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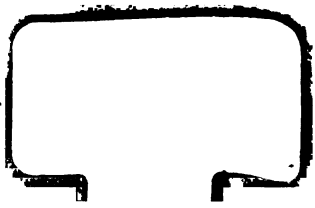
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THE  
H I S T O R Y

OF THE

Reigns of Edward V. and Richard III

WRITTEN IN PART BY

S I R T H O M A S M O O R,

More

AND FINISHED

FROM THE CHRONICLES OF HALL AND HOLLINSHED

WITH

NOTES AND ADDITIONS

BY THE

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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L O N D O N :

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1789



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PURPOSELY DESIGNED AND ENGRAVED FOR THIS WORK.

### I.

Portrait of King RICHARD, from an ancient Drawing, *to face Page 42.*

### II.

Representation of the MURDER of EDWARD V. and the Duke of YORK, his Brother, in the Tower of London, *to face Page 44.*

### III.

Design of the most interesting SITUATION in the BATTLE of BOSWORTH FIELD, *to face Page 70.*

ENGLISH

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# ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY EMINENT MEN.

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## EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

BY SIR THOMAS MOOR\*.

**B**Y the death of King Edward IV. the first prince of the York line, the inheritance of the crown descended by the right of succession to his eldest son Edward, then Prince of Wales, who from that day, viz. April 9, 1483, was stiled King of England, and proclaimed such by the name of Edward V. being then about thirteen years of age †. In his father's sickness, which was something long, and though lingering was judged mortal, necessities of state, and the peace of the nation, had obliged that king to separate his nobles and kindred from him; which gave them an opportunity of forming new contrivances and schemes among themselves to be put in execution after his death; which, notwithstanding the king's foresight

\* Sir Thomas Moor was born in Milk Street, London, in 1480; and was the son of Sir John Moor, one of the Judges of the King's Bench: so that his knowledge of the mysterious transactions which happened in the lives of those two princes, must have arisen from recent events; and his public stations in the succeeding reigns, no doubt, enabled him to acquire whatever information was necessary to complete his HISTORY, of which we need not say any thing in commendation. Shakspeare, it seems, took the incidents of his celebrated tragedy of Richard III. from these pages.—In 1530, Sir Thomas was appointed Chancellor of England by Henry VIII. and the strict regard which he paid to justice and impartiality, in the discharge of this high office, served to confirm the opinion which had been previously entertained of his integrity and honour. At length he displeased his royal master, by *maintaining* that the divorce of Queen Catherine was illegal: he was arraigned and tried on ill-supported and frivolous pretences of high treason; and, being found guilty, was condemned to be hung, quartered, and drawn. This sentence, however, was afterwards changed by the king; and he was beheaded on Tower-Hill, July the 5th, 1535.—E.

† This prince was born in September 1470. His mother, Queen Elizabeth, was delivered of him in Sanctuary; whither she was escaped from the Earl of Warwick, who had driven her husband King Edward out of England. The Abbot and Prior of Westminster were his godfathers, the Lady Scroop his godmother, and the whole ceremony of his christening as mean as a poor man's child.—Sir T. MOOR.



and endeavours to prevent, proved fatal to his son. The Prince of Wales was sent down to Ludlow in Shropshire, that by his presence he might compose the disorders of the Welch; who, though not in actual rebellion, yet were grown so unruly, and disobedient, to their governors and superiors, that the magistrates, with all their power, were not able to suppress the dissensions and disorders, robberies and wrongs, committed by them. The wisdom of this action appeared in the present effect it had upon them: for the Welch, who have always been very affectionate to those princes who have borne the title of their principality, as being memorials of their ancient liberty and dominion, shewed a wonderful respect to him; and, though but a child, were more obedient to him, than ever they were known to their ancient magistrates. The queen, who had a mighty sway over the king's affections, and never more than at this time, had so framed matters, that, for the security of her son the prince, as well as for their honour and interest, all her own kindred and relations were placed in the greatest offices about him; by which contrivance she thought to secure his right and their power, against all her and their enemies; for the queen's brother Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, a wise and valiant man, was appointed his governor; and Richard Lord Grey, the queen's son by her former husband, with others of her friends and kin, had other offices about him; and that London the regal seat might be kept to her son's interests, in his absence, Thomas Grey her eldest son, being created Marquis Dorset, was made governor of the Tower, and not only the arms of that magazine, but the king's treasure, put into his hands. These things the ancient nobility of the nation, of whom Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and William Lord Hastings, chamberlain to King Edward, were the chief, bore with much indignation, as knowing, that if the queen and her kindred were so insolent and imperious when they had a king over them, who, though ever willing to yield to their humours and desires for the queen's sake, yet kept them within some bounds of modesty and subjection, they would grow most intolerable when they had a young prince under their command, and might abuse his power as they pleased, to fulfil their wills, and so they should be in greater danger and contempt under the new king, than they had been under the old; though even by him few of them were trusted, or regarded. These presages of unhappy times, made them entertain the thoughts and resolutions of getting the prince into their power, if the king should die, and to put him under the government of the Duke of Gloucester, who might justly claim that place, as the next prince of the blood, and their uncle by father's side, and would certainly put the affairs of the nation into the right current, by honouring and entrusting the ancient nobility more. But whether they had communicated their designs to the Duke of Gloucester or no, is uncertain, because he was then at York, being lately returned from his expedition to the borders of Scotland,

Scotland, whether he had been sent by his brother to repress the sudden invasions of those people; who, upon the breach with Lewis XI. the French king, were grown very troublesome neighbours to the English. This duke remaining here unemployed, began to cast his thoughts upon the succession to the crown, and to consider how many things made for his title, though his brother's children stood between it and him, in the eye of the world; which yet ought to be no hindrance to his claim, if justice and right were on his side. And first, he called to mind, that in the attainder (17 E. 4.) of his brother George Duke of Clarence, it was alleged against him, "That to advance himself to the kingdom, and for ever to disable the king and his posterity from inheriting the crown, he had, contrary to truth, nature, and religion, viper-like destroying her who gave him life, published, that King Edward was a bastard, and so no way capable to reign; and that he himself therefore was true heir of the kingdom, and the royalty and crown belonged to him and his heirs. As also that there was a report grounded upon vehement presumptions, that the Duke of Clarence himself was a bastard." Which malicious calumnies, though he did not believe, and was more loath to alledge against his mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far serviceable to him, that since both his brothers were now dead, or dying, he was the only legitimate issue of Richard Duke of York; and so unquestionably the right heir to the crown, if the issue of his brothers were either thereby, or any other ways made incapable of it. And as to the children of the Duke of Clarence, they were rendered incapable of the crown by the attainder of their father, and need not that bastardy be pleaded against them. The only bar of his title was then the children of his brother King Edward, by the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the marriage with whom having at first begotten a great contest, and being violently opposed by his mother the Duchess of York upon this ground, because he was before married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, widow of Thomas Lord Butler, Baron of Sudesley, and daughter of John Lord Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; he resolved to search narrowly into the truth of it, not only to vindicate his own right, but to keep the royal line from the foul blot of an illegitimate succession. This inquiry he made by men both diligent and faithful, by whose labour he got the depositions of several persons concerning it; and among others, (as Philip de Comines relates) the testimony of Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, to this effect, according to the words of the author: "Le evesque de Bath (lequel avoit este conseiller du Roy Edward) disoit, que le dit roy avoit promis foy de mariage à une dame de Angleterre, & que il avoit nomme Dame Eleanor Talbot, & que le roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains du dict evesque, & dit aussi c'est evesque, qu'avoit apres épouse, & n'y avoit, que luy, & ceux deux." Which is thus Englished; The bishop of Bath, a privy counsellor of King Ed-

ward, said, That the said king had plighted his faith to marry a lady of England, whom the bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot, and that this contract was made between the hands of the said bishop, who said that afterwards he married them, no persons being present but they two, and he the king charging him strictly not to reveal it. These proofs the duke caused to be drawn up into an authentic form, and consulted the most eminent doctors, and proctors of the civil law, who unanimously gave their judgments, that King Edward's children were bastards, the king having another wife before their mother; and consequently that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only undoubted heir to the Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who was adjudged to be the true heir to the crown of this realm by authority of parliament. And thus the Duke of Gloucester having cleared up his title to the crown kept it secret, till he should have a fair opportunity after his brother's death to vindicate his own right, with as little disturbance to the peace of the nation, and dishonour to his nephews, as was possible; though it is probable, that one Potter of Redcross Street without Cripplegate, a servant of the duke's, who was privy to the business, unwarily discovered it, by telling one Mistlebranke, who brought him the news of King Edward's death; "Then," says he, "will my master the Duke of Gloucester be king!" which words, though startling to him, yet the grounds of them not being known, made little noise, till the Duke of Gloucester was on the throne.

These foundations of discord being laid, though privately, in the life of the father, received a perfection immediately after his death, and began with the reign of the son; though to satisfy the king on his death-bed, the two parties had shaken hands as friends, and promised to forget all former injuries. For the queen, as if she had been conscious that her pride had been too great to be forgiven, presently after her husband's death, writes down to her brother the Earl of Rivers to raise such a body of men, as might be sufficient to defend him against the lords, and bring her son up to London to be crowned, that it might not be in the power of her enemies to keep him from the actual possession of the throne; which order the said earl as carefully obeyed. On the other side, the Duke of Buckingham, as zealous to carry on the design of himself and his party, to take the king out of the hands of his mother's kindred, sent a trusty servant of his, named Purcival, to the city of York, to propound their design to the Duke of Gloucester, and to offer him, if need required, a thousand stout fellows to assist him in the effecting of it. The Duke of Gloucester looking upon this tender as the first step to his greater design; willingly complied with the proposal, and sending the messenger back with many thanks to his master, and other private instructions, contrived a meeting soon after about Northampton; where the two dukes, with all the lords and gentlemen their friends, and nine hundred men in their retinue, came at  
the

the time agreed on. Here they entered into a consultation immediately upon their arrival; and the Duke of Gloucester, who was the chief man in the action, communicated the necessity and reasonableness of the undertaking, to all the lords and gentlemen assembled, in words to this effect: "That it was neither reasonable, nor tolerable, to leave the young king their master in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, who, to engross all honour to themselves, would exclude the rest of the nobility from their attendance on him, though all of them were as ready and willing to perform all the services of a good subject to him, as themselves, and many of them a far more honourable part of his kindred than those of his mother's side, whose blood, (saying that it was the king's pleasure to have it so) was very unfit to be matched with his. But granting it allowable for the king to do as he pleased, yet that all the ancient nobility should be removed from the king's presence, and only the least noble left about him, is neither honourable to his majesty, nor to us, and must in the issue be both dangerous to the nation in general, and unsafe to his majesty; for will not this strangeness make the king's most potent friends either turn his utter enemies, or become very indifferent to his service, when they see their inferiors both in birth and power in greatest authority and credit with him, and themselves likely to live in disgrace for ever, because the king, being in his youth framed to the love and liking of them, and to a distaste of others, will very hardly in his riper years alter his affections. They could not but remember, that the late King Edward himself, although he was a man of age and discretion, yet was often so over-ruled by his wife and her friends, that he did many things inconsistent with his own honour, our safety, and the nation's welfare, merely to advance them and establish their power. And if the friendship of some persons had not prevailed more with the king, sometimes, than the suits of his kindred, they had before this brought some of us to ruin, as they did some of as great degree as any of us. And though indeed those dangers are now past, yet as great are growing, if we suffer the young king still to remain in their hands, who, we see, value not the destruction of any that stand in the way of their designs, or the road to their greatness. Will they not engross all honours, and places of trust, to themselves; and, whenever they have occasion, abuse his name and authority, to any of our destructions? Can we imagine, that their old resentments are so quite buried, that they will not remember to revenge them upon the least disgust, and now their pride is armed with authority, become implacable to most of us, to whom they have ever had malice enough to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they have now, authority, to vent it upon us? That these things considered, it was their greatest wisdom to take the young king out of their enemies hands, and not suffer things to continue in the posture they are now in any longer: for though indeed there appears an outward friendship

for the present, which was and is the effect more of the king's desire than their own; yet we shall find, that their old enmity will revive with their power, and their long accustomed malice will be strengthened with their authority, in which if we endure them once to be settled, it will not be in all our powers to oppose them effectually; and therefore now is the time to prevent all mischiefs, by taking away the cause of them."

These words and persuasions moved all present to engage heartily in the business; and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings, who were men both of great power and interest, shewed such a forwardness in the attempt, that all the rest were encouraged by their example to be assistants and followers of them; and many, which were not present were drawn in by the Duke of Gloucester's letters, to promise their help in the same affair, if there were further occasion.

While the lords were thus consulting, and contriving to get the king into their hands, without the knowledge or privity of the queen and her friends, the Duke of Gloucester received the news that the Lord Rivers had gathered a strong body of armed men, and with them was ready to bring up the king to London to his coronation; which unexpected report surprized them much, because it broke all their measures at once, it being impossible for them, though they had a good number of attendants, to effect their design, if he were brought to London under a strong guard; especially considering, that as on the one hand the Earl of Rivers was a valiant and experienced soldier, so if they should gain the king by force, besides the danger of the king's person, it would look like an open rebellion: whereupon the Duke of Gloucester and his friends rather chose to overturn force by policy, and to that end privately ordered some of his friends, who were about the queen, to represent to her, "That as it was no ways necessary to bring the king to London with an army of attendants, as though he were to pass through an enemy's and not his own country, so it would be dangerous to the king's person and government; for whereas now all the lords seemed to be perfect friends and to study nothing but the honour of the king, and the triumph of his coronation, if they see the lords about his royal person, whom so lately they thought their enemies, to gather great numbers of men armed about them in the king's name, they will immediately suspect and fear that those men are intended not so much for the king's safety as their destruction, and so they would take themselves obliged for their own defence to raise an equal force, and fill the nation with uproar and confusion, to the danger of the king and breach of the peace: and therefore such methods of action ought carefully to be avoided, especially since her son was a child, and in the beginning of his reign." These reasons seemed plausible to the queen, who was not suspicious of the evil design, and very willing to submit to any thing for the good of her son, and his quiet settlement

settlement on the throne, and therefore without delay wrote letters to her brother the Lord Rivers, ordering him to dismiss all her son's extraordinary attendants and guards, and hasten to London with only his own household servants and usual retinue. The Duke of Gloucester also, much about the same time, sent letters to the Lord Rivers, with full assurances of duty and subjection to the king his nephew, and love and friendship to himself; so that he, seeing all things calm and peaceable, concurred readily with the queen's desires; and, leaving his armed men behind him, came up with no greater number of followers than was necessary to shew the king's honour and greatness. In their way, about Northampton, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with their retinues, had lain some days, and hearing of the king's arrival, met him at Northampton; but because that town was not big enough to hold both their companies, they advised that the king should go forward to Stony-Stratford, to lodge there, and they would stay at Northampton, inviting the Lord Rivers to lodge with them, that they might enjoy his company that evening. The Lord Rivers, hoping to improve his friendship with them by compliance, dismissed his company, and took his lodgings with the dukes, who feasted him that night with all demonstrations of joy, and signs of friendship, till they parted with him to his lodgings. But as soon as he was gone, the two dukes, with a select number of their friends, entered into a consultation, and spent the greatest part of the night in it: what their resolutions were, the next day's actions shew. In the morning they got up very early, and by private orders had all their servants ready to attend them, before the Lord Rivers or his servants were stirring. The keys of the inn, wherein they all were, they took into their own custody; and pretending that they themselves would be the first in the morning who should be at Stony-Stratford to attend the king, they sent a certain number of their retinue to line the way, and suffer none to enter that town, till they should arrive to wait on his majesty; for the dukes were resolved (as it was given out) to be the first that morning who should go to the king from Northampton. All this was done without Lord Rivers's knowledge or advice; who therefore, when he came to hear it, was very much surpris'd at the thing, and so much the more, because neither himself nor servants were permitted to go out of the inn. His thoughts were in a great hurry, and what the reason should be, he could not conjecture. He easily saw through their weak pretences, and began to fear that his last night's cheer might prove a bait to falshood and treachery: fly he could not, if he were guilty; but not being conscious of any wrong done them, which might provoke them to revenge, he resolved to go to the dukes, and demand of them the reason and cause of this action; which he accordingly did: but instead of giving him an answer, they quarreled with him, and told him with great passion, "That he was one of them who had

laboured

laboured all he could to alienate the king's mind from them, and stir up a dissention between the king and his nobles, that he might bring them and their families to confusion: but now they would take care that it should not lie in his power."—The Lord Rivers was an eloquent and well-spoken man, and began to make his defence calmly and coolly; but they would hear no excuses, nor suffer him to make answer; and, committing him to the custody of some of their servants, till they should give further orders concerning him, they mounted their horses, and rode in haste to the king at Stony-Stratford. When they were come into the royal presence, (the king being ready to mount to leave room for their companies) they alighted from their horses with all their attendants, and saluted the king upon their knees, who received them freely and favourably, not mis-trusting in the least what had been done. They pretended that they came only to wait on his majesty in his journey, and to that end the Duke of Buckingham called aloud to the gentlemen and yeomen to keep their places, and march forward. But before the king was out of the town they picked a quarrel with the Lord Richard Grey, the queen's son and the king's half brother, charging him in the king's presence, "That he and the Marquis Dorset, with his uncle the Lord Rivers, had conspired together to rule the king and realm while the king was in his minority; and to that end had stirred up divisions among the nobles, that by subduing some of them, they might destroy the rest: and for the more effectual accomplishment of this their design, the lord marquis had entered into the tower of London, and had taken from thence all the king's treasure, and sent several ships to sea with it, that none might be able to oppose him." The king, who not only was young, and unexperienced in state affairs, but having been absent some time, was ignorant of such matters of fact as his brother was charged with, yet gave a very judicious answer to the accusation, That he could not tell what his brother the marquis had done; but in good faith, he said, he dare well answer for his uncle Rivers, and his brother Richard, that they were both innocent of any such matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of Buckingham replied, that they had kept the knowledge of their actions from his good grace; and forthwith they arrested the said Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, in the king's presence; and then, instead of going forward, returned back again with the king to Northampton; where they displaced all such persons, who had any offices about the king, as they could not confide in, and entered into serious consultation about their further proceedings. The king was much troubled at these dealings, and wept because he had not power to defend himself or his friends; but the lords had now obtained their designs, and valued not who took, what they did, well or ill: yet they gave the king

all

all the respect of good subjects; and promised the queen's kindred that all should be well: but when they left Northampton, they sent them to divers prisons in the north for a time, and at length, though they pretended they should have a fair trial to answer to several misdemeanors which they had to lay to their charge, they were all brought to Pomfract Castle in order to their execution.

These actions of the lords being done under a shew of friendship, and carrying in them something of violence and treachery, begat a great amazement in all places where they were known, and few men construed them, as the lords wished, but looked upon them as the prologues to the king's destruction. The queen, who was particularly certified of the same night, that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and others of their party, whom she looked upon as her implacable enemies, had taken her son the king, and imprisoned her brother Rivers, and son Richard Grey, with other of her friends, in places remote and unknown, fell into a bitter passion of grief, and bewailed the destruction of her child, and other friends, cursing the hour in which she credulously harkened to the persuasions of her false friends, and by ordering her son's guards to be dismissed, had exposed him and her kindred to the malice and base designs of her enemies. But since to indulge herself in her just grief, and neglect a provision for her own, and those children's safety whom she had with her, would make her case worse than it was at present; therefore she resolved to lay aside her sorrow for the present, and get herself, the Duke of York her second son, and her five daughters, with what goods were necessary for her use, into the Sanctuary at Westminster; and thereupon at midnight ordered her servants, and what help could be had, to remove them with all speed thither; where being received into the abbot's lodgings, she and her children and all her company were immediately registered for sanctuary persons, and so looked upon themselves, as in an inviolable fortress against their enemies power or malice. The Lord Hastings, who was chamberlain, was at the same time at court; and, though a conspirator with the lords, yet made a quite different interpretation of the lords actions; because he, being truly loyal, and heartily desiring the welfare of the king, believed that they had no further intent, than to take him out of the government of the queen's kindred, whose insolencies were intolerable, and from whom he himself, in the late reign, was often in danger of his life: he was therefore much pleased to see the queen and her friends in such a fright, and not doubting but the nation would be much better governed than before, and the king much happier in the hands of the ancient nobility, rejoiced to see the downfall of the queen, and her relations, whose pride they had felt long enough in the late king's reign; but that he might give the nobility about the court a true information of the lords actions, he dispatched a messenger the same night to Dr. Rotherham, archbishop of York, and then lord chan-



cellor, who lived in York Place by Westminster, to assure him, "That the lords intentions were honourable, and for the nation's welfare: and though the imprisonment of the queen's kindred, and the queen's fears, who was flying in great haste and confusion into Sanctuary, had no good aspect; yet he should find that all things would in the end prove well." The archbishop, who was awaked out of his first sleep by his servants, and something amazed at the suddenness of the news, replied, "Sayest thou, that all shall be well? I can't see what good can be expected from such demeanour. Pray tell him, that be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it:" and so he sent the messenger back again to his master. But the archbishop was in too great a disturbance to return to his rest; and therefore immediately rose, and calling up all his servants, went with them armed to the queen at her palace, and carried the great seal along with him. He found all things there in a tumult, the servants removing trunks and household stuff, to carry them into the Sanctuary: the queen he saw sitting upon the floor on mats, lamenting her own and her children's miseries and misfortunes. The archbishop, who was no ways engaged in the conspiracy against her, much compassionated her case and grief; and, endeavouring to comfort her, told her the message which he had received from the Lord Hastings not an hour before, by which he was assured, that matters were nothing so bad as she imagined; that the king was in safe hands, and doubted not but all would be well. The queen, who had an invincible odium to Hastings, as soon as she heard his name, replied, "That nothing was to be believed that came from him, being one of them that sought the destruction of herself and her blood." The archbishop seeing her not thus to be comforted, assured her, for himself, that he would be constant to her; and if the lords should deal ill with the prince, and crown any other person king besides her son, he would on the morrow crown his brother the Duke of York, whom she had then in Sanctuary with her: "And that, Madam," says he, "you may be certain of my integrity, lo! here I leave with you the great seal of England, the badge of regal power, without which nothing of moment in state affairs can be done. His father, your husband, gave it me, and I here return it to you, to keep it for his children, and secure their right; and if I could give you any greater testimony of my loyalty, I would do it:" and so he departed to his own house in the dawning of the morning, not considering what he had done in resigning the seal. The next day the city of London was in an uproar, and divers lords and gentlemen took arms, and assembled great companies of citizens and others for their own defence, till they should see what the lords intended; for the general report was, that what was done to the Lord Rivers, and the others with him, was but a blind to the people: the real design of the nobility was to keep the king from his coronation, and deprive him of his right; and this they were the more confirmed in, because great numbers

of the Duke of Gloucester's servants and friends were about the city and on the Thames, who examined all that passed, and kept any persons from taking Sanctuary. In these tumults, Archbishop Rotherham, fearing lest there should be a just occasion to shew his authority, and troubled that he had delivered up the great seal to the queen, to whom it did not belong, without the king's order, sent privately for the seal again, and obtained it. In the mean time, the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, whose loyalty was not questioned, and who was supposed not to be ignorant of the lords intentions, went into the city to appease the tumults; and, calling the lords and gentlemen together who headed the commonalty, told them, that though the suddenness of the lords actions was surprising, because the reasons were not generally known; yet he could assure them, that the Duke of Gloucester was true and faithful to his prince, of which he had given many undeniable proofs in his brother's reign, and would continue the same to his son: that the Lord Rivers and Grey, and the knights apprehended with them, were imprisoned for certain conspiracies plotted against the life of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would appear evidently at their trials, which was designed shortly to be had before all the lords of his majesty's council: that their taking arms in such a riotous and seditious manner would prove of very dangerous consequence to themselves, if they did not speedily lay them down, as they had without just reason or cause taken them up; and therefore he advised them to depart to their dwellings, and not pretend to judge or censure the actions of their superiors, who meant nothing but the common good, till they knew the truth of their designs, lest they themselves should be the only damages to the public, and hinder the king's coronation, which the lords were coming up to London to effect with all convenient speed. With these words the chamberlain so pacified the discontents of the citizens, that all things were for the present at quiet.

By this time the lords, who seemed as zealous for the king's coronation as his uncle had been, and behaved themselves with such wonderful reverence and respect to the king, even from the time that he came into their hands, that he suspected no ill designs in them, were upon their march to London, which caused the people to be the more easy, since they thought that now they should soon discern their intentions. By the way, as they passed, the Duke of Gloucester assumed nothing upon the account of his birth or greatness, but demeaned himself as a dutiful subject; and that he might give a demonstration to the people of the treacherous and cruel designs of the Lord Rivers, and the queen's friends, against himself and the Duke of Buckingham, the duke's servants shewed the barrels of harness which they had privily conveyed in their carriages to murder them; and though indeed some laughed at the weakness of the suggestion, because if they really intended to have

so used them, the harness had better been on their backs than in barrels; yet they pretended they were seized before the plot was come fully to execution; and so aggravated matters, that the common people believed the truth of it, and cried out, "That it will be a great charity to the nation to hang them." When the king and dukes drew near the city of London, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, and William White and John Matthews, sheriffs, with all their brethren the aldermen in scarlet, and five hundred commoners on horseback in purple-coloured gowns, met them at Hornsey Park, and with great honour and reverence conducted him through their city to the Bishop of London's Palace, near St. Paul's Church, on the 4th of May.

In this solemn cavalcade the behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the king was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud voice said to the people, "Behold your prince and sovereign!" giving them on all occasions such an example of reverence and duty as might teach them how to honour and respect their prince: by which actions he so won upon all the spectators; that they looked on the late misrepresentations of him as the effects of his enemies malice; and he was on all hands accounted the best, as he was the first, subject in the kingdom. At the bishop's palace he did the king homage, and invited all the nobility to do the same; by which he put his loyalty out of dispute with the nobles, as he had done before with the commons. Within a few days after, a great council of the nobility met to settle the government, and chuse a protector according to the usual custom in the minority of their kings; and the Duke of Gloucester was without the least contradiction appointed to manage that honourable station, not only as the king's uncle, and the next prince of the blood, and a person fit for that trust, as of eminent judgment and courage; but as one that was most loyal and loving to the king, and likely to prove the most faithful in that station. By this council was the archbishop of York much blamed for delivering the great seal to the queen; and, being deprived of his counsellorship, the seal was given in the beginning of June to Dr. John Ruffel, bishop of Lincoln, a wise and good man, and of very great experience in state affairs. Several other inferior officers of the court were displaced, and others more fit put in their room. The Lord Chamberlain Hastings was continued in his office, with some others whom the protector and council had no great objections against; and so the council being dissolved, the protector betook himself to his double care: 1. Of the king, to content and please him, as well as educate and crown him. 2. Of the state and people, to rule so well as might be for the king's honour, and general good and welfare of the nation.

King Edward, who was now under the sole care and government of his uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, made protector by the nobility, and general approbation of the people, being displeas'd at  
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the violent actions of the lords towards his mother's relations, whom not only continual converse, but nature, had endeared to him, and seeing his mother and brother in Sanctuary, as if she had feared the same hard usage, if not worse, was not contented with the present disposition of affairs; and though he being young, could not help what was done, yet he could not willingly submit to it. The protector, who was a very sagacious person, and shewed all readiness to satisfy the king's will, and discharge his station well, soon discerned the causes of the king's uneasiness, and considering how much the reasons of the king's grief reflected upon his reputation, as well as hindered his designs in bringing the king to his coronation, (for why should the queen with her children continue in Sanctuary, unless it were that she was jealous of some wrong and injury from him, who having the supreme power now in his hands, could only hurt her? And what a lame ceremony would the coronation be, if the queen and the king's only brother bore not a part in it, but instead of that were deterred from it) he resolved to remove these rubs in the way of his government and designs; and to that end calling a council, he delivered himself to this purpose: "Let me perish for ever\* if it be not my greatest, my continual care to promote the happiness and welfare of the king my nephew, and all my brother's family; being sensible, that not only the nation's but my own ruin is the unavoidable consequence of their misfortunes; and therefore since it hath pleased you, who are the nobles of the land, and to whom it belongs chiefly to provide for the good government of it, in the minority of the king, to confer that weighty employment of ruling all upon myself, as I shall always look upon myself only as the king's and your deputy, so I shall, in all difficult matters of state, look upon you as my helpers and assistants, and not dare to move one step without your council and advice, that so I may have your approbation in all I do, that it is for the good of the king and welfare of all. In the management of the station you have placed me in, I do find that the queen's continuance in the Sanctuary with her children, is such an invincible impediment in the execution of my place, that I cannot but propound the manifest inconveniences of it; and so much the rather, because I expected, that so good a settlement as your lordships had made in the last council would have removed her womanish fears, and she would have returned to court to the contentment of his majesty and us all: but since she persists in her mischievous purposes, it is evident, that if fear drove her into the Sanctuary, it is nothing but malice that keeps her there; for she, who is no impolitic woman, sees several unavoidable mischiefs redounding to the public, and to his majesty, by this her action, which, had she not some ill designs, she would carefully avoid. And first,

\* This speech did not begin with a curse, according to the copy in Holinthead, nor is it entirely the same as in Holinthead. P. 717.

what greater affront can be offered to you of his majesty's council, than for the queen and children to remain in Sanctuary? Will not the people upon so unexpected a resolution make these inferences from it, That doubtless they are in very great danger, and that you who are in power are her implacable enemies, since neither her son's authority, nor her own and children's greatness, are sufficient to secure them, but they are forced to seek protection from the church, which is the asylum of the greatest criminals? And what an intolerable injury is this to you? But if you shall think fit to pass this wrong over, yet his majesty's discontents are not to be overlooked, who, wanting the company of his brother, with whom chiefly he uses to recreate himself, leads a melancholy and discontented life, which doubtless, if not timely prevented, may endanger his health; for the good state of the body does not long last, usually, when the mind is disturbed. Sorrow of mind drieth up the bones, especially in youth; and want of moderate recreation and suitable company begets a dulness and pensiveness, which brings diseases and distempers on the body, which proves fatal. Wherefore, since even kings themselves must have some company, and they are too great for their subjects generally, it seems necessary that his brother, who comes nearest an equality with him, should be sent for to him, that he may refresh himself with him. And thus we may hope that the king will not only be satisfied and pleased, but we shall be freed from the ill opinion which certainly all foreign princes have of us; for as long as he continues in Sanctuary, they will either censure us as cruel or tyrannical, or deride us as impotent or weak. But besides, the coronation of the king being the main thing now in agitation, how can we proceed in it with any heart or earnestness, while the queen and Duke of York are in Sanctuary? What sort of men shall we be thought, who at the same time we crown one brother, so terrify the other, that he is forced to abide at the altar of the same church for his safety. Who can with satisfaction officiate at this great ceremony, while the Duke of York, whose place is next to the king, is absent from it. It is therefore my opinion, these reasons and considerations being well weighed, that some honourable and trusty person, who cannot be doubted to tender the king's wealth, and reputation of the council, and is in credit with the queen, be sent to her to demand the release of the Duke of York: and for this office, I think no person better qualified than the most reverend father my lord cardinal\*, the archbishop of Canterbury, who may be the most prevailing mediator in this matter, if he pleases to take the trouble upon him; which, of his great goodness, I do believe he will not refuse, for the king's sake and ours, and the wealth of the young duke himself, the king's most honourable brother, and for the comfort of

\* Cardinal Thomas Bourchier, descended of the noble family of the Bourchiers, earls of Essex.

my sovereign lord himself, my most dearest nephew, considering that it will be a certain means to stop the mouths of our enemies abroad, and prevent the ill constructions of censorious persons at home, and avoid the ill consequences which arise from it, both to his majesty, and the whole realm. And though the cardinal may go no further in treating with the queen, than to persuade her by the best arguments of reason and necessity to yield to our desires, which his wisdom knows best how to use and apply; yet if she prove so obstinate and wilful, and will yield to no advice and counsel which he can give; then it is my opinion that we fetch the Duke of York out of that prison by force, and bring him into the king's company and presence; in which we will take such care of him, and give him such honourable treatment, that all the world shall perceive, to our honour and her reproach, that it was nothing but her frowardness and groundless suspicion, that first carried, and then kept him there. This is my judgment in this affair; but if any of you, my lords, are of contrary sentiments, and find me mistaken, I never was, nor by God's grace ever shall be, so wedded to my own opinion, but I shall be ready to change it upon better reasons and grounds."

When the protector had thus delivered his mind to the council, they all approved of his motion, as a thing good and reasonable in itself, and honourable both to the king, and the duke his brother; agreeing with him, that the archbishop of Canterbury was the fittest person, in all respects, to be a mediator between the queen and them; not doubting, but by his candour and wisdom this business might easily be effected, and the queen without more ado persuaded to deliver him. Nor did the archbishop at all refuse the office, which much became his station, being to compose a growing difference among persons of the greatest quality: but he with the lords spiritual present told the council with submission, "That as he consented to the motion that the Duke of York should be brought to the king's presence out of the Sanctuary by persuasions, and would himself do his best to effect it, since they had pleased to impose that task upon him; yet he could not by any means consent to that proposition, That if the queen refused to deliver him, he should be taken out of Sanctuary by force; because it would be a thing not only ungrateful to the whole nation, but highly displeasing to Almighty God, to have the privilege of Sanctuary broken, in that church, which, being at first consecrated by St. Peter, who came down above five hundred years ago in person, accompanied with many angels by night to do it, has since been adorned with the privilege of a Sanctuary by many popes and kings; and therefore, as no bishop ever dare attempt the consecration of that church, so no prince has ever yet been so fierce and indevout as to violate the privilege of it: and God forbid, that any man whatsoever shall at this time, or hereafter, upon any worldly advantages or reasons, attempt to infringe the immunities of that most holy place, that hath been the defence and safety

safety of so many good men's lives. However, he said, he hoped they should not be driven to use such extremities; and doubted not, when the queen, who was a person of known judgment and understanding, once heard their reasons, she would for her son's sake, the king, readily yield to their desires; and if it otherwise should happen, he would so perform his part, that they should be convinced, that there wanted no good will or endeavour in himself, but the queen's dread and womanish fear was the only cause of it." The Duke of Buckingham, who impatiently heard the archbishop's objection against taking the duke out of Sanctuary by force, immediately resumes the discourse, and in a passion replies with an oath, "Womanish fear! say you my lord? Nay, womanish frowardness! for I dare take it upon my soul, that she knows she has no just occasion to fear any danger to her son or herself. But as to herself, here is no man that will contend with women, and I would to God some of her kindred were so too, and then should the contest be soon at an end with them. Yet I dare be bold to say, that none of her kindred are the less beloved for the relation they have to her, but because of their own demerits, and for joining with her in her malicious designs. However let it be granted, that we love neither her nor her kindred, yet there can be no just ground to infer from thence that we hate the king's brother, who, though her son, yet is also a-kin to us; and if she desired his honour, as we do, and had not more regard to her own will than her son's welfare, she would not be so obstinate, but would be as unwilling to keep him from the king's presence, as any of us are; some of whom, at least, she must acknowledge to have as much wit as herself; and cannot doubt of their fidelity and love to the duke, who they would be as loath should come to any harm as she herself can be, and yet they would have him from her to continue with the king, if she will tarry there; but if she pleases to come out herself with him, and her other children, and take up her habitation in such a place where they may be with honour to herself and them, every man of us shall be better content than if she sends him alone. Now if upon these grounds she refuses to deliver him, denying to follow the wisdom of those, of whose ripe judgment and fidelity she hath had good experience, it is easy to discern that it is her frowardness, and not her fear, that is the cause of it. But we will suppose that her distrusts are invincible, through the greatness of her fears, (as what can hinder her from fearing her own shadow, if she will so much indulge her passions) we have the greater reason to take heed how we leave the duke in her hands: for if she causelessly fear his hurt out of Sanctuary, she may also fear that he may be fetched from thence, (for it is easy for her to imagine, that if we be resolved to have him from her, we will not value the sacredness of the place she is in; as indeed I think good men without sin might somewhat less regard them than they do) and so for greater security convey him out of the realm; which if she should

be so lucky as to effect; (and without any great difficulty it may be done) all the world will scorn and deride us, saying, that we are a wise sort of counsellors about the king, to suffer his brother to be cast away under our noses. And therefore I assure you, for my part, I am for fetching him away against her will, rather than, by humouring her fears and peevishness, give her an opportunity of conveying him away. And yet I shall be bold to assert, that I do not break any privilege of Sanctuary, but rather rectify one of the abuses of it: for though indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appointed and used under the Jewish law, were, and still may be, of very good use in several cases, as to be a refuge for such men as the chance of sea, or their evil debtors, have brought to poverty, to protect them from the cruelty of their creditors; and because the title to the crown of these realms hath often come in question, in which contests each side counts the other traitors, and the conquering side, though sometimes the worst rebels, treats the adverse party as such; it is necessary there should be a refuge in this case to the unfortunate: but as for thieves and murderers, whereof these places are full, and who seldom leave their trade when they have once begun, it is an horrid shame that any Sanctuary should save them; and especially wilful murderers, whom God himself commands to be taken from the altar, and put to death. Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now they are managed, how few are there whom necessity of their own defence, or their misfortunes, have driven to take shelter there? But on the other side, what numbers are there in them of thieves, murderers, and malicious and heinous traitors, and especially in the two chief ones in this city, the one at the elbow, and the other in the very midst of it? Inasmuch, that if the good they do were balanced with the evil, we shall find it were better for us to be without them, unless such as are in power would effectually correct their abuses, and amend them. And, indeed, it is a gross shame, not to be endured, to see St. Peter made a patron of thieves, prodigals, knaves, and whores! Surely, neither God nor that apostle can approve of these abuses; and therefore they may be reformed with thanks of both. Let Sanctuaries then continue, in God's name, in their full force, as far as religion and reason will permit; and I am sure no lawful privilege granted to them can hinder us from fetching the Duke of York from thence, where he neither is nor can be a sanctuary-person. A Sanctuary serveth to defend the body of man, who is in danger from not only some great, but unlawful hurt. And what danger is that duke in? Is not the king his brother, and all we, his special friends? As he has never done any man an injury, so no man designs him any wrong; and then what grounds can there be for him to be left in Sanctuary? Besides, men come not to a Sanctuary, as to baptism by godfathers, but they must ask it themselves if they will have it; for nope but such as can alledge their just fears and dangers, ought to be admitted thither. And how can the Duke of York be justly entertained or kept there,



who cannot through his infancy require it; and if he were sensible of the place he is in, would rather desire to be released from it? So that I think, with the clergy's leave, it is no breach of privilege, if he and many others be taken by force out of it. And to convince them of it more fully, let me ask them a few questions. If a man go into Sanctuary with another man's goods, may not the king, leaving his body at liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and restore them to the right owner? Can either pope or king, privilege a man from paying debts that is able to pay them?" Several of the clergy present agreed, that by the laws of God and the church, a sanctuary-man may be delivered up to pay his debts, or restore stolen goods, his liberty being allowed him to get his living by his labour. Then the duke said, "There is the same reason to do it, if a man's wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a child take Sanctuary because he will not go to school, and many like cases. And therefore I conclude, that since he can be no sanctuary-man who hath no discretion to desire it, (for I never yet heard of sanctuary-children) nor malice to deserve it, whose life and liberty can in no wise be in danger, he that taketh such an one out of Sanctuary, to do him good, breaks no privilege of that holy place."

When the duke had finished this long discourse, it was generally agreed by all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, that if the queen would not deliver up the duke by persuasions, he should be forced from her by the king's authority. But it being judged convenient that all fair means should be first tried, the cardinal, with several lords to accompany him, was sent into the Sanctuary to the queen; the protector, and the rest of the council, going into the Star-Chamber at Westminster to expect the event. When the cardinal was come into the queen's presence, after all dutiful salutations, he delivered to her the cause of his coming, saying, "That he was, with those other lords, sent by the protector, and the privy council, to her majesty, to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of York in that place was scandalous to the public, and disliked by the king his brother; it being an action that must needs produce ill effects: that the king himself was much grieved at it, and the council offended, because it looked as if one brother was in danger from the other, and could not be preserved by the other's life: that it would be a very great comfort to his majesty to have his natural brother in company with him; nor would it be of less advantage to the young duke himself, because it would confirm and strengthen their loves to be brought up together, as well at their books as sports: that in the king's court the duke could only live answerable to his state and condition: that it would much please the protector and council to send him to the king's presence, and in effect might prove of no small advantage to her friends, that were in prison. Upon which accounts, as he was sent by his majesty and council to demand the duke of her, to be brought to his brother; so he could not but ear-

neſtly entreat her to comply with a thing ſo very reaſonable, and every way convenient.” The queen, who was of a ſharp wit and graceful ſpeech, answered the cardinal, and ſaid, “ My lord, I cannot deny, but it is very convenient that my ſon, the duke, ſhould be in the company of his brother the king, as well for ſociety, as love’s ſake; but ſince they are both ſo young, as that it is the moſt ſuitable for them to be under the government of their mother, it is better for the king to be with me here, than that I ſhould ſend the duke to him: though was it really otherwiſe, that duty obliged the duke to go to him, yet neceſſity, in this caſe, creates a diſpenſation, becauſe he hath been of late ſo ſorely afflicted with diſeaſes, and being not perfectly recovered, is in ſo great a danger of a relapſe, (which generally phyſicians ſay is more fatal than the firſt ſickneſs) that I dare truſt no earthly perſon as yet with the care of him. For though I doubt not but that he might have ſuch about him as would do their beſt to preſerve his health, yet ſince I have ordered him all along, and am his mother, it muſt be allowed by all men, that as I am the moſt able, ſo I ſhall be the moſt affectionately careful and tender of him. And, for theſe reaſons, I hope both the king and his council will diſpenſe with his abſence awhile, till he is perfectly recovered, and in health; and before that, I cannot endure to hear of parting with him.”

The cardinal hearing this reply, answered, “ No man, good Madam, doth deny, but that your majeſty is the fitteſt perſon to take care of all your children, and I am ſure the council will be very glad to hear that it is your pleaſure ſo to do; yea, they would beg it of you, provided you would be contented to do it in ſuch a place as is conſiſtent with their and your own honour; whereas, if you reſolve to tarry in this place, then they judge it more convenient that the duke ſhould be with the king at liberty, to the comfort and ſatisfaction of them both, though with ſome ſmall danger to his health, than to remain in Sanctuary, to the diſhonour of the king, duke himſelf, and the whole council: for it is not always ſo neceſſary that the child ſhould be with the mother, but there may be reaſons ſometimes of taking him from her, and that for the beſt; as your majeſty knows there was, when your eldeſt ſon, then Prince of Wales, and now king, was ſent to keep his court at Ludlow for his own honour and the good order of the country, of which your majeſty was ſo well convinced, that you ſeemed contented with it.”

The queen grew a little warm, and ſmartly retorted, “ Not ſo very well contented neither at that ſeparation! though the caſe is much different now: for the prince was in good health, the duke is now ſick; for though the height of the diſtemper is paſt, yet he is weak, and not ſo fully recovered, but that without great care he may fall into a relapſe; in which condition, while he remains, I wonder that the protector and council ſhould be ſo earneſt to have him from me, ſince, if the child ſhould grow ſick again and miſcarry, they would incur

the censures of some ill dealings with him. And whereas you say that it is dishonourable to my child, and to them, that he remain in this place, I think the contrary; for certainly it is most for their honour to let him abide, where no man can doubt but he will remain safest, and that is here, so long as I continue here; and I do not intend to leave this place and endanger my life with my friends, who, I would to God, were rather in safety here with me, than I were in hazard with them." "Why, Madam," saith the Lord Howard, "do you know any reason that they are in danger?" "No truly," said she roundly, "nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be: but I have great cause to fear, lest those, who have not scrupled to put them in prison without cause, will as little value to destroy them without law or right." Upon these words the cardinal winked upon the lord to put an end to that discourse; and then added himself, "That he did not doubt but that those lords, who, being of her kindred, remained under arrest, would, upon a due examination of matters, discharge themselves well enough of any accusation alledged against them: and as to her own royal person, there neither was, nor could be, any kind of danger." "How shall I be certain of that?" said the queen. "Is it that I am innocent? It doth not appear that they are guilty. Is it that I am better beloved of their enemies? No; but rather they are hated for my sake. Is it that I am so nearly related to the king? They are not much further off. And therefore since it seems to me, that as I am in the same cause, so I am in like danger; I do not intend to depart out of this place. And as for my son, the Duke of York, I purpose to keep him with me till I see how businesses will go; for the more greedy and earnest some men are to have him into their hands without any substantial cause, the more fearful and scrupulous am I to deliver him." "And the more suspicious you are, Madam," answered the cardinal, "the more jealous are others of you; least, under a causeless pretence of danger, you should convey him out of the nation; and so if they permit him to remain with you now, it shall not be in their power to have him for the future. Wherefore it is the opinion of many of the council, that there is a necessity of taking the Duke of York immediately into their care and government; and since he can enjoy no privilege by Sanctuary, who has neither will to require it, nor malice or offence to need it, they judge it no breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuse to deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out of it: and I assure you, Madam, that the protector, who bears a most tender love to his nephews; and the council, who have an equal care and respect for your children; will certainly set him at liberty, unless you resign him to us, lest you should send him away." "Ay," says the queen, "hath the protector, his uncle, such a love for him, that he fears nothing more than that he should escape his hands? I unfeignedly declare, that it never so much as entered into my thoughts to send him out of this place into any foreign parts; partly because his health will not bear

hear any journies, and partly because, though I should not scruple to send him into any part of the world, where I knew him out of all danger; yet I do not think any place more secure than this Sanctuary, which there never was any tyrant so devilish, who dare violate; and I trust that the Almighty God will so awe the minds of his and my enemies, as to restrain them from offering violence to this holy place. But you tell me, that the lord protector and the council are of opinion that my son cannot deserve a Sanctuary, and therefore may not be allowed the privileges of it. He hath found out a goodly gloss, as if that place which can protect a thief or wicked person, is not of greater force to defend the innocent, because he is in no danger, and therefore can have no need of it; which is an opinion as erroneous as hellish. But the child, you say, cannot require the privilege of a Sanctuary, and therefore since he has no will to chuse it, he ought not to have it. Who told the protector so? Ask him, and you shall hear him require it. But suppose it were really so that he could not ask it, or if he could, would not, but would rather chuse to go out; I think it is sufficient that I do require it, and am registered a sanctuary-person, to make any man guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my son out of it by force and against my will. For is not the Sanctuary a protection in that case as well for my goods as myself? No man can lawfully take my horse from me, if I stole him not, or owe nothing; and surely much less my child. Besides, by law, as my learned council sheweth me, he is my ward, because he hath no lands by descent holden by knights service, but only by soccage; and then I being the guardian of my son by law, no man can take him by force from me, without injustice, in any place, and without sacrilege from hence. And, upon this right, I do insist and require the privilege of Sanctuary for him, as my pupil and infant, to whom alone by law the care of him belongs: and if this triple cord may be broken; I mean, the right which I have to keep him with me by the law of man, as his guardian; by the law of nature, as his mother; and by the law of God, as being in Sanctuary with him—If all this be not enough to secure him from any human force, I think nothing under heaven can. But I do not despair of safety, where I have always found so much. Here was I brought to bed of my son, who is now king; and though his enemy reigned, and might have used the same or like pretences to have taken us both from Sanctuary, yet he did not: and I hope no man will have the boldness to act contrary to all former precedents, but the place that protected one son, will be as great a security to the other; for to be plain with you, my lord, I fear to put him into the protector's hands, because he hath his brother already; and since he pretends to be the next heir to the crown after them, notwithstanding his sisters, if they any ways miscarry, his way to the throne lies plain and easy to him. Now, this is so just a cause of fear, that even the laws of the land teach me it, which, as learned men tell me, forbids every man the guardianship

of them, by whose death they become heirs to their inheritance : and if the law is so careful of such as have the least inheritance, how much more ought I to be fearful that my children come not into his power, who, by their death, will have the kingdom for his inheritance. By these reasons I am confirmed in my resolutions of keeping my son in Sanctuary with me, and my right so to do; and think them so far to outbalance the protector's frivolous reasons, of keeping his brother company, and being dishonourable to him, that I cannot alter my mind: for I have reason to think, that whoever he proves a protector to, he will prove a destroyer to them, if they be once in his hands and power. I know the protector and council have power enough, if they have will, to take him and me from this place; but whosoever he be that shall dare to do it, I pray God send him shortly need of a sanctuary, but no possibility to come to it!"

