. It was an easy transition from one
 fable to another. It was easy, I say, upon the first re-
 port, to graft the second false and scandalous story, I
 call it false and scandalous, because none of the writers
 that lived nearest that age, neither Stow, Hollinghead,
 nor even Polydore Virgil, who lived at the very time
 of the prince’s birth, take the least notice of it. Nei-
 ther is there a word about it in king Edward’s journal, which
 gives a minute and exact account of all particulars relating
 to himself, from the year 1537, which was that of his birth,
 and so proceeds regularly from the year of his accession to the
 crown in 1547, to the end of November 1552. Camden,
 indeed, in his Apparatus, or introduction to the reign of
 queen Elizabeth, makes mention of it. “ Queen Jane
 “ (saith he) fell in labour and presently died, the prince
 “ being fain to be cut out of her womb, and succeeding his
 “ father after in the kingdom.” But then he seems to re-
 tract it in his marginal note, where he saith only, that the
 queen died in childbirth of king Edward; and these are the
 very words of Polydore † Virgil, namely, that she died in
 childbirth two days after the birth of the prince. The same
 is related by an old chronicle of Canterbury, published by
 Herne ‡, in his preface to his accurate edition of Camden’s
 life and reign of queen Elizabeth. This antiquary assures
 us, that the same account of king Edward’s birth is given
 by sir Thomas Smith, in a dialogue concerning the then in-
 tended marriage of queen Elizabeth, which is not yet print-
 ed, but was communicated to him by Anstis, king at arms.
 Fuller saith, in his Church History, that there went a strong
 tradition that king Edward, like Cæsar, was cut out of his
 mother’s body; but he adds, that a person of great honour
 deriving her intelligence from such as were present at her

† Mater vero in puerperio mortua est, biduo post partum, nam III idus Octobris peperit.—Edit. Gander 1557, p. 1743.

‡ The title is a breviare chronicle, containing all the kings from Brute to

this day, and many notable acts gathered out of divers chronicles from William the conqueror, printed in Canterbury in St. Paul’s parish, by John Mitchell.

labour,

labour, assured him of the contrary. Besides, the time of Jane Seymour's death, namely, twelve days after her delivery, renders the story extremely improbable. But lastly, what sets the matter beyond dispute, and which (were there no other proofs against it) is enough to sink the credit of this report, is a letter ——— from the queen herself to the council, giving them an account of her happy delivery; to which may be added a certificate of her illness, from her physicians and attendants, of the state of her health, a little before she died, which makes no manner of mention of this circumstance of opening the body, which they could not fairly have omitted, had it been true. These two original papers, the letter, and the certificate, are still extant in the Cotton library, from whence they have been published by Fuller and Herne. All this, I hope, may be sufficient to put the matter in a fair and clear light, to disprove the testimony of sir John Heyward, and to confute the story of king Edward's being cut of his mother's womb.

I could point at several other places in the life of king Edward written by this author, which are as liable to exception as this I have examined above, but not to detain the reader, nor to deviate too far from my subject, I shall confine myself to two facts only, wherein sir John Heyward has laid himself very open to censure, and reflection. The 1st concerning the quarrel between the protector and the admiral his brother, which proved, in the end, so fatal to them both. The 2d, relating to the death of the last of them, who lost his life upon a scaffold. As to the 1st, the difference between these two great men, Heyward imputes it to a jealousy between their two ladies, about precedency and taking place, which he saith the protector's wife refused to give to Catherine the queen dowager, who had married the admiral. His words are these " The lord Sudley had taken to wife Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, last wife to king Henry the VIIIth, a woman beautified with excellent virtues, especially with humility, the beauty of all other virtues. The duke had taken to wife Anne Stanhope a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous. She was exceedingly subtle and violent in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned over all respects both of conscience and shame. This woman did bear such an invincible hate, 1st, against the queen dowager, for light causes and womens quarrels, especially for that she had the precedency of place before her &c: he adds that she rubbed into the duke's dull capacity (as he very courtesly expresses
" it)