The cardinal seeing the queen grow more and more passionate by discoursing, and to reflect sharply upon the protector, which he was unwilling to hear, because he believed them inconsiderate effects of passion, thought it time to break off arguing with her; and therefore, to bring all things to a conclusion, said unto her, "Madam, I will not dispute the matter longer with you: it is equal to me whether you deliver him or not. I am, with these lords, but the messenger to know your resolution; and beg you will but tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not, deliver him to us? For though, if you resign him to us, I durst pawn my own body and soul to you for his safety; yet, if you deny it, I will immediately depart, and finish my trust, resolving never to engage in the matter again, since I see you so resolute in your own judgment, as if you thought both me, and all others, lacked either wit or honesty; wit, in that we, not perceiving the protector's ill designs, were made the tools of his wicked craft; honesty, in that, knowing his intentions, we have laboured to bring your son into the protector's hands to destroy him; an execrable treason, which, as ourselves abhor, so, we dare boldly say, was far from the protector's thoughts, and cannot be imputed to any in this case; but you must brand the whole council with short-sighted advice and disloyalty to their prince."

These words of the cardinal's being peremptory and short, much amused the queen; being put to it on a sudden to resolve whether she would send him or no. The cardinal she saw ready to depart; and the protector and council were near, she knew; what to do she could not tell: she feared that by delivering him, she cast him into the mouth of ruin; and by keeping him, she did but provoke the protector and council to be more rough and severe with them both. She saw there was no way to save him from the protector's hands, but by conveying him out of his knowledge or power; which, though she wished, yet she had no way to effect it: wherefore she resolved to make the best use of necessity, and since the protector must have him, take the best way to secure him in his hands. She considered that

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that her fears were but grounded on vehement presumptions, and therefore hoped things might not prove so bad as she imagined. She could not doubt of the cardinal's sincerity and loyalty to her son; and though she indeed feared he might be deceived, yet she did not believe either he, or the lords present, would be any ways accessory to his destruction: and for these reasons she thought it better to deliver him to them, who were ready to pawn their honour and lives for his security, and would therefore look upon themselves engaged for his safety, than suffer him to be taken from her; and thereupon taking her son, the Duke of York, in her hand, she led him to the cardinal and lords, and with great earnestness said to them, "My lord cardinal, and you my lords, I am not so opinionated of myself, or ill-advised concerning you, as to mistrust either your wisdom or fidelity, as I shall prove to you, by reposing such trust in you, as, if either of them be wanting in you, will redound to my inexpressible grief, the damage of the whole realm, and your eternal shame and disgrace: for, lo! here is my son, the person whom you desire; and though I doubt not, but that I could keep him safe in this Sanctuary from all violence, yet here I resign him into your hands. I am sensible that I run great hazards in so doing; no whit less than any fears suggest: for I have some so great enemies to my blood, that if they knew where any of it lay in their own veins, they would presently let it out; and much more in others, and the nearer to me the more zealously. Experience also convinces us all, that the desire of a kingdom knows no kindred. The brother in that case hath been the destruction of the brother, and the son of his father: and have we any cause to think the uncle will be more tender of his nephews? Each of these children are the other's defence, while they are asunder; if one be safe, they are both secure; but being both together they are in great danger: and, therefore, as a wise merchant will never adventure all his goods in one ship, so it looks not so politically in me to put them both under the same hazards. But notwithstanding all this, (whether rightly foreseen or no, I leave to you to think on, and prevent) I do here deliver him, and his brother in him, to your keeping, of whom I shall ask him again at all times before God and the world. I am confident of your fidelity, and have no reason to distrust your wisdom, power, or ability to keep him, if you will make use of your resolution when it is required; and if you are unwilling to do that, then I pray you leave him still here with me: and that you may not meet with more than you did expect, let me beg of you, for the trust which his father ever reposed in you, and for the confidence I now put in you, that as you think I fear too much, so you would be cautious that in this weighty case you fear not too little; because your credulity here may make an irrecoverable mistake." Having thus spoken, she turned to the child, and said to him, "Farewel, mine own sweet son! the Almighty be thy protector: let me kiss thee once more before we

part, for God knows when we shall kiss again." And then having kissed him, she blessed him, and turned from him and wept! and so went her way, leaving the child with the lords weeping also for her departure.

The cardinal and lords having obtained their desire thus, and gotten the Duke of York from his mother, immediately led him to the Star-Chamber, where the protector and lords of the council staid in expectation of him. The protector received him with all the seeming kindness and respect that was due to him, as the king's brother and his nephew; and, taking him in his arms, kissed him, and said, "Now welcome, my lord, with all my very heart!" and the same day carried him to the king his brother, who was at the Bishop of London's palace near St. Paul's church. Here he left them a few days together; and because all things were in a great forwardness for the coronation, which he was zealous to promote, he caused the king and the duke his brother to be removed to the Tower, the usual place from whence that solemnity began, with much pomp and state. But now the protector was at a stand how to proceed: he looked upon himself as the lawful king of these realms, by the judgment of such as were best able to determine such doubts; but yet, since his brother's children were generally presumed the true heirs, and their illegitimacy not understood, or disregarded, he was afraid to claim his right against the common opinion, and yet as loth to throw it up himself, as he must do by crowning his brother's son. There was almost a necessity the coronation should go forward; it had proceeded so far, that the nation would grumble extremely at the expence; if it were now laid aside; and on the other side, if his nephew were crowned, he must give up his right, and not only deprive himself but his children: wherefore he resolved with himself to seem as earnest as ever in carrying it on; and to that end, appointed a council of such lords as he knew to be most faithful to the king his nephew, of whom the Lord Hastings the chamberlain, and Lord Stanley, were the chief, to assemble *De die in diem* at Baynard's Castle, to consult and contrive the ways and ceremonies for the coronation of his nephew: but in the mean season he contrived secretly to make known his own title to certain persons that he could confide in, and, by delaying the coronation, try how far his own interests might be advanced, that he might obtain his right peaceably and quietly; but being sensible how great prejudices he was to encounter with on all hands, he knew he must proceed very warily in it. The Duke of Buckingham, in all his motions, hitherto had been his chief friend and assistant. He in a manner had made him protector, and it would be such a disobligation if he should not make use of him in his councils, that he certainly would turn his enemy, and, being of such mighty interest, would pull him down, as he had set him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any encouragement from him; because, though the

duke was a mal-content in the days of the late king, yet he seemed very loyal to his son, as if he had buried the enmity to his father in his grave. But the protector knew old enmity is easily revived; and to prepare the Duke of Buckingham for his designs, he suborned certain persons about the duke, to represent to him the king's displeasure for imprisoning his mother's kindred, and into what a miserable dilemma he had run himself by that action; for if they were released they would bear him an immortal grudge, and if they were put to death, he was sure to incur the king's anger so much, that he could hope for nothing but misfortunes on all hands; for the king did not refrain from such expressions as shewed, that whenever he had power he would revenge it upon him to the utmost. These relations struck him with a fear of danger, and predisposed him to lay hold upon any opportunity of securing himself; which the Duke of Gloucester, who laid the train, soon offered him: for a little after, inviting him to a conference, he desired him to assist him in taking upon him the crown of England as his right, shewing him the judgment of the civil lawyers concerning the illegitimacy of his brother's children, and promising, as the reward of his faithful services to him, that his son should marry the duke's daughter; that he would give him the earldom of Hereford with all the appurtenances, which though his inheritance, yet had been unjustly kept from him by his brother; and, lastly, that he would allow him a large share of King Edward's treasure, and so much of the wardrobe as should furnish his house, and settle upon him and his posterity the office of high constable of England, which his ancestors by descent, for many generations, had enjoyed.

The Duke of Buckingham was not hard to be won to engage in such an action as secured him from his present fears, and afforded a prospect of so much gain and advantage; and so became a zealous actor for the protector in making him king, for he soon brought many of his friends into the same design; and, with the protector, constituted a council, which sat at Crosby's Place, (the protector's mansion-house) to contrive the most artificial and politic ways to settle the crown upon his head; but they were to meet very secretly and privately.

This council had not sat long, but both their persons and their actions were discerned: for Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, John Morton, bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, Lord Hastings, and other persons of quality, who were busy to order the coronation, perceived that, notwithstanding their endeavours, matters moved slowly, and they saw cause to suspect contrary motions.

The common people began to murmur at the delays of the coronation, and talked as though there were some bad designs on foot, though no man could guess at what was really intended; but it was generally looked upon as a bad omen, that the protector took upon



him a state and magnificence above his place, and would endure none but his own servants about the king; who gave an unkind welcome to all persons, that either desired to see the king, out of curiosity, or wait on him out of duty; as though they would tell men, that they must seek the king elsewhere, viz. at their master's palace; which was soon so well understood by such as expected any honours and preferments at court, that the protector was flattered and caressed as king; while his nephew was little regarded, and bore only an insignificant name.

These actions increased the jealousy of the lords who sat at Baynard's Castle to direct the coronation; and the Lord Stanley, who was a wise and sagacious man, began to declare openly to his brethren, "That he much disliked these doings, and could not believe that two different councils could produce any good effects: we are conscious of the loyalty and integrity of our actions, but who knows what the cabal at Crosby's Place talk of and contrive? I fear what we are building, they are plucking down; and unless we could unite, or know their councils, ours will be in vain." "Peace, my lord," said the Lord Hastings; "never fear or misdoubt any thing: I durst assure you, upon my life, all is well, or at least nothing ill is intended against us: for while one man is there, who is never absent, I am sure there can be nothing propounded which shall sound ill to me, but it will be in my ears as soon as it is out of their mouths almost." This the Lord Hastings meant of one Catesby, a lawyer, who was his special confidant, and being put into a considerable trust in the counties of Leicester and Northampton, where this lord's interest and power lay, merely by his means, was reputed by him so faithful and grateful, that he would neither do, nor suffer to be done, any things injurious to his patron; which, indeed, he had great reason to have done, but he much deceived him, as will after appear, and so was the chief instrument of working the protector's will and aims; for the lords generally saw so many signs of distrust, that had they not relied entirely on the Lord Hastings's word, whom they knew firm and loyal, they had all departed every man to his own country, and provided for their own safety, which had certainly broken all the protector's measures; for they were men of great power and interest with the people, and could easily have kept matters in the right current, had they been at home; but Catesby carrying all fair to Hastings, and he persuading them that nothing could be done amiss till he should know it and advertise them of it, they trusted to him, and denying their own senses almost, to construe all things for the best, laid themselves open to ruin, and made way to the protector's designs, which both himself and his council were vigilant to improve.

The former jealousies of the council at Baynard's Castle were soon known to the protector and the Duke of Buckingham; and though they would not seem to be sensible of it, yet they took

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up resolutions with themselves, either to win them over to their side, or, if not, to secure them from being their enemies; and to this end they shewed great favour to the Lord Hastings, who much influenced the actions of all the rest; and kept him much in their company, hoping by familiarity and friendly endearments to dispose him to a compliance with their designs, which they not long after caused Catesby, his familiar acquaintance, to propound to him, but at some distance, lest his refusal should betray all; for if they could gain him, they were sure of the greater part of the rest. Catesby, who had now forgotten all former obligations, and was courting greater favours, readily undertook the employment; and coming to the Lord Hastings, who had not yet the least mistrust of him, after much other discourse about the present circumstances of affairs, asks his opinion about the title and claim that the protector had to the crown; insinuating, that if it might lawfully be done, it would be better that an experienced person and a brave commander should rule than a child. The Lord Hastings, who was firmly loyal to King Edward's children, presuming upon Catesby's fidelity, freely opened his mind to him without any circumlocutions; and having shewed him what jealousies the council had of the protector's actions, with indignation expressed his utter dislike of it in words to this effect: "That he had rather see the death and destruction of the protector and the Duke of Buckingham, than the young king deprived of the crown; and that if he discerned any designs that way, in any persons whatsoever, he would engage his utmost power and ability against them." These words, which it is believed the Lord Hastings would never have spoke, had he suspected either the mission or treachery of Catesby, were carried to the protector immediately, and represented to him, not with the mollifying terms of a friend, but aggravations of an enemy; because he hoped, by his death and the protector's favour, which for this ill office alone he had reason not to doubt of, to obtain most of the rule and trust which that lord had in his country, and so his ruin would be his own making.

The protector received the account of Hastings's aversion to his designs with much trouble and regret; not for the disappointment only, but because he had a great love for him, who had always been his friend, and had done him many kindnesses in his brother's days; and therefore engaged Catesby to win him, if possible: but Catesby, willing to see his downfall, represented him so irreconcilable to his proceedings, that he changed the protector's love into hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any slight pretences to take away his life, without which he saw he must meet with a great impediment in the road of his ambition; and so the way was agreed upon in this manner: The protector called a great council at the Tower on Friday the 13th of June, on pretence of concluding all things for the coronation, which drew on apace, the pageants being making day and night at Westminster, and victuals killed ready for it. The

lords of this council assembled early in the morning, and sat close to their business to settle every thing for that solemnity.

The protector came about nine o'clock to them, and having saluted all the lords very courteously, excused himself for coming to them so late, saying merrily, that he had played the sluggard this morning. Then he sat down and discoursed awhile with them about the business in hand, and was very pleasant and jocose in all his speeches. Among other things more serious, he, by the bye, said to the bishop of Ely, "My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden at Holborn; I desire you to let us have a dish to dinner." "Gladly, my lord, will I do that!" quoth the bishop; "I wish I had some better thing as ready for your service as they:" and thereupon sent his servant in all haste for a dish of strawberries. A little after this, the protector obliging them to go on in their councils, requested them to dispense with his absence awhile, and so departed.

In the space of little more than an hour he returned again; but with such an angry countenance, knitting his brows, frowning and biting his lips, that the whole council were amazed at the sudden change. Being sat down, he said nothing for a good while, but at length spoke with great concern, and asked them this question: "What punishment do they deserve who had plotted his death, who was so near in blood to the king, and by office the protector of the king's person and realm?" This question he had raised out of Catesby's account of the Lord Hastings's words and discourse, which he so represented to him, as if he had wished and contrived his death. The lords of the council were much startled at it; and, thinking with themselves of whom he meant it, returned no answer. The Lord Hastings, who was always familiar with him, and thought this general silence not respectful, replied, That they deserved to be punished as heinous traitors, whosoever they were. Then said the protector, "And that hath that forceress my brother's wife, (meaning the queen, but disdainng to call her so) with others her accomplices, endeavoured to do." These words begat fresh fears and disturbances among them, because they most of them favoured the queen: but Hastings was well enough content that the crime was not laid upon any that he loved better, though he liked not that the protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his designs to put the queen's kindred to death; (which was by his advice and approbation to be done that day at Pomfret Castle.) The protector still went on in his complaints, and said, "See in what a miserable manner that forceress, and Shore's wife, with others their associates, have by their forcery and witchcraft, miserably destroyed my body!" and therewith, unbuttoning his left sleeve, shewed them his arm, fleshless, dry and withered; saying, "Thus would they by degrees have destroyed my whole body, if they had not been discovered and prevented, in a short time." This proof, which the protector thought to give of his accusation, convinced the council that he had only a mind to quarrel

quarrel with them, for they all knew that his arm was never otherwise; and that as the queen was too nice to engage in any foolish enterprize, so, if she had done it, she would not have made Shore's wife, whom of all women she most hated, because she was her husband's best-beloved concubine, one of her council.

The Lord Hastings, who, from King Edward's death, had kept Shore's wife, (for whom he had a great kindness in the king's life, but in reverence to him forbore her) was inwardly troubled to hear her, whom he loved, and knew to be innocent of any such thing, so highly and unjustly accused; and because he had made the first answer to the duke's question, he took himself obliged to return as modest an answer as he could to his accusation; and therefore said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have indeed done any such thing, they deserve to be both severely punished." But this answer discovered the Lord Hastings's opinion so much, that he thought the accusation false and forged, that the protector in anger caught hold of his words, and said, "Do you answer me with if's and and's, as if I charged them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villainy!" and therewith clapped his fist down hard upon the board, at which sign several men in arms rushed into the room, crying, "Treason! treason!" The protector seeing them come in, said to the Lord Hastings, "I arrest thee, traitor!" "What me, my lord?" said Hastings. "Yea, thou traitor!" said the protector: whereupon he was taken into their custody. In this bustle, which was all before contrived, a certain person struck at the Lord Stanley with a pole-ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the blow, and sunk under the table; yet he was wounded so on the head, that the blood ran about his ears.

Then was the archbishop of York, bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, with divers other lords who were thought averse to his designs, imprisoned in several places in the Tower; and the Lord Hastings ordered forthwith to confess and prepare himself for his death; for the protector had sworn by St. Paul that he would not dine till his head was off.

It was in vain to complain of severity, or demand justice; the protector's oath must not be broken: so he was forced to take the next priest that came, and make a short confession, for the common form was too long for the protector's stomach to wait on; and being immediately hurried to the green by the chapel within the Tower, his head was laid on a timber log which was provided for repairing the chapel, and there stricken off. His body and head were carried to Windsor, and there buried by his master King Edward IV. late deceased, it being very convenient that he should have a place next him at his death, who had lost his life for his unmoveable loyalty to his children.

The death of this great lord, as it was sudden and unsuspected, so it may seem to have been particularly regarded by heaven, from whence

whence he had many omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but wisdom to take a due notice of them, which are worth a particular relation, that we may see the care Providence has of men in imminent dangers.

The night before his death, the Lord Stanley had a fearful dream, in which he thought that a wild boar with his tusks had so wounded his own and the lord chamberlain's head, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. This dream had more than an usual impression upon him; and because he interpreted the dream of the protector, who gave the boar for his arms, and the wounds and blood from their heads of some imminent danger of their lives, he resolved no longer to tarry within reach of his power, but ordering horses to be got ready, sent his chamberlain to the Lord Hastings at midnight to acquaint him with his dream, and encourage him to take horse as fast as he could, and with him secure himself; for with swift horses they could get near their friends by morning.

The Lord Hastings, though awaked out of his sleep, yet being naturally a man neither melancholy nor superstitious, received the message with a smile; and said to him, "Doth my lord, your master, give so much credit to such trifles as dreams, which are usually the effect of our fears or cares? Pray tell him, that it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams; which, if they may be allowed foretellers of things to come, are yet so uncertain, that we may do ourselves more harm than good in following them: for who could assure him, that if there is any real danger to be feared from the boar, we shall not fall into it rather by flying than tarrying? For, if we should be taken and brought back, (as might very well happen) we should give the boar just occasion to gore us; for our flight would be such an argument of some guilt, that we could hardly avoid it; and to alledge a dream as the cause, would make us ridiculous to all men: wherefore, if there were danger, as indeed there is none, unless in his causeless fears, it is rather in flying than tarrying; and if we must fall into it one way or other, I had rather that men should see it to be from others falsehood, than my guilt or cowardice: and therefore go to thy master, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry, and fear nothing; for I can assure him, that there is as little danger from the man he means as from my own right-hand." "God grant it may be so," says the messenger, and so departed. The gentleman brought the message to his lord, and made him forget his resolution; though with what mischief to himself the event proved.

Other ominous presages he had of his death that morning, which his security would not suffer him to take notice of. Before he was up from his bed, (where he had lain all night with Shore's wife) there came to him Sir Thomas Howard, son of the Lord Howard, to call him, as he pretended, and to accompany him to the council; but he was really sent by the protector to persuade him to come, if he should not intend it, or, if he designed it, to hasten him; which,

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though he managed artificially enough, yet being of the protector's cabinet-council, he was suspicious; and in the way as they passed along, he gave the Lord Hastings such an odd interruption—in his discourse with a priest which he met by the way, by telling him, though merrily, that he wondered he would talk so long with a priest; he had no occasion for one *as yet*—that he might easily have suspected he knew that he should have need of one soon: but he was a loose and careless man, and regarded it not.

In the way also, as he passed from his house to the Tower, his horse that he was accustomed to ride, stumbled with him twice or thrice so dangerously, that he had almost fallen; which thing, though it happens almost daily to persons who fall into no mischance, yet of old it was accounted a certain presage of some misfortune. Also, when he came to the Tower Wharf, within a stone's cast of the place where his head was cut off a few hours after, he met with a pursuivant of his own name called Hastings, who having met him in the same place when he lay under king Edward's displeasure, through the accusation of the Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, and was in great danger of his life, put him in mind of his former danger; and thereupon he fell into a discourse with him about it, and said, "Ah, Hastings! dost thou remember when I once met thee in this place before with an heavy heart?" "Yea, my lord," said he, "very well; and, thanks be to God, your enemies got no good and you no harm by it." "You would say so indeed," said the Lord Hastings, "if you knew as much as I do now, or as you will shortly. I was never so afraid of my life as I was then: but now matters are well mended with me; mine enemies are now in as great danger as I was then, (this he said, because he knew that the protector, by his and others advice, had given order for the execution of the Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, at Pomfret) and I was never merrier nor more secure in all my life." With these words he parted and went into the Tower, whence he never came out again.—Oh the uncertain confidence and short-sighted knowledge of man! When this lord was most afraid, he was most secure; and when he was secure, danger was over his head. By him we may see the truth of David's advice, "O put not your trust in princes!" and learn to leave all to God's providence, who delivers us in dangers, and never leaves us but when we grow self-confident; of which this great man was a sad example, and ought to be a warning to us in the like case.

The protector having thus far proceeded to open himself a plain way to the crown, by removing all that appeared in opposition to it, Hastings being dead, and the lords of his party in prison, was yet at a plunge, how to justify to the nation the severity of these proceedings against him: for the Lord Hastings, though in himself no good man, as his public keeping of Shore's wife for his concubine declared, yet was had in great esteem by the king's friends, as a

person of approved loyalty and good affection to King Edward's line, and by the people as a lover of the common good; and he was sensible that the news of his death, which would fly into all parts from the city apace, would cause great discontents in all parts of the nation: whereupon he thought it his wisest course to send for the lord mayor and chief citizens to him into the Tower, and give them a full account of the justice of the Lord Hastings's sufferings; that so the murmurs of the city being appeased, the nation might have no cause to repine.

This contrivance he put in execution immediately after dinner the same day; and having put on old rusty armour, which lay neglected in the Tower, and commanded the Duke of Buckingham to do the same, as if their sudden danger had caused them to take any thing that lay next for their defence, he and the duke stood ready to receive them.

When they were come, the protector told them, "That the Lord Hastings, and several other persons, had conspired and contrived together suddenly to kill him and the Duke of Buckingham that day in council; for what cause, or for what design, he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain knowledge of the intended treason before ten o'clock of the same day, so that he had enough to do to stand upon his own guard, and provide for his own defence; which though they had both done in an indecent manner, by putting on such filthy armour, yet necessity obliging them to it, they were forced to take what was next hand: that God had wonderfully protected them from the danger he hoped, now the Lord Hastings was dead; against whom, though there might seem to be something of cruelty used in so sudden an execution, without any legal trial and hearing, yet there appearing to the king and the lords of his council many reasons to believe, that if he had been kept in prison, his complices would have made a formidable insurrection in the country to rescue him, and his guilt being very evident, they judged it best to inflict the deserved punishment of his crimes upon him immediately, that the peace of the nation might not be in danger. This is the real truth of the business; and we have therefore called you hither to inform you of it, that you may, as you see cause, satisfy the people of the justice of the Lord Hastings's sufferings, which, though we were no ways obliged to do, yet out of our care to please them, we have condescended to it, and we require you thus to report it." They all answered fair, and declared their readiness to obey, as if they really believed him, though in themselves they looked upon his harangue as a plausible pretence for a foul fact; and so taking their leaves of him, departed. But, upon more mature deliberation, this was not thought sufficient to appease the people's minds; and therefore, soon after the mayor and citizens were gone, an herald of arms was sent

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into the city to publish a proclamation in all parts of it, to this effect:

“That the Lord Hastings, with divers other wicked conspirators, had traiterously contrived the same day to have slain the protector and Duke of Buckingham sitting in council, with a purpose and design to take upon him the government of the king and kingdom, and rule all things at his pleasure; hoping that when those were dead, they should meet no opposition in their designs—And in how miserable a condition this nation had been, if God had left them in his hands, appeared from the former actions of the said lord, who being so ill a man, could not make a good governor. For he it was, that by his ill advice enticed the king's father to many things much redounding to his dishonour, and to the universal damage and detriment of the realm, leading him into debauchery by his exemplary wickedness, and procuring lewd and ungracious persons to gratify his lusts, and particularly Shore's wife, who was one of his secret council in this treason; by which lewd living, the said king not only shortened his days, but also was forced to oppress and tax his people, that he might have sufficient to gratify his expences. And since the death of the said king, he hath lived in a continual incontinency with the said Shore's wife, and lay nightly with her, and particularly the very night before his death; so that it was no marvel if his ungracious life brought him to as unhappy a death, which he was put to by the special command of the king's highness, and of his honourable and faithful council, both for his own demerits, being so openly taken in his intended treason, and also lest any delay of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, who were engaged in the conspiracy with him, to make an insurrection for his deliverance; which being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means, under God's providence, to preserve the whole realm in peace and quietness.”

This proclamation, which was very well indited (as was thought by Catesby, who was a chief actor in this tragedy) and as fairly written on parchment, though the expedition of the publishing of it was looked upon as politic and wise to prevent the discontents of the people, yet it did very little good: for when men came to compare things, and considered that the proclamation was very elegantly composed, very fairly written, and being very long was yet published within two hours after the death of the Lord Hastings, they began to suspect that the lord had foul dealings, and that his ruin being determined, it was composed and written before his death; for the time after was not sufficient either to compose or write it in: and hence it was, that some spared not to reflect upon it. The schoolmaster of Paul's sharply said,

“Here's a very goodly cast,  
Fouly cast away for haste.”

And a merchant that stood by him, answered him, It was written by prophecy. Thus did the protector endeavour to palliate his wickedness



wickedness in destroying the Lord Hastings: but all was in vain; this action was too foul to receive any tolerable plea, which would pass with men of any thought at all.

The protector having done as much as could be done to excuse his cruelty to the Lord Hastings, took himself obliged to proceed against Shore's wife, whom he had accused of the same treason; lest if he should let her escape, he should betray his plot: for if she were not guilty, no more was the Lord Hastings; and if he deserved death, so did she. For this reason, he sent Sir Thomas Howard to her house, with an order of council to apprehend her person, and seize her goods, as forfeited to the king by her treason; which were both accordingly done; and her goods, to the value of two or three thousand marks, being taken from her, she was carried to prison into the Tower: within a few days after, she was brought to her examination before the king's council; and the protector laid to her charge, "That she had endeavoured his ruin and destruction several ways; and particularly, by witchcraft had decayed his body, and, with the Lord Hastings, had contrived to assassinate him." But she made so good a defence for herself, as that there appeared not the least likelihood of her being guilty: whereupon they, by the protector's order, fell upon her for her open and scandalous whoredom, which every body knowing, she could not deny. And because they would do something to her to satisfy him, they delivered her over to the Bishop of London, to do public penance for her sin in St. Paul's church, which she accordingly performed the next Sunday morning, after this manner: Mrs. Shore being deprived of all her ornaments, and cloathed with a white sheet, was brought by way of procession, with the cross carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand, to the church of St. Paul's from the bishop's palace adjoining, through great crowds of people gathered together to behold her; and there, standing before the preacher, acknowledged in a set form, her open wickedness, and declared her repentance for it. In all this action, she behaved herself with so much modesty and decency, that such as respected her beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her than now: for she being a beautiful and handsome woman, wanting nothing in her face but a little blush, this shameful act supplied that so well, that she appeared more lovely for it; and as to such as were glad to see sin corrected, yet they pitied her, because they knew that the protector did it more out of hatred to her person, than sin; more out of malice, than a love to virtue. This woman was born in London, virtuously educated, and well married to a substantial and honest citizen; but being drawn to the match rather by interest than affection, by her parents judgment rather than her own inclination, she never had that fondness for him, that joins a wife inviolably to her husband's bed. This looseness to her husband, with that natural ambition, and affectation of gay cloathing and greatness, which is usually in women much above their fortunes, though almost never so great,

great, disposed her to accept of the king's kindness, when offered; who, besides that he was a very handsome and lovely person, could easily gratify her desires; and by fulfilling his lusts, she knew she had mastery of his gifts and treasure: and for these reasons she became his concubine. Her husband, though made unhappy by her lewdness, yet carried his resentments evenly; and after the king had abused her, never would have any thing to do with her; whether out of reverence to the king's person, or out of a principle of conscience, it is not easy to determine, though both might concur. She lived many years in King Edward's court; and though that king had many concubines, and some of them of much greater quality than herself, yet he loved her best, for her merry and ingenuous behaviour. In this great, though bad station, she demeaned herself with admirable prudence, and was not exalted by the king's favour, but always used it with as much benefit to others as to herself; for she never abused the king's kindness to any man's hurt, but always used it to their comfort and advantage: where the king took displeasure against any man, she would mitigate his anger and appease his mind; and such as were out of favour, she would reconcile. For many heinous offenders she obtained pardon, and got a relaxation, and sometimes a total remission, of large fines: and though she was the only effectual suitor almost at court for such as wanted places and preferments, yet she made little advantage to herself by it, expecting none, or very small reward, and that rather gay than rich; either because she was content with doing of a kindness, or delighted to be sought to; for wanton women and wealthy, be not always covetous. In fine, her lewdness was her only fault; and though that was great enough, yet to have a king for their bedfellow is such a mighty temptation, that if no woman would condemn her before they have the like trials, it is to be feared she would have few to cast a stone at her. She was affable and obliging, generous and charitable; and though, indeed, she was after reduced to a miserable poverty in her old age, a just punishment for her sin, yet it was a reproach to many thousands, that she was so, whom she kept from beggary; and if they had been grateful to requite her for those kindnesses in her want, which she scorned to sell in her prosperity, she might have lived to her death in a condition great enough for her birth and degree.

While the protector was thus busied at London, in making his way to the crown, and excusing himself for the death of the Lord Hastings, his bloody order, given for the execution of the queen's kindred, the Lord Rivers and Richard Lord Grey, with Richard Hawse and Sir Thomas Vaughan at Pomfract, was punctually executed by Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great favourite of the protector's, who was a man of a desperate courage, and forward to promote all his designs. It is thought they suffered death at the same time the Lord Hastings was beheaded in the tower; who being a principal adviser in their deaths, may be a warning to us all, how we concur in the undeserved sufferings of innocent persons: for God often, and that justly, brings

the evil we do to others upon our own heads. The Lord Hastings, by advising the protector to destroy the queen's kindred causelessly, shewed him the way to do the like to himself. The manner of their execution was as barbarous as unjust. Great and heavy accusations were laid against them, but none proved. They had not so much as the formality of a trial, but were brought to the scaffold on the day appointed; and being branded in general with the name of traitors, were beheaded. The Lord Rivers would fain have declared his innocency to the people; but Ratcliffe would not suffer him, lest his words should lay open the protector's cruelty too much, and make both him and his party odious to the people; and so he died in silence. Sir Thomas Vaughan would not endure his mouth to be stopped, but as he was going to the block he said aloud, "A mischief take them that expounded the prophecy, which foretold that G should destroy King Edward's children, for George Duke of Clarence, who for that suspicion is now dead; for there still remained Richard G. i. e. Duke of Gloucester, who now I see is he that shall, and will, accomplish the prophecy, and destroy King Edward's children, and all his allies and friends, as appeareth by us this day; against whom, I appeal to the high tribunal of God, for this wrongful murder, and our real innocency!" Sir Richard Ratcliffe heard this with regret, and putting it off, said to him in scorn, "You have made a goodly appeal; lay down your head!" "Yea," saith Sir Thomas, "but I die in the right; take heed that you die not in the wrong:" and having said this, he was beheaded. He, with the other three, were buried naked in the monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Pomfract.

Then the conspirators held council among themselves, how they might bring about their wicked purposes. Their chief difficulty was to engage the city; and having gained the Lord Mayor, Sir Edmund Shaw his brother, Dr. John Shaw a priest, and Friar Pinker, provincial of the Augustine Friars, to their interest, they determined that Dr. Shaw should first break the matter in a sermon he was to preach at Paul's Cross; and the main argument he was to use for the deposing of King Edward, and the advancement of his uncle Richard, was resolved among them to be the bastardy of the two princes, sons to Edward the Fourth, which disabled them to inherit the imperial crown of this realm. Though this charge would bring the scandal of adultery on the queen, yet Richard and the conspirators did not consider much that the whole royal family would be defamed by it in the highest degree: on the contrary, (rather than fail of the sovereignty to which he aspired) the Duke of Gloucester, and his emissaries, intended to give out, that King Edward the Fourth was himself a bastard, though his mother was the parent of the protector; and in calling her an adulteress, he profaned the honour of the very person that brought him into the world. This accusation he would have at first only hinted, and spoken mysteriously, that if the people, in abhorrence of such an unnatural slander, should have been set against the

the publisher of it, there might be room to put some other construction on the words. Shaw was ordered to declare to his auditory, that King Edward had promised marriage to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, by whom he had a child; and that the Duchess of York had told him, he was her husband before God, to prevent his marrying the Lady Elizabeth Grey, whose children by King Edward were consequently bastards. He was not to mention any thing of that king's illegitimacy, unless he found his reflection on the queen's children would not take. The doctor was a famous preacher, and a vast number of persons, of all qualities, used to flock to hear him: so they thought they had gone a great way in accomplishing their designs, when they had got him to their side. Shaw was not only ready to speak what the conspirators would have him, but turned his whole discourse against the legitimacy of the young king and his brother: he began his sermon with this expression, "*Spuria vixitamina non agent radices altas*—Bastard slips shall never take deep root." He shewed the blessings that God bestowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the unhappiness of those children who were born out of wedlock. Several examples, of both kinds, he used to prove the truth of his assertion. He took occasion, from what he had said, to shew the reason they had to fear that the reign of the present king would be unfortunate; and enlarged very much on the great things that they might hope for, from the government of a prince of the Duke of York's illustrious qualities, the father of King Edward the Fourth, or rather, of the lord protector, who was the only lawful begotten son of the late Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield. He then declared, that King Edward was never legally married to the queen, being husband, before God, to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy: besides, neither he, nor the Duke of Clarence, were thought legitimate by those of the Duke of York's family, who were most acquainted with the Duchess of York's intrigues with several persons of her husband's court, whom they resembled in the face: but my lord protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, represented the very face and mind of the great duke his father: he (says the false preacher) is the perfect image of his father; his features are the same, and the very express likeness of that noble duke. At these words, it was designed the protector should have entered, as if it had been by chance; and the conspirators hoped that the multitude, taking the doctor's words as coming from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, would have been induced to have cried out, God save King Richard: which artifice was prevented, either by the doctor's making too much haste to come to that part of his sermon, or the lord protector's negligence to come in at the instant when he was saying it; for it was over before he came, and the priest was entered on some other matter when the duke appeared; which however he left, and repeated again, abruptly, The lord protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds,

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represents the very face and mind of the great duke his father; his features are the same; and the plain express likeness of that noble duke. The protector, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, passed through the multitude as the priest said this: but the people were so far from saluting him King, that they were struck with indignation at the preacher's base flattery and treason; who, when he had closed his sermon, went home, hid himself for shame, and never after durst shew his face in the world. Being informed how odious he was become for what he had done, he fell, out of grief and remorse, into a consumption, of which he died in a short time. He preached this notable discourse on a Sunday which was to be preparatory to the Duke of Buckingham's oration, on the Tuesday following, to the lord mayor, aldermen and council of the city of London, assembled for that purpose in the Guildhall; where that duke mounting the hustings, and silence being commanded in the lord protector's name, spoke to this effect; several lords, who were privy to the secret, attending him.

"Gentlemen, out of the zeal and sincere affection we have for your persons and interests, we are come to acquaint you with a matter of high importance, equally pleasing to God, and profitable to the commonwealth, and to none more than to you the citizens of this famous and honourable city. For the very thing, which we believe you have a long while wanted and wished for, what you would have purchased at any rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come hither to bring, without any labour, trouble, cost, or peril to you: and what can this be, but your own safety, the peace of your wives and daughters, the security of your goods and estates, which were all in danger till now? Who, of you, could call what he had his own, there were so many snares laid to deceive you? so many fines and forfeitures, taxes and impositions, of which there was no end, and often no necessity; or, if there was, it was occasioned by riots and unreasonable waste, rather than a just and lawful charge, for the defence or honour of the state. Your best citizens were plundered, and their wealth squandered by profuse favourites: fifteenths, and the usual subsidies, would not do, but under the plausible name of Benevolence, your goods were taken from you by the commissioners, much against your will, as if by that name was understood, that every man should pay, not what he pleased, but what the king would have him; who never was moderate in his demands, always exorbitant, turning forfeitures into fines, fines into ransoms; small offences into misprision of treason, and misprision into treason itself. We need not give you examples of it; Burdet's case will never be forgot; who, for a word spoken in haste, was cruelly beheaded. Did not Judge Markam resign his office, rather than join with his brethren in passing that illegal sentence on that honest man? Were you not all witnesses of the barbarous treatment one of your own body, the worshipful Alderman Cook, met with? And your own-selves know, too well, how many instances of this kind I might name among you. King Edward gaining the crown by conquest, all that

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were any ways related to those that were his enemies, lay under the charge of treason: thus half of the kingdom became at once traitors; for half of the kingdom were either friends to King Henry, or relations or friends to some that were so. Though open war with invaders is terrible and destructive to a nation, yet civil dissensions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; with which his reign was more disturbed than the reigns of all his predecessors. But he is dead and gone; and God forgive his soul! It cost the people more blood and treasure to get the crown for this, than it had done to conquer France twice: half of the nobility of the realm lost their lives or estates in his quarrel; and when the dispute was over, the peace that followed was not much safer than the war: every rich and landed man was in danger; for whom could he trust, that distrusted his own brother? whom spare, that killed his own brother? or who could perfectly love him, whom his own brother could not love? We shall, in honour to the memory of one that was our sovereign, forbear to mention who were the persons on which he was so lavish of his favours; only it is well known, that those that deserved them most, had least of them. Was not Shore's wife his chief minister? Was not there more court made to her than to all the lords in England; except those that were the strumpet's favourites? Who, poor woman, was herself chaste and of good reputation, till he deluded her to his lust, and tempted her from her husband, an honest, substantial young man, whom you all know. Indeed, I am ashamed to say it, the king's appetite, in that point, was insatiable and intolerable: no woman could escape him; young or old, rich or poor, wife or virgin, all fell victims to his lust; by which means the most honourable houses were defiled, and the most honest families were corrupted. You of this renowned city suffered most; you who deserved most from him, for your readiness to serve the house of York with your lives and fortunes; which, though he ill requited, there is of that house who, by God's grace, shall reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this subject; you have heard it from one whom you will hearken to more, as you ought to do; for I am not so vain as to think, what I can say will have so great authority with you as the words of a preacher; a man so wise and so pious, that he would not utter a thing, in the pulpit especially, which he did not firmly believe it was his duty to declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth, the last Sunday, the right of the most excellent prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester, unto the crown of this realm: for, as he proved to you, the children of King Edward the Fourth were never lawfully begotten; the king leaving his lawful wife, the Lady Lucy, to contract an illegal marriage with the queen. My noble lord the protector's reverence to the duchess his mother, will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy doctor alleged of her familiarity with others besides her own husband, for fear of offending the Duke of Gloucester her son: though, for these causes, the crown of England is devolved to the most excellent prince, the lord pro-

tector, as the only lawfully begotten son of the right noble Duke of York. This, and the consideration of his many high qualities, has prevailed with the lords and commons of England, of the northern counties especially, (who have declared they will not have a bastard reign over them) to petition that high and mighty prince to take on him the sovereign power, for the good of the realm, to which he has so rightful and lawful a title. We have reason to fear he will not grant our request, being a prince whose wisdom foresees the labour both of mind and body that attends the supreme dignity: which office is not a place for a child; as that wise man observed, who said, '*Væ regno cuius rex puer est*—Wo is that realm that has a child to their king!' Wherefore we have reason to bless God that the prince whose right it is to reign over us, is of so ripe age, so great wisdom and experience; who though he is unwilling to take the government upon himself, yet the petition of the lords and gentlemen will meet with the more favourable acceptance, if you the worshipful citizens of the metropolis of the kingdom will join with us in our request; which, for your own welfare, we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the common good of the people of England, whom you will oblige by chusing them so good a king, and his majesty by shewing early your ready disposition to his election: in which, my most dear friends, I require you in the name of myself and these lords, to shew us plainly your minds and intentions."

The duke stopped here, expecting the assembly would have cried out, God save King Richard: but all were hushed and silent, as if the auditory was confounded with the extravagance of the proposal; at which the duke was extremely surpris'd, and taking aside the mayor, with some others of the conspirators, said to them softly, "How comes it the people are so still?" "Sir," says the mayor, "it may be, they do not understand you well." The duke, to help the matter, repeated his speech with a little variation, and with such grace and eloquence, that never so ill a subject was handled with so much oratory. However the assembly continued silent. Then the mayor told the duke, The citizens had not been accustomed to hear any one but the recorder, and perhaps they would take the thing better from him who is the mouth of the city. Upon which the recorder, Fitz-Williams, much against his will, spoke to the same purpose, at the mayor's command; and yet he managed his speech so well as to be understood to speak the duke's sense, and not his own. The people being still as before, the duke muttered to the lord mayor, saying, "They are wonderfully obstinate in their silence!" and turning to the assembly, he said, "Dear friends, we came to acquaint you with a thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the affection we bear you. The lords and commons could have determined the matter without you, but would gladly have you join with us, which is for your honour and profit, though you do not see it, or consider it: we require you therefore to give your answer one way or another, Whether you

you are willing, as the lords are, to have the most excellent prince the lord protector to be your king or not?" The assembly then began to murmur, and at last some of the protector's and the duke's servants, some of the city apprentices, and the rabble that had crowded into the hall, cried out, "King Richard, King Richard!" and threw up their hats in token of joy. The duke perceived easily enough who they were that made the noise; yet, as if the acclamation had been general, he took hold of it, saying, "It is a goodly and a joyful cry to hear every man with one voice agree to it, and nobody say No. Since therefore, dear friends, we see you are all as one man inclined to have this noble prince to be your king, we shall report the matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not it will be much for your advantage. We require you to attend us to-morrow, with our joint petition to his grace; as has been already agreed between us." Then the duke and the lords came down from the hustings; and the assembly broke up, the most part of them with weeping eyes and aching hearts; though they were forced to hide their tears and their sorrows, as much as possible, for fear of giving offence, which had been dangerous.

The next day the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and the chief of the common-council, resorted to Baynard's Castle, where the protector then lay; and the Duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, came thither also. The duke sent word to the protector that a great company attended, to move a business of the highest importance to him, and desired audience of his grace. The Duke of Gloucester made some difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their errand was good or not.

The Duke of Buckingham took this occasion to shew the lord-mayor and citizens how little the protector was conscious of their design; and then he sent another messenger, with so humble and so earnest a request to be heard, that his grace came forth; yet with so much affected diffidence, that he seemed unwilling to draw near them till he knew their business. Then the Duke of Buckingham very submissively begged pardon for himself and his company, and liberty to propose to him what they had to offer, without which they durst not proceed; though it was for his grace's honour and the good of the realm. The protector gave them leave to propose what they would, saying, he believed none of them meant him any harm. The duke then set forth elegantly and pathetically the grievances of the people, and prayed him to redress them by assuming the sovereign authority, which of right belonged to him, and which the whole kingdom with unusual unanimity desired he would take to himself for the benefit of the commonwealth, as much as for his grace's honour. The protector seemed mightily surprized; and answered, That though he knew the things he alleged to be true, yet he loved King Edward and his children above any crown whatsoever, and therefore could not grant their request: however, he pardoned their petition,



and thanked them for their love; but desired them to be obedient to the prince under whom himself and they lived at that time, and whom he would advise to the best of his capacity, as he had already done to the satisfaction of all parties. The Duke of Buckingham murmured at this reply; and after having asked and obtained pardon a second time for what he was about to say, declared aloud to the protector, that they were all agreed not to have any of King Edward's line to reign over them; that they were gone too far to go back; for which reason, if his grace would be pleased to take the crown upon him, they humbly beseech him to do it; or, if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loth to hear, they must and would look out for some worthy person that would accept of their proposal. At these words the protector began to comply a little, and at last he spoke thus to them: "Since we perceive that the whole realm is bent upon it not to have King Edward's children to govern them, of which we are sorry, and knowing that the crown can belong to no man so justly as to ourself, the right heir lawfully begotten of the body of our most dear father Richard late Duke of York; to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we, of all titles possible, take for the most effectual; we are content, and agree favourably to receive your petition and request, and according to the same take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence and kingdoms of the two noble realms, England and France; the one from this day forward by us and our heirs, to rule, govern and defend; the other, by God's grace and your good help, to get again, subdue, and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realm of England: and we ask of God to live no longer than we intend to procure its advancement." At the close of his speech there was a great shout of "God save King Richard!" The lords went up to the king, and the people departed, every man talking for or against the revolution, as he was inclined by humour or interest. It was easy to perceive, that however the thing appeared strange to King Richard, it was acted by concert with him, and what was done was only to preserve decency and order.

### RICHARD III.

THE next day Gloucester went to Westminster, sat himself down in the Court of King's Bench, made a very gracious speech to the assembly there present, and promised them halcyon days from the beginning of his reign.

To shew his forgiving temper, he ordered one Hog, whom he hated, and who was fled to Sanctuary for fear, to be brought before him, took him by the hand, and spoke favourably to him; which the  
 multitude



RICHARD THE THIRD.

*Drawn from an Ancient Picture by Collings, & Engraved by Birrell.*

*Published by C. Stalker, April 1. 1789.*



multitude thought was a token of his clemency, and the wise men of his vanity. In his return home, he saluted every one he met.

From this mock election in June, he commenced his reign, and was crowned in July with the same provision that was made for the coronation of his nephew. But, to be sure of his enemies, he sent for five thousand men out of the north; who came up to town ill cloathed, and worse harness'd, their horses poor, and their arms rusty; who being mustered in Finsbury fields, were the contempt of the spectators. The appearance of these rude fellows in arms, gave cause to the people to suspect that, as he was conscious of his guilt, he was apprehensive of its punishment.

On the 4th of July he came to the Tower by water, with his wife Ann, daughter to Richard Earl of Warwick; and the next day he created Thomas Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Sir Thomas Howard his son, Earl of Surrey; William Lord Berkley, Earl of Nottingham; Francis Lord Lovell, Viscount Lovell and lord chamberlain of the household; and the Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made lord steward of the household, the king being afraid of the Lord Strange, who was raising men in Lincolnshire, as was reported; the archbishop of York was released from his imprisonment; and bishop Morton delivered to the charge of the Duke of Buckingham, who engag'd to keep him in safe custody at his manor of Brycknock. King Richard also created seventeen knights of the Bath; and his son Edward, Prince of Wales. The same day he and his queen rode through the city of London to Westminster; and the next day they were both crowned in the Abbey church with extraordinary pomp. What is most observable in the procession is, that the Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry the Seventh, bore up the queen's train. After the ceremony was over, the king dismissed all the lords who attended his coronation, except the Lord Stanley, whom he retained till he heard that the Lord Strange, his son, was quiet in the country. He gave the lords a strict charge to see their several counties were well governed, and none of his subjects wronged. He liberally rewarded his northern men, who valued themselves so much on the king's favour, that presuming to commit many acts of injustice and oppression upon it, he was forced to take a journey into the north to reclaim them. What is ill got is never well kept; which King Richard soon shewed, by the murder of his two innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother; whose death has, however, been much doubted of since, whether it was in his time or not; Perkin Warbeck, through the malice of some, and the folly of others, having a long time abused the world, and impos'd himself upon princes as well as people, for the younger of King Edward the Fourth's sons. King Richard contriv'd the destruction of the two young princes in a progress he made to Gloucester, to honour the town, which gave him the title of duke, with a visit: he imagin'd, that while his nephews lived, his right to the crown would be call'd

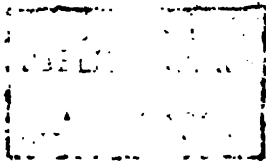
in question: wherefore he resolved to rid himself of them; and to that end sent John Green, a creature of his, to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter, desiring him one how or other to make away with the two children whom he had in keeping. Brackenbury refused to do it; and Green returned to King Richard, who then lay at Warwick, with the constable's answer; at which the king was so displeas'd, that he said to a page of his the same night, "Alas! who is there that a man can trust? Those that I have brought up myself, those that I thought-would be most ready to serve me, even those fail me, and will not do what I command them." The page replied, "Sir, there lies a man on the pallat in the outer chamber, who I am sure will think nothing too hard that you shall require him to do;" meaning Sir James Tyrrell, a brave handsome man, who deserved a better master, and would have merited the esteem of all men, had his virtue been as great as his valour. He was ambitious, and with regret saw Sir Richard Ratcliff soar above him in his master's favour. The king, knowing how aspiring he was, imagined the page had hit upon the person who was for his purpose, believing Tyrrell would do any thing in hopes of further preferment; so he went out into the chamber, where he found Sir James, and Sir Thomas Tyrrell his brother, on a pallat bed, to whom he said merrily, "What are you a bed so soon, gentlemen?" And calling Sir James to him, told him his mind, and what he wanted of him; whom he found ready to do whatever he commanded him. The next day, therefore, he sent him with a letter to Sir Robert Brackenbury, requiring him to deliver Sir James the keys of the Tower, to the end that he might accomplish the king's pleasure in certain things he had given him commandment about. Sir Robert having restored the keys to this assassin, he resolved to murder the two princes the ensuing night. When the elder, called King Edward the Fifth, was told that his uncle was crowned king, he sigh'd, and said, "Ah! would my uncle let me have my life, he might take my kingdom!" The person that told him so, comforted him as well as he could; and for a little while the king and his brother were well us'd: but afterwards they were shut up close, and one servant only allowed to attend them. Then the young king, apprehending what would be his fate, gave himself over to sorrow and despair; and the prince his brother was the companion of his grief, as well as of his misfortune. Sir James Tyrrell contriv'd to have them murdered in their beds, and appointed one Miles Forrest, a noted ruffian, and John Dighton his groom, a lusty fellow, to see execution done. Those that waited near the princes lodgings were removed, and way made for Forrest and Dighton to enter their chamber, unperceived of any one, at midnight. The poor youths were asleep in their beds, whom the two assassins wrapped up in the blankets and coverlid of the bed, clapped the featherbed and pillows upon them, stopp'd their mouths, and smothered them to death. When the ruffians

perceived,



MURDER of EDWARD V. and DUKE of YORK.

Birrell, sculp.



perceived, by their struggling, that they were dying, and afterwards by their lying still that they were dead, they laid their bodies out naked upon the bed, and fetched Sir James Tyrrell to see them; who ordered the murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. Then Tyrrell rode to the king, and gave him a full account of the murder; with which he was so well pleased, that it is said he knighted him at that time; though he seemed not to approve of their being buried in so vile a corner, they being the sons of a king: upon which, Sir Robert Brackenbury's chaplain took their bodies up, and buried them privately in a place that, by occasion of his death, never came to light. Sir James Tyrrell, when he was afterwards, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, committed to the Tower for treason, confessed the murder in the manner we have related it; so did Dighton: and both the master and the man, and Forrest the warder, came to miserable ends, through the just judgment of God, the avenger of innocent blood. Dighton and Forrest, though they were not executed by the hangman, died in a most horrible manner, rotting away by degrees; Sir James Tyrrell was beheaded; and King Richard himself slain by his enemies, and his body ignominiously used by the rabble. He could never after be at rest; his guilt haunted him like a spectre; he was afraid of his own shadow when he went abroad; his eyes rolled in his head; his limbs trembled; and his hand was always on his dagger: his sleep was ever disturbed by frightful dreams; he would suddenly start up, leap out of his bed, and run about the chamber. Nor did he long enjoy the fruits of his bloody policy; for though the princes were removed, new enemies arose from time to time, that kept him in continual fear, through the course of his short reign. The first that conspired against him, was the very person who had been most instrumental in his advancement; the Duke of Buckingham, whose intimacy with him commenced from the death of King Edward the Fourth.

We must look a little backward into the beginning of their confederacy, the better to clear the history of this duke's misfortunes. On the death of King Edward, he sent a trusty servant of his to the Duke of Gloucester, to offer him his service, and that he would attend him with a thousand men whenever he pleased to command him. The Duke of Gloucester returned him thanks, and informed the Duke of Buckingham with his secret designs. At Northampton, Buckingham met the Duke of Gloucester, at the head of three hundred horse, and joined with him in all his undertakings: he accompanied him to London, and staid with him till after the coronation; he went with him to Gloucester, and there he took his leave of him to return home; where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to repent of what he had done, and to think he had not been sufficiently rewarded for it by the usurper. The reason of his first discontent is said to be this: some time before the usurper was crowned, it was



agreed between him and the Duke of Buckingham, that the latter should have all the lands belonging to the Duke of Hereford, to which he pretended to have a title by his descent from the house of Lancaster, his mother being the daughter of Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset, brother to John Duke of Somerset, father to Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry VII. But this title having some relation to that of the crown, the usurper would not hear of restoring him to the Duke of Hereford's estate, and rejected his petition with indignation and threats when he was in possession of the sovereignty; which the Duke of Buckingham so highly resented, that from that time forward he contrived how he might pull him down from the throne upon which he had set him. We are told he feigned himself sick, and excused his attendance at the coronation, and that King Richard should send him word, if he would not come and ride, he would make him be carried.

This circumstance of the Duke of Buckingham's discontent is not given credit to by those who consider the natures of the usurper and of the duke, being both of them the greatest dissemblers in the world: the one would not so rashly have provoked a powerful enemy, nor the other have given a jealous tyrant occasion to suspect his fidelity: the truth is, the Duke of Buckingham was a high-spirited man, and envied the glory of another so much, that when he saw the crown set upon King Richard's head, he could not endure the sight, but turned his head away. Others write, that they continued good friends till after his return home, and that the usurper dismissed him at Gloucester with rich gifts and extraordinary marks of his favour and affection: when he came to Brecknock he conversed much with Dr. Moreton, bishop of Ely, whom he had there in keeping. This prelate was a very wise, politic person, a man of learning, and of a winning behaviour. He had been always faithful to King Henry, and when he fell in with the party of King Edward, on King Henry's death, he served him as faithfully, and was one of the lords whom the usurper seized at the council in the Tower. The bishop perceiving the Duke of Buckingham was pleased with his company and discourse, thought he might improve the favour he had obtained of him to the advantage of the commonwealth, by getting him to join in a conspiracy against King Richard, towards whom he found he was not very well inclined; yet he managed the matter so warily, that he rather seemed to follow than to lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole mind to him, and to engage in prosecuting a design which he had formed, to bring about a match between Henry Earl of Richmond, and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to King Edward; by which marriage, the two houses of York and Lancaster would be united, and an end put to the long and bloody disputes between the two factions. He durst not come to the point presently, but advanced to it step by step, as he saw the Duke of Buckingham prepared to harken to it.

When that lord came to Brecknock first, he praised the king, and boasted what great things the nation might expect from such a prince; the bishop replied, "My lord, it would be folly in me to lye; and if I should swear the contrary, your lordship would not, I suppose, believe me. Had things gone as I would have had them, King Henry's son had been king, and not King Edward: but when, by God's providence, he was deprived of the crown, and King Edward advanced to the throne, I was not so mad as to bring a dead man in competition with a living one; so I became King Edward's faithful chaplain, and should have been glad that his son had succeeded him: however, since God has otherwise ordered it, I shall not kick against the pricks, nor labour to set up whom the Almighty has pulled down. As for the late protector, the king that now is ——" Here he stopt short, as if he had said too much already, to heighten the duke's curiosity to know what he had to say more. The duke earnestly desired him to proceed, promising him, upon his honour, that never any hurt should come of it, and perhaps it might produce more good than he was aware of; saying, he intended to consult him, and to be governed by his advice, for which cause only he had procured of the king to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home, otherwise he had been delivered to those that would not have been so kind to him. The bishop humbly thanked him, and said, "Indeed, my lord, I do not care to talk much of princes, as a thing which is dangerous, though the words may be innocent; for if they be not taken in good part, they may be fatal to him that speaks them, the prince putting what construction he pleases upon them: I often think of the fable in Æsop, when the lion proclaimed, That no horned beast should stay in the wood, on pain of death: one that had a bunch of flesh in his forehead fled away in haste; the fox meeting him, asked him, Whither so fast? The beast answered, Troth I do not know, nor do not care, provided I was out of the wood, as the proclamation commands all horned beasts to be gone. You fool, says the fox, thou mayest stay, the lion does not mean thee; it is not a horn that grows in thy head: No, quoth the beast, I know that well enough, but what if he should call it a horn, where am I then?" The duke laughed at the tale, and answered, "I warrant you, my lord, neither the lion nor the boar shall resent any thing that is said here; it shall never go any farther I assure you." The bishop replied, "If it did, were the thing that I was about to say, understood as I meant it, I should deserve thanks; but taken as I suppose it would be, it might perhaps turn to your prejudice and mine." This raised the duke's curiosity still higher; upon which the bishop proceeded thus: "As for the late protector, since he is now king, I do not intend to dispute his title; however, for the good of the realm he governs (of which I am a poor member) I was about to wish, that to the good qualities he possesses, it had pleased God to have added some of those excellent virtues requisite for the governing

governing a kingdom, which are so conspicuous in the person of your grace\*.”

The duke wondering why the bishop made such frequent pauses, was the more eager to have him speak his mind freely; and replied, “I cannot but take notice of your stopping so often in the midst of your discourse, which hinders my making any judgment of your opinion of the king, or your good will towards me. As for any good qualities in me, I pretend to none, and expect no praise on account of my merit. I plainly perceive you have some hidden meaning, which you reserve from me, either out of fear or shame: you may be bold and free with me, who am your friend; I assure you, on my honour, that I will be as secret in this case as the deaf and dumb person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter.”

The bishop grew bolder on the duke's promise of secrecy, in which he was encouraged by the discoveries he made of Buckingham's hatred to the king. He resolved therefore to come to the point, and to propose to the duke, that either out of ambition, or his love to his country, he should attempt to destroy the tyrant.

To this end, he resumed his former conversation in this manner: “My singular good lord, since I have been your grace's prisoner, I have not known what it is to be deprived of liberty; and to avoid idleness, the mother and nurse of vice, I have spent my time in reading. I have read in some of my books, that no man was born for himself only; he owes a duty to his parents, that begat him; to his relations and friends, for proximity of blood and good offices; but above all to the country, whose air he first breathed; and this duty is never to be forgotten: for which reason, I consider the present state of this realm, wherein I was born; and in these considerations, I cannot help making reflections on what a governor we now have, and what a ruler we might have. In the present circumstances of affairs, the kingdom must soon decay: confusion and destruction will certainly be the sudden end of disorder and mis-rule. All my hope is in your grace: when I reflect on your valour, your justice, impartiality, your zeal for the public welfare, your learning, your sense and eloquence, I rejoice in the happiness of England, that possesses so good and so great a prince, worthy the highest dignities: but when I, on the other side, consider the good qualities of the late protector, now called king, how they are violated and subverted by tyranny, eclipsed by blind and insatiate ambition, and changed from mild and human, to cruel and bloody; I cannot forbear declaring openly to you, that he is neither fit to be king of so noble a realm, nor so noble a realm fit to be governed by such a tyrant, whose kingdom, were it larger than it is, could not long continue: God will

\* Sir Thomas Moor here discontinuing his History of Richard the Third, the remainder of this reign is taken from the Chronicles of Hall and Hollinshed.

overthrow those that are thirsty of blood; he will bring horrible slaughter upon them: how many brave and virtuous persons were murdered to make way for him to the throne? Did he not accuse his own mother, an honourable and religious princess, of adultery? which, if it had been true, a dutiful child would have passed it over in silence. Did he not declare his two brothers and his two nephews bastards? And, what is still more barbarous, did he not cause those two poor innocent princes, whose blood cries aloud for vengeance, to be cruelly murdered? My heart melts when I think of their untimely fate; and my soul, with horror, remembers this bloody butcher, this inhuman monster! What man can be sure of his own life, under the dominion of a prince, who spared not his own blood? especially if, at any time, he is suspicious of his fidelity to him, and that he is carrying on ill designs against him, as every thing will be termed, that tends to the good of the public. All will be reckoned guilty by him, that are great and rich. It is enough for persons to have large possessions to provoke his wrath. Now, my lord, to conclude this discourse, with what I have to say to your grace, I conjure you, by your love to God, your illustrious line, and your native country, to take the imperial crown of this realm upon you, to restore this kingdom to its ancient splendour, and deliver it from the violence of the oppressor. I dare affirm, if the Turk stood in competition with this bloody tyrant, this killer of infants, the people of England would prefer him to Richard, who now sits in the throne. How much more, then, would they rejoice to live under the government of so excellent a prince as your grace? Despise not, neither lose, so fair an occasion of saving yourself, and your dear country: but if you will not yourself accept of the sovereignty of this kingdom; if the toils and hazards of a crown, prevail over you more than the charms of power; I intreat you, by the faith you owe to God; and your oath to St. George, patron of the honourable garter, (of which order you are a companion) by your affection to the place that gave you birth, and to the English nation, that you will, in your high and princely wisdom, think of some means of advancing such a good governor, as you shall appoint to rule and govern them. All the hopes of the people of England are in you, and to you only can they fly for succour. If you could set up the house of Lancaster once more, or marry the eldest daughter of King Edward to some great and potent prince, the new king would not long enjoy his usurped empire; all civil war would cease, domestic discord would sleep, and universal peace and profit would be the blessings of this noble realm."

When the bishop had done speaking, the duke continued silent for some time: the bishop changed colour, and was very much concerned at it; expecting his proposal would have been received with joy and greediness.

The duke, perceiving the fright he was in, said, "Fear nothing, my lord, I will keep my word with you; to-morrow we will talk more of the matter, let us now go to supper."

The duke the next day sent for the bishop, who had not all that while been very easy, for fear how his last conversation would be taken. Buckingham repeated almost all the Bishop of Ely had said to him, and when he had done, he pulled off his hat, and made this sort of a prayer; "O Lord God, creator of all things! how much is thy kingdom of England, and the English nation, indebted to thy goodness? Though we are now oppressed by an evil governor, yet I hope, ere long, by thy help to provide such a ruler as shall be to thy pleasure, and the security of the commonwealth." He then put on his hat, and applied himself thus to the bishop: "My Lord of Ely, I have always found you faithful and affectionate to me, and especially in your last free confidence in me: I acknowledge you to be a sure friend, a trusty counsellor, a vigilant statesman, and a true lover of your country; for which I return you hearty thanks now, and shall recompense you more effectually, if life and power serve. Since, when we were last together, you opened your mind freely, touching the Duke of Gloucester, who has usurped the crown; and hinted a little, the advancement of the two noble families of York and Lancaster; I shall also, with as much freedom, communicate to you what I have done, and what I intend to do. I declare therefore, that when King Edward died, to whom I thought I was very little obliged, (though he and I had married two sisters) because he neither promoted, nor preferred me as I thought I deserved, by my birth, and the relation I had to him, I did not much value his children's interest, having their father's hard usage still in my mind; I called an old proverb to remembrance, which says, Woe be to that kingdom where children rule, and women govern! I thought it of very ill consequence to the people of England, to suffer the young king to govern, or the queen his mother to be regent; considering that her brothers and her children, by her first husband, though of no high descent, would be at the head of all affairs, by their favour with the queen, and have more share in the government than the king's relations, or any person of the highest quality in the kingdom. For this reason, I thought it to be for the public welfare, and my private advantage, to side with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I took to be as sincere and merciful, as I now find him to be false and cruel. By my means, as you, my lord, know well, he was made protector of the king and kingdom. After which, partly by fair words, and partly by threats, he persuaded me and other lords, as well spiritual as temporal, to consent that he might assume the crown, till the young king was four and twenty years of age. I stuck at it at first, and he produced instruments witnessed by doctors, proctors, and notaries, whose depositions I then thought to be true,

testifying

testifying that King Edward's children were bastards. When these testimonials were read before us, he stood up bare-headed, and said, 'Well, my lords, even as I and you (sage and discreet counsellors) would that my nephew should have no wrong, so I pray you to do me nothing but right. These depositions being true, I am the undoubted heir to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who by act of parliament was adjudged the true heir to the crown of this realm.'

"Upon which, myself and others took him really for our rightful prince and sovereign lord. The Duke of Clarence's son, by reason of his father's attainder, could not inherit. The duke was also suspected to be a bastard. Thus, by my assistance and friendship, he was made king; at which time he promised me, at Baynard's Castle, laying his hand on mine, that the two young princes should live, and should be provided for, to mine and every one's satisfaction. How he performed his promises, we all know, to our sorrow. When he was in possession of the throne, he forgot his friends, and the assurances he had given them: he denied to grant my petition for part of the Earl of Hereford's lands, which his brother wrongfully detained from me; he refused me in such manner, as made the affront much more intolerable. I have borne his ingratitude hitherto with patience; I have concealed my resentments I had with him afterwards, carried it outwardly fair, though I inwardly repented that I had been accessory to his advancement. But when I was certainly informed of the death of the two innocent princes; to which (God be my judge!) I never consented; my blood curdled at his treason and barbarity: I abhorred the sight of him, and his company much more; and, pretending an excuse to leave the court, retired to Brecknock. In my way home, I meditated how I might dethrone this unnatural uncle. I thought, if I would take the sovereignty on myself, now was the time. The temporal lords, I saw, hated the tyrant; he was odious alike to the gentlemen and people of England; and had I assumed the supreme power, I thought there was nobody so likely to carry it as myself. Flattering my ambition with those vain imaginations, I staid two days at Tewkesbury. As I travelled further homewards, I considered, that to pretend to seat myself on the throne as a conqueror, would not do; which would be to subject the whole constitution of the government, and entitle the conqueror to all the noblemen's possessions, which would ruin my design: at last I remembered that Edmund Duke of Somerset my grandfather, was, with King Henry the Sixth, in two or three degrees from John Duke of Lancaster lawfully begotten; my mother being Duke Edmund's eldest daughter, I looked on myself as the next heir to Henry the Sixth, of the house of Lancaster: but as I travelled homewards, between Worcester and Bridgenorth, I met the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, at present wife to the Lord Stanley, who is the rightful and sole heir of John Duke of Somerset, my grandfather's elder

brother, whose title I had forgot, till I saw her in my way, and then I remembered that both her claim, and her son the Earl of Richmond's, were bars to mine, and forbade my pretending to the imperial crown of England.

"I had some discourse with her about her son, and then we parted, she for Worcester, and I for Shrewsbury. As I proceeded in my journey, I considered with myself, whether since I could not pretend to the crown by descent, I might not have recourse to the election of the lords and gentry of the realm, the usurper being generally hated by them: but then I began to reflect on the dangers and difficulties of the enterprize; that the late king's daughters and friends, and the Earl of Richmond's relations, whose interest is very considerable, would certainly oppose me to the utmost; and if the houses of Lancaster and York should join against me, I should soon lose the vain power I might obtain: wherefore I resolved to flatter myself no more with chimeras of my imaginary right to the royal diadem, but only to revenge mine and the people's wrongs, on the common enemy.

"The Countess of Richmond proposed, in the conversation we had on the road, that her son might marry one of King Edward's daughters; and she conjured me, by the memory of Duke Humphrey my grandfather, that I would procure the king's favour for her son, and get him to consent to the match. I took no notice of her proposal then; which, when I weighed in my mind, I found of so great advantage to the commonwealth, that I thought it was an inspiration of the Holy Spirit for the benefit of the kingdom; and I came to a resolution in myself to spend my life and fortune in endeavouring to accomplish so glorious a design, to marry the Princess Elizabeth to the Earl of Richmond, the heir of the house of Lancaster, in whose quarrel my father and grandfather lost their lives in battle. If the mothers of the princess and the earl can come to an agreement concerning the marriage, I doubt not but the proud boar, whose tusks have gored so many innocent persons, shall soon be brought to confusion; the rightful and indubiate heir shall enjoy the crown; and peace be restored to this distracted kingdom."

The bishop rejoiced extremely at this free declaration of the duke: and, that he might not slacken his zeal in so righteous a cause, he endeavoured to fire him the more, and hasten him to the execution of his designs: "My lord," says the bishop, "since by the providence of God, and your grace's incomparable wisdom, this happy alliance is set on foot, it is convenient, or rather necessary, that we should consult whom to trust in so important and perilous an undertaking. To whom shall we first apply towards effecting it?" "To whom," replied the duke, "but to the Countess of Richmond, who knows where her son is, and how to send to him." The bishop answered, "If you begin there, I have an old friend in her service, one Reginald Bray, a man of probity and judgment, for whom I will send, to at-

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tend your grace, and receive your commands, if you think proper so to do." The duke consenting to it, the bishop wrote to Mr. Bray to come to him to Brecknock; which he did immediately, believing there was something to be done for his lady's and her son's service. The duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of Richmond, no less than to seat him in the royal throne of England, if he swore to marry the Lady Elizabeth; and by that alliance put an end to the long and bloody dispute between the white rose and the red.

In order to this, he said, the countess must manage the business with the queen-dowager and the princess her daughter, and when they were engaged, send to her son in Bretagne, and get him to swear he would perform the articles agreed on between his mother and the Princess Elizabeth in both their names. Bray gladly undertook to carry this message to his mistress. And now they were embarked in so great an affair, the bishop, who longed to be at liberty, desired the duke to let him go to Ely, where the number of his friends would secure him against all the force King Richard could send to destroy him. The duke being loth to lose so able and experienced a counsellor, excused his detaining him a little longer; saying, he should go in a few days, and so well accompanied, that he need fear no enemy.

The bishop, impatient of confinement, stole away from Brecknock to Ely in disguise, raised money there, and passed over into Flanders. The good prelate thought he had done enough, in setting the duke at work on so hazardous a business, in which it seems he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more serviceable to the Earl of Richmond abroad, or was afraid of his person at home, or whatever reason he had to leave the Duke of Buckingham, he does not appear to be excuseable in history: knowing the duke was too apt to open his mind freely, he might have imagined that his indiscretion would ruin him, and it was to sacrifice a person of his high quality to put him upon an enterprize he was not fit to manage, and then forsake him in the execution of it; at which the duke was very much concerned.

In the mean time, Reginald Bray returned to his mistress, informed her of what had been concerted between the duke and the bishop, for the advancement of her son; and the countess, with great joy, intended to play her part as soon as possible. The first thing she was to do, was to engage the queen-dowager and the princess; to which purpose she dispatched one Lewis a Welshman, who was her physician, with instructions to attend the queen at Westminster, and break the matter to her. Lewis's message was not in the least suspected, because he came as a doctor, to advise her about her health. When he was admitted into her presence, and every body withdrawn, he gave her to understand what errand he was sent upon: he set forth the wrongs she, her children, and the whole nation, had suffered by the tyranny of Richard, what miseries had befallen the kingdom by the civil

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war between the houses of York and Lancaster, and what advantages would accrue to her, her children, and the commonwealth, by the uniting the two houses, in marrying her daughter Elizabeth, the only true heir of the house of York, to his mistress's son, the only true heir of the house of Lancaster. The queen heard him with attention, agreed to the proposals, and bade him tell his lady, that all King Edward's friends and dependants should join with her for the Earl of Richmond, on condition he took his corporal oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, or, in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her second daughter. Dr. Lewis carried this pleasing answer to his mistress; from whom he went frequently to the queen as a physician, and from her to the countess, till matters were fully concluded between them. While these things were transacting by the two princesses, Reginald Bray was employed to engage as many persons of quality as he could in the earl's interest; accordingly, he procured Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney, Richard Guilford and Thomas Rame, Esquires, and others, to promise their utmost assistance, taking an oath of secrecy and fidelity of all of them. The queen-dowager, on her part, made the earl many friends, and the business in a short time was so ripe, that it was thought proper to send an account of it to the earl, and give him notice to prepare for his return to England. Christopher Urswick, her chaplain, was first sent, and soon after followed by Hugh Conway, Esq. with money to provide men and other necessaries for his voyage, and a full account of the disposition the nobility and commonalty were in to receive him favourably. She advised him to land in Wales, that principality being most inclined to him, as well for his descent being Welsh, as for the great estate she had there. For fear Mr. Conway should miscarry in his voyage, Mr. Rame was dispatched away with the same instructions: the former sailed from Plymouth, the latter from Kent; and though they took different routes, they arrived at the Duke of Bretagne's court both within an hour of each other. They communicated the subject of their commission to Richmond, for which he rendered thanks to the Almighty, being such joyful news as he would not have given light credit to; but it came so circumstantiated, and by such trusty messengers, that he did not doubt of the truth of it. He imparted the secret to the Duke of Bretagne, informing him what a fair prospect he had of obtaining the crown of England, desiring him to assist him, and promising to return all his acts of generosity and friendship as soon as it was in his power. The duke gave him hopes of assistance, and accordingly he lent him money and troops for his intended expedition; though Thomas Hutton, King Richard's ambassador, offered large sums, and earnestly solicited the duke and his ministers to put the earl's person in safe custody. The earl, having received so good encouragement in Bretagne, sent Mr. Conway and Mr. Rame back again, to give his friends an account of his intentions and preparations,

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tions, and to desire them to provide every thing necessary for his reception.

The messengers returning, satisfied the queen-dowager by Dr. Lewis, of the earl's readiness to comply with the terms she proposed, and informed the conspirators of the Duke of Bretagne's promising to lend him men and money: upon which they all repaired to their several posts to make provision for joining him with sufficient strength to accomplish their designs when he arrived. With these, all such as had any grudge against or quarrel with King Richard, fell in, by which means the party increased daily; and so many persons could not act zealously in such an affair, without giving umbrage of their intentions to the usurper.

King Richard endeavoured by his spies to find out the bottom of their conspiracies, but he had to deal with men of equal cunning and secrecy, and he could not fix the matter on any one, though he did not doubt but there was a plot carrying on to dethrone him, and advance the Earl of Richmond. The Duke of Buckingham's avoiding the court, made him jealous that he was in it; and to get him into his power, he made use of his dissimulation, a quality that had been very serviceable to him in his usurpation, and wrote him very kind obliging letters to come to London: but the duke, pretending indifference, excused himself. The king, enraged to find his artifices unsuccessful, sent him a letter in a rougher stile, commanding him on his allegiance to attend him. The duke answered as roughly, that he would not expose himself to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would serve: he knew this answer was a declaration of war, and to lose no time took arms. The same did Thomas Marquis of Dorset, who had escaped out of sanctuary in Yorkshire; Sir Edward Courtney, and Peter Bishop of Exeter his brother, in Devonshire and Cornwall; and others in other places. The king, hearing of these insurrections, was not at all disheartened, but mustering all his forces, marched against the Duke of Buckingham, the head and heart of the conspirators; whom, if he suppressed, he supposed the others would fall of course, or if not, he might easily reduce them. The duke, rather by the influence he had over the Welshmen who were his tenants, than out of an inclination they had to follow him, got a great multitude of them together, with whom he marched through the forest of Dean towards Gloucester, intending to pass the Severn there, and thence to proceed into the west to join the Courtneys; which, if he could have effected, King Richard's reign had not been so long as it was by a year. But it happened that the river Severn was so swollen by a continual rain for ten days together, that it overflowed all the neighbouring country, did abundance of damage, and it was so remarkable, that for a hundred years after, that inundation was called, the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water, by the inhabitants of those parts. These floods, as it hindered the duke's passing the Severn to join his friends in Devon-

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shire, so it prevented his friends on the other side of the river passing over to him; in which extremity the Welshmen deserted by degrees, till at last the duke had none left about him but his domestic servants. Nor prayers nor threats could keep them together, so he was forced to fly with the rest; and in despair fled to the house of one Humphrey Banister near Shrewsbury, designing to hide himself there till he could raise more forces, or escape thence to the Earl of Richmond in Bretagne. He trusted this Banister, as a man who had so many obligations to him, that he did not think it could be almost possible for human nature to be so ungrateful; as to betray a master who had been so kind to a servant as the duke had been to Banister; having bred him up, provided for him honourably, and put entire confidence in him on many occasions. Yet upon King Richard's proclamation to apprehend the duke, with a promise of a thousand pounds reward to the man that should discover him; this faithless wretch betrayed his master to John Milton, Esq. sheriff of Shropshire, who surrounded his house with a party of the county militia, seized the duke, and carried him to the king, who then kept his court at Salisbury. Banister and his whole family were destroyed by the surprising judgments of the Almighty. The usurper refused to pay him the thousand pounds promised in the proclamation; saying, he that would betray so good a master, would be false to any other. The duke earnestly desired to be admitted to the king's presence; but whether he was or not, we cannot determine. Some writers affirm he was, and that he attempted to stab him with a dagger. It is certain he confessed the whole conspiracy, and without any further trial was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, on the second of November. Such was the fate of Henry Stafford, whom most authors call Edward Duke of Buckingham. He married Catharine the daughter of Richard Woodville, sister to Queen Elizabeth, wife to Edward IV. by whom he had Edward Duke of Buckingham, Henry Earl of Wiltshire, and two daughters; the one married George Lord Hastings, and the other Richard Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwaters. The Duke of Buckingham was hereditary constable of England; and his estate and revenues were so great, that King Richard had reason to be jealous of him; for no subject in England was so powerful, either in the number of his tenants and dependants, or in his vast riches.

By the dispersing of the Welshmen, the western army was so discouraged, that every man shifted for himself; some fled to sanctuary, others took shipping and sailed to Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond. Among these were Peter Courtney, bishop of Exeter; Sir Edward Courtney, his brother, afterwards created Earl of Devonshire by Henry the Seventh; Thomas Marquis Dorset; John Lord Welles; Sir John Bourchier; Sir Edward Woodville, the queen-dowager's brother; Sir Robert Willoughby; Sir Giles Daubeney; Sir John Cheney, and his two brothers, Sir Thomas Arundell; Sir

William

William Berkley; Sir William Branden; Thomas Branden, Esq. his brother; Sir Richard Edgecomb; John Hallowell, Esq. and Captain Edward Poynings, a famous soldier, whom Henry VII. highly preferred. King Richard did all that a wise prince could think of, to prevent their getting off. Knowing what an addition to the earl's power, the presence of so many persons of quality would make, he set guards on most of the ports of England; but those in the west being in the hands of the malecontents, they escaped the cruel vengeance which was prepared for them. The usurper fitted out a fleet, to cruize off the coasts of Bretagne, and prevent the Earl of Richmond's landing any forces in England; but the earl not hearing of the duke's misfortune, set sail the 12th of October, with a fleet of forty ships, having five thousand Bretons on board. They had not been long at sea before they met with a storm that scattered their fleet: the ship in which was the earl in person, was driven on the coast of England, to the mouth of the haven of Pool, in Dorsetshire; where finding the shore was crouded with troops to oppose his descent, he forbade any of his men to land till the whole navy came up. However, he sent out his boat with some officers to demand of the men, who stood on the shore, whether they were friends or enemies? These traitors, instructed by King Richard, answered they were friends, posted there by the Duke of Buckingham, to receive the Earl of Richmond. The earl suspecting the deceit, and perceiving he was alone, the rest of his fleet not appearing, weighed anchor and returned to France. He landed in Normandy, where he refreshed himself and his men two or three days, and then sent a gentleman to Charles the Eighth, the French king, desiring passports through his territories into Bretagne, which was readily granted by Charles. However, the earl did not stay for the return of his courier, but, trusting to the French king's generosity, continued his journey through Normandy to Vannes, where the Duke of Bretagne resided. When he arrived there, he heard of the Duke of Buckingham's death, and found the Marquis Dorset, and the other English gentlemen who had made their escape. They all swore allegiance to him; and he took his corporal oath, on the same day, the 25th of December, that he would marry the Princess Elizabeth, when he had suppressed the usurper Richard, and was in possession of the crown.

The zeal which these gentlemen shewed in his cause, and the consideration of the great interest they had in England, lessened the earl's sorrow for the misfortune of his friends, in their first attempts against the tyrant, and encouraged him to refit his fleet, and prepare for a new voyage to England, where many of his friends were seized and executed; as, Sir George Brown, and Sir Roger Clifford, who were beheaded at London; and Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the king's own sister, the Duchess of Exeter, Thomas Rame, Esq. and several of his own servants: the two former were executed at Exon; the latter, whom he condemned on bare suspicion, at Lon-

don, and other places. The usurper made a progress to Devonshire and Cornwall, to settle the peace of those counties, where the earl's party was very numerous. The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Exeter, presented him with a purse of gold, to obtain his favour: he received it graciously, lay in the city one night, and the next day went about it, to make a view of it: when he came to the castle, and was informed it was called Rugemont, he seemed very melancholy, and said, "I find I shall not live long!" He thought that name was foretold by an old prophecy which he had heard relating to him, that, "his end would be nigh when he came to Richmond:" which prediction was fulfilled at the battle of Bosworth. In his western journey, he found the gentlemen of those parts were almost all concerned in the conspiracy to depose him, and raise the Earl of Richmond to the throne. All that had made their escape were outlawed, and those that fell into his hands were put to death; for he knew not what mercy and humanity meant.

In the beginning of the following year, [1484] he summoned a parliament, in which the Earl of Richmond and his followers were attainted\*, and

\* The following is an exact copy of a letter sent by King Richard, persuading his subjects to resist the Earl of Richmond, and also to inform them of his descent.—E.

"RICHARD R.

"Richard, &c. wisheth health, we command you, &c.

"Forasmuch as the king, our sovereign lord, hath certain knowledge that Piers, bishop of Exeter, Jasper Tydder [Tudor] son of Owen Tydder, calling himself Earl of Pembroke, John late Earl of Oxford, and Sir Edward Wodeville, with others diverse, his rebels and traitors, disabled and attainted by the authority of the high court of parliament, of whom many may be known for open murderers, advowtefers [adulterers] and extortioners, contrary to the pleasure of God, and against all truth, honour and nature, have forsaken their natural country, taking them first to be under the obedience of the Duke of Bretagne and to him promised certain things, which by him and his council were thought things too greatly unnatural and abominable for them to grant, observe, keep, and perform, and therefore the same utterly refused.

"The said traitors, seeing the said duke and his council would not aid nor succour them, nor follow their ways, privily departed out of his country into France, and there taking them to be under the obedience of the king's ancient enemy, Charles, calling himself king of France, and to abuse and blind the commons of this said realm, the said rebels and traitors have chosen to be their captain one Henry Tydder [Tudor] son of Edmund Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, which of his ambitious and insatiable covetise [covetousness] encroached and usurpeth upon him the name and title of Royal Estate of this realm of England; whereunto he hath no manner of interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blood, both of father's side, and of mother's side; for the said Owen the grandfather was bastard born; and his mother was daughter unto John, Duke of Somerset, son unto John, Earl of Somerset, son unto dame Katharine Swynford, and of their indouble avoury gotten; whereby it evidently appeareth, that no title can nor may in him, which fully intendeth to enter this realm, proposing a conquest; and if he should achieve his false intent and purpose, every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty, and disposition; whereby should ensue the disheriting and destruction of all the noble and worshipful blood of this realm for ever, and to the resistance and withstanding whereof every true and natural Englishman born, must lay to his hands for his own surety and weal.

"And to the intent that the said Henry Tydder might the rather achieve his false intent and purpose by the aid, support, and assistance of the king's ancient enemy of France, (he) hath covenanted and bargained with him, and all the council of France, to give up and release in perpetuity all the right, title, and claim, that the king of Eng-

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and the people burdened with severe taxes and impositions. The money so collected was wasted on his creatures, or squandered away prodigally on such as knew any thing of his guilt in the death of his nephews, to stop their mouths. He obliged the Lord Stanley to confine his wife, the Countess of Richmond, so that she should have no means of holding correspondence with any one to his prejudice. He ordered William Collingburne, of Lydiard in Wiltshire, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aiding and assisting the Earl of Richmond and his followers, and writing a satirical distich upon him and his favourites, the Lord Viscount Lovel, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby:

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,  
Rule all England under a hog;”

Alluding by the hog to the usurper's arms, one of his supporters being a Wild Boar. Yet these executions did not ease him of his fears: he heard, by his emissaries abroad, that Dr. Moreton, bishop of Ely, and Urfevich, the Countess of Richmond's chaplain, who lived in

land have had, and ought to have, to the crown and realm of France, together with the duchies of Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne, Gascoign and Guyenes, Cassell, and the towes of Calais, Guyenes, Hammes, with the marches appertaining to the same, and diverser and exclude the arms of France out of the arms of England for ever.

“ And in more proof and shewing, of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tydder hath given [given] as well to divers of the said king's enemies, as to his said rebels and traitors, archbishopsricks, bishopsricks, and other dignities spiritual; and also the duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other possessions and inheritances of knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other the king's true subjects within the realm; and intendeth also to change and subvert the laws of the same, and to enduce [introduce] and establish new laws and ordinances amongst the king's said subjects.

“ And over this, and besides the alienations of all the premises into the possession of the king's said ancient enemies, to the greatest anytiffament [annihilation] shame, and rebuke, that ever might fall to this said land, the said Henry Tydder and others, the king's rebels and traitors aforesaid, have extended [intended] at their coming, if they may be of power, to do the most cruel murders, slaughters, and robberies, and dishonours, that ever were seen in any christian realm.

“ For the which, and other inestimable dangers to be eschewed, and to the intent that the king's said rebels, traitors and enemies, may be utterly put from their said malicious and false purpose, and soon discomfited, if they enforce [endeavour] to land,

“ The king our sovereign lord willeth, chargeth, and commandeth, all and every of the natural and true subjects of this his realm, to call the premises to their minds, and like good and true Englishmen to endower [furnish] themselves with all their powers for the defence of them, their wives, children, and goods, and hereditaments, against the said malicious purposes and conspirations, which the said ancient enemies have made with the king's said rebels and traitors, for the final destruction of this land, as is aforesaid.

“ And our said sovereign lord, as a well willed, diligent, and courageous prince, will put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in this behalf. for the resistance and subduing of his said enemies, rebels and traitors, to the most comfort, weal, and surety of all his true and faithful liege men and subjects.

“ And over this, our said sovereign lord willeth and commandeth all his said subjects to be ready in their most defensible array, to do his highness service of war, when they by open proclamation, or otherwise, shall be commanded so to do, for resistance of the king's said rebels, traitors, and enemies. And this under peril, &c.

“ Witness myself at Westminster, the 23d day of June, in the second year of our reign.”

Flanders, had carried on a close correspondence with many of the chief persons in his kingdom; and that the Duke of Bretagne still continued to protect and support the Earl Henry. He saw the storm that had lately been gathering over him was not dispersed by the Duke of Buckingham's death, and the flight of the Courtneys; the clouds grew darker still, and the tempest that threatened him was such as required all his arts, and all his power, to provide against. He secured his dominions on the side of Scotland, by entering into an alliance with the Scot king, to whose eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, he married the Lady Anne de la Pool, daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne, the usurper's best beloved sister. Her son John he proclaimed heir apparent to the crown, without having regard to King Edward the Fourth's daughters: yet all his negociations and successes abroad and at home were ineffectual, and he perceived that nothing would entirely secure him against the earl and his friends contrivances, unless he could get his person into his power. To this purpose he sent over other ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne, with instructions to apply themselves to Peter Landeise, the duke's chief minister and favourite, and by immense sums of money to endeavour to tempt him to betray the earl. They were to offer him, for the duke his master, the clear profits of all the earl's estate in England, and for himself whatever he could ask of them. The treacherous Breton hearkened to the proposals made by Richard's ambassadors, and promised to deliver the Earl of Richmond to them. But the bishop of Ely, who had intelligence in King Richard and in the Duke of Bretagne's courts, understood what designs were forming against Earl Henry, of which he sent him notice by Ursewich; and the earl giving credit to his information, escaped in disguise with his principal officers into the French king's dominions, Landeise intended a day or two after to have seized him; and when he missed him, sent couriers into all parts of the dutchy in search of him. He was scarce got into the French territories, when one of the parties that were sent out after him, came within an hour's riding of him; but he had prevented Landeise his treachery, who acted without his master's privity, the Duke of Bretagne being at that time dangerously ill, and leaving all things to his management. The English refugees that remained in Bretagne, expected all to be delivered up to the fury of King Richard, when they heard of the earl's escape, and the reasons of it: and had not the Duke of Bretagne recovered, and took on him the administration of affairs, the traitor Landeise would have seized them, and yielded them up to the usurper's ambassadors. The duke inquiring into the causes of the earl's flight into France, was very much displeas'd with Landeise, and sent for Sir Edward Woodyll and Captain Poynings, to whom he excused the treachery of his minister, disowning the knowledge of it, and gave them a considerable sum of money, to conduct them to all the Englishmen who were at Vannes, through Bretagne into France,

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to their master the Earl of Richmond: for which generous act the earl sent him thanks, by a messenger on purpose. Himself went to Loinges on the Loire, where Charles the Eighth, the French king, kept his court, and from thence accompanied him to Montargis. Charles entertained him and his followers very magnificently, but was not very forward to lend him any assistance.

While the earl was in the French court, John Earl of Oxford repaired to him, with John Blunt, captain of the castle of Haumes, in which the Lord Oxford had been confined several years, and had engaged the governor in the interest of the Earl of Richmond: with them came Sir John Fortescue, porter of the town of Calais. James Blunt had reinforced his garrison, supplied it with all sorts of provisions, for a vigorous defence, and left a trusty officer to command there in his absence. The arrival of the Earl of Oxford, and the revolt of the garrison of Haumes, animated afresh Earl Henry and his friends, whose spirits began to sink, seeing the little hopes they had of help in France. Their company increased after this daily: most of the English gentlemen who were students in the university of Paris, did homage to the earl; among whom was Mr. Richard Fox, afterwards bishop of Winchester; and as their numbers grew greater abroad, their interest at home was consequently enlarged.

The usurper, who by spies had a full account of all their proceedings, knew that the hopes of the party were founded on the earl's promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which he resolved by some means or other to prevent; and to that end he did his utmost to ingratiate himself with her mother, Queen Elizabeth. He sent several flattering messages to her in sanctuary; promised to advance the Marquis Dorset, and all her relations, and won upon her so much by his fair speeches, that, forgetting the many affronts he had cast on the memory of her husband, on her own honour, and the legitimacy of her children, and even the murder of her dear sons, she complied with him, and promised to bring over her son, and all the late king's friends, from the party of the Earl of Richmond. She went so far, as to deliver up her five daughters into his hands; whom, as soon as King Richard had got in his custody, he resolved to order the matter so, that he might be in a condition to take the eldest of them to be his wife; which was a sure way of defeating the Earl of Richmond's purposes. Queen Elizabeth was so charmed by his false promises, that she wrote to her son the Marquis Dorset, to leave Earl Henry, and hasten to England, where she had procured him a pardon, and provided all sorts of honours for him. What success her letters had, we shall see in the course of this history,

We have already observed, that King Richard had cast his eyes upon his brother Edward the Fourth's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth: he had been guilty of treason and murder, and almost all the crimes that are to be found in the infernal rolls; incest seemed only wanting



wanting to make him a complete monster of mankind, the horror of his people, and the shame of the whole world. As he was master of the art of dissimulation, and had lately put on the mask of piety, so he was a little at a loss how to remove his wife out of the way, to make room for his niece in his bed. He began his lewd design, by shewing an aversion to his wife's company and embraces. He complained to several lords of the council of her barrenness; especially to Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, whom he had lately released out of prison. He told him of some private defects in the queen, which had rendered her person disagreeable to him, and hoped the bishop would tell her of it, who, being a woman of a meek temper, he thought would take it so much to heart, that she would not live long after it. Dr. Rotherham said to some of his most intimate friends, "The queen's days are but few!" for he perceived, by the usurper's discourse, that he was weary of her, and wanted another wife; and he knew him so well, that he could not suppose he would scruple to add one murder more to the many bloody cruelties he had been guilty of, to satisfy his lust and ambition. To prepare the way for her death, he ordered a report to be spread among the people, that she was dead; which he did with an intention, that the rumour, coming to her ears, it might alarm her with fear of her sudden fate, and those fears throw her into a disease which might carry her off. The queen no sooner heard of what was reported against her, but she believed it came originally from her husband; and thence concluding that her hour was drawing nigh, she ran to him in a most sorrowful and deplorable condition, and demanded of him, What she had done to deserve death? The tyrant answered her with fair words and false smiles, bidding her, Be of good cheer, for to his knowledge she had no other cause. But whether her grief, as he designed it should, struck so to her heart, that it broke with the mortal wound, or he hastened her end, as was generally suspected, by poison, she died in a few days afterwards. She was daughter of the famous Earl of Warwick, and, when Richard married her, widow to Prince Edward, heir to Henry the Sixth. The usurper affected to shew an extraordinary sorrow at her death, and was at the expence of a pompous funeral for her. Notwithstanding all his pretended mourning, before she was scarce cold in her grave, he made his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, who had his love in abhorrence, and the whole kingdom appeared averse to so unnatural a marriage. His affairs were in such an ill posture, that he durst not provoke the queen and the people further, by putting a violence on the princess's inclinations; so he deferred his courtship, till he was better settled in the throne. The nobility daily passed over into France; the gentry and commonalty every where shewed an affection to the Earl of Richmond, as far as they durst do it, without bringing themselves under the lash of the tyrant's laws. He was most jealous of Thomas Lord Stanley; his brother, Sir William Stanley; and Gilbert Talbot.

lot. He obliged the Lord Stanley to leave his son George Stanley, Lord Strange, at court, as an hostage of his own fidelity. He commanded the governor of Calais to attack the castle of Haumes\*. The Earl of Oxford and Captain Blunt immediately hastened to the relief of it; but before they could arrive near it, the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and the besiegers, on the report of the Earl of Oxford's approach, offering them to march out with bag and baggage, they surrendered the fort, and joined the earl, who led them to Paris, where they were entertained by the Earl of Richmond. The reduction of Haumes, and the small hopes of assistance which Earl Henry had in the French court, made the usurper so secure, that he recalled the squadron of men of war, which he had ordered to cruize in the channel and prevent the earl's making a descent in England, and contented himself with commanding the lords and gentlemen, who lived near the coasts, to be on their guard to defend them.