“ it) that his brother fought to take away his life and to attain to his place, that the duke at length yielding himself to her, did devise his brother’s destruction, and that being arrested, and sent to the Tower he was condemned by act of parliament a short time after.” But besides the great improbability of the thing, besides that the duchess must have been mad and out of her senses or entirely ignorant of the customs of the nation, to think of taking place of a queen dowager of England, besides this, I say, there is not a single word of it in all the letters that passed about this grand affair. There ^h is not the least mention of it either in Hollingshead, Stow or the journal of Edward the VIth, which is very large about the matter of the admiral, and relates many particulars about it, that are of much less consequence than this, so that Heyward could have no authority for his story but that of the jesuit Sanders, a writer of very low credit and sad character for veracity, and who made it his whole business to asperse and revile king Edward, and his ministers, and the duke of Somerset especially, who had so deep an hand in the reformation of the church. But a fair and impartial historian should not have made use of those scandalous memoirs, or if he did, should have named his author, and let the matter rest upon the credit of his voucher. It is certain Sanders was the 1st broacher of this fable, he relates it thus : “ There arose a great contest between Catherine Parr and the protector’s wife, who should have the precedence. And the contest rested not in the women, but passed to the men, and when the emulation continually encreased, the protector’s wife would not let her husband alone, till at last it came to pass, that the protector who, although he ruled the king, yet was ruled by his wife must cut off his brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her ⁱ will.” These are the words of Sanders, who produces no authority for what he saith, I am apt to believe it is an old story new vamped up, and that the jesuit took his hint from the famous dispute of the two ladies, daughters of Fabius Ambustus, in Livy, who, quarrelling about precedency and rank, occasioned a difference, 1st, between their husbands, then between the patricians and the plebeians, and raised such a sedition in the commonwealth, as wrested from the nobles a share in the places and employments in the state. But as

^h See Mr. Strype’s annotat. on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet’s edition, p 301.

ⁱ Sanders de schismate Anglicano.—

See the annotations on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet’s edit. p. 301.

this is only a conjecture, let the original of the story be what it will, it certainly did not become a good Englishman and true protestant, as sir John Heyward was, to rake into the filth, and to glean the scandal of such a profligate writer, whom he knew to be made up of falsehood and lies and a sworn enemy to Edward and his ministers, and to the whole body of the reformers. The 2d thing I mentioned, as liable to censure and exception in this writer, relates to the death of the admiral, who, he does not scruple to say, suffered for pitiful and frivolous matters. But sure he must never have seen the act of parliament by which he was attainted, which plainly contains, not trivial and pitiful matters, but a very heavy charge of treason and rebellion. For, (as a judicious writer * has observed) “ the admiral was certainly a very ill
 “ man, turbulent and full of ambitious designs, from the
 “ beginning of this king’s reign, and his brother the duke
 “ observing it, did often advise him, and earnestly dissuade
 “ him from his dangerous courses, using all the fairest means
 “ with him, pardoning all that was past; and that he might
 “ meet with this brother’s high mind, gratifying with pos-
 “ sessions besides the high and honourable office of lord high
 “ admiral. Yet he was continually practising after this, he
 “ raised soldiers, and threatened he would make the blackest
 “ parliament that ever was in England. He was suspected
 “ to have poisoned his wife, the excellent queen dowager,
 “ that, being single, he might make his addresses to the
 “ princess Elizabeth, the king’s sister, and one of the heirs
 “ to the crown, so that in fine the parliament did judge these
 “ things to be a traiterous aspiring to the crown.” Mr. Rapin, in this part of his history (for what reasons I cannot tell) seems to agree with Heyward; at least he endeavours to extenuate the guilt of the lord Sudley, and to lay the whole weight and odium of his death upon the protector. “ It is
 “ pretty hard, saith he, to excuse the duke of Somerset for
 “ prosecuting his brother even to death, for crimes com-
 “ mitted against himself only. For it was never proved,
 “ that lord had formed any evil design against the king
 “ and state, as he himself protested to the last moment
 “ of his life. But it is not the first time that facts commit-
 “ ted against prime ministers have been construed as high
 “ treason, and conspiracy against the prince.” I wonder at this in Rapin, who seems herein less excusable than Hay-

* Strype in his annotations on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet’s edit. p. 301.

ward, since he could not but have seen Burnet's account of the matter. This prelate clears up this affair, does justice to both sides, and produces thirty three articles that were brought against the admiral, and these not consisting of trivial and frivolous matters, but of very heavy crimes that were laid to his charge. To three of these articles he replied indeed before the council, but, whether out of haughtiness and pride, or a sense of his guilt, he obstinately refused answering to the rest, and whoever reads this charge brought against that lord, will I believe agree that there was ground enough for the parliament to attain him, and to adjudge him guilty of treasonable aspiring to the regency, and crown. As to the protestation which Rapin saith he made of his innocence to the last, his own acts and deeds, and the attainder of the parliament, do plainly prove the contrary. I do not deny but an unsatiabable thirst of power in the admiral, and a violent jealousy of his brother whom he saw as much superior in dignity and command, as he thought himself in sense and parts above him, might be the first sparks that kindled this great flame. But as a fire that is not stifled betimes will soon break out with greater violence, these passions of jealousy and ambition did so rage in his breast that he was resolved, cost what it would, to gratify them; so this, from being a personal matter, soon became an affair of the state, which he was resolved to overturn, rather than not to compass his ends. Matters in short were got to that pass with him as to wish with Dejotarus in Tully, *Perreant amici dummodo inimice intercidant*, that his friends might perish, so that his enemies might be destroyed with them. He did not care what became of the ship, and who were lost and sunk in it provided his brother did but perish with the rest. This drove him upon those violent measures, and treasonable practices as the levying ten thousand men, and threatening the parliament with a more dreadful blow, than it had ever felt before. Now if such dealings and threatenings do not amount to treason, and to treason of a very heinous kind I do not know what the law can ever call so. Burnet is more fair and candid in his account of this matter; he carefully weighs the merits of the cause, does full justice to the characters of the two brothers, and agrees upon the whole that the removal of such a turbulent person as the admiral, was the only way to procure the peace and quiet of the state. I shall set down his own words here, and with them will conclude these remarks. "The
" business of the duke's brother, though it has a very ill ap-
" pearance, and is made to look the worse by the lame ac-
" count