In the mean time, the Earl of Richmond continued his negotiations in the court of France for succours; but Charles the Eighth being in his minority, he was forced to apply to the regents, or ministers of state, who being divided among themselves, had no inclination to unite in his favour. The chiefest of them was Lewis Duke of Orleans, who afterwards was king: but by their civil dissensions, the affair of his supplies was spun on to so great a length, that the usurper flattered himself it would never take effect; for this reason he grew more pleasant than before, his joy increased as his care lessened, and lulled him at last into a fatal security.

The queen-dowager, to oblige the king, who lately appeared very ready to serve her and her daughters, continued to write to her son the Marquis of Dorset, to leave Earl Henry. The marquis, fearing the earl would not succeed in his enterprize, gave way to his mother's persuasions and King Richard's flattering promises; left the earl, and stole away from Paris by night, intending to escape to Flanders: but as soon as the earl had notice of his flight, he applied to the French court for leave to apprehend him in any part of his dominions; for both himself and his followers were afraid of his discovering all their designs, to their utter destruction, if he got to England. Having obtained licence to seize him, the earl sent messengers every way in search of him; and among the rest, Humphrey Cheyney, Esq. who overtook him near Champagne, and by arguments and fair promises prevailed with him to return. By the marquis's disposition to leave him, the earl began to doubt, that if he delayed his expedition to England longer, many more of his friends might grow cold in their zeal for him; so he earnestly solicited the French court for aid, desiring so small a supply of men and money, that Charles could not in honour refuse him; yet for what he lent him, he would have hostages, that satisfaction should be made. The earl made no scruple of that; so leaving the Lord Marquis Dorset

\* In the year 1485.

(whom he still mis-trusted) and Sir John Bouchier, as his pledges at Paris, he departed for Roan, where the few men that the French king had lent him, and all the English that followed his fortunes, rendezvoused.

When he arrived there, he was informed of the usurper's intentions to marry the Princess Elizabeth himself; and her sister, the Princess Cecilia, to a man of mean condition. This was mortifying news to him; for he imagined if his alliance with the house of York was by that means broken, their friends would all fall off from him: however, he resolved to push for the crown, as heir to the house of Lancaster: but then it was necessary for him to increase his strength and interest; wherefore he dispatched away a messenger to Sir Walter Herbert, a man of great power in Wales, to get him to espouse his quarrel, by an offer of marrying his sister, a beautiful young lady. The Earl of Northumberland had married another of Sir Walter's sisters; and the Earl of Richmond's agent had instructions to address himself also to him, and persuade him to forward the marriage. The messenger found the ways so narrowly watched, that he could not proceed on his journey; and it was well for the earl that he did no more in it, for had any such treaty been proposed and known, his friends, who were so on the Princess Elizabeth's account, had all forsaken him. The messenger being thus disappointed, the earl received one out of England, Morgan Kidwellie, Esq. a lawyer, who brought him advice that Sir Rice ap Thomas, a gentleman who was as powerful in Wales as Sir Walter Herbert, and Captain John Savage, a famous soldier, had made great preparations to assist him; that Reginald Bray had collected large sums of money to pay his troops, and earnestly entreated him to hasten his voyage, and direct his course to Wales. The earl, rejoicing at this good news, ordered all his forces to embark; and sailed from Harfleur in Normandy, in August, with about two thousand men, in a few ships, just enough to transport them. After seven days sail, he arrived in the haven of Milford, and landed at a place called Dalle; from whence he marched the next day to Haverfordwest, where he was received with joy by the townsmen. Having refreshed his men, and sent notice, by trusty messengers, to his mother, the Lord Stanley, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, that he intended to direct his march towards London, desiring them to meet him on the way with their powers, he advanced to Shrewsbury, where Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with the Earl of Shrewsbury's tenants, as Sir Rice ap Thomas and Richard Griffith, Esq. had done before with a body of Welshmen; by which his army became so strong, that he easily reduced all the towns to which he came in his march. Sir Rice ap Thomas would not come unto him, till he had promised to make him Governor of Wales, in case he got the crown; which the earl agreed to, and performed, as soon as it was in his power, Sir Rice having been very faithful and serviceable to him.

In the mean while, the Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William Stanley raised men, but did not declare whom they would side with: Sir William advanced with his army into Staffordshire, and waited on the Earl of Richmond at Stafford, attended only by twenty or thirty persons. The Lord Stanley lay at Litchfield with five thousand men; yet neither he nor his brother joined the earl. Sir William having had a short conference with him, returned to his forces; and when the earl approached near Litchfield, the Lord Stanley returned to Atherstone, to prevent King Richard's having any suspicion of him; being afraid that the tyrant would murder his son the Lord Strange, whom he had in his custody, if he sided openly with the Earl of Richmond.

The usurper at first despised the earl's attempt; hearing he had brought so few men with him, he did not doubt but Sir Walter Herbert would easily suppress him with the militia of Wales, which he ordered him to raise; but when he heard that Sir Walter had suffered him to pass, and so many gentlemen had joined him with their friends and dependants, that his army would be as numerous as his own, if the Lancashire men, under the Stanleys, declared for him, he resolved to oppose him in person. He commanded Henry Earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and other gentlemen, whose loyalty he suspected, to attend him in arms, and sent for the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, and others, to bring their whole strength with them, to enable him to give the earl battle before he received further assistance. When all his troops were arrived at Nottingham, where he kept his court, he put himself at their head, and led them to Leicester. Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and several others, found means to desert to the earl; which, though it was a great discouragement to Richard, yet it did ease Earl Henry of his discontent for that the Lord Stanley had not joined him. His army proceeded from Litchfield to Tamworth, himself bringing up the rear with about twenty horse.

As he was musing on the difficulties of his enterprize, he lagged behind his company; and it growing dark, they marched on, and entered Tamworth before they missed him. His care was increased by a report that King Richard was at hand; whose coming up before the Lord Stanley had joined him, threatened his whole army with destruction: yet his men were not discouraged; they trusted in their own valour, and the goodness of their cause, and proceeded with great resolution.

The earl having insensibly lost his companions, and the highway to Tamworth, turned aside to a little village three miles from Tamworth, where he staid all night, not daring to discover himself, or ask a guide to the town. His followers were much surprized at his absence, and afraid what was become of him. He was also apprehensive

hensive of the ill effects of their missing him, and not a little fearful of falling into the hands of some of the usurper's parties. Early in the morning he left the village, and happily arrived at the town, to the unspeakable joy of his army: he excused his absence by pretending he had been to consult with some private friends of his who durst not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his companions should think him guilty of such a blunder as to lose his way, when he had so many guides about him, and made that a piece of policy, which was indeed downright ignorance: so easy it is for princes to impose upon their people, who are ready to judge favourably of all their actions.

He just shewed himself to his soldiers, and then left them again to go to Atherstone, where he first saw and saluted the Lord Stanley, his father-in-law; he held a conference with him and Sir William Stanley in a little field, where they consulted how they should give the tyrant battle to the best advantage. In the evening Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, and Sir Simon Digby, came unto him, with all their friends and followers, from King Richard, who was advanced to Leicester, and his army encamped, not far off, on a hill called Arme Beame, in Bosworth parish. The next day after King Richard arrived at Leicester, he went to the camp, and drew up his men in order of battle on the plain. He placed his archers in front, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey his son; himself led the main body, with two wings of cavalry on each flank. The earl, leaving the Lord Stanley, returned to his army, and marched them out of Tamworth, towards the enemy, resolving to fight King Richard. The Lord Stanley also marched from Atherstone, and halted in a place between the two armies. The earl sent him to come and help to set his men in order of battle; but the Lord Stanley, even now, was so cautious, that he excused his appearing among the earl's followers: he bade him, Draw up his soldiers; He would do the same by his, and join him at supper time. Though this answer vexed the Earl of Richmond inwardly, he seemed as well satisfied as if he had come and cheerfully put his men in order: his front was thin, and consisted of archers, commanded by John Earl of Oxford; Sir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left, attended by a troop of young fellows well armed, clad in white coats and hoods, who made a gallant figure, terrible to the enemy. The Earl of Richmond, accompanied by the Earl of Pembroke, led the main body: his whole strength did not amount to six thousand men, Stanley's forces, which were seven or eight thousand strong, excepted; and King Richard had twice that number. In the order we have mentioned, the two armies advanced towards each other; the Lord Stanley moving aside off as the Earl of Richmond moved; and when the usurper was come farther into the plain, where he expected the earl's approach, he made a speech to his army to this purpose.

“ My

“ My Friends and Fellow Soldiers,

“ BY your valour and conduct I got and have enjoyed the crown, in spite of all the wicked designs of your and my enemies. I have governed this nation as a good prince ought to do, for the benefit of my subjects, and done nothing without the advice and consent of my counsellors, whose fidelity and wisdom I have often proved; and your loyalty to me makes me believe, that you have an opinion of me as I have of myself, that I am your rightful and lawful king. Though at my accession to the throne I was guilty of a wicked, detested crime, yet my repentance of it has been so severe, and so sincere, that I hope you will forget it, as I shall never cease to deplore and lament it. Considering the danger we are in at this time, what a gracious prince I have been to you, and what good subjects you have been to me, we are bound, by the strictest bonds of obligation and duty, mutually to defend one another in so great peril. To keep what we have got, is as glorious as to get it; and as by your assistance I was advanced to the throne, so I hope, by the same help, to continue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the traitorous devices of an obscure Welshman (whose father I never knew, and whom I never saw) against our crown and dignity. You hear who they are that he depends upon; a company of traitors, thieves, outlaws, and fugitives; mean begg'ly Bretons, and cowardly Frenchmen; whose aim is the destruction of you, your wives, and children, as it is their leader's to dispossess me of the imperial crown of this realm. Let us therefore join heartily in our common defence, fight like lions, and fear not to die like men! Indeed, there is nothing for you to be afraid of: the hare never fled faster from before the hound, nor the lark from the kite, nor the sheep from the wolf, than these boasting adversaries of our's shall quit the field at the sight of such brave soldiers. Nor do I promise you victory without reason: for let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And first, for the Earl of Richmond, captain of the rebels, a Welsh boy, of little courage, and less experience in war; bred up in the Duke of Bretagne's court like a bird in a cage, who never saw an army, and consequently is not capable to lead one. The soldier's success is owing, in a great measure, to the captain's conduct and valour. What can his men hope from him? what from themselves? a crew of vagabonds and rebels, who will tremble when they see us advancing with banners displayed to chastise them. They will either fly before us, or, conscious of Divine vengeance for the breach of many oaths of allegiance they have sworn to us, throw down their arms, and at our feet implore our royal mercy. As for the Frenchmen and Bretons, our noble ancestors have often triumphed over them. What are they? Boasters, drunkards, ravishers, cowards; the most effeminate and lewd wretches that ever offered themselves in front of battle. Since such are the enemies we are to fight with, come on, my friends and fellow soldiers, and dauntless try if they

dare dispute this matter with us by dint of sword!—Come on, my captains and champions, in whose wisdom and courage I trust for me and my people!—What is a handful to a whole nation? Let me conjure you all, by your love to your country, your duty to your king, and your affection to your families, to behave yourselves like good subjects and good soldiers this day, when I resolve to be victorious, or crown my death with immortal fame. Remember, that as I promise those who do well, riches and honours; so I shall severely punish such as deserve it by their cowardice or treachery. And now, in the name of St. George, let us meet our enemies!”

Whether this speech was made by him or for him, we cannot decide; the author from whom we took it, says it was his own, and that it had not so good an effect on the minds of his soldiers as he intended it should have. He had many gentlemen, and others in his army, who followed him more out of fear than affection, and wished well to his adversary. The Earl of Richmond receiving news by his scouts, that the usurper's army was drawn up in battalia a little distance off on the plain, rode from rank to rank, and wing to wing, to encourage his men. He was armed at all points, (his helmet excepted) and got up on an eminence to be the better seen by his soldiers; for though he was handsome and well proportioned, yet he was short. Having kept silence some time, to consider of what he was about to say to them, he began his speech thus,

“IF ever God appeared in a just cause, and gave a blessing to their arms who warred for the good of their country; if ever he aided such as ventured their lives for the relief of the innocent, and to suppress malefactors and public criminals; we may now, my friends and fellow soldiers, be sure of victory over our proud and insolent enemies. Just and righteous is our cause, and we cannot be so wicked as to imagine God will leave us, to assist those that fear neither him nor his laws, nor have any regard to honesty or justice. We have the laws divine and civil on our side; we fight against a paricide stained with his own blood, a destroyer of the nobility, and an oppressor of the poor commons of this realm; and against a horrid band of murderers, assassins, rebels, and usurpers: for he that stileth himself King, wears the crown which of right only belongs to me. His favourites and followers seize your estates, cut down your woods, ruin and lay waste your manors and mansions, and turn your wives and children to wander in the wide world, without succour and relief: the cause of all these mischiefs, the cruel tyrant Richard, rest assured that God will this day give into our hands, to be punished according to his demerits. His followers, wounded by the stings of their guilty consciences, will not dare to look justice in the face: and believe not that you numerous army are your adversaries; many of them, if not the most part of that multitude, are forced into the tyrant's service, have his crimes in abhorrence, and wait only for an opportunity

tunity to join us. You have often heard from the pulpit, that it is the greatest of virtues to bring down the oppressor, and to help those who are in distress. Is not the usurper, Richard Duke of Gloucester, a violater of God's laws and man's? Who can have the least good thought of one that so injured his own brother's memory, and murdered his nephews? Who can hope for mercy from him who delights in blood? Who trust in him, who mis-trusts all men? Tarquin the proud, so infamous in history, whom the Romans banished their city for ever, was less guilty than this usurper. Nero, who slew his own mother, and opened the womb that bare him, to see the place of his conception, was not more a monster of mankind than Richard. In him you have at once a Tarquin and a Nero. Behold there, a tyrant, worse than even him that murdered his mother, and set his imperial city in a flame; one who has not only slain his own nephew, his king and sovereign lord, bastardized his noble brothers, affronted his mother's honour, but tried all the arts his and his creatures cunning could invent to defile his own niece, under the specious pretence of a marriage; a princess I have sworn to marry, as you all know and believe. If this cause is not just, let God, the giver of all victory, judge and determine. We have (thanks be to Jesus our Saviour) escaped the treasons formed in Bretagne, and the snares laid by our subtle adversaries to destroy us; we have passed the seas, traversed a spacious country in safety, to search for the boar, whom we have at last found. Let us not therefore fear to begin the bloody chace. Let us put our confidence in the Almighty, and verily believe that this is the hour we have longed and prayed for, which will put an end to the many miseries we have hitherto endured. Think what a glorious prize is before us: the wealth and spoil of the tyrant and his followers is yours if we conquer; and conquer we must, or die, for we are now come so far, that there is no retreat left us. Let us, one and all, resolve to end our labours now by death or victory. Let courage supply want of number; and as for me, I purpose to live with glory hereafter, or perish with glory here. Come on then! let us meet these traitors, murderers, usurpers! Let us be bold, and we shall triumph: we are utterly destroyed if we fly; if we are victorious, there is an end of all our perils and dangers. In the name of God, and St. George, come on and prosper!"

These words so encouraged his men, that they demanded to be led immediately against the enemy. There was a morass between the two armies; the earl left it on his right hand, by which he not only hindered King Richard's attacking him on that side, but had the sun on his back, and it shone full in the faces of his enemies. The usurper seeing his army was approaching, ordered his trumpets to sound, and the archers to let fly their arrows: the earl's bowmen returned their shot; and when that dreadful storm was over, the foot joined, and came to close fight. It was then that the Lord Stanley came in to the earl's assistance. The Earl of Oxford, fearing his men might be surrounded



by the multitude of the enemy, commanded none should stir above ten feet from the standard: the soldiers presently closed their ranks, and ceased the combat, expecting further orders. King Richard's troops being jealous of some stratagem, stood still to observe them; and indeed they did not fight with a very good will at all. The Earl of Oxford led his men again to the charge. The Duke of Norfolk, the usurper's fast friend, changed the order of his battle, widened his first line, but closed and enlarged his second; and then renewed the combat. King Richard, hearing the Earl of Richmond was not far off, attended with a few of his guards only, fought him amidst his enemies, and having spied him, set spurs to his horse, and ran towards him; the earl perceived him, and prepared to receive him as a man should his mortal foe. The king meeting with Sir William Branden, the earl's standard bearer, in his way, overthrew and slew him. This knight was father of Charles Branden, Duke of Suffolk, famous in the reign of Henry VIII. Richard then fought Sir John Cheyney, dismounted him, and forced his way up to the earl, who kept him off at sword's point till assistance came in, and he was relieved by his followers. At the instant, Sir William Stanley, who had been as wary as the Lord Stanley his brother, joined the earl with three thousand chosen men; upon which King Richard's soldiers turned their backs and fled; himself, fighting manfully in the midst of his enemies, was slain. The Earl of Oxford made a terrible slaughter in the van of the usurper's army: the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrars of Chartley; Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, died on the spot, together with about a thousand of their men. The greatest part of those in the main body of Richard's army, watching their opportunity, while the van was hotly engaged with the earl's, left the field, and departed every man to his home, having been by force taken from their habitations, to fight for a prince whose government was odious to them. The Duke of Norfolk was warned, by a distich in the metre of those times, which was fixed on the gate of the house where he lodged, not to venture farther in the tyrant's quarrel, for he was betrayed, and all those that engaged with him would be ruined. The rhymes were these:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold;  
For Dicken, thy master, is bought and sold.

But as John Howard Duke of Norfolk owed his advancement to the usurper, who made him a duke, he thought his own title to the honours he held would be precarious, if Richard could not defend his crown; so he followed his fortune, and fell a victim to his ambition. Sir William Catesby, a judge, who had been a main instrument of the usurper's tyranny, and several other offenders were taken, and two days after beheaded at Leicester. The Lord Viscount Lovell, Humphry Stafford, Esq. and Thomas Stafford his brother, made their escapes. Many gentlemen and private soldiers threw down their arms, submitted to the earl, and were graciously received. Among those was Henry

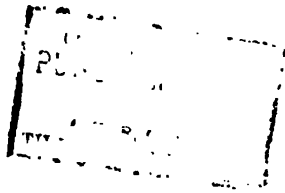


THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

*Coll. or data.*

*Published by C. Stalker Dec. 1, 1788*

*Berril sculp.*



Earl of Northumberland, who did not engage in the late battle, he and his men standing neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of Richmond's favour, and sworn of his privy council. Thomas Earl of Surrey was sent to the Tower, as having been more zealous than the rest in the tyrant's cause: however, he was released soon after, and preferred to places of the greatest trust and honour. Earl Henry had scarce a hundred men killed on his part, and no person of quality besides Sir William Branden. The engagement lasted in all about two hours, and happened on the 22d day of August. The usurper there finished his evil course, after he had reigned two years, two months, and one day, reckoning from the time of his coronation, which was the day after his election. Had he lived with as much glory as he died, his character would have shone bright in the English annals. But though he wanted not personal bravery, yet that quality, as shining as it is, was sullied and obscured by his cruelty, and thirst of blood. He might have saved his life, had not despair hurried him on to death. In the beginning of the battle, he perceived, by his men's fighting with an ill-will, and others leaving him, that the day was lost. Some of his creatures advised him to fly, and brought him a swift horse to carry him off; but knowing how generally he was hated by the whole kingdom, and that his crimes were such as denied him all hopes of pardon, he thought the longer he lived his misery would be the longer, and that at last he should die with infamy; wherefore he rushed desperately into the thickest of the enemy, and met a more glorious fate than he deserved.

After the battle was over, and the victory entirely gained, the Earl of Richmond fell down on his knees in the open field, thanked the Almighty for the blessing he had given to his arms, prayed for the Catholic church, and his subjects which now he had the charge of. He then rode up to an eminence, and from thence gave his soldiers thanks for behaving themselves so well in the late fight, promising them all rewards answerable to their deserts. The army shouting, clapped their hands, and saluted him King, crying out with one voice, "King Henry, King Henry!" And the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's crown, which was found among the spoils of the field, put it on the earl's head, who from that time assumed the title and power of King. We must not omit to inform the reader of the Lord Strange's escape: King Richard, hearing his father had raised five thousand men, and was advancing towards the Earl of Richmond, sent to him to join him, and swore by God's death, if he refused it, he would order his son's head to be cut off before he died. The Lord Stanley answered, he had more sons, and could not promise to come to him at that time. The tyrant, as he swore to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant when the two armies were to engage; but some of his council, abhorring that the innocent young gentleman should suffer for his father's offence, told the usurper, Now was a time to fight, and not to execute; advising him to keep him prisoner till the

battle was over: the tyrant harkened to their advice, broke his oath, and commanded the keepers of his tents to take him into custody, till he returned from the combat. By this means the Lord Strange escaped the king's revenge, equally bloody and unjust. The keepers of his tents delivered him to his father, the Lord Stanley, after the fight; and for saving him, were taken into the new king's favour, and preferred. In the evening, King Henry marched to Leicester; where King Richard's body, stripped starknaked, was brought in a shameful manner to be buried. Blanch Sanglier, a pursuivant at arms, threw it upon a horse, like a calf; his head and arms hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, his whole carcass besmeared with dirt and blood. The pursuivant rode with it to the Grey Friars church at Leicester, where it was exposed, a filthy spectacle, to the view of the people, who used it ignominiously, and afterwards it was buried in that abbey-church; where King Henry, in respect to his family, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave. We shall not trouble the reader with a long account of his person and manners: he has doubtless, by this time, seen enough of him; and the picture, shewn at a nearer view, would rather frighten than divert him. He was short and little, crooked or hump-backed, one shoulder higher than the other: his face was little; he had a cruel look; and, what confessed the malice and deceit of his heart, he often mused, and, musing, bit his nether lip: he wore a dagger always about him, and frequently would draw it up and down the scabbard: he was cunning and false, proud and valiant; and, in a word, by the history Sir Thomas Moor has left us of him, the greatest tyrant that ever sat on the British throne; where no tyrant did ever sit long.

END OF THE HISTORY OF RICHARD III.

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

WRITTEN BY  
FRANCIS LORD VERULAM,

VERBATIM FROM THE  
ORIGINAL EDITION.

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*Engraved by Pirrell, from an ancient Picture.*

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# HENRY VII.

BY FRANCIS LORD VERULAM.

**A**FTER that Richard the Third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the Divine revenge favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth Field; there succeeded in the kingdom the Earl of Richmond, thenceforth stiled Henry the Seventh. The king, immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself, with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of militar election or recognition, saluted King. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, (the diriges and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants) was obscurely buried. For though the king, of his nobleness, gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, being not free from the humours of the vulgar, neglected it; wherein, nevertheless, they did not then incur any man's blame or censure, no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him that had been the executioner of King Henry VI. that innocent prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the Duke of Clarence, his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful king in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him; and vehemently suspected to have been the imprisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a prince in militar virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, for the ease and solace of the common people; yet his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits; and in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned, and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted, by men of great understanding, (who seeing his after acts, looked back upon his former proceedings) that even in the time of King Edward his brother, he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government; as having an expectation and

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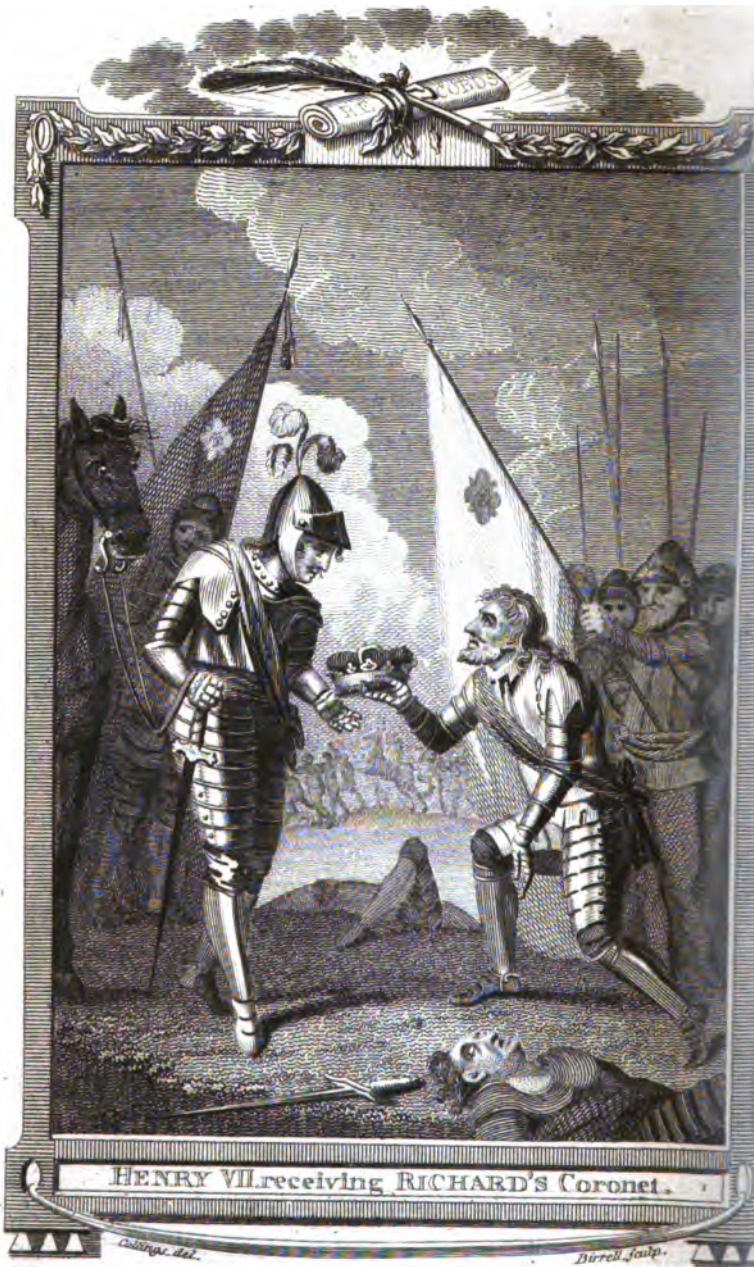
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a kind of divination, that the king, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew well how easy a step it was from the place of a protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprang, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. of France, concluded by interview of both kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself; as if the king, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate, and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a king. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brocade of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people; as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined.

There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent to his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title, both by plea and arms, of the House of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword, or conquest; for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. - The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two and twenty years reign of King Edward IV. had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the White Rose, or House of York; and by the mild and plausible reign of the same king, towards his later time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a king at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power, the right remaining in his queen; upon whose decease, either with issue, or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a king that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there, even at that time, secret rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great troubles) that the two young sons of King Edward IV. or one of them, (which were said to be destroyed in

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HENRY VII. receiving RICHARD'S Coronet.

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in the Tower) were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the House of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinheritance of the line of York, held then the indubiate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the Lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle, and was found among the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror, was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titular pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the king, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any inter-reign, or suspension of title; and preferring his affection to his own line and blood; and liking that title best that made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive, or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters; the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute; not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown, and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince: whereupon the king presently, that very day, being the twenty-second of August, assumed the stile of King in his own name, without mention of the Lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto; in which course he ever after persisted, which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The king, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, dispatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son

and heir to George Duke of Clarence. This Edward was, by the king's warrant, delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby, and by him, with all safety and diligence, conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner: which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's-Cross, for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, (for that fable was ever exploded) but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York; wherein still the king, out of strength of will or weakness of judgment, did use to shew a little more of the party than of the king.

For the Lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the Queen-Dowager her mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the king set forwards, by easy journies, to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry: for they thought generally, that he was a prince as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissention of the two houses; which, although they had in the times of Henry IV. Henry V. and part of Henry VI. on the one side, and the times of Edward IV. on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He, on the other side, with great wisdom (not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people) to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner, but rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance.

He entered into the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him,

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence, with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair, or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that, having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's church, where not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made  
 offertory

offertory of his standards, and had orisons and Te Deum again sung, and went to his lodging prepared in the Bishop of London's Palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did the rather, because, having at his coming out of Bretagne given artificially, for serving of his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the dutchy of Bretagne, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married; it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England, so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady Elizabeth herself. But, howsoever, he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes: yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof till his coronation and a parliament were past; the one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the intailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time, in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new; which, of the accidents and manner thereof, they called the Sweating Sicknes. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured: and as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased; it began about the 21st of September, and cleared up before the end of October; insomuch as it was no hindrance to the king's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but as it seemed not seated in the veins or humours, for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which stirred Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared, by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature, than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto: for if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for cloaths, fire, and drink moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work was neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution

of the air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's even, the king dined with Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal; and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve knights-bannerets. But, for creations, he dispensed them with a sparing hand: for notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper Earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas the Lord Stanley, the king's father-in-law, Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon; though the king had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of parliament, bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the 30th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1485; at which time Innocent the Eighth was Pope of Rome; Frederick the Third, Emperor of Almaine; and Maximilian his son, newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the Eighth, King of France; Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain; and James the Third, King of Scotland; with all which kings and states, the king was at that time at good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend him, by the name of Yeomen of his Guard: and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The 7th of November the king held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three: first, to procure the crown to be intailed upon himself; next, to have the attainders of all of his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel, remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attain by parliament, the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party, by a general pardon: not being ignorant in how great danger a king stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament, was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgment—That it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their king, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy, or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing  
of

of the crown, (more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail) he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure: for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as on the other side he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words—That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king, &c. which words might equally be applied—That the crown should continue to him; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go further than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs; but leaving that to the law to decide: so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the House of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed; which statute he procured to be confirmed by the Pope's Bull the year following, with mention; nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest: so as now the wreath of three was made a wreath of five; for to the three first titles of the two houses; or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The king likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will, and acts did pass accordingly: in the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the house of commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws, who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest and most declared for the king's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament; whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people: many of which had been by Richard III. attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. The king was somewhat troubled with this: for though it had a grave and specious shew, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon; who, for that purpose, were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer Chamber, which is the council-chamber of the judges; and upon deliberation, they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience; which was, That the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law, should forbear to come into the house, till a law were made for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved among the judges in their consultation, What should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that from the time the king did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged. But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records wherein there was any memory or mention of the king's attainer, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the king's enemies, there were by parliament attainted the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainders, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisos, well shewing and foretoking the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the king's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest, that had stood against the king; the king, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better (being matter of grace) to appropriate the thanks to himself, using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom: therefore during the parliament, he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him: whereupon many came out of Sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken Sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the king thought it not seasonable, or fit, to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation pardon, passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those casualties of the crown, might in reason spare the purses of the subject, especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which, there was one to reduce aliens, being made denizens, to pay strangers customs; and another, to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians goods, for not employment; being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the innoblement or advancement in nobility of a few

others: the Chandos of Brittain was made Earl of Bath; and Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Daubeny; and Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke.

The king did also, with great nobleness and bounty, (which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature) restore Edward Stafford (eldest son to Henry Duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard) not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the king a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament brake up.

The parliament being dissolved, the king sent forthwith money to redeem the Marquis Dorset, and Sir John Bouchier, whom he had left as his pledges at Paris, for money which he had borrowed when he made his expedition for England; and thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the lord treasurer and Mr. Bray (whom he used as counsellor) to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks: but after many parlies, he could obtain but two thousand pounds; which, nevertheless, the king took in good part, as men use to do that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About this time, the king called unto his privy-council, John Morton and Richard Fox, the one bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter, vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs, before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton, soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, he made archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him lord keeper of his privy-seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the king loved to employ and advance bishops, because having rich bishopricks, they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first-fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the 18th of January [1486] was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage, between the king and the Lady Elizabeth\*: which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations (especially on the people's part) of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation; which the king rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, (for she died before him) he shewed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful. But his aversion towards the House of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and counsels, but in his chamber and bed.

\* In the nineteenth year of her age.



Towards the middle of the spring, the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom. Yet as a wife and watchful king, he would not neglect any thing for his safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an exercise, than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the House of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself, to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king in his account of peace and calms, did much over-cast his fortunes; which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news, that the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken Sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of Sanctuary; but to what place, no man could tell. Which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the House of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured (being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted) under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: which the duke, upon his approach to the Lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the Lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mis-trusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret: and his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking Sanctuary at Colham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the King's

Bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast; and the king, having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the queen was delivered of her first son, whom the king (in honour of the British race, of which himself was) named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient, worthy king of the Britains; in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge.

There followed this year, being the second of the king's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out oft, but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgment upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another; and, as we can, dig truth out of the mine. The king was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was, the discountenancing of the House of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more; especially when they saw, that after his marriage, and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad (whether by error, or the cunning of male-content) that the king had a purpose to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower; whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the king a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the children of Edward IV. was living; which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists; but, contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark; the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtil priest called Richard Simon, that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years; a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came

into this priest's fancy (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishoprick) to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward IV. supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow, to enterprize so great a matter, for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people: but here is that which hath no appearance; that this priest being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education, or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, to be Duke of Clarence; but yet created him Earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side, and used him honourably during his time, though Richard III. afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the Queen-Dowager, from whom this action had the principal source and motion: for certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play, as she could. Nevertheless, it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprize and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but, at his peril, to make way to the overthrow of the king: and that done, they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the king's first acts to cloister the Queen-Dowager in the nunnery

of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by close council without any legal proceeding, upon far fetched pretences; That she had delivered her two daughters out of Sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding, being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the king, upon reason of policy, and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations; for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the House of York, was slain in Stoke Field, the king opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death; because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself. Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard Duke of York, second son to King Edward IV. and this was at such time as it was voiced that the king purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet prisoner, in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should shew it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage plays and masks, to shew it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the House of York was most in height. The king had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the House of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitzgerard, Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such a mist (by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his

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youth,

youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour) as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness; the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly, out of their great devotion to the House of York; partly out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a king to the realm of England. Neither did the party in this heat of affection much trouble themselves with the attainder of George Duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the king's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward IV. they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the king's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing: so that with marvellous consent, and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the Castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served and honoured as king; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed King in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth; there being not a sword drawn in King Henry's quarrel.

The king was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears; both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place, where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The king therefore first called his council together at the Charter House at Shine; which council was held with great secrecy: but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was—That the Queen-Dowager; for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of Sanctuary into King Richard's hands; should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was—That Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, shewed unto the people: in part to discharge the king of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; but chiefly to make the people see the  
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levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet, or a counterfeit.

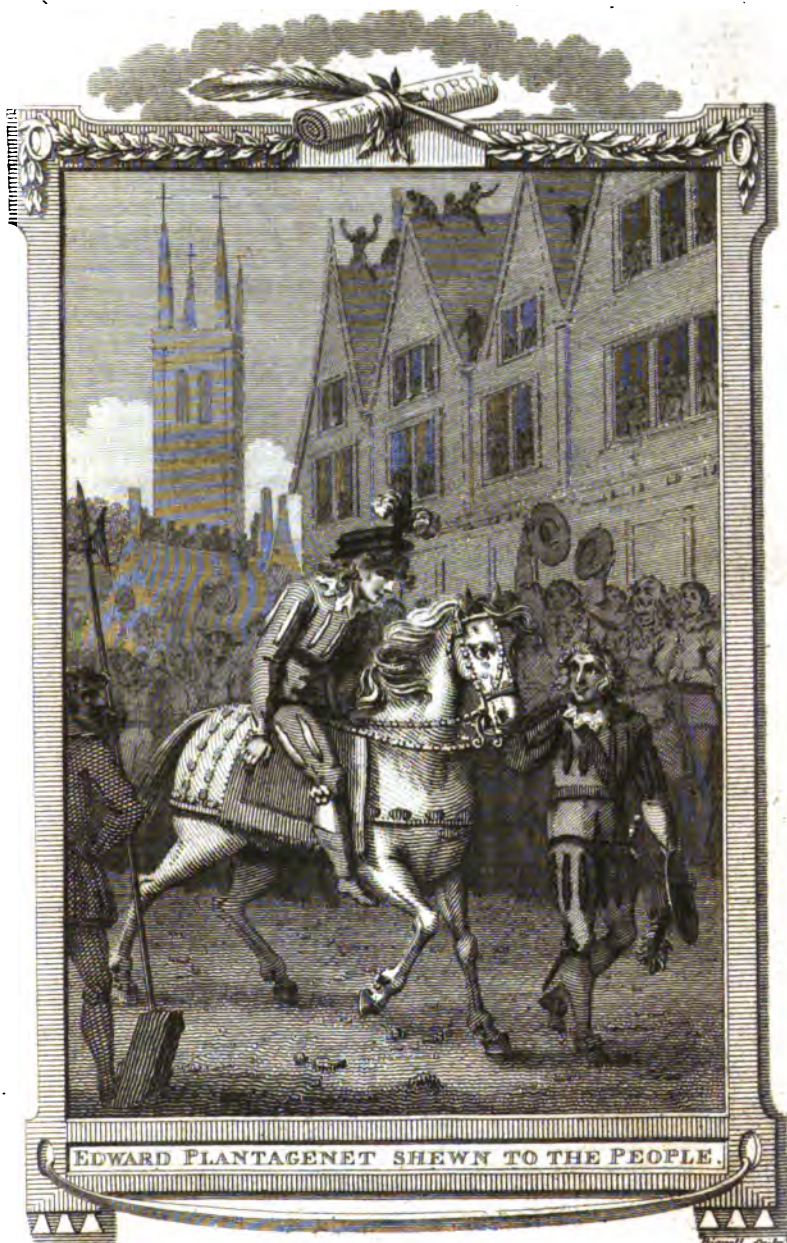
The third was—That there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day; and that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high treason (no not against the king's own person) should be excepted; which, though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise king, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the king and his council were immediately put in execution. And first, the Queen-Dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estate seized into the king's hands, whereat there was much wondering; that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had shewed no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage, between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should upon so sudden mutability, or disclosure of the king's mind, be so severely handled,

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage-bed of a bachelor-king, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse by the king's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair issue, and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures, to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the king's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the king's. With which lords of the king's blood, joined also the king's favourite the Lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the king's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death, she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while, nevertheless, she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a king to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery, where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her or see her; and where, not long after, she ended her life: but was, by the king's commandment, buried with the king her husband at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College in Cambridge. For this act the king sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also Edward Plantagenet was, upon a Sunday, brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people; and having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, (especially of those that the king most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best) had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect; but contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king, and gave out, That the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and shewed him to the people, not sparing to prophane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the king therewithal omitted no diligence in giving straight order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malecontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time. For Richard III. had a resolution; out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the Duke of Clarence; and their lines, (having had his hand in both their bloods) to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretexts; the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation; and to design this gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the king, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the king having tasted of the envy of the people, for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a corival unto the other. The Earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprize, there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol: but contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false  
Plantagenet



EDWARD PLANTAGENET SHEWN TO THE PEOPLE.

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antagenet than the true : because the false being sure to fall away himself, and the true to be made sure of by the king, it might open d pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before rived the Lord Lovel\*, leaving a correspondence here in England ith Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet as first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to ic Lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland, nploring succours in an enterprize, as they said, so pious and just, nd that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof ; nd making offer, that all things should be guided by her will and irection, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the enterprize. Margaret was second sister to King Edward IV. and had been cond wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy ; y whom, having no children of her own, she did with singular care nd tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grand- hildren to her former husband ; which won her great love and uthority among the Dutch. This princess (having the spirit of man, and malice of a woman) abounding in treasure, by the great- ness of her dower, and her provident government, and being childless, nd without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprize to ee the Majesty Royal of England once again replaced in her house, nd had set up King Henry as a mark, at whose overthrow all her ctions should aim and shoot ; infomuch as all the councils of his ucceding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver : and she bare uch a mortal hatred to the House of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses n her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of he king's ascent to the crown, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And pon counsel taken with the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovel, nd some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed the two ords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almain, being choice nd veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant nd experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new king ; hoping, that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the Earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malecontents within the realm of England, to give them assistance, when they should come over there. . And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed, That if all things succeeded well, he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received : wherein nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took courage,

\* Francis Viscount Lovel, lord chamberlain to Richard III.

by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard. And that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed, or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new king in the cathedral church of Dublin; who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in council what should further be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers, and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which (as in such cases of popular tumults is usual) did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England; it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The king in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees, with their king; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east-parts of the kingdom of England by some impression from Flanders, and upon the north-west out of Ireland; and therefore having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper Earl of Bedford, and John Earl of Oxford, (meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it) and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time, the winter being far on, he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those parts; and being come to St. Edmond's Bury, he understood that Thomas Marquis of Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hastening towards him, to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him: but the king, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair message nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with patience, for that the king meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt either to the king's service or to himself; and that the king should

should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's Bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas. And from thence he went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's Church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by Cambridge to London. Not long after, the rebels, with their king, (under the leading of the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovel, and Colonel Swart) landed at Fouldrey in Lancashire, whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton with some small company of English. The king, by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had leyied forces in good number; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the king otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way towards York, without spoiling the country or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people, and to personate their king; who, no doubt out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects. But their snow-ball did not gather as it went; for the people came not in to them, neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them; which was caused partly by the good taste that the king had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England to have a king brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York; considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where the Lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and where the king's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concurrence unto him, (in which case he would have temporized) and seeing the business past retract, resolved to make on where the king was, and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprized the town. But the king was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted, whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the king himself (whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a battle. But this was presently put out of doubt

by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation; partly upon missives, and partly voluntaries from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the king's aid, were the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Strange, of the nobility; and of knights and gentlemen to the number of at least threecore and ten persons, with their companies, making in the whole at the least six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the king before. Whereupon the king, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemy's camp and Newark; being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The king the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champion. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle, the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent (though it be an action of so recent memory) as they rather declare the success of the day, than the manner of the fight. They say, that the king divided his army into three battles, whereof the van-guard only well strengthened with wings came to fight: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made (by that the king's van-guard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemy's, the other two battles remaining out of action) what the success was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart, with his Germans, performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton; all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the further side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field, was of the enemy's part, four thousand at the least; and of the king's part, one half of his van-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet (now Lambert Simnell again) and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the king would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered

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HENRY sentencing LAMBERT SIMNEL and his TUTOR

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Published by D. Brewman, Feb<sup>r</sup>. 11790.

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and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that, in a kind of *Mattacina* of human fortune, he turned a broach that had worn a crown: whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy: and afterwards he was preferred to be one of the king's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the king loving to seal up his own dangers\*.

After the battle the king went to Lincoln, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory; and that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows: and thus delivered of this so strange an engine and new invention of fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind; thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once: but it fell unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began with a sickness of sweat. But howsoever the king thought himself in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand; and therefore awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration, as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come; and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though indeed it were rather an itinerary circuit of justice, than a progress: for all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished, the adherents and aiders of the late rebels: not all by death, (for the field had drawn much blood) but by fines and ransoms, which spared life and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent enquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour, a little before the field fought, That the rebels had the day, and that the king's army was overthrown, and the king fled: whereby it was supposed, that many succours, which otherwise

\* The king wrote to the mayor and citizens of Waterford in Ireland, to commend their fidelity, which he next year rewarded with new privileges and immunities. The Earl of Kildare and the lords who had sided with Lambert, sent over letters to the king, and begged pardon; which he not only granted them, but continued the Earl of Kildare lord deputy. Sir J. Ware, Cap. 211.

In the year following, Sir Richard Edgcomb was sent over to Ireland, with five hundred men, to take new oaths of allegiance of the nobility; and King Henry ordered them to come to England, where he feasted them all, and gave the Lord Heath three hundred pounds in gold.



would have come unto the king, weré cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the king's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the king would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the king began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of York, that did rancle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, (at least in ceremony) he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion, (for the first day he repaired to Paul's, and had the hymn of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the Cross); the queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the five-and-twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage; like an old christening, that had stayed long for godfathers. Which strange and unusual distance of time, made it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas Marquis Dorset, was rather upon suspicion of the time than of the man, he the said marquis was set at liberty without examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the king sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage, and that now, like another *Æneas*, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travels, and was arrived unto a safe haven; and thanking his holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom upon all occasions to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration to the pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the king and queen, as was enough to glut the hearers; but then he did again so extol and deify the pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the pope; who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of Sanctuary (wherewith the king had been extremely gauled) in three points.

The first, That if any sanctuary-man did by night, or otherwise, get out of Sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of Sanctuary for ever after. The second, That howsoever the person of the sanctuary-man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of Sanctuary should not. The third, That if any took Sanctuary for cause of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.

The king also, for the better securing of his estate, against mutinous and malecontented subjects, (whereof he saw the realm was full) who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key, as the ports were; for that cause, rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London (when he was at Newcastle) had\* sent a solemn embassage unto James III. king of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcomb, comptroller of the king's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the king of Scotland labouring of the same disease that King Henry did, (though more mortal, as afterwards appeared) that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the king; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time, during the two kings lives.

Hitherto the king had been exercised in settling his affairs at home; but about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles VIII. the French king, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles VII. his grandfather, and Lewis XI. his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spreading estate than it had been of many years before; being reintegrate in those principal members which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were after dislevered; so as they remained only in homage, and not in sovereignty, (being governed by absolute princes of their own) Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Bretagne to be reunited, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to repurchase and re-annex that dutchy: which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprizes of Italy. For at that time being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, (counsels, not counsellors) for his father was his own counsel, and had a few able men about him. And that king, he knew well, had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Bretagne. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles,

\* In August 1487.

with pregnant and apparent hopes of success. The Duke of Bretagne old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue. King Charles himself in the flower of his age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers; men of service, being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise; Maximilian, king of the Romans, his rival in the same desires, (as well for the dutchy as the daughter) feeble in means; and King Henry of England, as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Bretagne; for that the duke had received and succoured Lewis Duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their king: wherefore King Charles being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state, in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Bretagne, for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at the least that he would stand neutral; which ambassadors found the king at Leicester, and delivered their embassy to this effect. They first imparted unto the king the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain towns from him; which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the king; as if the French king did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment, and some gratulation for the king's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the king, that their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the Duke of Bretagne, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors, and declared enemies unto his person and state—That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons, that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infect and invade his; the head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and the second person of France—That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, (for that no wise prince would stay for) but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation—Nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than

than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, That his subjects, traitors, are received by the Duke of Bretagne, his homager—That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour-princes should patronize and comfort rebels, against the law of nations and of leagues—Nevertheless, that their master was not ignorant, that the king had been beholding to the Duke of Bretagne in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their king, in aiding him when the Duke of Bretagne, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master and the Duke of Bretagne; for that the duke's might have ends of utility and bargain, whereas their master's could not have proceeded but out of entire affection: for that, if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a prince, whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs—But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the king might owe to the Duke of Bretagne, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel—Therefore, since this war which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their king hoped the king would shew the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had (when time was) shewed to the king's acquisition of his kingdom—At the least, that according to the inclination which the king had ever professed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions.

But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the dutchy of Bretagne to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Bretagne, the ambassadors bare aloof from it, as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them; and therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with the king, the assured purpose of their master, to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the king also with some wandering discourses of their king's purpose to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person: all to remove the king from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Bretagne, otherwise than for quenching of the fire, which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The king after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors, and first returned their compliment, shewing he was right glad of the French king's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Bretagne,

the king answered in few words; That the French king and the Duke of Bretagne were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him, as a christian king and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their king's estate and honour, both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war, and that he would spare no cost or pains; no, if it were to go on pilgrimage for so good an effect: and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an embassy, which he would speedily dispatch unto the French king for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed; the king avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of Bretagne, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the word Envy. And so it was, that the king was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French king, for the investing himself of Bretagne. But first he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an atchievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer: and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Bretagne carried by France, being so great and opulent a dutchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the king's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, (especially in the court of a young king) and partly by the native power of Bretagne itself, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the Duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles to divert the French king from the enterprize of Bretagne; and lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was corival to the French king in that pursuit—the enterprize would either bow to a peace, or break in itself. In all which, the king measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French king, Christopher Urswick his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed: chusing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification; and giving him also a commission, that if the French king consented to treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of Bretagne, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French king, much to the purpose of the king's answer to the French ambassadors here; instilling also tenderly some  
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overture of receiving to grace the Duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord: but the French king, on the other side, proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation, in this treaty; having for his end to gain time, and so put off the English succours, under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Bretagne by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, That he would put himself into the king's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented that the ambassador should straightways pass into Bretagne, to signify this his consent, and to know the duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing, that the Duke of Orleans, by whom the Duke of Bretagne was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace: whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the affections of the king of England, as one that had committed all to his will: nay, and (which was yet more fine) make faith in him, That although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with his sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace: and so the king should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till he were master of the field. Which grounds being by the French king wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected: for when the English ambassador came to the court of Bretagne, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of Orleans; who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his embassy delivered, made answer in somewhat high terms, That the Duke of Bretagne having been an host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry, (the renowned king of England) rather brave troops for his succours than a vain treaty of peace; and if the king could forget the good offices of the duke, done unto him aforetime, yet he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts and with his own people, not to suffer Bretagne (the old confederates of England) to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour-king, and so ancient an enemy: and therefore humbly desired the king to think of this business as his own; and therewith brake off, and denied any further conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French king, and related to him what had passed; who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said, That the ambassador might perceive now, that which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the Duke of Bretagne was, there would be no peace, but by a mixt treaty of force and persuasion; and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the king not to desist from the other: but for his own part,

part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the king's power to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the king by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought, and beat the party of Bretagne more pliant: whereupon there passed continually packets and dispatches between the two kings, from the one out of desire, and from the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French king, meanwhile, invaded Bretagne with great forces, and distressed the city of Nants with a straight siege, and (as one, who though he had no great judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble home) the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did at the same time urge the solicitation of the peace. Inasmuch as, during the siege of Nants, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the treaty, he sent Bernard Daubigny (a person of good quality) to the king, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

The king was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the Abbot of Abington, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick, (formerly employed) to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time [1488] the Lord Woodvile, uncle to the queen, a valiant gentleman, and desirous of honour, sued to the king, that he might raise some power of voluntaries underhand, and without licence or passport (wherein the king might anyways appear) go to the aid of the Duke of Bretagne. The king denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him that he should not stir; for that the king thought his honour would suffer therein during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of conceit that the king would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow, sailed secretly over into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Bretagne, and joined himself with the duke's forces; the news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French king, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself that, in the business of peace, he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbade all injuries, of fact or word, against their persons or followers: and presently came an agent from the king, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodvile's going over, using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the British affairs. To which message, although the French king gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the king, and seemed satisfied. Soon after, the English ambassadors returned, having two

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of them been likewise with the Duke of Bretagne, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the king of the state of the affairs, and how far the French king was from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course. Neither was the king himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed: but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the king had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgment, that the war of Bretagne, in respect of the strength of the towns; and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French king, then childless, against an heir-apparent of France, would be very faint and slow: and besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, king of the Romans, was a prince warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Bretons roundly: so then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs: wherein, first, he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Bretagne, would give treasure largely: which treasure, as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace; laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy, that the French king met with, by occasion of this war of Bretagne, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as, namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The king was likewise deceived in his two main grounds: for although he had reason to conceive, that the council of France would be weary to put the king into a war against the heir-apparent of France; yet he did not consider, that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men; who would make it their



matter-piece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels, which no great or wise man durst, or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before, though he would not seem to know it till then, he presently summoned his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Bretagne to both houses, by his Chancellor Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

“ My lords and masters,

“ The king’s grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his parliament; which I shall do in a few words, craving pardon of his grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

“ His grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty shewed to him by you, at your last meeting, in establishment of his royalty, freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his traitors and rebels; more than which could not come from subjects to their sovereign, in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well approved subjects, in all affairs that are of public nature, at home or abroad.

“ Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one, a foreign business; the other, matter of government at home.

“ The French king, as no doubt ye have heard, maketh, at this present, hot war upon the Duke of Bretagne. His army is now before Nants, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principal city (if not in ceremony and preheminance, yet in strength and wealth) of that dutchy. Ye may guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the king taketh for his enemies: others divine of other matters. Both parties have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed the king’s aids: the French king aids, or neutrality; the Bretons aids simply, for so their case requireth. The king, as a christian prince, and blessed son of the holy church, hath offered himself as a mediator, to treat a peace between them. The French king yieldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Bretons, that desire peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much pains and care to effect a peace, as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the one side, nor the distrust on the other, caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed,

succeed. Therefore by this narrative you now understand the state of the question, whereupon the king prayeth your advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Bretons against France.

“And the better to open your understandings in this affair, the king hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the persons that do intervene in this business; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this kingdom; and somewhat of the example of it in general: making, nevertheless, no conclusion or judgment of any point, until his grace hath received your faithful and politic advices,

“First, for the king our sovereign himself, who is the principal person you are to eye in this business. His grace doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace: but his grace saith, he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change, if it please God to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable foreign war: and for the other two persons in this action, the French king, and the Duke of Bretagne, his grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is, of all other friends and allies, most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of protection from the tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help, for the recovery of his kingdom: so that his affection toward them, in his natural person, is upon equal terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his grace was enforced to fly out of Bretagne into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Bretagne, in defacement of his former benefits: for that he is thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sickness, altogether without his consent or privity.

“But howsoever these things do interest his grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of these obligations of gratitude, otherwise than thus: that if his grace be forced to make a war, he do it without passion, or ambition.

“For the consequence of this action towards this kingdom, it is much as the French king's intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his subjects to reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Bretagne, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French king's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, that the French king shall make a province of Bretagne, and join it to the crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increase of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country, that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving

this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates, as the Bretons have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since, this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Bretagne, which were confederates indeed, but dependant confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France, and this island shall remain confined in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast-countries of two mighty monarchs.

“For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same question, upon the French king’s intent. For if Bretagne be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad (apt to impute and construe the actions of princes to ambition) conceive it will; then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour estate should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal, towards Spain; of the small estates of Italy, towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons, might not live and dwell safely, besides some of these great lords. And the bringing in of this example, will be chiefly laid to the king’s charge, as to him that was most interested, and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so fair a pretext on the French king’s part, (and yet pretext is never wanting to power) in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such, as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity, than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example. For that the example of that which is done in a man’s own defence, cannot be dangerous; because it is in another’s power to avoid it. But in all this business, the king remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely.”

This was the effect of the lord chancellor’s speech touching the cause of Bretagne: for the king had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the parliament towards the business, but without engaging the king in any express declaration.

The chancellor went on:

“For that which may concern the government at home, the king hath commanded me to say unto you; that he thinketh there was never any king (for the small time that he hath reigned) had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow, than his grace hath—Joy, in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty God, in girding the Imperial sword upon his side, and assisting the same his sword against all his enemies; and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving servants and subjects, which have never failed to give him faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence—Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword, (as he greatly desired, otherwise than for administration of justice) but that he hath been forced to draw

draw it so oft, to cut off traiterous and disloyal subjects, whom, it seems, God hath left a few amongst many good, as the Canaanites among the people of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always (God's name be blessed therefore) that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

“Wherefore his grace saith, That he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field, that will save the blood in the city; nor the marshal's sword, that will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that the true way is, to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws, against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people, and all combinations and confederacies of them, by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependance; that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force both in court, country, and private houses, be suppressed. The care hereof, which so much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his grace commend's to your wisdoms.

“And because it is the king's desire, that this peace, wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves for you to sit under the shade of them in safety; but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth and plenty: therefore his grace prays you, to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of monies, to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading: and likewise, that our people be set on work in arts and handicraftes; that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure, for foreign manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here only; but to provide further, that whatsoever merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished, by any over-trading of the foreigner.

“And lastly, because the king is well assured, that you would not have him poor, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will have care, as well to maintain his revenues, of customs, and all other natures, as also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the king is a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public; and that what comes from you is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth again. And you know well, how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the king with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish, that what hath been said, had been better expressed: but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings.”

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parliament in this business; as well in respect of the emulation between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy, as in regard of the danger, to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns, and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also moved with the point of oppression; for although the French seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions: wherefore they did advise the king, roundly to embrace the Bretons quarrel, and to send them speedy aids; and with much alacrity and forwardness granted to the king a great rate of subsidy, in contemplation of these aids. But the king, both to keep a decency towards the French king, to whom he professed himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to shew war, than to make it; sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him, the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility; or, if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Bretons as their ancient friends, and confederates, he did send them succours; with protestation nevertheless, that to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his force, to proceed in aid of the Bretons, but in no wise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of Bretagne. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For near the town of St. Alban in Bretagne, a battle had been given, where the Bretons were overthrown, and the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, taken prisoners; there being slain on the Bretons part, six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodvile, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting; and of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader, James Galeot, a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the king (who now had no subterfuge to continue further treaty, and saw before his eyes, that Bretagne went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes, knowing also that with his people and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays) to dispatch with all possible speed his succours into Bretagne; which he did, under the conduct of Robert Lord Brook, to the number of eight thousand choice men, and well armed; who having a fair wind, in a few hours landed in Bretagne, and joined themselves forthwith to those British forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French, wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But mean while, to harass and weary

wearly the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements, Francis, Duke of Bretagne, deceased; an accident that the king might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon, and provided for; but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, (that somewhat must be done) did overbear the reason of war.

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Bretagne, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English, not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were, after some time, the causes of the loss of that dutchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the king's judgment; but most but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Bretagne, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the lord chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained, concerning the points which the king recommended.

First, The authority of the Star Chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, (besides the High Court of Parliament) in which distribution the King's Bench holdeth the pleas of the crown; the Common Place, pleas civil; the Exchequer, pleas concerning the king's revenue; and the Chancery, the prætorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless, always reserved a high and pre eminent power to the king's council, in causes that might in example, or consequence, concern the state of the commonwealth; which if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the Star Chamber; if civil, in the White Chamber, or White Hall. And as the Chancery had the prætorian power for equity; so the Star Chamber had the censorian power for offences, under the degree of capital. This court of Star Chamber is compounded of good elements; for it consisteth of four kinds of persons: counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes; forces, frauds, crimes various of stellationate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital, or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act, was force; and the two chief supports of force,

combination

combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country, the king's care went on to the peace of the king's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper; That if any of the king's servants, under the degree of a lord, do conspire the death of any of the king's council, or lord of the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor; who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety; drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it further, than to the king's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen, and other commons of the kingdom; who might have thought their ancient liberty, and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the Will in any case of felony should be made the Deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth (that is to say, That he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the king himself) is indifferent to all subjects, as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the lord chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law; for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country, as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the king's house, the king's care extended to the peace of private houses and families: for there was an excellent moral law moulded thus, The taking and carrying away of women forcibly, and against their will, (except female-wards and bondwomen) was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of women by force into possession, (howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements) was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and repressing of murders and manslughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm, being this: That whereas by the common law, the king's suit in case of homicide, did expect, the year and the day, allowed to the parties suit by way of appeal; and that it was found by experience, that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the king's suit by indictment (which is ever best, *flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordained, that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day, as after; not prejudicing nevertheless the parties suit.

The king began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining, That clerks convicted should be

be

be burned in the hand; both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake, the king himself was after branded by Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law, the king's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money: and against unlawful chievances and exchanges, which is bastard usury: and also for the security of the king's customs: and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant strangers, upon the native commodities of the realm: together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit; yet the subsidy granted at the same time, bare a fruit, that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn; but it was after a storm: for when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Duresme, the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, that they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This, no doubt, proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lies like lees in the bottom of men's hearts; and if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And, no doubt, it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malecontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, referred the matter unto the Earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, signifying to the king, plainly enough, in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the king's direction. The king wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release, or mitigation, and chiefly because he would never endure, that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this dispatch from Court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in that imperious language wherein the king had written to him,



him, which needed not (save that an harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man) did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the king's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremont, a factious person, and one that had of a long time born an ill talent towards the king; and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very Boutefeu, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular; entered into open rebellion, and gave out, in flat terms, that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the king was advertised of this new insurrection, (being almost a fever, that took him every year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas Earl of Surry, (whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour) with a competent power against the rebels; who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber, their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremont, he fled into Flanders, to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king. John a Chamber was executed at York, in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief complices, were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the king himself omit his custom, to be first or second in all his warlike exploits; making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that He desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of Surry, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries; and that done, returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surry for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstall for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time that the king lost so good a servant as the Earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally, in James the Third, king of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people, breaking forth at times into seditions and altercations of Court, was at last distressed by them; having taken arms, and surpris'd the person of Prince James his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the king of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms.

Whereupon

Whereupon the king, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the pope, and the king of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner: not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation of menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the rebels that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect: and fury prevailing above fear, made answer, That there was no talking of peace, except the king would resign his crown. Whereupon (treaty of accord taking no place) it came to a battle, at Bannocks Bourn by Strivelin. In which battle, the king, transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting, and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was (notwithstanding the contrary express and straight commandment of the prince his son) slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in the field where the battle was fought.

As for the pope's ambassy, which was sent by Adrian De Castello, an Italian legate, (and perhaps as those times were, might have prevailed more) it came too late for the ambassy, but not for the ambaffador. For passing through England, and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, (who ever applied himself with much respect to the see of Rome) he fell into great grace with the king, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the chancellor. Infomuch, as the king taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind, preferred him to the bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state, that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity, in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of Cardinal, payed the king large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy, which Cardinal Alphonso Petrucci, and some other cardinals, had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof; which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy, by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was; That one should succeed Pope Leo, whose name should be Adrian; an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning and wisdom. By which character and figure, he took himself to be described; though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Flemming, son of a Dutch brewer, Cardinal of Tortosa,

and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his christian name, was afterwards called Adrian the Sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this king. But in the end of the fourth year, the king had called again his parliament; not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state, but the former parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for Bretagne, the king thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet further contentment, and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel; so as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation, after King Edward the First. For his laws (whose marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First therefore he made a law, suitable to his own acts and times. For as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord, in the great suit and title for the crown; so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects. Ordaining, That fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all strangers rights; and that upon fines levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued; which, if he fore-passed, his right should be bound for ever after; with some exception, nevertheless, of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute, commonly called the statute of Non-claim, made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of the good peace which, since his time, hath for the most part continued in this kingdom until this day. For statutes of Non-claim are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions, are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made of singular policy, for the population apparently, and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the soldiery, and militar forces of the realm.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land (which could not be manured without people and families) was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenancies for years, lives, and at will, (whereupon much of the yeomanry

many lived) were turned into demefnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by conlequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The king likewise knew full well, and in no wife forgot, that there enfued withal upon this a decay and diminution of fubfidy and taxes; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of fubfidies. In remedying of this inconvenience, the king's wifdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Inclofures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to ftrive with nature and utility. But they took a courfe to take away depopulating inclofures, and depopulating paffurage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious exprefs prohibition, but by conlequence. The ordinance was, That all houfes of husbandry, that were ufed with twenty acres of ground, and upwards, fhould be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land to be ufed and occupied with them; and in no wife to be fevered from them, as by another ftatute, made afterwards in his fucceffor's time, was more fully declared. This upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by feizure of the land itfelf, by the king and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houfes and lands were reftored. By this means the houfes being kept up, did of neceffity inforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of neceffity inforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of fome fubftance, that might keep hinds and fervants, and fet the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms, as it were, of a ftandard fufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry, or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers, or peafants. Now, how much this did advance the militar power of the kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of war, and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of beft judgment in the wars, (howfoever fome few have varied, and that it may receive fome diftinction of cafe) that the principal ftrength of an army confifteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a fervile or indigent fafhion, but in fome free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a ftate run moft to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or elfe mere cottagers, (which are but houfed beggars) you may have a good cavalry, but never good ftable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them ftaddles too thick, they will run to bufhes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be feen in France, and Italy, and fome other parts abroad, where in effect all is nobles, or peafantry: I fpeak of people out of towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good forces of foot: infomuch, as they are inforced to employ

mercenary bands, of Switzers and the like, for their battalions of foot: whereby also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the king saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces, that those other nations have. Thus did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth, whereupon (according to the poet's fiction) should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.

The king also (having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land) for the better maintainance of the navy, ordained; That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc, should not be brought but in English bottoms; bowing the ancient policy of this estate, from consideration of plenty, to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes incite, by all means, merchant strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The king also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory, towards justices of peace, that they should duly execute their office; inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the king or chancellor; and that a proclamation, which he had published of that tenor, should be read in open sessions four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures; wherein, towards his latter times, he did decline too much to the left hand: he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure, and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the Mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm; for that gold was the metal that lay in least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort: which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities; and because of the wise model of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate, that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting

upon the laws that were made in this king's reign. Whereof I have these reasons; both because it was the pre-eminent virtue and merit of this king, to whose memory I do honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my person; but chiefly, because (in my judgment) it is some defect, even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they write, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves, yet that informeth not the judgment of kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered into the table and portrait of the times.

About the same time, the king had a loan from the city of four thousand pounds; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been. The king ever chusing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the king yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Bretagne, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the French king of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Bretagne, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt, whereof the town of Bruges (at such time as Maximilian was there in person) had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his counsellors, to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question or revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless, Frederick the emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp war upon Flanders, to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the Lord Ravenstein, a principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself an head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipre and Sluce, with both the castles, and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French king, to desire aid, and to move him that he, on the behalf of the French king, would be protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of

the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmue, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the king of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the states of Bretagne, about this marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men unto the Lord Daubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmue. The Lord Daubigny (giving it out that all was for the strengthening of the English marches) drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes, and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up the number of two thousand, or better: which forces, joining with some companies of Almain, put themselves into Dixmue, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town with some reinforcement, (from the forces that were in the town) assailed the enemy's camp, negligently guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss, on the English part, of a hundred, or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport, whence the Lord Daubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men, and some other voluntaries, in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipre with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmue, came presently on, and sat down before Newport and besieged it: and after some days siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault; which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven at Newport: whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means, matters grew more exasperate between the two kings of England and France; for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another: which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common bye-word of his, That he could be content to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English.

The king having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Bretagne to a conclusion; which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed,

both with the young lady, and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummate by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new; for she was not only publicly contracted, but stated as a bride, and solemnly bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuracy, and, in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg, stript naked to the knee, between the espousal sheets, to the end that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. This done, Maximilian, whose property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination, (like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head) and who might as easily have bedded the lady himself as to have made a play and disguise of it, thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his wars. Mean while, the French king, consulting with his divines, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court, than any ways valid by the laws of the church; went more really to work, and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady, as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and honour out of the mind of the lady herself; wherein there was a double labour, for Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles; so as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under years of consent, and so not bound by law, but a power of disagreement left to either part: but for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven; having not to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in the place of a father, and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such consent; which defect, they said, though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was enough to make void a contract: for as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it, and said, that it was an argument, that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question: so that the young lady, wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French king, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side, and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young king and a bachelor, and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage, as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the king of

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England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis lord of Luxemburg, Charles Morignian, and Robert Gaguien, general of the order of the Bonnes Hommes of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the king; accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French king might, with the king's good will, according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage, dispose of the marriage of the young duchess of Bretagne as he should think good; offering, by a judicial proceeding, to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy: also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise, professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the duchess of Bretagne, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage to the king, who remitted them to his council; where, some days after, they had audience, and made their proposition by the prior of the Trinity (who, though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them) to this effect—

“ My Lords,

“ The king our master, the greatest and mightiest king that reigned in France since Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace, yea, and to pray a peace with the king of England; for which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled, with full and ample power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love-tokens between great kings, To communicate one with another the true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection. This I do assure your lordships, it is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the king our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He useth his name with so great respect, he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment, nay, he never speaks of him but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great kings, in that they cannot converse with their equals, but with servants. This affection to your king's person and virtues, God hath put into the heart of our master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all; for other root it cannot have, since it was the same to the Earl of Richmond, that it is now to the king of England. This is, therefore, the first motive that makes our king to desire peace and league with your sovereign, Good affection, and somewhat that he finds

finds in his own heart: this affection is also armed with reason of estate; for our king doth, in all candour and frankness of dealing, open himself unto you, That having an honourable, yea and a holy, purpose to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be known abroad, that he is in good peace with all his neighbour princes, and especially with the king of England, whom, for good causes, he esteemeth most.

“ But now, my lords, give me leave to use a few words, to remove all scruples and misunderstandings between your sovereign and our’s, concerning some late actions, which, if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this peace; to the end, that for matter past, neither king may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two, That of Bretagne, and that of Flanders; in both which it is true, that the subjects swords of both kings have encountered and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of the two kings, in respect of their confederates and allies, have severed.

“ For that of Bretagne, the king your sovereign knoweth best what hath passed: It was a war of necessity on our master’s part; and though the motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an olive-branch than a laurel-branch in his hand, more desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time to time he sent, as it were, blank papers to your king to write the conditions of peace; for though both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious to put into the king of England’s hands. Neither doth our king, on the other side, make any unfriendly interpretation of your king’s sending of succours to the Duke of Bretagne; for the king knoweth well, that many things must be done of kings for satisfaction of their people, and it is not hard to discern what is a king’s own. But this matter of Bretagne, is now, by the act of God, ended and passed; and, as the king hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in either of the king’s minds, as he is sure, for his part, it hath not done in his.

“ For the action of Flanders; As the former of Bretagne was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice, which, with a good king, is of equal necessity with danger of estate, for else he should leave to be a king. The subjects of Burgundy are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and their duke the homager and vassal of France: they had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late distempered them: they fled to the king for justice and deliverance from oppression; justice he could not deny, purchase he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutined to arreſt fury and prevent despair. My lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the king our master is tender in any  
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thing that may but glance upon the friendship of England. The amity between the two kings, no doubt, stands entire and inviolate; and that their subjects swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns, it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw blood in the field; nay, many times there be aids of the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, for all that, a kingdom divided in itself.

“ It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a matter that I know your lordships all will much rejoice to hear, as that which importeth the Christian commonweal more than any action that hath happened of long time. The king, our master, hath a purpose and determination to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, being now in the possession of a bastardly of Arragon, but appertaining unto his majesty by clear and undoubted right; which if he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. But his noble and christian thoughts rest not here; for his resolution and hope is, to make the re-conquest of Naples but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia, and not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to the impawning of his crown, and dispeopling of France, till either he hath overthrown the empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise. The king knoweth well, that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king that did not stedfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed: but yet it is agreeable to the person that he beareth, though unworthy, of the thrice-christian king, and the eldest son of the church: whereunto he is also invited by the example, in more ancient time, of King Henry IV. of England, (the first renowned king of the house of Lancaster, ancestor, though not progenitor, to your king) who had a purpose, towards the end of his time, as you know better, to make an expedition into the Holy Land; and by the example also, present before his eyes, of that honourable and religious war which the king of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for the recovery of the realm of Grenada from the Moors. And although this enterprise may seem vast and unmeasured, for the king to attempt that by his own forces, wherein heretofore a conjunction of most of the Christian princes hath found work enough; yet his majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller forces, being united under one command, are more effectual in proof, though not so promising in opinion and fame, than much greater forces, variously compounded by associations and leagues, which commonly, in a short time after their beginnings, turn to dissociations and divisions. But, my lords, that which is as a voice from heaven that called the king to this enterprise, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say, but there hath been brother against brother in that house before, but never any that had refuge to the arms of the Christians, as now hath

hath Gemes, brother unto Bajazeth that reigneth, the far braver man of the two; the other being between a monk and a philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes, than able to wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This, therefore, is the king our master's memorable and heroic resolution for an holy war. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian soldier, as well as of a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility, and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of other Christian kings. There remaineth only rather a civil request than any essential part of our negociation, which the king maketh to the king your sovereign. The king, as the world knoweth, is lord in chief of the duchy of Bretagne; the marriage of the heir belongeth to him as guardian: this is a private patrimonial right, and no business of estate; yet nevertheless, (to run a fair course with your king, whom he desires to make another himself, and to be one and the same thing with him) his request is, that, with the king's favour and consent, he may dispose of her marriage as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, according to justice. This, my lords, is all that I have to say; desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors, with great shew of their king's affection, and many sugared words, seek to adulce all matters between the two kings, having two things for their ends: the one, to keep the king quiet till the marriage of Bretagne was passed, and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered: the other was more lasting; and that was, to put him into such a temper as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the council were silent, and said only, that they knew the ambassadors would look for no answer till they had reported to the king; and so they rose from council. The king could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Bretagne; he saw plainly the ambition of the French king was to impatronize himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Bretagne for lost; but resolved to make his profit of this business of Bretagne as a quarrel for war, and that of Naples as a wrench and mean for peace, being well advertised how strongly the king was bent upon that action. Having, therefore, conferred divers times with his council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the chancellor for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council: and after calling the chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat, that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after, the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord chancellor spake to them in this sort—

“ My Lords Ambassadors,

“ I shall make answer, by the king's commandment, unto the eloquent declaration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain manner. The king forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the king your master: but of this there needeth no repetition; for if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

“ For the business of Bretagne, The king findeth it a little strange that the French king maketh mention of it as matter of well deserving at his hand; for that deserving was no more but to make him his instrument to surprize one of his best confederates: and for the marriage, the king would not meddle in it, if your master would marry by the book, and not by the sword.

“ For that of Flanders, If the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your king, as their chief lord, at first, by way of supplication, it might have had a shew of justice; but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The king saith, that sure he is, when the French king and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland, that had taken arms against their king, they both spake in another style, and did in princely manner signify their detestation of popular attentates upon the person or authority of princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the king leaveth these two actions thus: That on the one side, he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and, on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as, in respect of them, to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the war of Naples, and the design against the Turk, the king hath commanded me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the French king, that his fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions; and whensoever he shall hear that he is prepared for Grecia, as your master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the king, so the king will then beg of him a part in that war.

“ But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the king's part. The king your master hath taught our king what to say and demand. You say, my lord prior, that your king is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him; and that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my lords, that the king our master saith the same thing over again to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words: if therefore the French king shall consent that the king our master's title to France, at least tribute for the same, be handled in the treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to treat.”

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The ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat, that they doubted not but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre; and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France, either in territory or regality: but howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the king looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French king. There was a question also asked at the table, Whether the French king would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Bretagne, with an exception and exclusion that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered, That it was so far out of their king's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior, and were followed immediately by Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston, prior of Christ Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space, Lionell, bishop of Concordia, was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth to both kings, to move a peace between them; for Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better, casting the net, not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark; and doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French king's voyage into Italy, dispatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two kings, if he could; who first repaired to the French king, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way towards the French king. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the king. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed; for in the mean time, the purpose of the French king to marry the duchess could be no longer dissembled; wherefore the English ambassadors, finding how things went, took their leaves and returned; and the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of England; who, when he went back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the king; unto which the king, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse, and that as speaking in his own person, but in a style of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the king's second son Henry, who afterwards reigned; and soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles and Ann duchess of Bretagne, with whom he received the duchy of Bretagne as her dowry, the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home;

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which, when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, (being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French king did very handsomely second it) and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow, with such a double scorn, be defeated both of the marriage of his daughter and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great kings, even when their blood is hottest and most risen, fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French king: and (by how much he was less able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles, saying, that he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advoutry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgment of God, to the end that (the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world) the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France: and forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the king of England as to the king of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the king of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner.

“ My Lords, and you the Commons,

“ When I purposed to make a war in Bretagne by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my chancellor; but now that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man’s right; but this is to recover our own: and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

“ The French king troubles the Christian world: that which he hath, is not his own, and yet he seeketh more; he hath invested himself of Bretagne, he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders, and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect, and from neglect to contumely: he hath assailed our confederates, he denieth our tribute; in a word, he seeks war. So did not his father, but fought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

“ Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage; and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgment, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French king prisoner in England, and a king of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished; Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and never more provoked; Bretagne cannot help us, but  
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it may hurt them; new acquests are more burthen than strength. The malecontents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but of an higher nature; the king of Spain; doubt ye not, will join with us, not knowing where the French king's ambition will stay; our holy father, the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned on; for God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second.

“ At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers; they have no stable bands of foot; some good horse they have, but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the assailants choice. It was our disorders only that lost France; and, by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword; I have, in this time that I have feigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good; my people and I know one another, which breeds confidence; and if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it, or purify it. In this great business, let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son a knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father, and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for matter of treasure, let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness; and I, that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war, after the beginnings, to pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time; for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause.”

Thus spake the king; but for all this, though he shewed great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise, (except the two bishops and a few more) yet nevertheless, in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France: but the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well, that France was now entire, and at unity with itself, and never so mighty, many years before: he saw, by the taste that he had of his forces sent into Bretagne, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearying them by long sieges of towns and strong fortified encampings. James III. of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James IV. that had succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them; for the one had power and not will, and the other had will and not power: besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors, and merchanted



at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Ruffington and Perpignian, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm, which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding, therefore, the inconveniencies and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things: the one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war, to make his profit; the other, how to come off from the war with saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace: like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported, and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war, he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war, so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap, as he desired.

For as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate of old to the war of France, and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour they thought the king sustained by the loss of Bretagne: therefore they advised the king, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France; and although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility, together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons; and funding, by the lord chancellor's speech, the king's inclination that way, they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called Benevolence, was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third, by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the king, but with consent of parliament; for so it was not in the time of Edward the Fourth: but by this way he raised exceeding great sums, insomuch as the city of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand pounds and better, and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a dilemma, that Bishop Morton, the chancellor, used to raise up the benevolence to higher rates, and some called it his fork, and some his crutch; for he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence, that if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, that they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port, and manner of living. So neither kind came amiss.

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This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto, as the severe punishing of mort-pays, and keeping back of soldiers wages and captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the king's service; and the setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and, lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England, thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the king went on with his preparations for the war of France; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of Maximilian, for the quietting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects; for at that time, the Lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, (and so much the more malicious and violent by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt) had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice, as we said before.

And having, by the commodity of the haven, gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade, robbing and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed along that coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zeland, or Friezland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still under-hand; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides, thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges, towards the sea, called Dam, which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice. This town the King of the Romans had attempted often, (not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choak Bruges, and cut it off from the sea) and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects, but being, indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to Bruges, desiring of the states of Bruges to enter peaceably into their town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate, being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms; and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance, for their good: which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him to provide his lodging; so

that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before enquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night, and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam; and they of Bruges only gazed upon them, and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges, and discovering forces afar off, supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them; and so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town; by which kind of sleight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up; whereby they took great discouragement.

The Duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the king, to let him know that it was Sluice chiefly, and the Lord Ravenstein, that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life; and that if it pleased the king to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars.

The king, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein, sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man and of good service, with twelve ships well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle, who continually fought with them to repulse them; though of the English part also were slain a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the Duke of Saxony, and the other by the English, and a bridge of boats, which the Lord Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English, he, despairing to hold the town, yielded, at the last, the castles to the English, and the town to the Duke of Saxony, by composition; which done, the Duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord; which, after some time, they did, paying, in some good part, the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed, so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of necessity: and Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some good while,

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till all things were settled, returned unto the king, being then before Bulloigne.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, signifying their final conquest of Grenada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the shewing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctoes and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom; shewing, amongst other things, that the king would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Grenada, whereby it became Christian ground; that likewise, before he would enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by an herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous apostle St. James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons; that yet he stirred not from his camp, till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians (that had lived in bonds and servitude as slaves to the Moors) pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God by alms and relief extended to them all, for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

The king, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain, (as far as one king can affect another) partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France, upon the receipt of these letters, sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul's, there to hear a declaration from the lord chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal (standing upon the uppermost step, or half pace before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city, at the foot of the stairs) made a speech to them, letting them know, that they were assembled in that consecrate place to sing unto God a new song; "For that," said he, "these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set further bounds to the Christian world; but this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Grenada, and the populous and mighty city of the same name, from the Moors, having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more; for which, this assembly and all Christians, are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the King of Spain; who in this is not only victorious,

but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith: and the rather, for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood; whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gained, not only new territory, but infinite souls to the church of Christ; whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be converted." Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory; and after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and Te Deum was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the king kept his May-day at his palace of Sheine, now Richmond; where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney, during all that month: in which space it so fell out, that Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan, one of the king's gentlemen-ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king at arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another; and by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place: which, because of the controversy precedent, and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The king, towards the end of this summer, having put his forces, wherewith he meant to invade France, in readiness, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent Urswick (now made his almoner) and Sir John Risley to Maximilian; to let him know, that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors, having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms, for any such enterprize: for Maximilian having neither wing to fly on, (for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living; and on the other side, his matrimonial territories of Flanders being partly in dower to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late rebellions) was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the king thereof, rather than to return themselves till the king's further pleasure were known: the rather, for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dillatory answers; so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The king hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning) wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they

they found Maximilian, as a secret, till they heard further from him; and mean while went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London; in which were, Thomas Marquis Dorset, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Thomas Earl of Derby, George Earl of Shrewsbury, Edmond Earl of Suffolk, Edward Earl of Devonshire, George Earl of Kent, the Earl of Essex, Thomas Earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales; the army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; over which, the king (constant in his accustomed trust and employment) made Jasper Duke of Bedford, and John Earl of Oxford, generals under his own person. The 9th of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea; all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war; and some thereupon gathering it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless, the king gave out the contrary, thus: That he intended not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war (without term prefixed) until he recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it; especially, having Calais at his back, where he might winter, if the reason of the war so required. The 6th of October, he embarked at Sandwich, and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous where all his forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the sea-side, (wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer) he had received letters from the Lord Cordes; who, the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negociation of peace; and besides was held a man open, and of good faith: in which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French king, with such conditions, as were somewhat to the king's taste: but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The king was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow: for, first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the king that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether improvident: his will was good; but he lacked money: and this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed; and that it be the manner of soldiers, upon bad news, to speak the more bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the king had laid it) came news that Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles; and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Ruffignon and Perpignian, which formerly were mortgaged by

John King of Arragon (Ferdinando's father) unto France, for three hundred thousand crowns: which debt was also upon this peace; by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace; both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought; so as the king should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace, the king was content that the Bishop of Exeter and the Lord Daubigney, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace: but himself nevertheless, and his army, the 5th of October, removed from Calais, and in four days march sat him down before Bulloigne.

During this siege of Bulloigne, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable accident of war, only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned, yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault; which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood; but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Meanwhile, a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the kings lives; where there was no article of importance, being, in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty; for all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred and forty-five thousand ducats in present for his charges in that journey, and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly for his charges sustained in the aids of the Bretons; for which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt: and besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire, which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms; and the truth is, it was paid both to the king, and to his son King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There were also assigned, by the French king, unto all the king's principal counsellors great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present; which, whether the king did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted; for certainly the king had no great fancy to own this peace; and therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication: but the truth is, this peace was welcome to both kings; to Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Bretagne, and freed the enterprize of Naples; to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, that the king cared

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not to plume his nobility and people, to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with that the king had said in parliament, That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself; saying he had kept promise.

Having risen from Bulloigne, he went to Calais, where he stayed some time; from whence also he wrote letters (which was a courtesy that he sometimes used) to the mayor of London, and aldermen his brethren; half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing well, that full coffers of the king is ever good news to London: and better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the 17th of December following, he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas. †

Soon after the king's return, he sent the Order of the Garter to Alphonso Duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando, King of Naples; an honour sought by that prince, to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians who, expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised; as things use to be carried, that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick; upon whom the king bestowed this ambassage, to help him, after many dry employments.

At this time [1492] the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret; who raised up the ghost of Richard Duke of York, second son to King Edward IV. to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnell, better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of France, and a King of Scotland, not of a Duchess of Burgundy only: and for Simnell, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth (of whom we are now to speak) was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out: wherefore, this being one of the strangest examples of a personation that ever was in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full; although the king's manner of shewing things, by pieces and by dark lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret (whom the king's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief) for a foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion, That Richard Duke of York, second son to Edward IV. was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive; for that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking

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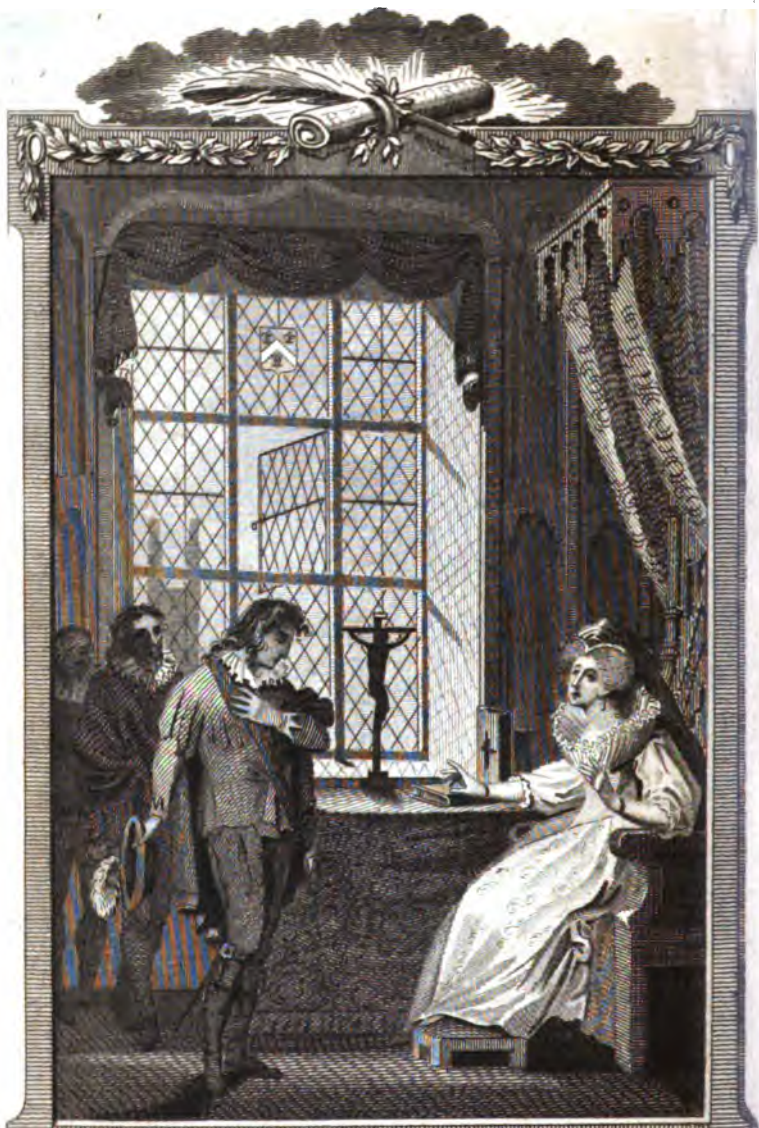


that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnell, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance: for she had some secret espials (like to the Turks commissioners for children of tribute) to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and Dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn, for a counterfeit of Richard Duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For, first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape; but, more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or (as the king called him) such a land-loper, as it was extremely hard to hunt out his nest and parents: neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter, which is, that King Edward IV. was his godfather: which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the House of York; so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps, in sport, King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For, tutor he had none (for ought that appears) as Lambert Simnell had, until he came unto the Lady Margaret, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catharine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London, in King Edward IV.'s days; during which time he had a son by her; and being known in court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour as to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter: but afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peter-Kin, or Perkin; for, as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken: but yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay: then was he placed in the house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp; and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time; living much in English company, and having

YES  
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DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, AND PERKIN WARBECK.

*Collings del.*

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*Burrah sculp.*

having the English tongue perfect: in which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought, by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret, unto her presence; who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour; thought she had now found a curious piece of marble, to carve out an image of a Duke of York. She kept him by her a great while; but with extreme secrecy: the while, she instructed him, by many cabinet conferences—First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard Duke of York, which he was to act: describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen his pretended parents; and of his brother, and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his childhood; together with all passages, some secret some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the king's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower; as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in Sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape, she knew they were things that a very few could controul; and therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters, warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest: but still making them hang together, with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were liked to be asked of him: but, in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness, and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if things went well; and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had the like meteor strong influence before: the time of the apparition to be, when the king should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected; and therefore if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe, for that the two kings were then upon terms of peace: therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that she knew secrets are not long lived) she sent

him unknown into Portugal, with the Lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time; with some privado of her own, to have an eye upon him; and there he was to remain, and to expect her further directions: in the mean time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time, the King of England called his parliament (as hath been said) and declared open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin would appear: and therefore he was straight sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designation. In Ireland he did arrive at the town of Cork: when he was come thither, his own tale was, (when he made his confession afterwards) That the Irishmen, finding him in some good cloaths, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of Clarence, that had been there before: and after, that he was Richard the Third's base son: and lastly, that he was Richard Duke of York, second son to Edward IV. but that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the Duke of York, and drew unto him complices, and partakers, by all the means he could devise; insomuch, as he wrote his letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had gained unto her, a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles the French king, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, (ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret) forthwith dispatched one Lucas, and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin; to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a king, in so honourable a manner; and imparting unto his friends in Ireland, for their encouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was come to the court of France, the king received him with great honour; saluted, and stiled him by the name of the Duke of York; lodged him, and accommodated him in great state: and the better to give him the representation and the countenance

nance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresfall was captain. The courtiers likewise (though it be ill mocking with the French) applied themselves to their king's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Nevile, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake; who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this, on the French king's part, was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace: and therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Bulloigne, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry (as he was laboured to do) for his honour's sake, but warned him away, and dismissed him: and Perkin, on his part, was ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders unto the Duchess of Burgundy; pretending, that having been variously tossed by Fortune, he directed his course thither, as to a safe harbour; no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnell, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said, she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York, or no: but seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him, as if he were risen from death to life; and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismissal out of France, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver; but contrariwise, that it did show manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter, for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin for his part wanting to himself, either in gracious and princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and carressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself, insomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great persons, as amongst the vulgar) that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer.

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The duchess therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of The White Rose of England; and appointed him a guard of thirty persons; halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch, and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependance upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government; taxing him for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Bretagne, and the peace with France, were not forgotten: but chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the House of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect) these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers: they being like running weeds, that have no certain root; or like footings up and down, impossible to be traced. But after a while, these ill humours drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons: which were, Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household; the Lord Fitzwater; Sir Simon Mountfort; Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless, none engaged their fortunes in this business openly, but two; Sir Robert Clifford, and Master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of monies from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford (being a gentleman of fame and family) was extremely welcome to the Lady Margaret; who after she had conference with him, brought him to the fight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse: so that, in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard Duke of York as well as he knew his own; and that this young man was undoubtedly

undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The king on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but shew fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected: but for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two; the one, to lay open the abuse; the other, to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways: the first, to make it manifest to the world that the Duke of York was indeed murdered; the other to prove, that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the Duke of York: Sir James Tyrrell, (the employed man from King Richard) John Dighton, and Miles Forest, his servants, (the two butchers or tormentors) and the priest of the Tower, that buried them. Of which four, Miles Forest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tyrrell and John Dighton. These two the king caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, (as the king gave out) to this effect: That King Richard having directed his warrant, for the putting of them to death, to Brackenbury the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused; whereupon the king directed his warrant to Sir James Tyrrell, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the king's special service. That Sir James Tyrrell accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the stair-foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and that done, called up their master to see their naked bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tyrrell great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were king's children. Whereupon another night by the king's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after, could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations: but the king nevertheless made no use of them in any of his declarations; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tyrrell, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower Yard, for other matters of treason: but John Dighton (who it seemeth spake best for the king) was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind



kind of proof being left so naked, the king used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose, he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies; some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down, and, in brief, to have a journal, as it were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money, to draw on and reward intelligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on; and ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main counter-mine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England, or abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the persons; so, for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom (as they could) the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators, their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust-spies had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprize and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a king they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the king, with promise of pardon, and good conditions of reward: and (above the rest) to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford, and to win him, if they could; being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away, would most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition, that the king being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men, and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's (by name) amongst the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials pled their charge so roundly, as the king had an anatomy of Perkin alive, and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious for his service: the king therefore (receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars) first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation (because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less) but

but by court fables, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto Archduke Philip into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham, doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council; before whom the ambassadors had audience, and Dr. Warham spake in this manner—

“ My Lords,

“ The king our master is very sorry that England, and your country here of Flanders, having been counted as man and wife for so long time, now this country of all others should be the stage where a base counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not only to his grace's disquiet, and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin, is a high offence by all laws; but to counterfeit the living image of a king in his person, exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet, or an Antichrist, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The king hath too great an opinion of this sage council, to think that any of you is caught with this fable, (though way may be given by you to the passion of some) the thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke Richard, which the king hath upon record, plain and infallible, (because they may be thought to be in the king's own power) let the thing testify for itself. Sense and reason no power can command. Is it possible, trow you, that King Richard should damn his soul, and foul his name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you think that men of blood, that were his instruments, did turn to pity in the midst of their execution? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also, the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know that the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with an halter about their neck; so that if they perform not, they are sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard their own lives for sparing another's? Admit they should have saved him, what should they have done with him? Turn him into London streets, that the watchmen or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of care, charge, and continual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is a great prince, if you have any good poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life, and to parallel him with Lambert Simnell, now the king's falconer. And therefore (to speak plainly to your lordships) it is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret (excuse us, if we name her whose malice to the king is both causeless and endless) should now,

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when she is old, at the time when other women give over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters; being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world, to bid battle to mighty kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part. We would to God, that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The king's request unto the archduke, and your lordships, might be, that, according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But, because the king may justly expect more from an ancient confederate, than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh his request unto you, to deliver him up into his hands; pirates and impostors of this sort, being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the laws of nations."