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“ count our books give of it, seems to have been forced up-
“ on him. For the admiral was a man of most incurable
“ ambition, and so enclined to raise disturbances, that, af-
“ ter so many relapses, and such frequent reconcilements, he
“ still breaking out into new disorders, it become almost ne-
“ cessary to put him out of the capacity of doing more
“ mischief.” Burnet’s preface to the second part of the His-
tory of the Reformation.

The END of the SIXTH VOLUME.

Directions concerning the Genealogical Tables.

HISTORY represents to us four things, which are essential to it: 1. The events: 2. The place where: 3. The time when they happened: 4. The persons who were the actors. If therefore, in order to understand a history perfectly, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the country where the scene of the actions lies, by means of geography, and of the times wherein they were transacted by chronology; it is no less requisite to know the persons concerned, by the help of genealogies, which very often discover the motives and reasons of things. Nay, genealogy has this great advantage above geography and chronology, that whereas these last present to the mind some particular actions only; the bare names in a genealogical table, form, if I may so say, an abstract of all the remarkable events in those persons lives.

Nothing is more easy than to make genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and distinct manner, and to observe a fixed and constant method, which represents to the eye and mind what one looks after, without the least trouble. This I have endeavoured to do, by means of the following rules, which it will be proper to lay before the reader.

1. The genealogical tables are divided by horizontal lines, marked, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. On the first line is placed the name of the common stock, whose posterity is set down on the other lines. Thus all that are placed on the same horizontal line, (or between the same figures) are at an equal distance, or in the same degree from the common original. Hence may be seen by the cast of an eye, the number of generations from the common root, and the degrees of consanguinity between the descendants. For instance, in the table of Woden's posterity, Woden being the common stock of the Anglo Saxon kings, Hengist, first king of Kent, is placed on line (6), by which is meant that Hengist is the fifth descendant from Woden. Afterwards, in the genealogical table of the kings of Kent, Hengist is placed on a line marked (6), by which means one may immediately see how many degrees any one of Hengist's descendants were removed from Woden.

England ceasing to be under the dominion of the Saxons by the conquest of the Normans, instead of Woden, William
the

Directions concerning the Genealogical Tables.

the conqueror is made the common root of the English kings down to the present time. Accordingly, in the genealogy of William the conqueror, his name stands upon the line marked (1.) to denote his being the stock from whence all the others spring. For instance, Edward III. in this table, being on line (9.) in the table of his own posterity, he is placed at the same number, to shew it is only a continuation of the genealogy of William the conqueror.

2. The sons are always placed according to the order of their birth, from the left hand towards the right, by which means the eldest branches are distinguished from the younger, at one view. The same order is not observed with regard to the daughters, who are placed in the void spaces, so as to prevent the lines from running out to too great a length. But however, the elder stands always on the left hand of the younger sister.

3. The children of the same prince are placed so, that their father stands in the line over them, just in the middle, which saves a great deal of trouble and confusion.

4. As the only end of these genealogical tables is to facilitate the reading of this history, several persons who died young, or unmarried, or without issue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things which render genealogies plain and useful, is to load them with as few words as possible. By which means the blank spaces will remain the larger between the names, than which nothing contributes more to make the tables clear and distinct. This is the reason the following abbreviations are made use of, as, e. for earl, d. for duke, k. for king, q. for queen, w. for wife, d. for died. The names written in Italian character, under those that are part of the genealogy, denote the husband or wives.

For instance, $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Sledda} \\ \text{Ricula of Kent.} \end{array} \right\}$ This signifies that Sledda married Ricula princess of Kent. When two or more names are under another, with numbers before them, this means, 1st. wife, 2d. wife, 3d. wife, or husband, &c.

6. Lastly, Each king has a number annexed, to denote the order of succession, and in what rank each succeeded to the crown. This is absolutely necessary in the succession to the throne of England, where the order of the branches was not always observed.