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer—

"That the Archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke; but in all things conserve the amity he had with the king. But, for the duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry; and that he could not let her to dispose of her own."

The king, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer; for well he knew that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty, or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke's council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke under hand gave aid and furtherance to Perkin: wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the king forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants-adventurers, which had a reliance in Antwerp, to return; translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais, and embarred also all further trade for the future. This the king did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England, to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach; for that he knew well that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin, and that the tumults of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the prince to displease the people; nevertheless, for form's sake, by way of requital, the archduke

archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders, which in effect was done to his hand.

The king being well advertised that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm, than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay; and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm, thereby to purge the ill humours in England, and to cool the hopes in Flanders; wherefore he caused to be apprehended (almost at an instant) John Ratcliff Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbigney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Chressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these, the Lord Fitzwater was conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until soon after (either impatient or betrayed) he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded: but Sir Simon Mountford, Robert Ratcliff, and William Dawbigney, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation; the rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laikes, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worlesey, dean of Paul's; which latter sort passed examination, but came not to public trial.

The lord chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were that the king would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last; or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own coming over; signifying only to the king, in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the king further account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows day even, being now the tenth year of the king's reign, the king's second son Henry was created Duke of York; and as well the duke, as divers others, noblemen, knights bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made knights of the Bath, according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after Twelfth Day, the king removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secrets were layed up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might, without suspicion or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached; the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two, the king drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the king's pardon, which the king then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before: then commanded so tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not

interrogated) impeach Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain of the king's household.

The king seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his life, and set the crown upon his head; a man that enjoyed by his favour and advancement so great a fortune, both in honour and riches; a man that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the king's mother; and, lastly, a man to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain—That this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him! Clifford was required to say over, again and again, the particulars of his accusation, being warned that, in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the king's, he should not in any wise go too far; but the king, finding that he did sadly and constantly, without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life, he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber, where he lay before in the square tower; and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination, he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault; so that (not very wisely) thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the king. But those helps were overweighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the king's nature and mind: first, an over-merit; for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with kings: next, the sense of his power; for the king thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down; thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom, there being found in his castle of Holt, forty thousand marks in ready money, and plate, besides jewels, household stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate, exceeding great; and for his revenue, in land and fee, it was three thousand pounds a year of old rent, a great matter in those times: lastly, the nature of the time; for if the king had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life; but the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head, made him work sure. Wherefore, after some six weeks distance of time, which the king did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to shew to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of high treason, and condemned, and presently after [February 15, 1495] beheaded.

Yet is it to this day but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was for which he suffered, and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the king. His case was said to be this: that in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him, he had said, "That if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him." This case seems somewhat an hard case, both in respect of the conditional, and in respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seems the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *ifs* and *ands* to qualify words of treason, whereby every man might express his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case (in the following times) of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, who had said, "That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he should be deprived of his crown, and die the death of a dog." And infinite cases may be put of like nature, which it seemeth the grave judges, taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons upon condition. And as for the positive words, "That he would not bear arms against King Edward's son;" though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct over-ruling of the king's title, either by the line of Lancaster, or by act of parliament; which, no doubt, pierced the king more than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field; for, if Stanley would hold that opinion, that a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the king, it was to teach all England to say as much; and therefore, as those times were, that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt; for they say, that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now, for the motive of his falling off from the king. It is true, that at Bosworth Field the king was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this Stanley was sent by his brother with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit than the king received by the hands of Stanley; being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown; for which service the king gave him great gifts, made him his counsellor and chamberlain; and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth Field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching; yet nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the king, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected; and his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the king for the earldom of Chester; which ever being a kind of appennage

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to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the king's son, his suit did not only end in a denial, but in a dis-taste; the king perceiving thereby, that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him; wherefore the king began not to brook him well: and as a little leaven of new dis-taste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to suggest unto his passion, that Stanley, at Bosworth Field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he staid long enough to endanger it. But yet, having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made lord chamberlain, Giles Lord Dawbeny, a man of great sufficiency and valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the king's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privy. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he had with the king before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the lord chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not from any thing he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions (and especially that of the lord chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward man of trust amongst them) did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his accomplices, as well through discouragement as dis-trust. So that they were now (like sand without lime) ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the king (what with his baits, and what with his nets) would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the thread; sometimes one, and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint-commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with the king; and the manner of carriage of the business, as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect, That the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster, which was the case almost of every man, at the least in opinion; was matter of great terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure; and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another: but there was a general diffidence every where, which nevertheless made the king rather more absolute

absolute than more safe. For bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, strangle soonest and opprefs most.

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and vollies of libels, (which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition) containing bitter invectives and slanders against the king, and some of the council; for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence and enquiry, five mean persons were caught, and executed.

Meanwhile the king did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where the muskbooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his affairs there) commissioners of both robes. The prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men\*, and a marshal commission, together with a civil power of his lieutenant, with a clause, that the Earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale, fled to them; so that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish, where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good: which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the Earl of Kildare, that was in the action of Lambert Simnell, slain at Stoke Field †. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon examination, he declared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings (the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars, by acts of peace) called a parliament; where was made that memorable act which at this day is called Poyning's Law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland, for before they were not: neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time, which was the tenth year of the king.

About this time began to be discovered in the king that disposition which, afterwards nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times; which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this, men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the king's nature, and not out of his necessity, he being now in float for treasure; for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the lord chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted case of this

\* Less, however, than a thousand.

† It was not the Earl of Kildare, but his brother the Lord Thomas Howard, that was slain at Stoke Field.



kind, was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London, who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the king for sixteen hundred; and yet after, Empson would have cut a chop out of him, if the king had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the king, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which was imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bore to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother, and the earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck, finding that time and temporizing, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him, did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him, (for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force) resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England; hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the House of York; which body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections, was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The king by this time was grown to such an height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before; as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards but the king, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together the power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their natures and fortunes to be feared as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent, about July.

There he cast anchor; and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boast of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people, and freebooters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom, resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the king, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the king's service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation,

directed some forces in good number, to shew themselves upon the coast; and some of them to make signs, to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, (who, by playing the prince, or else taught by Secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and afterwards to march in order; and rebels, contrariwise, run upon an head together in confusion) considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst; and therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the king's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed; set upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships: in which skirmish (besides those that fled and were slain) there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons: Which, for that the king thought that to punish a few for example was gentleman's play, but for rascal-people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprize; and likewise, for that he saw that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble, and scum of desperate people; he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London, all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart; and were executed some of them at London and Wapping; and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks or light-houses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The king being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress; but being certified the next day that they were partly defeated and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guilford into Kent in message; who, calling the country together, did much commend (from the king) their fidelity, manhood, and well-handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November (this being the eleventh year of the king) was holden the Serjeants Feast at Ely Place; there being nine serjeants of that call. The king; to honour the feast, was present, with his queen, at the dinner; being a prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, That as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the king entered into league with the Italian potentates, for the defence of Italy against France: for King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream: He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance: so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, that the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight. He like-

wife entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking a stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no countenance to the barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angevines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa; which made all men suspect that his purposes looked further than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at difference with Ludovico Sfortia; who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relics of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italiana; whereby he left the realm of Naples at his departure so much the less provided: so that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless, Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore, at the instance of divers states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said pope; Maximilian, King of Romans; Henry, King of England; Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; (for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout) Augustissimo Barbadoico, Duke of Venice; and Ludovico Sfortia, Duke of Milan; for the common defence of their estates. Wherein, though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet, no doubt, the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included, as a fee of the church.

There died also this year, Cecilia, Duchess of York, mother to King Edward IV. at her castle of Barkhamsted; being of extreme years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also the king called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature, than ought to detain the reader of an history. And it may be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the king did excel in good commonwealth laws; so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure, as for correcting of manners; and so, meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament, was a law of a strange nature; rather just than legal, and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain, that no person, that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the king for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament: but, if any such act of attainder did happen

to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not enquire of the justness of the king's title, or quarrel; and it was agreeable to good conscience, that, whatsoever the fortune of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderfully pious and noble; being like in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague, who said, "If I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?" Neither wanted this law, parts of prudent and deep foresight; for, it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves, to pry into the king's title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless, it did take off from his party, that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety, and protected, whether they stood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it; by a precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any latter will, it should be void. And, for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time; who, doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, "That no statute made during the minority of the king, should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the king under his great seal, at his full age." But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time, was an act of repeal of that former act; at which time, nevertheless, the king was minor: but things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time,

There was also made a shoaring or under-propping act for the Benevolence; to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law: which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed counterpane the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This parliament also was made that good law, which gave the attain upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of erangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the king's suit, as because in them (if they be followed in course of indictment) there passeth a double jury, the indictors and the triers; and so not twelve men, but four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal: but the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death, if they should be subject to suit and penalty, where

the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit, where the demand is under the value of forty pounds; for that in such cases of petty value, it would not quit the charge to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands, or their husbands ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law, for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis*, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk; whereby poor men became rather able to vex, than unable to sue. There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before; but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those that are not of a vulgar nature.

The king this while, though he sat in parliament, as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, (who was now returned into Flanders) but as a May-game; yet having the composition of a wise king (stout without, and apprehensive within) had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire (which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood) alive, with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France, than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the king's diligence, and Poyning's commission, had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin, but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised, by his council, to seek aid of the King of Scotland; a prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill-affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the king: the one being displeased with the king's prohibition of commerce with Flanders; the other holding the king for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the Duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which did further his fortunes; inasmuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the King of Scotland.

Perkin, therefore, coming into Scotland upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the King of Scots\* (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence in a solemn manner: for the king received him in

\* James the Fourth.

state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin, well attended, as well with those that the king had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the king was; and coming near to the king, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner—

“ High and mighty King.

“ Your grace, and these your nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom; but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place. You see here before you the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the nursery to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary to the direful prison; from the prison to the hand of the cruel tormentor; and from that hand to the wide wilderness, as I may truly call it, for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth, by your princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late King of England, (as your grace cannot but have heard) left two sons; Edward, and Richard Duke of York, both very young. Edward, the eldest, succeeded their father in the crown, by the name of King Edward V. But Richard, Duke of Gloucester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the kingdom, through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their blood, out of desire to secure himself, employed an instrument of his (confident to him, as he thought) to murder them both. But this man that was employed to execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest of the two, was moved partly by remorse, and partly by some other means, to save Richard his brother; making a report, nevertheless, to the tyrant, that he had performed his commandment for both brethren. This report was accordingly believed, and published generally: so that the world hath been possessed of an opinion, that they both were barbarously made away; though, ever, truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved little Joas from the tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the king's children; and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him; preserved the second brother. For I myself, that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard, Duke of York, brother of that unfortunate prince, King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving heir-male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of that name the Fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or, at least, in a more secret relation; for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a mother living, a queen, and one that

that expected daily such a commandment from the tyrant, for the murdering of her children. Thus, in my tender age, escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over sea; where, after a time, the party that had me in charge (upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God knoweth) suddenly forsook me; whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore, distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon me; the other of grief and disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with myself, to expect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the crown. But in this season, it happened, one Henry Tiddler, son to Edmund Tiddler, Earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the realm, and by subtile and foul means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained. So that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtile ways and means he could, to procure my final destruction. For my mortal enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving me nick names, so abusing the world; but also to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes and their ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune labours to certain servants about my person to murder or poison me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel, and to depart from my service; as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every man of reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant labour and industry to compass my death and ruin, if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above (for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord and amity, by so great an obligation) had reserved the placing of me in the imperial throne of England, for the arms and succours of your grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them that were bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of England; as of late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person of Henry VI. Wherefore, for that your grace hath given clear signs, that you are in no noble quality inferior to your royal ancestors; I, so distressed a prince, was hereby moved to come and put myself into your royal hands, desiring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear myself towards you great and otherwise,

otherwise, than if I were your own natural brother; and will, upon the recovery of mine inheritance, gratefully do you all the pleasure that is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely, That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands. And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet, notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great princes abroad; or, willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry; he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard Duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent, that this duke should take to wife the Lady Katherine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the king himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army (though it consisted chiefly of borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation of this tenor following, in the name of Richard Duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England.

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, so give us means at the length, to shew ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to intend their hurt and damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourself and them from tyranny and oppression. For, our mortal enemy, Henry Tidder, a false usurper of the crown of England, which to us by natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, we being the very Richard Duke of York, younger son, and now surviving heir-male of the noble and victorious Edward IV. late King of England, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise, by all foul and wicked means, sought to betray us, and bereave us of our life; yet, if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But this Tidder, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice but tyranny and the seats thereof.

"For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true Plantagenet) was noble, and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy (agreeable to the meanness of his birth) hath trodden under foot the honour



honour of this nation; selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandize of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful mis-government, and evil deportments at home. First, he hath, to fortify his false quarrel, caused divers nobles of this our realm (whom he held suspect, and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murdered; as, our cousin Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Dawbeny, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms; some of which nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin Edward, son and heir to our uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; with-holding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their liegances. He also married, by compulsion, certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Riseley, Turberville, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other caittifs and villains of birth, which by subtle inventions and pilling of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the mis-rule and mischief now reigning in England.

“ We remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed, and done by our foresaid great enemy, and his adherents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people, by fines, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, with many other heinous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm; shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the counsel of other said persons, see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of merchandize betwixt realm and realm, to be ministred and handled, as shall more be to the commonweal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such fines, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, Kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects and true liege men.

“ And

“ And further, we do out of our grace and clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects remission and free pardon of all by-past offences whatsoever, against our person, or estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom (we know well) they have been misled; if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs, both during their life, and after their death. As also we shall by all means, which God shall put into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estates of our people; maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire state; preserving the honours, privileges, and pre-eminences of our nobles from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns, in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement, where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonaire government of our noble father, King Edward, (in his last times) is in us revived.

“ And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a means to stay much effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises, he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us; which we desire to avoid, though we be certainly informed that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown, the better to support him in foreign parts; we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said enemy (though the party be of never so mean a condition) he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand pound in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

“ Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the King of Scotland, to aid us in person, in this our righteous quarrel; it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of any thing, that may prejudice our crown or subjects: but, contrariwise, with promise on our said cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy, which we hope will be very suddenly, he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprize, and our true and faithful love and amity. Which we shall ever (by the grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms.”

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland, seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his enterprize into a road; and wasted and destroyed the country of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great spoils, deferring further prosecution till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the king in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country: whereunto the king answered, half in sport, that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the king, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish, began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore; which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein, time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate, and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. And the king, on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account, in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which dispersed that blood: and yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant-adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well underfet with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London, to treat: on the king's part, Bishop Fox, lord privy seal; Viscount Wells; Kendal, prior of St. John's; Warham, master of the Rolls, who began to gain much upon the king's opinion; Urfwick, who was almost ever one; and Riseley. On the archduke's part, the Lord Bevers, his admiral; the Lord Verunsel, president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse between the king and the archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties, of the third and fourth years

years of the king; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one and twentieth year of the king; which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this treaty there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other; purporting, that if any such rebel should be required by the prince whose rebel he was, of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should, by proclamation, command him to avoid the country; which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But, nevertheless, in this article, Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipped of his followers, that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the king called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice and the cruel predatory war lately made by the King of Scotland; that that king, being in amity with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded; and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the king any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace: concluding, that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens. For his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure, of a strange kind of ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament (for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war) there were no laws made to be remembered: only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant-adventurers of England, against the merchant-adventurers of London, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade; which it seemeth they did, a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

But it was fatal to the king to fight for his money: and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home: for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country,

and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tinniers; they muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments: and said, it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly; but they would eat the bread they got by the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders, or captains of the rout. The one was one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier, of Bodmin; a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer; who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion, that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were not to be granted nor levied in this case; that is, for wars of Scotland (for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage, for those journies) much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people; and therefore that it was good they should not stand now like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands; yet to do no creature hurt; but go and deliver the king a strong petition, for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that council; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: and said, for his part, he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege men, except they did deliver the king from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at Archbishop Morton, and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the king's skreens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings, found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders; which, they said, would be ere long: telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west end and the east end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the king's service. The people, upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith, under the command of their leaders, (which in such cases is ever at pleasure) marched out of Cornwall, through Devonshire, and Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed, in fury, an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells; where the Lord Audley,

with

with whom their leaders had, before, some secret intelligence, a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them (with great gladness and cries of joy) accepted as their general; they being now proud, that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, led their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had shewed great loyalty and affection to the king so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammoek say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And, upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But, when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the king's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abervagenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home. But the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them, so it did no less encourage them, that the king's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham; threatening either to bid battle to the king (for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray) or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the king. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men, occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers, that did hang over him at that time: for he doubted lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once; knowing well, that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender, to meet. Nevertheless, the occasion took him, in some part, well provided: for as soon as the parliament had broken up, the king had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland: and King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the king's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of Dawbeny, the lord chamberlain. But as soon

as the king understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he dispatched the Earl of Surry into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice; which was ever full of forwardness and celerity, to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action: this he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown; it was a time when the various appearance, to his thoughts, of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together, in the seat and center of his kingdom. According to the ancient Indian emblem; in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter this counsel: for neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people; neither, on the other side, did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them, before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course; for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also, he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harrassed with a long march, and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When, therefore, the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the king knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in foreslowing, but wisdom in choosing his time, resolved with all speed to assail them; and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune: and having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts. The first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk: these noblemen were appointed, with some cornets of horse, and bands of foot, and good store of artillery wheeling about, to put themselves beyond the hill, where the rebels were encamped, and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; whereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces (which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day) he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the re-

bels

bels in front, from that side which is toward London. The third part of his forces (being likewise great and brave forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events, to restore the fight, or consummate the victory; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in St. George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult; as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those, which, for greatness and fortune, are queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled them most was, the conceit that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition, or condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard, that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon spoil in the end: wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side; giving themselves alarms and panick fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate, the lord mayor, and Shaw and Haddon, the sheriffs, did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the king likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars, to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the king had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was rather how to impound the rebels, that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear. The rather, for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and Dawbeny; all, men famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper, Duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the king fancied, when the battle was fought; though the king had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had, some days before, planted themselves (as at the receipt) in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the Lord Dawbeny marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford Bridge, where they fought manfully; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up



to their main army upon the hill. The army, at that time hearing of the approach of the king's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion; but neither had they placed upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the hill; so that the earl, with his forces, mounted the hill, and recovered the plain, without resistance. The Lord Dawbeny charged them with great fury, insomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the fortune of the day. For, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting in the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels; but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons shewed no want of courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse and artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And, for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, (as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels part, were some \*two thousand men; their army amounting, as it is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the king's forces round about. On the king's part, there died about three hundred; most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a taylor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow, the Cornish men were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the king created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field (whither he rode in person to perform the said creation) as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And, for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution: the Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower Hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and he at Tower Hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn†; the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth, by words that he uttered, to think that he should be famous in after times. The king was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror; but being advertized that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the

\* Stow writes there were three hundred of the rebels slain, and one thousand five hundred taken prisoners: Hall, that there were above two thousand slain, and a vast number taken.

† On the 24th of June.

people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the king's executions and pardons, and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance; but, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than (after so long a distance of time) we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion (which was but an handful of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and in this, so mighty a rebellion, but three: whether it were that the king put to accompt the men that were slain in the field; or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this people (that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country) did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion; or, lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornish men were defeated, there came from Calais to the king an honourable ambassage from the French king, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The king, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over, which would soon be; slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This ambassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of monies, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a wooing ambassage, with good respects to entertain the king in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the king's late treaty with the Italians.

But, during that time that the Cornish men were in their march towards London, the king of Scotland (well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased) neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the king had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox, bishop of Duresme (a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future) doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege.

likewise,

likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach, and sent in post to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkshire) to come in diligence to the succour; so as the Scottish king both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching-harvest of their spoils. And when he understood, that the earl of Surry was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish king, and to have given him battle; but not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Aton, (one of the strongest places then esteemed between Berwick and Edinburgh) which in a small time he took: and soon after, the Scottish king retiring further into his country, and the weather being extraordinarily foul and stormy, the earl returned into England; so that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, [surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day; for his ambassage set the truce between England and Scotland, the truce drew on the peace, the peace the marriage, and the marriage the union of the kingdoms] a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, kings of Spain, unto the king, to treat a marriage between Katherine their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection: but it so fell out by the way, that upon some conference which he had with the king touching this business, the king (who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of ambassadors of foreign princes, if he liked them, insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ them in his service) fell into speech and discourse incidently concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the king naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, those that would advise their king to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England, pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the king; only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be; for after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the king, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the king in his own affairs. And the king, on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours,

made

made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the counsel of Ferdinando. Wherefore he was content that Hialas (as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself) should go into Scotland to treat of a concord between the two kings. Hialas took it upon him; and coming to the Scottish king, after he had, with much art, brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet councils, wrote unto the king, that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the king directed Bishop Fox (who at that time was at his castle of Norham) to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish king. The commissioners on both sides met; but after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the king to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The King of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do; saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title, but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a prince; and therefore that he could not now, with his honour, so unrip and (in a fort) put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop likewise, (who had certain proud instructions from the king, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms) after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions, which was, that the Scottish king would give the king an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish king, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also (according to another article of his instructions) demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish; or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered, that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the king's people were better able to bear the loss, than their master to repair it. But in the end (as persons capable of reason) on both sides they made rather a kind of recess, than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following. But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet, in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore, in a noble fashion, he called him

unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king, by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together. Nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent: and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile; telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish; for that upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side. But, nevertheless, he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving; which was, that he should not repent him, for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, since the treaty of the archduke concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland\*.

This twelfth year of the king, a little before this time, Pope Alexander (who loved best those princes that were farthest off, and with whom he had least to do) taking very thankfully the king's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy, did remunerate him with an hallowed sword, and cap of maintenance sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the king appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the pope's orator at London Bridge, and all the streets between the bridge-foot and the palace of Paul's (where the king then lay) were garnished with the citizens, standing in their liveries: and the morrow after, (being All-hallows day) the king, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the king himself remaining seated in the choir, the lord archbishop, upon the Greece of the choir, made a long oration, setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour, which the pope (in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction) had done the king; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed: and then recited the king's principal acts and merits,

\* He arrived at Cork the 26th of July; where, some out of affection, others for desire of change, flocked to him; among whom, it is said, was Maurice Earl of Desmond. The mayor and citizens of Waterford notified his arrival to the king, and as they had bravely defended themselves against Simuel's adherents, so they did the same now against Perkin's; for which they were taken into the king's especial favour.—Sir J. W. cap. xiii.

which had made him appear worthy, in the eyes of his holiness, of this great honour.

All this while, the rebellion of Cornwall (whereof we have spoken) seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles, by much stirring, began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The king's lenity (by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said, many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve-pence and two shillings a piece, were come down into their country) had rather emboldened them, than reclaimed them; insomuch, as they stuck not to lay to their neighbours and countrymen, that the king did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind; and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him, to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three: Herne, a mercer, that fled for debt; Skelton, a taylor; and Astley, a scrivener; for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the king's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For, these kings (as he had now experience) would sell poor princes for shoes; but he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall; which accordingly he did, having in his company four small barks, with some sixscore or seven-score fighting men\*. He arrived in September at Whitland Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government: and, as it saith with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest, he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England. His council advised him, by all means, to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men

\* His wife came also with him.

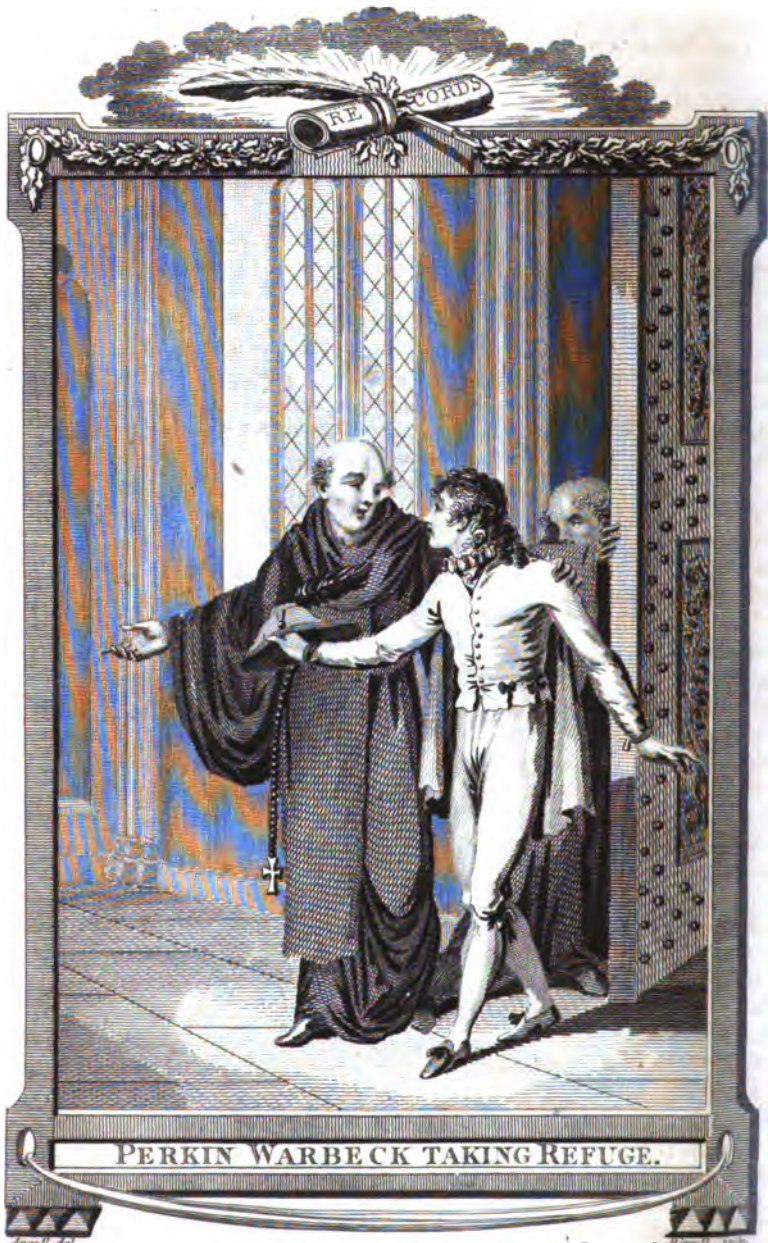
find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty, as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbore to use any force at the first; but made continual shouts and outcries, to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them, that the king would make them another London, if they would be the first town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men to tempt them, and to treat with them. The citizens, on their part, shewed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them; but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town: for well they saw that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the king's succours would come in: and, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of evils, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords, from several parts of the walls privily, several messengers (that, if one came to mischance, another might pass on) which should advertise the king of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted that succours would come ere long, and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town; and, for that purpose, having mounted scaling-ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates; but having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars and iron crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire, which he did. But the citizens, well perceiving the danger before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside, with faggots and other fuel; which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; and, in the mean time, raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and gate: and for the escalades, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls, with the loss of two hundred men.

The king, when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that the king of rakeshells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the king, that he was indeed much

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PERKIN WARBECK TAKING REFUGE.

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Published by D. Brewster, April 1, 1790. by Google

joyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now that he should be cured of those privy stitches which he had long had about his heart, and had sometimes broken his sleeps in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those who should now do him service, to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Brooke, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces, to speed to Exeter to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The Earl of Devonshire and his son, with the Caroes, and the Fulfordes, and other principal persons of Devonshire, (uncalled from the court, but hearing that the king's heart was so much bent upon this service) made haste with troops that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the king's succours. The Duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either the king's or the lord chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to indear their merit; signifying to the king their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that, according to the proverb, in the coming down every saint did help.

Perkin hearing this thunder of arms and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown, and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornish men were become, like metal often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow, swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was, at his rising from Exeter, between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprize, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of his siege, some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight; but about midnight, he fled with threescore horse to Bewley, in the New Forest, where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornish men to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects blood should be spilt. The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea, or to that same little island, called a sanctuary; but they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the king's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the

rebels, they (being destituted of their head) without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure, now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent, with all speed, some horse to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, where the Lady Katherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said, that the king received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her (to serve as well his eye as his fame) he sent her to his queen to remain with her, giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life and many years after. The name of the white rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The king went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornish men, in sacrifice to the citizens, whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the king consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The council were divided in opinion. Some advised the king to take him out of sanctuary perforce, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things; wherein they doubted not also but the king should find the pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the king to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the king ever either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the king's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune, that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the king said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself, to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his friends; and that for himself, he



HENRY introducing the LADY GORDON to His QUEEN.

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always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery: but, in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin, who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint, or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The king did also (while he was at Exeter) appoint the Lord Darcy and others, commissioners, for the fining of all such as were of any value, and had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin or the Cornish men, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought unto the king's court, but not to the king's presence; though the king (to satisfy his curiosity) saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in thew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the king to London: but from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a scycophant or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision, not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along, that one might know afar off where the owl was by the flight of birds; some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some praying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of; so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the king gave also the city the solace of this May-game; for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback (but not in any ignominious fashion) through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower, and from thence back again unto Westminster, with the churrn of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance of Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant-farrier to the king. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy habit than an holy place, and clad himself like an hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country till he was discovered and taken. But this man was botrid hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confessions taken, an extract was made of such parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad; wherein the king did himself no right; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father, and mother, and grandsire, and grandmothers, and uncles, and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him;

nor the Duchess of Burgundy herself (that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business) so much as named or pointed at: so that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the king chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear, by any new examinations or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or approached, though the king's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time, a great fire in the night-time suddenly began at the king's palace of Shyne, near unto the king's own lodgings; whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household stuff; which gave the king occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also there fell out a memorable accident. There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation... This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprize of Christopher Columbus in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before; conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first: for the two great islands of the old and new world, being (in the shape and making of them) broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south; it is likely, that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America towards the north-west. And it may be, that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed, (desirous rather to make his enterprize the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a former discovery) did give him better assurance, that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy, or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides, and land-winds, and the like, which were the conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied. Though I am not ignorant that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery (a little before) of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed (as he affirmed at his return, and made a card thereof) very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Tierra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven de-  
grees

grees and an half, finding the seas still open. It is certain also, that the king's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the king's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquett: for Christopherus Columbus refused by the King of Portugal, (who would not embrace at once both east and west) employed his brother, Bartholomeus Columbus, unto King Henry, to negociate for his discovery: and it so fortun'd, that he was taken by pirates at sea; by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the king: so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the king for his brother, the enterprize by him was achieved, and so the West Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castilia. Yet this sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions, for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also (by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great weights upon small wirts) there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town; and having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrelled with them for spies; whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows; so that many were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men (being strangers in the town) had the worst; insomuch as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken, the King of Scotland took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a herald to the king to make protestation, That if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war. The king (who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace) made answer, "That what had been done, was utterly against his will, and without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points to be preserved." But this answer seemed to the Scottish king but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him, than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understanding from the king, that the Scottish king was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish king to appease him: whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submits and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, "That though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with  
him;



him; as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters, that might concern the good of both kingdoms." The bishop advising first with the king, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melrose, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham castle: whereunto Bishop Fox made such an humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil into the wound, whereby it began to heal; and this was done in the presence of the king and his council. After, the king spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, "That these temporary truces and peaces were soon made, and soon broken: but that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England, discovering his mind; that if the king would give him in marriage the Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble. That he knew well what place and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master; therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well." The bishop answered soberly, "That he thought himself rather happy, than worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter; but would do his best endeavour." Wherefore [1499] the bishop returning to the king, and giving account what had passed, and finding the king more than well-disposed in it; gave the king advice first, to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage, by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign, to continue for both the kings lives, and the over-lives of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no English man should enter into Scotland, and no Scottish man into England, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This, at the first sight, might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

... This year there was also born to the king a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died: and much about the same time came news of the death of Charles the French king; for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long, but Perkin (who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stir: for deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea coasts: but presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Shyne, (which had the privilege of sanctuary) and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought an holy man, and much revered in those days. He came to the king, and besought the king for Perkin's life only; leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the

he king were again more hot than ever, so have the king to take him forth, and hang him. But the king (that had an high stomach, and could not hate any that he despised) bid, Take him forth, and set the raven in the stocks. And so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth; and within two or three days after, upon a scaffold, set up in the palace court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside, conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the king was (as was partly touched before) grown to be such a partner with fortune, as nobody could tell what actions the one, and what the other owned: for it was believed generally, that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the king's privity; who had him all the time of his flight in a line; and that the king did this to pick a quarrel with him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once: but this is not probable; for that the same instruments who observed him in his flight, might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained; that this winding ivy of a Plantagenet, should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin, after he had been awhile in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers; servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number; Strangways, Blewet, Aftwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape: but knowing well, that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes (and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none) he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince he thought these servants would look upon, though not upon himself; and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent, it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant, secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed: and in this again the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait, to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working (as if that also had been the king's industry) it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford; a young man, taught and set on by an Augustine friar,

called

called Patriarck. They both from the parts of Suffolk, came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true Earl of Warwick, but also the friar finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come into his aid; whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the king's estate, from the Earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar, so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was, indeed, but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people (which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin (that had offended against grace now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of oyer and determiner, arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner) and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind, that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary-men when their master did; and, whether upon pardon obtained, or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There was executed with Perkin the mayor of Cork, and his son\*, who had been principal abettors of his treasons: and soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons, about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were the lieutenant's men; but of those eight but two were executed. And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford (then for the time high steward of England) the poor prince the Earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply (for that was not acted, and, besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape by law could not be treason) but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the king; and the earl, confessing the indictment had judgment, was shortly after beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 21st November.

\* As for Philip John Water's son, he was afterwards pardoned by the king's clemency. The citizens of Cork were also pardoned.—Sir J. Ware, cap. xv.

This

This was also the end not only of this noble and commiserable person, Edward the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the Duke of Clarence, but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown, from the time of the famous King of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit, it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other names, as well of the Imperial line, as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime, nor reason of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution; so that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally, Ferdinando King of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters shewed out of Spain, whereby in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his succession, as long as the Earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and insaufing upon the marriage, as an ill prognostic; which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Katherine herself (a sad and a religious woman) long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words, "That she had not offended: but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood;" meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.

This fifteenth year of the king there was a great plague, both in London and in divers parts of the kingdom; wherefore the king, after often change of places (whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke; or both) sailed over with his queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither, the archduke sent an honourable ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal, that the king might be pleased to appoint some place, that were out of any walled town, or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French king: and though he said, he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted less. The king accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at St. Peter's church without Calais. But withal he did visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord Saint John, and the secretary; unto whom the archduke did the honour, as (going to mass at Saint Omer's) to set the Lord Saint John on his right hand, and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview, the king went on horseback  
some

some distance from Saint Peter's church; to receive the archduke; and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the king's stirrup at his alighting; which the king would not permit, but descending from horseback, they embraced with great affection, and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties, and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the Duke of York the king's second son, and the archduke's daughter; and again between Charles the archduke's son and heir, and Mary the king's second daughter. But these blossoms of marriage, were but friendly wishes, and the airs of loving entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two princes conversed and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke; who (besides that he was a prince of an excellent good-nature) being conscious to himself, how drily the king had been used by his council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the king's affection: and having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who (in respect of their jealous hatred against the French king) did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England; was glad upon this occasion, to put in use and practice their precepts, calling the king patron, and father, and protector, (these very words the king repeats, when he certified of the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city) and what else he could devise, to express his love and observance to the king. There came also to the king the governor of Picardy, and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French king, to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning of the dutchy of Milan. It seemeth the king was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calais: for he did himself certify all the news and occurrences of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which, no doubt, made no small talk in the city: for the king, though he could not entertain the good-will of the citizens, as Edward the Fourth did; yet by affability, and other princely graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of England, and cardinal. He was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughty; much accepted by the king, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people: neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good-will, but they would not bring him in amongst the king's casting-counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the king with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his late fortunes; and also

also for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice again the House of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the king, more than the king was willing to put upon him: for the king cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after shew, that the bishop in feeding the king's humour, did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed (as in custody) to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard: but after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two Roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the king, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of Jubilee at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journies to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing they could not come to fetch them: for which purpose was sent into England Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo, afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom, and semblance of holiness; insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the king shared in the money; but it appeareth by a letter which Cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius on the king's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Catherine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers, which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear (for the satisfaction of the common people) that this was consecrate money, the same nuncio brought unto the king a brief from the pope, wherein the king was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk. For that the pope (out of the care of an universal father) seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign princes, divers consultations about an holy war, and a general expedition of christian princes against the Turk; wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Poles, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Grecia; and that the pope (willing to

sacrifice himself in so good a cause) in person and in company of the King of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople: and that to this end, his holiness had sent nuncios to all christian princes, as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise.

To this the king (who understood well the court of Rome) made an answer rather solemn, than serious; signifying, "That no prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his person, and by all his possible forces, and fortunes, to enter into this sacred war, than himself; but that the distance of place was such, as no forces that he should raise for the seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the least) that they might be from the other princes that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships (having no galleys) nor the experience of his pilots and mariners could be so apt for those seas as theirs; and therefore that his holiness might do well, to move one of those other kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea; whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those Kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Grecia, might be wisely avoided: and that for his part, he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these kings should refuse, rather than his holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him, as soon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might first see all differences of the christian princes amongst themselves, fully laid down and appeased (as for his own part he was in none). And that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men."

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented: and yet this declaration of the king (as superficial as it was) gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the knights of the Rhodes, protector of their order; all things multiplying to honour in a prince that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this king's reign, and rather by penances than by fire. The king had (though he were no good schoolman) the honour to convert one of them by dispute at Canterbury.

This year also, though the king were no more haunted with spirits, for that by the sprinkling partly of blood, and partly of water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions, that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one region, which was the House of York. It came so to pass, that the Earl of Suffolk, for

to Elizabeth, eldest sister to King Edward the Fourth, by John Duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John Earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stoke Field, being of an hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the king gave him his pardon: but either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought upon the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace; wherefore, he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders, unto his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy. The king startled at it: but being taught by troubles, to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, (the Lady Margaret also growing, by often failing in her alchymy, weary of her experiments, and partly being a little sweetened, for that the king had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin) that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the king.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the king, the Lady Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in England, at Plymouth, the 2d of October, and was married to Prince Arthur, in Paul's, the 14th of November following; the prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, shew, and order. The chief man that took the care was Bishop Fox; who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of court, or state of a great king. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty; which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage couple, especially of the prince. But the true reason was, that these two princes, being princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well that in the mean time, the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them; which served on both sides to many purposes, that their several affairs required; and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the princess brought (which was turned over to the king by act of renunciation) was two hundred thousand ducats; whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the principality of



Wales, and of the dukedom of Cornwall, and the earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severalty: and in case she came to be Queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus; that it should be as great as ever any former Queen of England had.

In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy; the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and the old king Alphonius (that was the greatest astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the lady) was brought in to be the fortune-teller of the match: and whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical. But you may be sure that King Arthur, the Briton, and the descent of Lady Catherine from the House of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But, as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars: for this young prince, (that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners) after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court, as Prince of Wales. Of this prince (in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children) there is little particular memory; only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Catherine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no; whereby that matter in fact, of carnal knowledge, might be made part of the case. And it is true, that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage, although the plentitude of the pope's power of dispensing was the main question: and this doubt was kept long open, in respect of the two queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their succession was settled by act of parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Catherine: not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power, to dispense even in that case; but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth: and the times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's legitimation (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory, that it was half a year's time between the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's death; which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catherine were with child by Prince Arthur or no. Again, the lady herself procured a bull, for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of *vel forsan cognitam*, which was not in the first bull.

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There was given in evidence also, when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage, which was, That in a morning Prince Arthur, upon his up-riſing from bed with her, called for drink, which he was not accuſtomed to do; and finding the gentleman of his chamber that brought him the drink to ſmile at it, and to note it, he ſaid merrily to him, that he had been in the miſt of Spain, which was a hot region, and his journey had made him dry; and that if the other had been in ſo hot a clime, he would have been drier than he. Beſides, the prince was upon the point of ſixteen years of age when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Cheſter and Flint; for the dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by ſtatute. The king alſo being faſt handed, and loth to part with a ſecond dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of political conſiderations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the prince (though not without ſome reluctance, ſuch as could be in thoſe years, for he was not twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princeſs Catherine. The ſecret providence of God ordaining that marriage, to be the occaſion of great events and changes.

The ſame year were the eſpouſals of James King of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the king's eldeſt daughter; which was done by proxy, and publiſhed at Paul's Croſs the 25th of January, and *Te Deum* ſolemnly ſung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon ſhewed, by ringing of bells, and bonfires, and ſuch other inſenſe of the people, was more than could be expected, in a caſe of ſo great and freſh enmity between the nations; eſpecially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war: and therefore might be truly attributed to a ſecret inſtinct and inſpiring, which many times runneth not only in the hearts of princes, but in the pulſe and veins of people, touching the happineſs thereby to enſue in time to come. This marriage was in Auguſt following conſummated at Edinburgh; the king bringing his daughter as far as Colli-Weſton on the way, and then conſigning her to the attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who, with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland, to the king her huſband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the ſpace of almoſt three years; from the time that the King of Scotland did firſt open his mind to Biſhop Fox. The ſum given in marriage by the king, was ten thouſand pounds; and the jointure and advancement aſſured by the King of Scotland, was two thouſand pounds a year after King James's death, and one thouſand pounds a year in preſent, for the lady's allowance or maintenance: this to be ſet forth in lands, of the beſt and moſt certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported, that the king remitted the matter to his council; and that ſome of the table, in the freedom of counſellors, (the king being preſent) did  
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put the case, that if God should take the king's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might be prejudicial to the monarchy of England: whereunto the king himself replied; That if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland; for that the greater would draw the less: and that it was a safer union for England, than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper; for the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensated with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur, (of whom we have spoken) and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in child-bed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had with the king the greatest freedom of any counsellor; but it was but a freedom, the better to set off flattery. Yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the king's estate was very prosperous, secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like thunder afar off, going upon Italy: wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the king; carrying, as with a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure: and as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour; he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, (whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers) bold men, and careless of fame, and took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language; but Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever: these two persons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, (as the corruption of the best things is the worst) turned law and justice into worm-wood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and nevertheless not to produce them to any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison; and by sundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, and there

there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial by jury; assuming to themselves there, to deal both in pleas of the crown, and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to entrail and charge the subjects lands with tenures in capite, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisinues, and alienations, (being the fruits of those tenures) refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law: nay, the king's wards after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods: nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and, if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance: but their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror, than of rigour; having ever a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leadings jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report, that the king was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant, both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham; and at the king's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognifances, ranged on both sides, and made the king a lane. The king called the earl unto him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease; they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not

endure

endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the king's extreme diligence; I do remember to have seen, long since, a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the king's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance—

"*Item*, received of such a one, five marks, for the pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied."

And over against this memorandum, (of the king's own hand)

"*Otherwise satisfied.*"

Which I do the rather mention, because it shews in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile, to keep the king awake, the Earl of Suffolk having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts; and, taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people against the king's government; and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest: neither wanted he some party within the kingdom; for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles, and again, that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The king resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes (being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the king) to fly from his charge, and to fain himself a servant of the earl's. This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or bold, advertised the king thereof in great secrecy; but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the earl: upon whose advertisements, the king attached William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law, married to the Lady Catherine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William De-la-Pole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tyrrell, and Sir John Windham; and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of Devonshire, being interested in the blood of York, that was rather feared than acont; yet as one, that might be the object of other plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower, during the king's life.

William

William De-la-Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tyrrell (against whom the blood of the innocent princes, Edward the Fifth, and his brother, did still cry from under the altar) and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of Curson, (who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity) there was published at Paul's Cross, about the time of the said executions, the pope's bull of excommunication and curse, against the Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name, and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed, that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after, Curson (when he saw time) returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the king, but worse fame with the people; upon whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes (the Lady Margaret also by tract of time, and bad success, being now become cool in those attempts) after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip in Flanders, who, by the death of Isabella, was at that time King of Castile, in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, [1505] being the nineteenth of his reign, the king called his parliament; wherein a man may easily guess, how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made speaker of the House of Commons. In this parliament, there were not made any statutes memorable, touching public government: but those that were, had still the stamp of the king's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease, or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons, to serve the king in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the king's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe: providing nevertheless, that they should have the king's wages, from their house, till their return home again. There had been the like made for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see, by many statutes made in this king's time, that the king thought it safest to assist martial law, by law of parliament.

Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixt with any other thread: but it was not of stuffs of whole piece, (for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time) but of knit silk, or texture of silk; as ribbands, laces, caules, points, and girdles, &c. which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle—That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

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 so that it was a strange thing, to see what  
 down upon the king's treasury at once. The  
 marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the  
 recoinage; the redemption of the cities libertie.  
 And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the  
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chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he should marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a son. And lastly, presenting unto him that the government of the Burgundians, which Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, should not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things which were wisely laid down and considered) Ferdinando failed; but Pluto was better to him, than Pallas.

The same report also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat curious: for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both the king and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip (to have his wife with him) than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallies, which was the king's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage which Amason, the secretary of Ferdinando, had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles Prince of Castile and the king's second daughter; assuring the king, that the marriage then on foot, for the said prince and the daughter of France would break; and that the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir-apparent of France.

There was also a touch of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Isabella Foix, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards was consummated. But this was reported as learned in France, and

At the return of this ambassage, which gave great light to the king, he was well instructed and prepared how to carry himself towards Ferdinando, King of Arragon, and Philip his son-in-law, who were resolving with himself, to do all that in him lay, to keep them within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, he was to be and bearing the person of a common friend, to preserve their friendships, but yet to run a course more endeavoured in Arragon, but more laboured and officious with Philip. He was much taken with the overture of marriage which Amason made; both because it was the greatest advantage that it took hold of both allies.

At the same time Philip, the winds gave him an opportunity, the better to surmount the winds out of Flanders

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There was a law also of refumption of patents of gaols, and the re-annexing of them to the sberiffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice, than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the king, the common-law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief-justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was (in effect) to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of a reasonable wearing, which was nothing in respect of the incertainty; and so (upon the matter) to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted: the one, the dislike the parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example; the other, that in the statutes of this king's time, (for this of the nineteenth year's is not the only statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the punishment of vagabonds, and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them, the king ever having an eye to might, and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both for the temporalty and the clergy: and yet, nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks, for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings reigns, than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter, that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing, to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once. The last payments of the marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the benevolence; the recoinage; the redemption of the cities liberties; the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the king had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son, and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of an high mind; he needed not to make riches his glory. He did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter

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of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the serjeants feast, which was the second call in this king's days.

About this time Isabella, Queen of Castile, deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain, that hath followed. This accident the king took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs; especially in two points: the one, for example; the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Arragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case, after the death of his own queen: and the case of Joan, the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son, Prince Henry. For if both of the kings had their kingdoms, in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment, more than the other, (that is to say, a conquest in the field, and an act of parliament) yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood, did (in the imagination even of a wise man) breed a doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent, to enquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right, or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might, by this late accident, have a turn. For whereas before time, himself, with the conjunction of Arragon and Castile, (which then was one) and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France, he began to fear, that now the French king (who had great interest in the affections of Philip, the young King of Castile) and Philip himself, now King of Castile, (who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile) and thirdly Maximilian, Philip's father, (who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long, as he had been last before) would, all three being potent princes, enter into some strait league and confederation amongst themselves; whereby, though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Arragon. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and be thought himself of some fit conditions abroad; and, amongst others, he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of maternal years of seven and twenty; by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples (having been a goal for a time between the King

of Arragon, and the French king, and being but newly settled) might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes: therefore he sent in ambassage, or message, three confident persons; Francis Marfin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions, rather than negociations: the one touching the person and condition of the young Queen of Naples; the other touching all particulars of estate, that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts; giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catherine the princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young Queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace; which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto doctor de Puebla, the legier ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the king had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions, touching the Queen of Naples, were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the king had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections, without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors that this young queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederic, yea, and during the time of Lewis the French king, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the king at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report, it appeared to the king, that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pretended; and that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip, her husband: and that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom, without accompt, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion,

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nd chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a son. And lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things (though wisely laid down and considered) Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him, than Pallas.

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There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madam de Foix, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The king, by the return of this ambassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando, King of Arragon, and Philip his son-in-law, King of Castile; resolving with himself, to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage and bearing the person of a common friend, to lose neither of their friendships, but yet to run a course more entire with the king of Arragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview. For Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the King of Arragon, set forthwith a great navy out of Flanders for Spain, in the month of January, the one and twentieth year of the king's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England: and the ship wherein the king and queen were (with two other small barks only) torn, and in great peril to escape the fury of the weather, thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used (as it seems) to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits,

spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast, made the country arm: and Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth; where understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the king and queen to his house; and forthwith dispatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Caroe likewise, with a great troop of men well armed; using the like humbleness and respect towards the king, when he knew the case. King Philip doubting that they, being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again, without the king's notice and leave, yielded to their entreaties, to stay till they heard from the court. The king as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the Earl of Arundel, to go to visit the king of Castile, and let him understand, That as he was very sorry for his misshap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas; and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him, to think himself as in his own land; and that the king made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the king's message, King Philip seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the king at Windsor, and his queen followed by easy journies. The two kings at their meeting used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible: and the King of Castile said pleasantly to the king, "That he was now punished: for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the king answered, "That walls and seas were nothing, where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise, but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the king saying, "That though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised:" in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst princes. But while these things were in handling, the king choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon your's." The King of Castile asked him, "What he meant by that speech?" "I mean it (saith the king) by that same harebrain, wild-fellow, my subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it." The King of Castile answered, "I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but, if it trouble you, I will banish him." The king replied, "Those hornets were best in their nest, and worst when they did fly abroad; that his desire was, to have him delivered to him."

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The King of Castile herewith, a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I not do with my honour, and less with your's; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." The king presently said, "Then the matter is at an end; for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." The King of Castile, who had the king in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the king's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled, both with his father-in-law, and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but (upon your honour) you shall not take his life." The king embracing him, said, "Agreed." Saith the king of Castile, "Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion as he may partly come with his own good will." The king said, "It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl a message to that purpose." They both sent severally, and meanwhile they continued feasting and pastimes; the king being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced. The king also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the King of Castile to be ruled by the council of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile (who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law) answered, "That if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him."

There were immediately messengers sent from both kings to recal the Earl of Suffolk; who, upon gentle words used to him, was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient guard delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meanwhile King Henry (to draw out the time) continued his feasting and entertainments; and after he had received the King of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son, the prince, admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his queen to the city of London; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower (which was the serious part) the jollities had an end, and the kings took leave. Nevertheless, during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term *Intercursus Malus*, and bears date at Windfor; for that there be some things in it more to the advantage of the English, than of them; especially, for that the free fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties, being precisely and warily-

limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not other-wise.

It was observed, that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the Golden Eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the Black Eagle, which was in Paul's church-yard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down: which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the Imperial house, which was (by interpretation also) fulfilled upon Philip the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed: for Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, (inasmuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law) sickened soon after, and deceased: yet after such time as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, That if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that sort, as he would have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By this all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband (by whom she had many children) dearly well, and no less beloved of him, (howsoever her father, to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well) was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits; of which malady her father was thought no ways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his regal power in Castile: so that, as the felicity of Charles VIII. was said to be a dream; so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time, the king was desirous to bring into the House of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius, to canonize King Henry VI. for a saint; the rather in respect of that his famous prediction of the king's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter (as the manner is) to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles: but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the king would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that that pope (who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of Rome, and of the acts thereof) knowing that King Henry VI. was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept betwixt innocents and saints.

The same year likewise there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the king and the Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the King of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and

and therein was employed for his first piece the king's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolfey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the king, but with promise *de futuro* only. It may be the king was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally, Ferdinando of Arragon, and Madam de Foix, whereby that king began to piece with the French king, from whom he had been always before severed: so fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of kings, at one time or other, to have a little of the wheel. Nay, there is a further tradition, (in Spain, though not with us) that the King of Arragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles, the young Prince of Castile, and Mary, the king's second daughter, went roundly on, (which though it was first moved by the King of Arragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side) entered into a jealousy, that the king did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government: Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young prince. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the king's government (carrying the young prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcome to the Spaniards, than that of the other two: for the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the King of Arragon, in favour of King Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that king; and as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the king's, seemeth to me (considering the king's safe courses, never found to be enterprizing or adventurous) not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breath warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the king, who now, in the two and twentieth of his reign, began to be troubled with the gout; but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year (in a kind of return, and especially in the spring) he had great fits and labours of the tiffick. Nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence, as before in his health; yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed than to be given to Pope Julius. For this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations; and in the year following (which was the three and twentieth) finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices; partly



by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, (the preachers doing their duty therein) he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless, Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the king's conscience, yet as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same three and twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time; and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty. The great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false monies, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite; and belike used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the king's death. Knefworth, likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices, questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an Alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds: and Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where he staid till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel (if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy) that the king's treasure of store that he left at his death, most of it in secret places under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted (as, by tradition, it is reported to have done) unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money, even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this king's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles Prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both being of tender years: which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other his commissioners, at Calais, the year before the king's death: in which alliance, it seemeth he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London (commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same) he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom, when he had for his sons-in-law, a King of Scotland, and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy: so as now there was nothing to be added to this great king's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, (in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes) but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune; which  
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certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold prince, and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare and worthy to be taken into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon, as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

And thus this Solomon of England (for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions) having lived two and fifty years, and thereof reigned three and twenty years and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sickness, passed to a better world, the two and twentieth of April 1508\*, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built.

“ This king (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving) was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues, and his fortune) not so fit for a common place, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance; but as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen; he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy: and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret; which shewed, that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, ‘ That when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed.’ And this virtue could not proceed out of fear, or softness; for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace, was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars: therefore would he make offers, and fumes of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war: for his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Awdley, were ended by victory: the wars of France and Scotland, by peaces fought at his hands: that of Britain, by accident of the duke's death: the insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows; so that his fortune of arms was still invio-

\* Reckoning from the day of his victory of Bosworth, when Sir William Stanley crowned him in the field, which was the 22d of August 1485, to the 22d of April 1508, is but twenty-two years and eight months; whereas he reigned twenty-three years and eight months, and died the 22d of April 1509.

late. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person; sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

“He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will: for it was so handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution: and yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament: for mint and wars, and martial discipline, (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time; save where the king was party: save also, that the council-table intermeddled too much with *Meum* and *Tuum*: for it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning. But in that part, both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, and cut (as it were) in brass or marble, (which is the making of good laws) he did excel: and with his justice, he was also a merciful prince; as in whose time there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Awdley: though the first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword; but then he had withal a strange kind of Interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which (his wisdom considered) could not be imputed to any inconstancy, or inequality; but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, That he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure: and (as some construed it) he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton, and Sir Reginald Bray; who (as it after appeared) as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley, that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, (otherwise than by the servile following of his bent) did not give way only, (as the first did) but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had, at that time, many glosses and interpretations: some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed,

had

had made him grow to hate his people ; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low ; some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece ; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts : but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off ; but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better (by comparison) set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required ; and in his buildings was magnificent, but his rewards were very limited : so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory, than upon the deserts of others.

“ He was of an high mind, and loved his own will, and his own way ; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud : but in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all ; not admitting any near or full approach, neither to his power or to his secrets : for he was governed by none. His queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His mother he revered much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward IV. or Charles Brandon after to King Henry VIII.) he had none : except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson ; because they were so much with him : but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height ; being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain glory boweth to them.

“ To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open : but rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them : yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon foreign princes, (which are frequent with many kings) he had never any ; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad : for foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here ; which were attending the court in great number ; whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness ; but (upon such conference as passed with them) put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world ; which, though, he did suck chiefly from themselves ; yet that which he had gathered from them

all,

all, seemed admirable to every one: so that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his wisdom and art of rule; nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him: such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

“ He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad; wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom; but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose, his instructions were ever extreme, curious, and articulate; and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation: requiring likewise, from his ambassadors, an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

“ As for his secret spies, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it: he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended; for if spies be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this further good in his employing of these spies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

“ Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respectful, and without jealousy. Towards his children\* he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

“ To his council he did refer much, and oft in person; knowing it to be the way to assist his power, and inform his judgment: in which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety; insomuch as (I am persuaded) it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign: for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not

\* He had by his queen, Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the Fourth, four sons and four daughters: Arthur, who died five months after his marriage to the Princess Catherine of Spain; Henry, who married his brother's widow, and succeeded his father, by the name of Henry the Eighth; Edmund and another son, who died young; Margaret, Queen of the Scots, and Mary, who married the French king, Lewis the Twelfth, and afterwards Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The other two daughters died in their childhood.

co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis XI. was; but, contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeney, Brooke, Poynings: for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Husley, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were, that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach: and as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles; yet in twenty-four years reign, he never put down, or discomposed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereigns; Love, Fear, and Reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other two.

“He was a prince sad, serious, and full of thoughts and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons; as whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his chamber) tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth: whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accompts, was almost tickled with sport.

“He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions: but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them, and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, (that the Duke of York should be saved, and alive) was, at the first, of his own nourishing; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue: yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian, and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

“For his pleasures, there is no news of them: and yet by his instructions to Marlin and Stile, touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures,

pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away; for never prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself: insomuch, as in triumphs of juffs, and tourneys, and balls, and masks, (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

“ No doubt, in him as in all men, (and most of all in kings) his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry: and his times being rather prosperous, than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the fight of his mind was like some fights of eyes; rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off: for his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great defects, and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help, with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents, in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth, for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the consort is more perfect; for that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded, he compassed.

“ He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and strait limmed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed: but it was to the disadvantage of the painter; for it was best when he spake.

“ His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night, ‘ That one in the likeness of a bishop, in pontifical habit, did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the king’s father) for her husband.’

Neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day, when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocency gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a youth, he said, 'This is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for.' But that that was truly divine in him, was, that he had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king, in living exercised, and dying repentant: so as he had a happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin, and the cross.

"He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel, and for the sepulchre: so that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame."

END OF BACON'S HISTORY OF HENRY VII.



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PURPOSELY DESIGNED AND ENGRAVED FOR THIS WORK.

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II.

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HENRY introducing the Lady GORDON to his Queen, *to face Page 100.*

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
R E I G N  
OF  
HENRY THE EIGHTH.

WRITTEN BY  
DAVID HUME, Esq.

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L O N D O N ;  
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HENRY the EIGHTH.

*J. Cook sculp.*

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# H E N R Y VIII.

BY MR. H U M E.

**T**HE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession and coronation of his son Henry VIII. spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Instead of a monarch jealous, severe, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was sinking still deeper in those unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had succeeded to the throne, who even in the eyes of men of sense gave promising hopes of his future conduct, much more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour\*. His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity †. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

These favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive; and as she was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wisely shewed great deference to her opinion in the establishment of his new council. The members were, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, steward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards and constable of the Tower; sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and sir Henry Wyat ‡. These merit had long been ac-

\* T. Mori Lucubr. p. 182.  
Hollingshed, p. 799.

† Father Paul, lib. 1.

‡ Herbert, Stowe, p. 486.

customed to business under the late king, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, treasurer, and Fox bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and frugality as he could not easily lay aside; and he still opposed, by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expence which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch\*. By this policy he ingratiated himself with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in such a course of play and idleness as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to entrust the government of the state entirely into the hands of his ministers. The great treasures amassed by the late king were gradually dissipated in the giddy expences of Henry. One party of pleasure succeeded to another: tilts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age: and as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the course of his festivity, he chiefly employed himself in an application to music and literature, which were his favourite pursuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made such proficiency in the former art, as even to compose some pieces of church-music which were sung in his chapel †. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the ancients. And though he was so unfortunate as to be seduced into a study of the barren controversies of the schools, which were then fashionable, and had chosen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he still discovered a capacity fitted for more useful and entertaining knowledge.

The frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being issued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation ‡: they were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately summoned before the council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had ren-

\* Lord Herbert. † Ibid. ‡ Herbert, Stowe, p. 486. Hollingshed, p. 799. Elyd. Virg. lib. xviii.

dered them so obnoxious. Empson made a shrewd apology for himself, as well as for his associate. He told the council, that so far from his being justly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions which seemed rather to merit reward and approbation: that a strict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused; though that law had been established by general consent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the administration of justice was entrusted by the constitution: that it belonged not to them, who were instruments in the hands of supreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful; since they were all alike valid, so long as they remained unrepealed by the legislature: that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the restraints of authority; but all wise states had ever made their glory consist in the just distribution of rewards and punishments, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction: and that a sudden overthrow of all government might be expected, where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the subjects\*.

Notwithstanding this defence, Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower; and soon after brought to their trial. The strict execution of laws, however obsolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exercised arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the secret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct should undergo too severe a scrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them; that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have seized by force the administration of government. The jury were so far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament †, and at the earnest desire of the people was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity.

Henry, while he punished the instruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his accession, concerning the celebration of his marriage with

\* Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 804.

† This parliament met on the 21st January 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent some abuses which had prevailed during the late reign. The forfeiture upon the penal statutes was reduced to the term of three years. Costs and damages were given against informers upon acquittal of the accused: more severe punishments were enacted against perjury: the false inquisitions procured by Empson and Dudley were declared null and invalid. Traveries were allowed; and the time of rendering them enlarged. 1 H. 8. c. 8. 10, 11, 12.

the infant Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections urged against his espousing her; but on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, were insisted on; the affection which she bore to the king; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princess of Wales; the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain; the necessity of finding some confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: when these considerations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The countess of Richmond, who had concurred in the same sentiments with the council, died the 3d of June, soon after the marriage of her grandson,

The popularity of Henry's government, his undisputed title, his extensive authority, his large treasures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous: the situation of foreign affairs was no less happy and desirable. Italy continued still, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negotiations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties; at the same time that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with any. Lewis XII. of France, after his conquest of Milan, was the only great prince that possessed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the same title or pretensions with his predecessor, still engaged him in new enterprises; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured by the offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. He settled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and the expulsion of Frederic; a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the most egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greatest perfidy in the Spanish. Frederic supported only by subjects who were either discontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to resist so powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions; but he had the satisfaction to see Naples immediately prove the source of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave secret orders to his general, Gonsalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the *great captain*, to attack the armies of France, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. Gonsalvo prevailed in every enterprise, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and ensured to his prince the entire possession of that kingdom, Lewis, unable

to procure redress by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his share of the partition; and all Italy during some time was held in suspense between these two powerful monarchs.

There has scarcely been any period when the balance of power was better secured in Europe, and seemed more able to maintain itself without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established; and no one so far surpassed the rest as to give any foundation or even pretence for jealousy. England was united in domestic peace, and by its situation happily secured from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII. a gallant and generous prince, had, by espousing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, preserved the union with that principality, on which the safety of his kingdom so much depended. Maximilian the emperor, besides the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithstanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least of defence. Charles prince of Castille, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy; and being as yet in early youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess endowed with signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several powerful states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of Julius II. an ambitious pontiff, first excited the flames of war and discord among them. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray, (in 1508) between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from interest or passion, allowed his name to be inserted in the confederacy. This oppressive and iniquitous league was but too successful against the republic.

The great force and secure situation of the considerable monarchies prevented any one from aspiring to any conquest of moment; and though this consideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more disposed to desert engagements, and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable interest. Julius had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was inspired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to speak in the style affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of Barbarians\*. He was determined to make the

\* Guicciard. lib. 8.



tempest fall first upon Lewis; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterprize, he at once sought for a ground of quarrel with the monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He solicited the favour of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism \*. He engaged in his interests Bambridge archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassador at Rome, whom he soon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at first made no declaration of his intentions. And what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by some neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that nation.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it also requisite to make an attempt on the pope himself, and to despoil him, as much as possible, of that sacred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence of Julius, to desert him; and by their authority he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who still adhered to his alliance, to call a general council, which might reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the Roman pontiff. A council was summoned at Pisa, which from the beginning bore a very inauspicious aspect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an assembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pisa, the place of their residence, showed them signs of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their session to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithstanding this advantage, they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan; and found it necessary to make another remove to Lyons †. Lewis himself fortified these violent prejudices in favour of papal authority, by the symptoms which he discovered, of regard, deference, and submission to Julius, whom he always spared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the most inviting opportunities of humbling him. And as it was known, that his consort, who had great influence over him, was extremely disquieted in mind on account of his dissensions with the holy father, all men prognosticated to Julius final success in this unequal contest.

The enterprising pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himself of them with the utmost temerity and insolence. So much had he neglected his sacerdotal character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and, like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the

\* Spelman, Concil. vol. ii. p. 785.

† Guicciardini, lib. 10.

gours of winter and a severe season, in pursuit of military glory\*: yet was he still able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and prophaneness. He summoned a council at the Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council: he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it: he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the surname of Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and selfish politics: Henry, naturally sincere and sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from the oppression to which he believed him exposed from the ambitious enterprises of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius, that the title of *Most Christian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England †. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the French monarch. A herald was sent to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This message was understood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament being summoned on the 4th of February, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation ‡.

Buonaviso, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previously revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the king inconsiderable prejudice, in comparison of the treachery which he experienced from the selfish purposes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for assistance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had so long persevered in a course of crooked politics, that he began even to value himself on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boast of those shameful successes. Being told one day, that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him: "He lies, the drunkard!" said he, "I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince considered his close connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled

\* Guicciardini, lib. 9. † Guicciard. lib. 11. P. Daniel, vol. ii. p. 189.  
Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 831. ‡ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 811.

him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him father to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; lord Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this service. All were on fire to distinguish themselves by military achievements, and to make a conquest of importance for their master. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generosity, was suspected by nobody.

The small kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d'Albret the sovereign was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne\*: but he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. John having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

\* Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 813.

Dorset began to suspect, that the interests of his master were very little regarded in all these transactions; and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war any where but in France, he refused to take any part in the enterprize. He remained, therefore, in his quarters at Fontarabia; but so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct with united counsels the operations of the *holy league*, so it was called, against Lewis: but as he still declined forming the siege of Bayonne, and rather insisted on the invasion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French side of the Pyrenees, Dorset, justly suspicious of his sinister intentions, represented, that, without new orders from his master, he could not concur in such an undertaking. In order to procure these orders, Ferdinand dispatched Martin de Ampios to London; and persuaded Henry, that, by the refractory and scrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was necessary he should, on all occasions, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was best acquainted with the situation of the country, and the reasons of every operation. But before orders to this purpose reached Spain, Dorset had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perishing by want and sickness, he demanded shipping from Ferdinand to transport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furnish him with this supply, whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays; obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorset, embarking his troops, prepared himself for the voyage. Meanwhile, the messenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops should remain in Spain; but the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England. Henry was much displeas'd with the ill success of this enterprize; and it was with difficulty that Dorset, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at last able to appease him.

There happened this summer an action at sea, which brought not any more decisive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of horse, was sent to the coast of Britanny with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him sir Charles Brandon, sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under

the command of Primauguet, and began an engagement with the English. Fire seized the ship of Primauguet, who, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel blew up; and at the same time destroyed the English\*. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

The war which England waged against France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, lost him that superiority, which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed such feats of military art and prowess, as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest captain †. His career finished with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the very moment his victory was complete, and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had rendered themselves extremely formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the Milanese with a numerous army, and raised up that inconstant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the dutchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely lost his Italian conquests, except some garrisons; and Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovic, was reinstated in possession of Milan.

Julius discovered extreme joy on the discomfiture of the French; and the more so, as he had been beholden for it to the Swiss, a people whose councils, he hoped, he should always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff survived this success a very little time; and in his place was chosen (21st Feb.) John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue ‡; he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character was too great finesse and artifice; a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negotiations of Leo, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 490. Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 228. † Guicciard. lib. 10. ‡ Father Paul, lib. 1.

campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

Henry had summoned a new session of parliament \*, and obtained a supply for his enterprize. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different sums, according to the station and riches of the person. A duke payed ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two fifteenths and four tenths †. By these supplies, joined to the treasure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely dissipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himself formidable to his enemy. The English are said to have been much encouraged in this enterprize, by the arrival of a vessel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried presents of wine and hams to the king, and the more eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial presents were every where received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all disturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms should be employed on the continent, Dr. West, dean of Windsor, was dispatched on an embassy to James, the king's brother-in-law; and instructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to discover the intentions of the court of Scotland †. Some complaints had already been made on both sides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having suffered injuries from the Portuguese, for which he could obtain no redress, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but he had no sooner put to sea, than he was guilty of the grossest abuses, committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow seas §. Lord Howard and sir Edward Howard, admirals, and sons of the earl of Surrey, sailing out against him, fought him in a desperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ships into the Thames. As Henry refused all satisfaction for this act of justice, some of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithstanding these mutual grounds of dissatisfaction, matters might easily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation ¶. The ancient league, which subsisted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the strongest band of connexion; and the Scots universally believed, that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able so long to maintain their independence against a people so much superior.

\* 4th November, 1519.  
 † Stowe. † Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. § Stowe,  
 p. 489. Hollinghed, p. 311. || Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond in the Life of  
 James IV.

James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whose knight he had ever in all tournaments professed himself; and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himself her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his consort and of his wisest counsellors were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of this prince. He first sent a squadron of ships to the assistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland seems ever to have possessed. And though he still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected invasion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by this appearance of a diversion from the north; and so much the less, as he flattered himself with the assistance of all the considerable potentates of Europe in his invasion of France. The pope still continued to thunder out his excommunications against Lewis, and all the adherents of the schismatical council: the Swiss cantons made professions of violent animosity against France: the ambassadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had signed with those of Henry a treaty of alliance against that power, and had stipulated the time and place of their intended invasion: and though Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, and even signed a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his selfish and sinister intentions, and still hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed in his favour all ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron\*. He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII. and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided in Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory

\* Stowe, p. 997.

† Cavendish, Fiddes's life of Wolsey. Stowe.

execution of his orders. *Wolsey* informed him, that he had just returned from *Brussels*, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found that somewhat was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I met the messenger," replied *Wolsey*, "on my return: but as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what, I knew, must be your majesty's intentions." The death of *Henry*, soon after this incident, retarded the advancement of *Wolsey*, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion which that monarch had entertained of him: but thenceforward he was looked on at court as a rising man; and *Ex*, bishop of *Wichester*, cast his eye upon him as one who might be serviceable to him in his present situation\*. This prelate, observing that the earl of *Surrey* had totally eclipsed him in favour, resolved to introduce *Wolsey* to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival *Surrey* in his insinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part subordinate to *Fox* himself, who had promoted him. In a little time *Wolsey* gained so much on the king, that he supplanted both *Surrey* in his favour, and *Fox* in his trust and confidence. Being admitted to *Henry's* parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him; or engaged him to check, by any useless severity, the gaiety, in which *Henry*, who had small propension to debauchery, passed his careless hours. During the intervals of amusement he introduced business, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should adopt. He observed to him, that, while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counsellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wisdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who scarcely thought themselves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority; that by the factions, and cabals, and jealousies, which had long prevailed among them, they more obstructed the advancement of his affairs, than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that while he thought proper to pass his time in those pleasures, to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in those studies, which would in time enable him to sway the sceptre with absolute authority; his best system of government would be to entrust his authority into the hands of some one person, who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his service: and that if this minister had also the same relish for pleasure with himself, and the same taste for science, he could more easily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his master gradually into the

\* *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* p. 309. *Polydore Virgil*, lib. 27.



knowledge of public business; and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government\*.

Henry entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence: of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise: ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority, or rather meanness of his fortune.

The branch of administration in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolsey, was the military, which, as it suited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper, as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by sea and land to resist him, he was no less careful to levy a formidable army, and equip a considerable fleet for the invasion of France. The command of the fleet was entrusted to sir Edward Howard; who, after scouring the channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of some galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and saw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejeant arrived with six galleys, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Brest; where he secured himself behind some batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each side of him. Howard was, notwithstanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and as he had but two galleys, he took himself the command of one, and gave the other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by some row-barges and some crayers under the command of sir Thomas Cheyney, sir William Sidney, and other officers of distinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his ship to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he

\* Cavendish, p. 18. . Stowe, p. 499.

still continued the combat with great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes\*. Lord Ferrars, seeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other small vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander, that they retired from before Brest †. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coast of Suffex. They were repulsed, and Prejeant, their commander, lost an eye by the shot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceased admiral, succeeded to the command of the English fleet; and little memorable passed at sea during this summer.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invasion on France by the way of Calais; but the summer was well advanced before every thing was in sufficient readiness for the intended enterprise. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed, had somewhat unfitted the English for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war, had rendered it still more difficult to enure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiss, and after them the Spaniards, had shown the advantage of a stable infantry, who fought with pike and sword, and were able to repulse even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly consisted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in use, was so inconvenient, and attended with so many disadvantages, that it had not entirely discredited the bow, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. A considerable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invasion of France, consisted of archers; and as soon as affairs were in readiness, the vanguard of the army, amounting to eight thousand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, sailed over to Calais. Shrewsbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Haltings, Cobham, and sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. Another body of six thousand men soon after followed under the command of lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

The king himself prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen, regent of the kingdom during his absence. That he might secure her administration from all disturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprisoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father,

\* It was a maxim of Howard's, that no admiral was good for any thing, that was not even brave to a degree of madness. As the sea-service requires much less plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plausibility and appearance of truth: though the fate of Howard himself may serve as a proof, that even their courage ought to be tempered with discretion.

† Stowe, p. 491. Herbert, Hollinghed, p. 816.

who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of so turbulent a disposition as Suffolk was alive. And as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French service, and foolishly attempted to revive the York faction, and to instigate them against the present government, he probably, by that means, drew more suddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

At last Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected so much success and glory\*. Of all those allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a sum of money sent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animosity against France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thousand men; and no equal force could be opposed to their incursion. Maximilian had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns from Henry, and had promised to reinforce the Swiss with eight thousand men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himself appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Ferouane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrison not exceeding two thousand men; yet made they such stout resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they at last found themselves more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition, than from the assaults of the besiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their situation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this small force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop,

\* Polyd. Virg. lib. 27. Belcarinus, lib. 17.

and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt\*.

But the English had, soon after, full revenge for the insult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, who had advanced to protect another incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Bulsi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners †. This action, or rather route, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French, that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.

After so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy, when he heard that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the dismayed troops of France, returned to the siege of so inconsiderable a place as Terouane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of some blood, and what, in his present circumstances, was more important; of much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist them. Ferdinand himself, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies, which on every side assailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security.

But Lewis was extricated from his present difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making enquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he should be disfavoured by his master,

\* Hist. de Chev. Bayard, chap. 57. Memoires de Bellai. † Memoires de Bellai, liv. i. Polydore Virgil, liv. 27. Hollingshed, p. 822. Herbert.

stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand ; and thought himself happy, at the expence of some payments and very large promises, to get rid of so formidable an enemy\*.

The measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiss in negotiation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was desirous of freeing his grandson from so troublesome a neighbour, advised Henry to lay siege to the place ; and the English monarch, not considering that such an acquisition nowise advanced his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested counsel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege ; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy †. Their courage failed them when matters came to trial ; and, after a few days siege, the place was surrendered to the English. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead ; and, as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable ‡. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss, and observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England ; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Success had attended him in every enterprize ; and his youthful mind was much elevated with this seeming prosperity ; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages of his situation with his progress, his expence with his acquisitions, were convinced that this campaign, so much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him §.

The success which, during this summer, had attended Henry's arms in the North, was much more decisive. The king of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his kingdom ; and, having passed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary army of above fifty thousand men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and he employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of small importance. Lady Ford, being taken prisoner in her castle, was presented to James, and so gained on the affections of the prince, that he wasted in pleasure the critical time which, during the absence of his enemy, he should have employed in pushing his conquests. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they soon consumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with hunger ; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military discipline, during that age, ex-

\* *Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges*, Bellarius, lib. 14. † *Memoires de Fleuranges*. ‡ *Strype's Memorials*, vol. 1. p. 5, 6. § *Guicciardini*.

tremely

tremely relaxed, many of them had stolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-six thousand men, of which five thousand had been sent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on some high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the south; and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. As he received no satisfactory answer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. The Scottish army, in order to prevent his purpose, put themselves in motion; and having set fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they descended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the smoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, passed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twisfel, and sent the rest of his army to seek a ford higher up the river.

An engagement was now become inevitable, and both sides prepared for it with tranquillity and order\*. The English divided their army into two lines; lord Howard led the main body of the first line, sir Edmond Howard the right wing, sir Marmaduke Constable the left. The earl of Surrey, himself, commanded the main body of the second line, lord Dacres the right wing, sir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himself: the right by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume: the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a sharp conflict put to flight the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field: but, on returning from the pursuit, he found the whole Scottish army in great disorder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the success of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong upon the enemy. Not only sir Edmond Howard, at the head of his division, received them with great valour; but Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance. The division under James, and that under Bothwell, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and, throwing themselves into a circle, protracted the action, till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above five thousand men: but the morning discovered

\* Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond. Herbert. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 492. Paulus Jovius.

where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In searching the field, the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. During some time it was kept unburied; because James died under sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his opposition to the holy see\*: but, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the instant before his death, discovered signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, still asserted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms resembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was believed that James had been seen crossing the Tweed at Kelfo; and some imagined that he had been killed by the vassals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had instigated to commit so enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

The king of Scotland and most of his chief nobles being slain in the field of Flouden, so this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to subjection. But he discovered, on this occasion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compassion of the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him so great a victory, was restored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the side of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viscount Lisle, was now raised to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolfey, who was both his favourite and his minister, was created bishop of Lincoln. Lord Herbert obtained the title of earl of Worcester. Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle.

Though peace with Scotland gave Henry security on that side, and enabled him to prosecute, in tranquillity, his enterprise against France, some other incidents had happened, which more than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and served to open his eyes with regard to the rashness of an undertaking into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

Lewis, fully sensible of the dangerous situation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was resolved,

\* Buchanan, lib. 13. Herbert.

by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was nowise disposed to push the French to extremity; and, provided they did not return to take possession of Milan, his interests rather led him to preserve the balance among the contending parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce the council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication which his predecessor and himself had fulminated against that king and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping possession of Navarre, which he had subdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the proposals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year; and he even shewed an inclination of forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewis had dropped hints of his intention to marry his second daughter Renée, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both of them grandsons of the Spanish monarch; and he declared his resolution of bestowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced these proposals with joy; but also engaged the emperor, Maximilian, in the same views, and procured his accession to a treaty, which opened so inviting a prospect of aggrandising their common grandchildren.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained, that his father-in-law had first, by high promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the least warning, had now again sacrificed his interests to his own selfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the danger and expence of the war. In proportion to his easy credulity, and his unsuspecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed against the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith\*. But he lost all patience when informed of the other negotiation by which Maximilian was also seduced from his alliance, and in which proposals had been agreed to, for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the life-time of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger sister; and, as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable settlement of a sister, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the highest displeasure, and inspired him with a desire of expressing his disdain towards those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and had abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was still detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all these dispositions of Henry, in order

\* Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 545, 546.



to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. He represented to the king, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that she had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

As Henry seemed to hearken to this discourse with willing ears, Longueville informed his master of the probability which he discovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy\*.

In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the espousals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of the young princess; and, being naturally of an amorous disposition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was seduced into such a course of gaiety and pleasure, as proved very unsuitable to his declining state of health †. He died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, sensible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of *father of his people*.

Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Lewis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne; and, by his activity, valour, generosity, and other virtues, gave prog-

\* Du Tillet. † Brantome Eloge de Louis XII.

noſtice of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely ſtruck with the charms of the Engliſh princeſs; and, even during his predeceſſor's life-time, had paid her ſuch affiduous court, as made ſome of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But being warned that, by indulging this paſſion, he might probably exclude himſelf from the throne, he forbore all farther addreſſes; and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye during the firſt months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France, the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed in all the exerciſes, which were then thought to beſit a courtier and a ſoldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his ſiſter, and had given indulgence to the mutual paſſion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? And ſhe told him, that her brother would more eaſily forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not ſo inviting an offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleaſed with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his ſiſter\*, interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him: and even Wolſey, having entertained no jealousy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleaſures, and had no ambition to engage in public buſineſs, was active in reconciling the king to his ſiſter and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permiſſion to return to England.

The numerous enemies whom Wolſey's ſudden elevation, his aſpiring character, and his haughty deportment had raiſed him, ſerved only to rivet him faſter in Henry's confidence; who valued himſelf on ſupporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the diſcontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the abſolute aſcendant which he had acquired; and while he ſecretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind ſubmiſſion to the will and authority of his maſter. By entering into the king's pleaſures, he preſerved his affection; by conducting his buſineſs, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaiſance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealousy to which his exorbitant acquiſitions, and his ſplendid oſtentatious train of life, ſhould naturally have given birth. The archbiſhopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolſey was promoted to that ſee, and reſigned the biſhopric of Lincoln. Beſides enjoying the adminiſtration of Tournay, he got poſſeſſion, on eaſy leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who

\* Petrus de Angleria, *Epiſt.* 544.

were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: the pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition\*. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his livrées, the lustre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses †. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: but not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival sees ‡. The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one crucifix alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper

\* Eras. Epist. lib. 2. epist. i. lib. 16. epist. 3. † Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingshed, p. 847. ‡ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity\*.

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expence still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendancy acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his residence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master." Henry replied, "that he well knew how to retain all his subjects in obedience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counsels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was so well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the general administration of justice by the cardinal's means † so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened considerable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his minister: they might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprises, however fruitless and unnecessary.

The will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried ‡: but notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promising hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preserving peace with England: but the jealousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to this measure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, insisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who, having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young sovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their situation, unpractised in their

\* Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504. † Erasmi. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall.

‡ Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

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language;

language; yet such was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over and take possession of the regency: he even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied such a close connexion as might be thought somewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country, and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting the deadly feuds (so they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

The persons to whom Albany on his arrival first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume\*; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had in a great measure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

and the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle. But having persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued, not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to entrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately seized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers: it was only alleged, that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced against them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much dissatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the absence of the regent, such confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled, both from offending its enemies and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the present period; that, as that country had little connexion with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreseen, that a young active prince like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which

his predecessor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure presages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. This formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and in reality reduced him to absolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of interest, to defend him against the invader\*. They fortified themselves in all those valleys of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages; and it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the marshal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes†. After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister the queen dowager‡. The repairing of the fortifications of Terouenne was likewise regarded as a breach of treaty. But, above all, what tended to

\* Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12. † Histoire de la Ligue de Cambrai. ‡ Ferz Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, as above related, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in the see. Wolsey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch\*.

Maximilian, the emperor, was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian †: he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

There were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France: he could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy ‡. Henry, therefore,

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.  
lib. 22.

† Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

‡ Guicciardini,



was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the Imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

While an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had so long been looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court by presents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that by mistakes and misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth observed to express himself on all occasions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no secret to the king of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he said he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself\*.

When matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without hesitation, engaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the

\* Polydore Virgil, hb. 27.

numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article\*: and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The French monarch having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter *father, tutor, governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolfey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: he was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom †: but when he found that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell soon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

The pride of Wolfey was now farther increased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger

\* *Memoires du Bellai*, lib. 1. † Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

which

which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," said he, "that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?"

But Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commission, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more disgusted, when they saw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life\*, whom he himself, as chancellor, had, it is said, condemned for perjury: and as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolsey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of wills

\* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclesiastical preferment, he presented to whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry\*.

No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontentments of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any where as in his own house: but do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: it only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: but one London having prosecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian, the emperor, died; a man who, of himself, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes, it set the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of *sera* in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistress: the more fortunate, added he, will carry her, the other must rest contented †. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief that the major-

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited: there are many circumstances, however, very suspicious both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

† Balcara, lib. 16. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

ity of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch: The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, by his designing interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a sudden, so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Granada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrisled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

Henry possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in

that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

Francis was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendour, and his influence over both monarchs\*. And as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out some expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that measure †: an imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister.

While Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole support, the obedience of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

† Ibid. Herbert, *Hollingshed*, p. 855.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court: and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold*.

The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry King*: these were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words *of England*, without adding *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs\*. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed, by a smile, his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: the number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both sides: every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: and if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial; which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprised at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my prisoners: carry me to your master*. Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have showed me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth fifteen thousand angels †; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake

\* *Memoires de Fleury*. † An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar \*. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback; Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhaerere praest*; *He prevails whom I favour* †: expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure.

Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impresson, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: and Charles sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur) that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the master-piece of Charles's politics was the securing of Wolfsey in his interests, by very impov-

\* Memires de Fleuranges. † Mezeray.



and services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Palencia in Castile. The acquisitions of *Wolsey* were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pensions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations\*.

The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities. But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of *Wolsey* and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and *Wolsey*, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

The people saw every day new instances of the uncontrolled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indiscretion.

\* Polydore Virgil. *Halk*.

He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himself best intitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself with arms, which he intended to employ, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust\*; but as Buckingham's crimes seem to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

During some years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the reformation; one of the greatest events in history: but as it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or ecclesiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of

\* Herbert, *Hall Stew.*, 612. Hollingshed, p. 862.

any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to rise by the favour of their customers, increase, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also some callings which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependance, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at first sight, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class; and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be entrusted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in the profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase, from their increasing practice, study and attention.

But if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other sects, and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address, in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though

though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

But we may observe, that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, sometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risque of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increase these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burthensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

The advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniences. The ecclesiastical privileges during barbarous times had served as a cheque on the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other. And the pomp and splendour of worship which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

It will easily be conceived, that though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

Leo X, by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention

which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him, as an expedient which had often served in former times to draw money from the Christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints, beyond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: and from this unexhausted treasury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purposes, in resisting the infidels or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purposes\*.

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falsity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence †; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent VIII. and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession ‡. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: but Arcemboldi, fearing lest practice might have taught them means to secrete the money §, and expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming-houses, and places still more

\* Father Paul and Sleidan. † In 1517. ‡ Father Paul, Sleidan. § Father Paul, lib. 2.

infamous,

infamous, the money which devout persons had saved from their usual expences, in order to purchase a remission of their sins\*.

All these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him †. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model: many sovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, showed a favourable disposition towards it: and Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he opposed himself, therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present

\* Father Paul, lib. 1. † Father Paul, Sleidan.

with great testimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*; an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controversy, soon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which in the course of his polemics he had so long been accustomed. The king by this ill usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute\*. And as the controversy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

The quick and surprising progress of this bold sect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: for, of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of absurdity with which superstition has every where overwhelmed them: not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove sufficiently that it owed not its success to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his sectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, somewhat awakened from a profound sleep of so many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reasoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: but as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity

\* Father Paul, lib. 1.

of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrist, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and ecstasy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers, of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with the licence in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature; they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and such were the causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

Leo X. whose oversights and too supine trust in the profound ignorance of the people, had given rise to this sect, but whose sound judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles.

This



This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners which distinguished his character; but so violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this sincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France\*; and he thereby augmented the scandal occasioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes,

The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolsey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolsey for the revenue which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence †.

The king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under

\* Guicciardini, lib. 14. † Petrus de Angleria, epist. 755.

the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thousand men.

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V. never without great necessity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: he himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: the count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprize. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: the French forces assaulted him from without: great rains fell; fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries: and Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money\*, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in such a situation, and so connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole; but of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England: and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rölline †. He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he main-

\* Guicciardini, lib. 14. † Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitscottie.

tained with France, they murmured that, for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war during their king's minority be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen dowager.

\* Next year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: the two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner banished: no nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government: and the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present weakness, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England\*. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms†: and the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said that the interest of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies; but were ready to abandon them as soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: that where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a consequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of the kingdoms which in the present case rendered it inevitable: that France was so distant and so divided from them by sea, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations; having inclosed them in the same island; given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: and that if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert. † Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

The partisans of the French alliance, on the other hand, said, that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: that among neighbouring states occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: that as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: that if they deserted that old and salutary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: or, if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable\*.

The arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed most prevalent: and when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them southward towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melrose, the English party raised again such opposition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk-castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks: but the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not, during several years, in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the num-

\* Buchanan, lib. 14.

ber of men; their years, profession, stock, revenue\*; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums: this act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarised to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and two shillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

Henry soon after summoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolsey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the House of Commons; and in a long and elaborate speech laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum computed, from the late survey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the division proposed †. So large a grant was unusual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded by sir Thomas More the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply ‡. They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty shillings a year; and on the other subjects above sixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This last sum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmost above six-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the sum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the

\* Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

† This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unless the sum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

‡ Herbert. Stowe, 518. Parliamentary History. Strype, vol. i, p. 49, 50.

house,

house, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a year and upwards. The proceedings of this House of Commons evidently discover the humour of the times: they were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another: and on pretence of necessity he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years\*; a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the Imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his disgust; and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and, by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars, Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: he sought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges; and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative humour of the reformers.

The confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign †. Adrian, before his death, had

\* Speed. Hall. Herbert.

† Guicciardini, lib. 14.

renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for securing Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: but all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, besides distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman, false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation, Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and, at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a law-suit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England\*. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy: and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as soon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but, as he was not expeditious enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape †; and, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country.

The king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the

\* *Memoires du Bellay*, liv. 2.

† *Belcarius*, lib. 27.

lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen\*. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about twelve thousand men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation, till the duke of Vendôme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being surrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned; and the English and Flemings, without affecting any thing, retired into their respective countries.

France defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a sudden raised the siege, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march,

\* Herbert,



and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sitten down in the winter season before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprize, put his troops into winter-quarters.

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to send forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnavet. The dutchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprizes of Bourbon; and no sooner had Bonnavet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnavet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance; but as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnavet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sicknes, and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of joining Bonnavet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company\*. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnavet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as fast as possible into France,

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these

\* Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

powers,

powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced\*. They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of King; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: the rest of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: but the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom: but, as he received intelligence that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis

\* Guicciardini, lib. 15.

been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dispersed\*: but his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva; one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: he attempted to divert the course of the Tefin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the soldiers, during a long time, and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter), had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals, meanwhile, were not inactive. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, assembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lanquenets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the small armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The Imperial forces commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France, either on the side of Spain or Flanders). Yet, so poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger of bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once said, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

The Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for several days, at last made a general assault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva sallied from the town, and increased the confusion among the besiegers. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his

\* Guicciardini, lib. 15. De Bellay, liv. 2.

enemies,

enemies, after fighting with heroic valour; and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France by means of a safe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed\*. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, "Madam, all is lost, except our honour." The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies. And her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes she entertained of peace, and even of assistance from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a

\* Vera Hist. de Carl. V.

proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him assistance in his present calamities; and, as the glory of generosity in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolsey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin;" he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles\*." Wolsey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London†: but, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonsal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonsal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeas'd with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invad-

\* Guicciardini, lib. 16. † Du Bellay, liv. 8. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

ed Picardy, according to his stipulations. Tonstal added, that, instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions\*: the regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

Meanwhile, Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three shillings and four-pence upon the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeas'd with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgust'd with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his subjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself obnoxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III. by which *benevolences* were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and *absolute* monarch, who held his crown by he-

\* Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

reditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace\*. The judges even went so far as to affirm positively, that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolsey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council: but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but, as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber, where, after a severe charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That, notwithstanding their grievous offence, the king, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them his gracious pardon, upon condition that they would find sureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk, said, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed †.

These arbitrary impositions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counsels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was empowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppres-

\* Herbert. Hall. † Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingshed, p. 891.  
sion

sion was carried so far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolfey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichione; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that even were he so base as to submit to such conditions, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

Francis was encouraged to persist in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had seized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, with whom he must treat; and he expressed his desire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should deprive him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily



daily recovered\* ; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

At last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: if any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely severe upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependance.

Many of Charles's ministers foresaw that Francis, how solemn soever the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalry which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shewn himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be sure with one voice to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be so romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all the passions by which either as a prince or a man he was strongly actuated.

\* Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

Francis, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king." He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counsels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the proposal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor\*.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who suspected that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense, but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swifs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, so it was called: and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of thirty thousand ducats: and that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of ten thousand ducats.

Francis was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these

\* Guicciardini, lib. 17.

hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand; exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed\*. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: he put himself and all his court in mourning: he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during several months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

\* Guicciardini, lib. 18: Bellay: Stowe, p. 5271

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty\* at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the pope's captivity to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises †.

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a-year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The

\* 30th April.

† Burnet, book 3. col. 18, 19.

marechal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by single combat, that he had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie; and after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealously disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and sincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to so cruel a situation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promise by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd, though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law

law

law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

Notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his son when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract\*. He ordered the young prince, as soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage †; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him during some time from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had insisted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess ‡. And when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, revived the same objection §. But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorse, and render his conscience more scrupulous.

The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaic law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions, arising from a disputed title, made great impression on the

\* Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.

† Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 8.

‡ Lord Herbert, Fiddes's Life of Wolsey.

§ Rymer, vol. xiv. 192, 203. Hey-

lin, p. 8.

minds of men, and rendered the people universally desirous of any event which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on consulting his confessor the bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages\*. The prohibitions, said Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them. The archbishop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to consult his brethren: all the prelates of England, except Fisher bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful †. Wolfey also fortified the king's scruples ‡; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the duchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps, too, somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbecoming his character and station §. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Hastings ¶. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused

\* Burnet, Fiddes. vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.

‡ Le Grand,

§ Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

¶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

|| Camden's Preface to the Life of Elizabeth. Burnet,

vol. i. p. 44.

Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after the death of that prince she passed into the family of the dukes of Alençon, a woman of singular merit. The exact time when she returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this resolution, when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make application to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

That he might not shock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he resolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of consanguinity; but only to insist on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be surprised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry needed not want a specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation; though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age: it was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage\*.

But though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to

\* Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii, p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.



embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master\*. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope, to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a *commission* to Wolsey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation †: he also granted them a provisional *dispensation* for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to issue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his consent and authority ‡.

When Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.  
Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

† Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.

‡ Collier, from Cott.

manner,

manner; the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever\*. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed †. The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

Charles, apprised of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of the sovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinsman had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority ‡. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepossession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A severe bull of Julius II. had added new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: and this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view §.

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 51.  
Paul, lib. i. . . . Ibid.

† Father Paul, lib. i. Guicciardini.

‡ Father

While Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and, revolting against the family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he most passionately desired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch\*.

These views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of consequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained so much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome †.

But the same reasons which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: he was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor; and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point which he deemed the most essential and important to his own security, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promising not to recal the present commission; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it ‡.

\* Father Paul. † Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No. 23, 24, &c. ‡ Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.

Campeggio lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under so many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that this counsel gave offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composition of all differences\*. The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret †. In order to atone in some degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and, in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness ‡.

These ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter §; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: he still continued his secret negociations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior

\* Herbert, p. 225. † Burnet, p. 58. ‡ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 120, 121. Append. No. 28. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: the illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly intreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recal of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article\*.

The two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name when called: but the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: that she had quitted her native country without other resource than her connections with him and his family, and had expected that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safeguard against every misfortune: that she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after so long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity: that she was conscious—he himself was assured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connections with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: and that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependance on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of

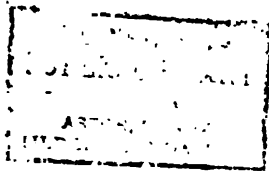
\* Herbert, p. 125. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

obtaining



QUEEN CATHERINE addresssing HENRY before the Two Legates.

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obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision\*. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour. He only insisted on his own scruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolsey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a sentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her *contumacious*, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his consort, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favour of the king's assertion †. Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage ‡: Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princess: in the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both sides §. These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.  
vol. ii. p. 35. § Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

† Herbert. ‡ Burnet,



day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences\*, prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished †.

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor †. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he asserted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders delivered by Campana to burn the decretal bull with which he was entrusted.

Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at first desired that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue §: he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or distinction, to make his ministers answerable for the success of those transactions with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn, also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal ||. Even the queen and her partisans, judging of Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.

† Herbert, p. 254.

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

§ Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53.

|| Cavendish, p. 40.

seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to hasten his downfall; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favourite, seems to have remained some time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

But constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him; and on his scrupling to deliver it without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and it was delivered by the king to sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolfey was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver: he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold: there were found a thousand pieces of fine Holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Ather, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton-Court. The world that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change; and from the same turn of mind which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigour †. The smallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing, during some time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolfey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, imme-

\* Cavendish, p. 42.

† Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. No. 31, &c.

diately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him\*.

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his former authority. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides †. The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a sentence was passed against him. And, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The House of Lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: no evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any. The articles were sent down to the House of Commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe, than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and kingdom: not to mention what he always asserted ‡, and what we can scarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced

\*. Stowe, p. 547.

† Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.

‡ Cavendish, p. 72.

against

against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

The complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics had been very ancient in England, as well as in most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of heresy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills\*; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives thrown out almost without opposition in the house against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert † has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of Gray's-Inn, which is of a singular nature, and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member insists upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every sect; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute: and upon the whole he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public assembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the House of Lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed design derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in severe and even somewhat inde-

\* These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great height. A member said in the house, that a thousand marks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Strype, vol. 4, p. 78. † P. 298.

cent terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words\*.

Henry was not displeas'd that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependant on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, was sufficiently dispos'd to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: they granted him a discharge of all those debts which he had contracted since the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleas'd to take the opportunity of mulcting them †. Several also approv'd of an expedient which they hop'd would ever after discredit a method of supply so irregular and so unparliamentary.

The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engag'd his attention; and he regard'd foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declar'd war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engag'd him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercis'd no hostility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer establish'd in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settl'd the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accept'd of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he deliver'd up the two princes of France, whom he had retain'd as hostages. Henry was on this occasion so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near six hundred thousand crowns which that prince ow'd him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfi'd as the king with the peace of Cambray: they were almost wholly abandon'd to the will of the emperor; and seem'd to have no means of security left by his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdu'd by the Imperial arms, and finally deliver'd over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treat'd; they were only oblig'd to relinquish some acquisitions

\* Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

which

which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity succeeded in every enterprise, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solymán, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *Protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandising his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

The friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success in his ambitious enterprises; and the king was sufficiently apprised, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connections with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home: he observed, that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: he knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented the unwor-

thy treatment which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the duchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: he dreaded the reproach of heresy: he abhorred all connections with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Crammer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quit Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom\*. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Crammer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

Had the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorised between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth,

\* Fox, p. 286, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. 4, p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-sister by the father: a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorised between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is so obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result among them from marrying a brother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.

But, in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his side; the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward\*, gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone †, and Cambridge ‡, made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion.

\* Herbert. Burnet. vol. i. p. 6.

† Wood, Hist. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225.

‡ Burnet,



Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice\*. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense†. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose‡.

The extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the prosecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolsey had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: but the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: he took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality§; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself in the following words to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed

\* Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95. † Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454-471.  
‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. § Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554

between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen; and then will he know in his conscience whether I have offended him.

“He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.

“I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail: had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king’s head: for you can never put it out again\*.”

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king’s temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite’s measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry’s reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey’s counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes, rather than his master’s service, which he boasted he had solely at heart; we must remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in some respect similar to Wolsey’s; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: a proof that humour, more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

A new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the king’s permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one

\* Cavendish.

who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them\*. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay one hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds for a pardon†. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted, which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, *in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ*.

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legantine court, or a supply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency‡.

By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connections between the pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first fruits§; being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant: a tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

\* Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.

† Hollingshed, p. 923.

‡ Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.

§ Burnet, vol. i.

Collect. No. 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

This session the commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session before the parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements or trust-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier feisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: he was contented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them so much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: a singular instance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir\*.

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns †, the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow ‡.

After the prorogation, sir Thomas More the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.

† Burnet, vol. i. p.

123, 124. ‡ Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to sir Thomas Audley.

During these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom, which of all others, had long been the most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalized himself both by his pen and his sword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: he only dispatched sir Edward Carne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of exculators, so they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had persuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully

fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony\*. Anne became pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event both gave great satisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

The parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connections with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them †. The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and, in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: a sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne ‡.

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorse on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amphyll, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham, was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's mar-

\* Herbert, p. 340, 341.  
Records, No. 8.

† 24 Hen. 8. c. 12.

‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and

riage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned Queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony\*. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of Princess of Wales †; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions ‡.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the 1st of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood §. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena ||; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprised to find a sentence

\* Heylin, p. 6. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 134. ‡ Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132. § Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566. || Burnet, vol. ii. p. 129. Guicciardini.  
pronounced

pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marseilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

Had this connection of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel, the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependence, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the Catholic church, and was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw the interest that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambrai, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was



appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion\*. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed; news was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals †. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the same footing as before.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched somewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much superior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese ‡. The proceedings of the parliament showed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have surrendered to him any considerable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this session, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion.

All payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: the law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from im-

\* Fisher Paul, lib. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 144.

prisoning

prisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: bishops were to be appointed by a *congrè d'elire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed\*: the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament †. In this submission the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative ‡. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in Chancery,

But the most important law passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: and the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprison of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

The king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: and they voted that the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had

\* Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. † 25 H. 8. c. 19. ‡ Callier, vol. ii. p. 69. 70.

there exercised was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleasure\*.

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influenced on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: he offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwell, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal †. He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament being again assembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on the earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act, the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction ‡." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

\* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 156,

‡ 26 H. 8. c. 1.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined, between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry had so long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'neale, O'carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harrassed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was carried over to England;

together

together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having gotten possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his consort, bred him great disturbance. For having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence he incited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of such an ally to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negotiations with an enemy of the holy

holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

The ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breast, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during some time, at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As soon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: and hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated Heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education, and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the

old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people and by such considerations were men so generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking so ancient and deep founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany\*, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because Protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued him-

\* Steidan, lib. 4. & 5.

on maintaining the Catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the Protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity: virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the Catholic faith; and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: the king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtship paid him both by Protestants and Catholics, to assume an unbounded authority: and though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: but while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their interests.



The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the Protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp\*, where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other Protestants, they asserted that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition † was a reliance on *good works*; by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God ‡.

The disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: it was even an article of impeachment against him §, that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 159. † *Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per solam fidem. Luther adversus regem. Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantuncunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. Id. de captivitate Babylonica.*

‡ Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

§ Articles of Impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at present would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecution of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield\*.

Many were brought into the bishop's courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them † of having

\* Fox. Burnet, vol. i, p. 165.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the Protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's\*." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry silenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence †. He even here bore patiently some new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Essex, a privy councillor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land ‡.

But several monks were detected in a conspiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing fellow, founded on them a project

\* Strype, vol. i. p. 167.

† Collier, vol. ii. p. 86, Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.

‡ Stowe, p. 562.

from which he hoped to acquire both profit and consideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he so far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future sayings. The regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade them, as well as the maid herself, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, soon after succeeding to delusion, she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin\*. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprises. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth †. Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of the new prophets. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused ‡. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the Star Chamber,

\* Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles. † Strype, vol. i. p. 181.

‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

where

where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture \*; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth †: and they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: it was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that no wise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: but the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

\* 25 Hen. 8. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.  
Annals, p. 53.

† Godwin's

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities; and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's reasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues; but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness\*. In this condition he lay in prison above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whose compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor-general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: he was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged sword: if a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy†. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, may his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he

\* Fuller's Church Hist. book v. p. 203.  
Herbert, p. 393.

† More's Life of Sir Thomas More.

granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about six months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III. of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: and the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any Catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use\*. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks and the Protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

\* Sanders, p. 248.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him\*. He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negociations for marrying his infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. These two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: and Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be essential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions †. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmus, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their interests to oppose the emperor: and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates.

During these negociations, an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: she died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of *her most dear Lord, King, and Husband*. She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the im-

\* Herbert, p. 350, 351.

† Sleidan, lib. 10.



portance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things*\*. The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit †.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions ‡; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: as to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his

\* Herbert, p. 403. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.

‡ Du Bellay, liv. v. Herbert.

Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No 50.

second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention in that liberal concession was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal insults on each other, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near thirty thousand strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous situation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even went over in person; and making haste to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid lest his ally, Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeas'd that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pomeraye to London, in order to apologise for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than

than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age: the personal respect inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one, were not attended with any considerable degree of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank which his vigour more than his address acquired him in all foreign negotiations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the Catholic religion; and every other disadvantage attending that communion seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where, proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic orders, gave them reason to apprehend the like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that in the progress of the contest he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their

their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute than they are in any Roman Catholic country at present: but still the reproaches which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true preservers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwell and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given

to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

The king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year\*. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny †; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more ‡. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: so absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the Court of Augmentation of the King's Revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony §.

The act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance.

Farther progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished ¶ this session.

The commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits

\* 27 Hen. 8. c. 28.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

‡ It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: for the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession.

§ 27 Hen. 8. c. 27.

¶ 27 Hen. 8. c. 4.

of wardships and liveries; were now contented to frame a law\*, such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

After all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament; a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitted, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not chuse, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years: a practice at that time unusual in England.

The convocation which sat during this session was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections.

The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpose of universal salvation had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: that if this practice were not very absurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence: that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: and that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again by their means revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself, had appointed for their spiritual direction: that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to chuse their own principles; and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of

\* 27 Hen. 8. c. 10.

Q

which

which they could not possibly make any proper use: that even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: that the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, those fatal illusions: that sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: and that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments.

These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness Anne Boleyn possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years

years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune\*. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: the viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and, not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris groom of the stole, Weston and Brexton gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance; and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.



Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorse and contrarieties; and might at last have served only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride; his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connection. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours\*. He immediately retired from the place; sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: she made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when she entered the prison she fell on her knees, and prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow: she had reprov'd Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of her's, and his indifference towards his wife: but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself; upon which she desied him†. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord: but she acknowledged that he

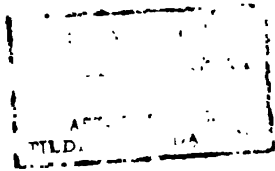
\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 198.

† Strype, vol. i. p. 281.



Commitment of ANNA BULLEN to the Tower

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had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as pretexts to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the Catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen\*; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: but he generously rejected the proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: but for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: their uncle the duke of Norfolk presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown; the chief evidence it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: *which was to the slander of the issue*

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

*begotten between the king and her.* By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned that nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: he received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity\*. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king †. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher, in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The exe-

\* Herbert, p. 384.

† Heylin, p. 94.

cutioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best\*. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation: had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution †. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections.

The lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: he required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father ‡, containing her assent to the articles required of her: upon

\* Baract, vol. i. p. 205.

† Ibid. p. 207.

‡ Ibid. Stryge, vol. i. p. 285.

which

which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

The trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament; and he, here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less submissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified\*; that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when entrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well

\* The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, "For that his highness had chosen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive issue by his highness."

as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

Another accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: the king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of *So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists* \*. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government †.

The extreme complaisance of the convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the Catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: but the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new assumed prerogative, the supremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwell presided as vicar-general; and though the Catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle.

\* 28 Hen. 8. c. 10.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 119.



The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives,

The church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern Protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit by which they were governed. They said, "that they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom\*."

The convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the Catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the Protestants appeared; the real presence was asserted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in its ingredient. The Catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by scripture; the Protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose; "Since, according to due order of charity, and the Book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning; all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But since the place where departed souls are retained, before they reach paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by scripture; all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them\*."

These articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neutrals were to be found; and these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the same dogmas. The Protestants all of them carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles: none of the Catholics went so far: and the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprises which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: he could say to it, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther: and he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

The concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy; even by means of military force is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most slavish submission cannot

\* Collier, vol. ii, p. 122, & seq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i, p. 215.

be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour\*. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent †.

But the people did not break into open sedition till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwell's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited several superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thousand men ‡; but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of

\* Strype, vol. 1. p. 249. † Burnet, vol. 1. p. 223. ‡ Ibid. p. 227. Herbert.  
England;

England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances\*. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels, and being so well supported by power, he thought that without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: the populace was dispersed: Mackrel and some of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: a few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the insurrection that was raised in those parts.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accustomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ†: they wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: they all took an oath, that they had entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about forty thousand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

\* Herbert, p. 419.

† Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

The earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton; sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough-castle against them\*: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: they had laid siege to Pomfret-castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he sent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissension among so great a number. Aske himself had

\* Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

intended

intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security: but the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council."

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with eight thousand men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to surprise Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Piercy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were

condemned

condemned and executed. Lord Huffleſey was found guilty as an accomplice in the inſurrection of Lincolnſhire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulſion, and appealed for his juſtification to a long life ſpent in the ſervice of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having ſecretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either ſenſible of that nobleman's ſervices, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of ſuch extenſive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now fatiated with puniſhing the rebels, he publiſhed anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered \*; and he erected by patent a court of juſtice at York, for deciding law-ſuits in the northern counties: a demand which had been made by the rebels.

Soon after this ſuſpectious ſucceſs, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a ſon, who was baptiſed by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happineſs without alloy: the queen died two days after †. But a ſon had ſo long been ardently wiſhed for by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the acts declaring the two princeſſes illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expreſſed great ſatiſfaction on the occaſion. The prince, not ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; ſir William Paulet, lord St. John; ſir John Ruſſel, lord Ruſſel.

The ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the birth of a ſon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increaſed his conſideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various ſucceſs, and without any deciſive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without neceſſity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between theſe potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued deſirous of cementing a union with the German Proteſtants; and for that purpoſe he ſent Chriſtopher Mount to a congreſs which they held at Brunſwick; but that miniſter made no great progreſs in his negotiation. The princes wiſhed to know what were the articles in their confeſſion which Henry diſliked; and they ſent new ambaffadors to him, who had orders both to negociate and to diſpute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a miſtake in adminiſtering the eucharift in one

\* Herbert, p. 428.

† Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy\*. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeas'd that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he us'd great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: and he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and he order'd that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the Catholics and the Protestants.

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impell'd by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: this measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seem'd favourable for that great enterprize, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possess'd of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were expos'd; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises fail'd of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employ'd; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been nam'd by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embrac'd the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was

\* Collier, vol. ii, p. 146. From the Cong. Lib. Scopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.



thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction\*. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin, shewn in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the county of Gloucester there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the secret, had taken the blood

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 288.

of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial\*.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey bishop of Rochester broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces: and by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forest †, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence †. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage

\* Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575. † Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575.  
Herbert. Baker, p. 286. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 249.

to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries: of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds\*. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war as well as peace the whole charges of government †. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures ‡: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate §. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which

\* Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.  
Warwickshire, p. 800.

† Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44.  
§ Fuller.

‡ Dugdale's

five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expence and dissipation the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surry, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese in the county of Lincoln was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty\*. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence, by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: he had declared war with the dead, whom the Pagans themselves respected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his

\* Burnet, vol. i, p. 137.

kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter\*, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadoleto, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the Catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissembled his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536 †. Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English Catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so

\* Goodwin's Annals.

† Herbert.

vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and sir Geoffry de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward: they were all executed except sir Geoffry de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates\*.

The rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and, by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had

\* Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

supported Cramer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partisans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the Catholic faith.

There was one Lambert\*, a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He

\* Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer; who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surpris'd when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not displeas'd with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy; and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolv'd to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistratè with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appear'd on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: the prelates were plac'd on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assign'd them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produc'd the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist\*.

The bishop of Chichester open'd the conference, by saying that Lambert, being charg'd with heretical pravity, had appeal'd from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induc'd to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who liv'd like drones in a bee-hive; had abolish'd the idolatrous worship of images; had publish'd the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determin'd to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment†.

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king ask'd Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he reject'd the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards press'd Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner enter'd the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tostal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tostal: six bishops more appear'd successively in the

\* See, vol. ii. p. 426.

† Goodwin's Anals.



held after Stokesley: and the disputation, if it deserved the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him.

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired\*.

Some few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield †.

It was the unhappy fate of the English during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: on the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper of themselves to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the House of Lords, That it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith; and communicate them afterwards to the

\* Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 417. Burnet.

† Stowe, p. 556.

parliament.

parliament. The lords named the vicer-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: this small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, That, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prosecution, the bill of the six articles, or the bloody bill, as the Protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

In this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: an unheard of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and imprisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony\*. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king, for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the Catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and monks, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy: but as the Protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could

\* 31 Hen. 8. c. 14. Herbert in Knaet, p. 179.

not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance\*. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Orander, a famous divine of Nuremberg †; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of the law, and were committed to prison.

The parliament having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, *who may full ill bear it*; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: for these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: and these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws †.

What proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable custom of the realm. They did not consider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority.

\* Burnet, vol. 7. p. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.

† Herbert in Kennet,

p. 219. † 31 Hen. 8. c. 8.

It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed from their own authority to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government: but still there was a difference between a power which was exercised on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expedience or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to cardinal Pole had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is said had been seen at Coudray; her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: but Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwel, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges whether the parliament could attain a person who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them\*. The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwel showed to the House of Peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house †. No other proof seems to have been produced in order to ascertain her guilt: the parliament, without farther inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against

\* Coke's 4th Inst. p. 27, 38.

† Rymer, vol. xiv, p. 659.

her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

The only beneficial act passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself\*. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited †. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew that a surrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all force by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever ‡. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the House of Peers; and that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute.

In this session the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed; Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed, the Catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwel, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he re-

\* Collier, vol. ii, p. 268. & seq.

† 31 Hen. 8. c. 10.

‡ 31 Hen. 8. c. 13.

monstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

But as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the duchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendship for Francis rather to think of a French princess. He demanded the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the House of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal: he had set his heart extremely on the match: the information which he had received of the duchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately sent over Meautis to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him served farther to inflame his desires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his prosecution of this match; and he insisted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther solicitation, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their eldest sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him

him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them: But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: he was impressed with too much regard; he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser\*. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

The king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connection which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the Protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holben determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received: he swore she was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel; as well as to lord Ruffel, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, chuse for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a

\* Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 698e ;

confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in choosing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: he asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

Henry, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England\*. An alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that since matters had gone so far; he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach: he was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true maid: a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

A session of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the House of Peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity of religions which still prevailed among his subjects. A grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured because the scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which

\* Stowe, p. 579.



his people were to assent; and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory. The king seems to have expected more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had ensued from the publication of the scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house; and the peers in return bestowed great flattery on him; and in particular, said that he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: he received, soon after the sitting of the parliament, the title of Earl of Essex, and was installed Knight of the Garter.

There remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclesiastical, partly military, had by their valour done great service to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: his profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: so ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was, the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

The king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: his aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Crom-

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Conquest of C. HOWARD over HENRY VIII.

*Ansell del.*

*Published by D. Brewman Feb. 1. 1701.*

*Birrell, sculp.*

wel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown; besides enjoying that commission, which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: he had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries; establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The Catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: the Protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects.

But there was another cause which suddenly set all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: and when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwel at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the House of Peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The House of Commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwel was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous\*. The only circumstance of his conduct by which he seems to have merited this fate was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding session, against the countess of Salisbury and others.

Cromwel endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 8.

the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwel's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy\*." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucques merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwel in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence †.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The House of Peers, in conjunction with the Commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 174.

given

given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce\*. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had subsisted during a very short time: the dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with sultan Solyman and the Venetians; he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England to enter into a confederacy against him †. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refused to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: he informed Solyman and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate: he even poisoned and misrepresented many things which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: and as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

\* Herbert, p. 458, 459.

† Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

The new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his Catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonist. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the Protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing\*.

While Henry was exerting this violence against the Protestants, he spared not the Catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged †. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a Catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These Catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them ‡.

Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who

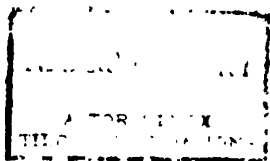
\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox.

† Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.

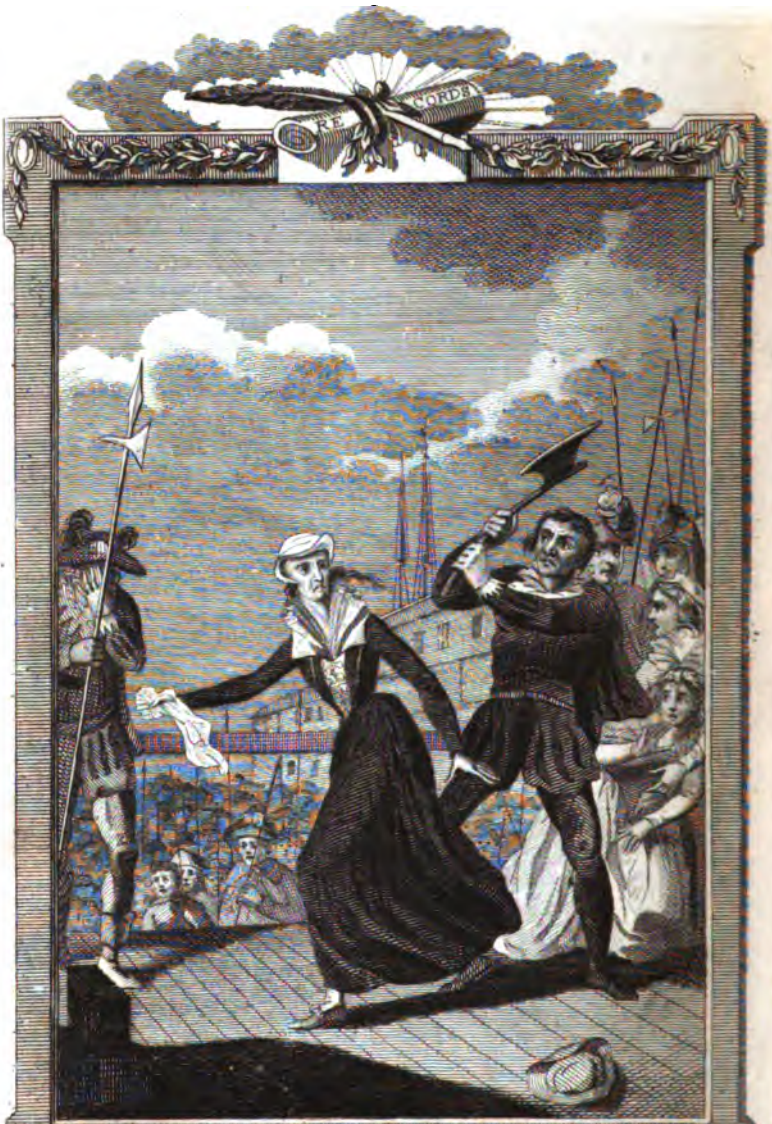
‡ Saunders, de

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Singular Execution of the Countess of Salisbury in 1341.

*Onskshanks del.*

*Published by D. Browman, Feb. 1792.*

*Cook sculp.*

already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended\*. She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: and thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

The insurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: he purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

The same spirit of religious innovation which had seized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527, Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country, very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who under colour of friendship and a sympathy in opinion had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with some of the clergy a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the

\* Herbert, p. 468.

consistency of his end; and an incident which soon followed still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbell, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr\*.

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan the bishop of Dunkel enjoined him, when he met with a good epistle or good gospel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest replied, that he had read both Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the scriptures was regarded in those days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial; and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar: for that the smoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew †.

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and properties at stake, thought that they had a right to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity which justified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of such heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said, be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions and even the existence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found the success of this remedy very precarious, and observed, that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself every where; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

But the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James

\* Spotwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

† Ibid. p. 65.

himself,

himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the same fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

The ecclesiastics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign powers. To these considerations they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: they promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: and they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues\*. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview †.

Henry, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: one Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk,

\* Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitseotie, ibid. Knox.

† Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: adding, it was better he should destroy them than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Pole, pars 1. p. 179.

with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the duchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-council, to lord Russell, high admiral, sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: the privy-council was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Suffex, where the woman at that time resided: he found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found, to his surprise, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage; and only insisted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve little credit in this asseveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry found that he could not by any means so fully or expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals, as by assembling a parliament,



Incontinence of C. HOWARD imparted to HENRY VIII.

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liament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an address to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of the statute.

Having obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscounts of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: for he pardoned the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason.

However, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the same time from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others: it was also enacted, That if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this singular clause, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute\*. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.



bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: he took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: it had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president or any number of fellows could consent to such a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not easily obtained. All such statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites. The church had been so long their prey, that nobody was surpris'd at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the fees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

The clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: but the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two archbishops, and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, he had given them in charge to chuse a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament in 1541 had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: and they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: it was enacted, That the ecclesiastical commissioners should

should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon-law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbitrary purposes!

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the Catholics. The king's caprice is discernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly established.

The people had occasion, soon after, to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satisfied with his *Institution of a Christian Man*: he ordered a new book to be composed, called the *Eruition of a Christian Man*; and, without asking the assent of the convocation, he published, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the *Institution*\*; but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was spreading his own books among the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the scriptures. A review had been made by the synod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and significance, that they had

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.

no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue\*. Among these were, *ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, humilitas, satijfactio, peccatum, gratia, bestia, charitas, &c.* But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament †, soon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them ‡. Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: these persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order.* And the preamble to the act sets forth, "That many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permission of free inquiry.

The mass-book also passed under the king's revision; and little alteration was as yet made in it: some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out §; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced ¶. We do not hear that the Catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit by which it appears the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side: perhaps the greater simplicity and the more spiritual abstract worship of the Protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on sensible representations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession which the king made to the Catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies.

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

† Which met on the 22d of January 1543.

‡ 39 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but five hundred copies printed of this first authorized edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

§ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 113.

¶ Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments: but as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into all those scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

Henry being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for slighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that enterprise; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, that assembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promised interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel\*: but in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprise, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and sir James Learmont of Darlay to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, sir Robert Bowes, attended by sir Ralph Sadler, sir Ralph Evers, sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a considerable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army; and an action immediately ensued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinc-

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.

tion,

tion, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish\*.

The duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sattrey, and was ready to advance as soon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelso; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country †. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was surprised to find that his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving lord Maxwell their general of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this route; for it was no action; but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: among these, the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

The king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to

\* Buchanan, lib. 14.

† Buchanan, lib. 14.

despair.

despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind ; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living ; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or female child ? Being told the latter ; he turned himself in his bed : " The crown came with a woman," said he, " and it will go with one : many miseries await this poor kingdom : Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age ; a prince of considerable virtues and talents ; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was so much exposed. He executed justice with impartiality and rigour ; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The Protestants also, whom he opposed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory ; but have not been able to fix any considerable imputation upon him.

Henry was no sooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom\*. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners ; and after reproaching them in severe terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom ; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms ; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed : and they thence proceeded to Scotland ; where they found affairs in some confusion.

The pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him ; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power ; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant prince† : at least, for historians

\* Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

† Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spot-

wood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.

are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation\*. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

James earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partisans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant-queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should remain in Scotland till she should be ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges †. By means of these equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies ‡. Besides the partisans whom

\* John Knox, History of the Reformation:  
‡ Buchanan, lib. 15.

† Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the Catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their southern neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: but Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages\*.

This behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great though fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: and he

\* Buchanan, lib. 15.



promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant-queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable\*.

The opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England †. He had been informed of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future: in case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles the dutchy of Burgundy, and some other territories ‡. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him

\* Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.  
p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

† Perc Daniel.

‡ Rymer, vol. xiv.

to renounce his alliance with sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had sustained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partisans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: and they observed, that this league was a breach of the solemn promise which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

While the treaty with the emperor was negotiating, the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years; it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual\*. The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment of the Catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity; which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs †.

The parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes: they appointed that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign ‡.

It was enacted § this session, That any spiritual person who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he should thereafter promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year

\* They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid fourpence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eightpence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixpence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eightpence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixpence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

† Collier, vol. ii. p. 176. ‡ Burnet, p. 322. § 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real presence: it was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, That he might hereafter at his pleasure change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: so far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom: and all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might still be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the Catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor\*: Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: but while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of some great event, the French king found means of throwing succour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprise, and found it necessary to go into winter-quarters.

The vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: but the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so indolent and unambitious

\* Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

a character, that had he not been stimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however dishonourable. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the Protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: the queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become assuming on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that since he must choose between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partisans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the Protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man, he foresaw that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor

and

and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable soever, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was so bent to attain.

An act passed, declaring that the king's usual style should be "King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland." It seemed a palpable inconsistency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.

An act also passed for the remission of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary\*. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they

\* 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one\*. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The most commendable law to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprised in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: but as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: and he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine-pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London †, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner, Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition ‡. These powers of the prerogative, (which at that time passed unquestioned) the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign in a manner absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

Early this year the king sent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down (for

\* 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.  
Annals. Stowe, p. 508.

† Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker. p. 292.

‡ Goodwin's

little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude\*.

Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conquest †. But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprise against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: they were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

Henry having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, sir Anthony Brown, sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time while he

\* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23. 29.

† Herbert. Burnet.

waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligney met with the same fate: he next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which though a weak place made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of entirely subduing the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: the king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

During the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Disier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists at Cerissoles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the Protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign served to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of sense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, made, at a great expence, an acquisition which was of no importance:



The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor assembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no sooner opened his batteries before the place, than a sudden panic seized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: but his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this success, boasted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melros. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges\*. Reinforced by these

\* Buchanan, lib. 13. Drummond.

succours,

succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalised rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides galleys; and having embarked some land-forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England\*. They sailed to the Isle of Wight, when they found the English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It consisted not of above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and except the sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of time and money, the fort was found so ill constructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had assembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprise. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them: and having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament.

The great expence of these two wars maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land †: the spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: by one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free

\* Beclair. *Memoires du Bellay*.

† Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eightpence a pound: those above ten pounds, a shilling.

chapels\*, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament.

The prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute †, in which they recognise the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: to him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, controul their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

The king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on pro-roguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: and that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowlege so much abounded, charity was daily going to decay ‡. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging peculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended.

\* A chantry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: free-chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

† 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

‡ Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lisle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foresaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the peace signed by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling\*, was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to save us *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: but Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his opposition against the Catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: the queen dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This

\* Herbert. Stowe.

nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits, of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person: "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them\*.

Cranmer himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The Catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reprov'd them in the severest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: but he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances †.

\* Coke's Inst. cap. 99. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vitâ Cranm.

But though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Askue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty\*, who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological sentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a seeming recantation; but she qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and she there employed herself in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the Lord's supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the Catholic church had required: but while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor Wriothesley, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the Catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: but she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors † add an extraordinary circumstance: that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: the chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lassels of the king's household, and John Adams a taylor, who had been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation the chancellor sent to inform them that their

\* Bale. Speed, 780.

† Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 209. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesley's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

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pardon

pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

Though the secrecy and fidelity of Ann Ascue saved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which she narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesely executed his commands; and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed: for as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecillity of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the husband to chuse principles for

for



CATHERINE PARR receiving the Articles of Impeachment

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for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuse principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweet-heart?" replied the king, "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: she even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence: she afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: he said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion\*.

But Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, burst out soon after to the destruction of a man who possessed a much superior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown. The duke himself had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprises: he had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the North: and he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. Fortune seemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the greatest elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780: Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

crown he had acquired an immense estate: the king had successively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: besides his descent from his ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III.: and as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded both abroad and at home, as the head of the Catholic party. But all these circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so potent a subject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request: he encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: he had made some successful attempts in poetry: and being smitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praises of his mistress, by his pen and his lance, in every masque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had sent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

Actuated by all these motives, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during this whole reign. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were *suspected* to be spies; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate;

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he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His duchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime than his once saying that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: but nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the House of Peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the Commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon\*. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the Commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious Commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviseable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

The king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his con-

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

dition; and as some persons during this reign had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death\*, every one was afraid lest in the transports of his fury he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demise; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister the French queen; then on Eleanor countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question †.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character

\* Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

† See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymcr, p. 110. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light: the treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: the emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: the extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection\*. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: and it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like eastern slaves they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expence.

With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes.

\* Strype, vol. i. p. 389.

Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters, (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light) served as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: he foretold that he should not long survive his friend\*: and he died in about two months after him.

There were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: but though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-seats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to term heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; insomuch that had they been strictly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute †, for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: by another ‡ it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious, would no doubt have been construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to anyone a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: if the person were silent, he was a traitor by law: if he answered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to say whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or

\* Le Thou. † 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. ‡ 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

commerce: nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the Catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: the privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon\*. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason†; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason‡: and it limited them in other particulars§. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow||: butts were ordered to be erected in every parish\*: and every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wick for the service of the common people†. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited‡. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberds with them, by which they were enabled upon occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy§. Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called||. The martial spirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men\*. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first†, Boulogne after-

\* 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1. † 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ‡ 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.  
 § 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14. || 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. \* Ibid. † Ibid. ‡ 3 Hen.  
 VIII. c. 13. § Herbert. || Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515. Hollinghed, p. 947.  
 \* Hall, fol. 235. Hollinghed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577. † Hall, fol. 68.



wards, served to increase the number. Every one who served abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees\*. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will †. The parliament was so little jealous of its privileges, (which indeed were at that time scarcely worth preserving) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the Lower House some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paltry court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament ‡. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: for as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which shews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign §. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession they plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say that the imposition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: they observe that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: they affirm, that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors for more than a century persevered in the like irregular practice: if a practice may deserve that epithet in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the same course, which had now received the sanction of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it; and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent this measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales without consent of parliament ¶. It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and

\* 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15.  
c. 8. § 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

† 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.  
‡ 34 Hen. VIII.

‡ 4 Hen. VIII.

England,

England, the limitation was abolished by the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: they told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual: and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them\*. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders†. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolfey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls

\* Hall, folio 174. † Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Beale and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them without farther punishment\*.

So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine †. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities ‡. He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread §. And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens ¶. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artisans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above\*; which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to two thousand a-year. He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally four hundred in a year: it appears that, in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

There is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign †, by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who

\* Stowe, 505. Hollingshed, 840. † Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232. ‡ 21 Hen. VIII. § Ibid. ¶ 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. \* 9 Hen. VIII. c. 15. † 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

by his office ought to keep affize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in wholesale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the affize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that "since the making of that statute and ordinance, many and the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance as at the time of making that statute: for at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain few others to bear the offices." Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly\*.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populoufness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted †: luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes ‡; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter §. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal ||. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed\*.

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued †; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay ‡. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in

\* Hall, folio 110. † 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ‡ 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. § 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. || 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3. \* 33 Hen. VIII. c. 14. † Strype, vol. i. p. 392. ‡ 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

one flock was restrained to two thousand\*. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure †. It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen-pence of our present money ‡. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants §; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: and the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general ¶. There remain still too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation \*.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern †. But Henry afterwards restored the

\* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. † Ibid. ‡ Anderson, vol. i. p. 374. § 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5. ¶ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24. \* 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. † Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the Catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the Protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge\*. Wolfey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican †. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge ‡. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

\* Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245. † Ibid. 249. ‡ Epist. ad Banifium. Also Epist. p. 368.



THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
R E I G N  
OF  
EDWARD THE SIXTH.

WRITTEN BY

DAVID HUME, Esq.

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# EDWARD VL

BY MR. HUME.

**T**HE late king, by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his life-time, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russell, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; sir William Paget, secretary of state; sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; sir John Gage, comptroller; sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; sir William Petre, secretary of state; sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwel, and sir Edmund Peckham\*. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head, who might represent

\* Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: and as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by chusing a protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors\*. This proposal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesely. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the direction of public business would of course devolve in a great measure upon himself. He opposed therefore the proposal of chusing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority which had established it. But he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers, who had been raised by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal which seemed calculated for preserving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority †. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleasure ‡: and it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown §.

The executors in their next measure showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue;

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5. † Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI. ‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 278. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Stryce's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. § Stryce's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.

and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution: and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promises\*. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of Baron †. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promises, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might

\* Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer. † Stowe's Annals, p. 594.



be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure\*.

The removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency: yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage; his ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: he reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever †. Even had this patent been more moderate in its concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: but as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of sense likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitances of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary

\* Hollingshed, p. 979.

† Buract, vol. ii. Records, No. 6.

administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

The extensive authority and imperious character of Henry had retained the partisans of both religions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes of the Protestants, and the fears of the Catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the Protestant innovations. He took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themselves in favour of those tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable\*. Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastics, they could never hope to succeed in that enterprise.

The numerous and burthenful superstitions, with which the Romish church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances were zealously proscribed by them as hindrances to their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making profelytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was

\* Goodwin's Annals. Heylin.

attended with consequences, which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitted only for the first fervours of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He seems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated.

The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely revered by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the Protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude\*. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind†. Above all, he insisted that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament‡.

But though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with any immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely in the present case be maintained with any

\* Fox, vol. ii. p. 712. † Ibid. p. 724. ‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.

plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England\*. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somers and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil †.

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentation, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: and all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the Catholic divines; while the Protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole concern is, to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature

\* Mem. Cranm. p. 116, 117, &c. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence; nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: they will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me: but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments\*." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

One of the chief objections urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification†." The meanest Protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

The same religious zeal which engaged Somers set to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the Protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the Protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply in-

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, Article GARDINER. † Fox, vol. ii.

interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: a policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision\*. The more difficult task for the legates was, to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates; who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the Protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburg from the Protestant confederacy: he took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: by the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: he employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe-conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were farther discouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, first of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their usual resources in every calamity †.

Henry II. who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less enflamed with rivalry and animosity against the emperor Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of ‡. He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in chusing rather to give immediate assistance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

The hatred between the two factions, the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had taken,

\* Father Paul, lib. 2. † Sleidan. ‡ Pere Daniel.

to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers; brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning: but these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old alone was the word of God. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: the infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission\*.

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man: and being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart.

\* Knox's Hist. of Ref. p. 44. Spotswood.

He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in opposition to true piety and religion\*.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: but finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villainy, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands: it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet †. This murder was

\* Spotswood, Buchanan.

† The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65. a man most gentle and most modest. It is very horrid, but at the same time somewhat amusing, to consider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian discovers in his narrative of this assassination: and it is remarkable, that in the first edition of his work, these words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvil*. But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himself had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the assassins, and assisted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's Hist. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.



executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animosities of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the most settled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigour, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to support the government, and supply the weakness of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her situation.

The protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, the other laden with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: he himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers; but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and to security: that the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: that fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy, either of honour or of interests, to which rival nations are naturally

naturally exposed: that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age the most suitable to each other: that the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a long and secure peace had established confidence between them: that the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors: that when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: that as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: that though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: and that besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded\*.

Somerſet ſoon perceived that theſe remonſtrances would have no influence; and that the queen-dowager's attachment to France and to the Catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himſelf, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to conſtrain the Scots by neceſſity to ſubmit to a meaſure, for which they ſeemed to have entertained the moſt incurable averſion. He paſſed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any reſiſtance for ſome days, except from ſome ſmall caſtles which he obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The protector intended to have puniſhed the governor and gariſon of one of theſe caſtles for their temerity in reſiſting ſuch unequal force: but they eluded his anger by aſking only a few hours reſpite, till they ſhould prepare themſelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy †.

The governor of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh came within fight of them at Faſide; and after a ſkirmiſh between the horſe, where the Scots were worſted, and lord Hume

\* Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42. † Haywood. Patten.

dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwick, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay opposite to him\*. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and passing the river Esk, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear; their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach: he placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

While the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: the eldest son of lord Graham was killed: the Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: when lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they

\* Hollingshed, p. 286.

stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay across their front, and disordered the movements of the English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him: the standard was near being taken: and had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger\*.

The protector, meanwhile, assisted by sir Ralph Sadler and sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with diligence and success in rallying the cavalry. Warwick showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: he made sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot arquebusiers, and sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish arquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ships galled them from the flank: the artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: the English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: and the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in good order, towards them. Dismayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: the retreat soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strowed with dead bodies. The priests above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill besitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

\* Patten. Hollingshed, p. 936.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties\*. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places; and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the shipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwic with full powers to negotiate: but no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

The protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: and being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by setting aside the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign†. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. †; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined: a circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

\* Hollingshed, p. 99a.

† Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

‡ 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

A repeal also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute\*. That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four and twentieth year of his age: he could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any past effects which had ensued from them †.

It was also enacted, That all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence should incur the penalty of a *premunire*; and for the third be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: some few appeared zealous for the reformation: others secretly harboured a strong propensity to the Catholic faith: but the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion ‡.

The convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament §. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they desired that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

The protector had assented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in issuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert this authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday ¶. These were ancient religious practices, now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe

\* 1 Edw. VI. c. 2. † Ibid. ‡ Heylin, p. 48. § Antiq. Britan. p. 339.  
 ¶ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

disposition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion\*.

An order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion †. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent ‡. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be said, that though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.

The people were at that time extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit §. By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shews and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: and the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages.

The greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a

\* Burnet, vol. ii.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60.

Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii.

§ Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

nation which had so far departed from all ancient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified by lord Grey: he also erected some fortifications at Lauder: and he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country.

Arran, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of six thousand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessè, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital\*: but on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessè with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington †. This was an undertaking for which they were by themselves totally unfit; and, even with the assistance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of success in starving the garrison. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade was formed, and the garrison was repulsed with loss in several sallies which they made upon the besiegers.

The hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland not being steady, regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had served only to irritate the nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to that union, which was courted in so violent a manner. Even those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular said pleasantly, that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing ‡. The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater security, should be sent to France, and be committed to the custody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate, allowed no resource in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their

\* Beaugé, Hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549, p. 6. † Hollingshed, p. 993.  
‡ Heylin, p. 46. Patten.



sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of Duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms\*. And as the clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French galleys lying in the Frith of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: an extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric †. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

Somerſet, preſſed by many difficulties at home, and deſpairing of ſucceſs in his enterpriſe againſt Scotland, was deſirous of compoſing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they inſiſted on his reſtoring all the places which he had taken, the propoſal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortiſſes of Hume and Faſtcaſtle by ſurpriſe, and put the gariſons to the ſword: they repulſed with loſs the Engliſh, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a deſcent, firſt in Fife, then at Montroſe: in the former action James Stuart, natural brother to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of Dun. An attempt was made by ſir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a conſiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt wholly cut in pieces ‡. And though a ſmall body of two hundred men eſcaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington, with ſome ammunition and proviſions, the gariſon was reduced to ſuch difficulties, that the protector found it neceſſary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand men, and adding three thouſand Germans, who on the diſſolution of the Proteſtant alliance had offered their ſervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury §. Deſſè raiſed the blockade on the approach of the Engliſh; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he poſted himſelf advantageouſly. Shrewsbury, who had loſt the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durſt not give him battle in his preſent ſituation; and contenting himſelf with

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.  
 † Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15. ‡ Stowe, p. 595. Hollinghed, p. 994. § Hayward, p. 291.

the advantage already gained, of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

Though the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had crept into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had risen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king: insomuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen the breach between the two brothers\*.

The first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created: and warned him, that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partisans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom hath been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not safely be lodged in any subject †. The young

\* Hayward, p. 901. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69.

† Haynes, p. 82. 90.

king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him; but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever sat in England\*. The council sent for him to answer for his conduct; but he refused to attend: they then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprise, and be construed as a design to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall some menaces of sending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

The mild and moderate temper of Somers set made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair †. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: he endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: he found means of holding a private correspondence with him: he openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that by enlisting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: by promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occasion, muster an army of 10,000 men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers ‡: he had already provided arms for their use;

\* Haynes, p. 75. † Ibid. p. 95, 96, 102, 108. ‡ Ibid. p. 105, 106.

and having engaged in his interests sir John Sharrington, a corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprised of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous counsels; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwick was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both.

Dudley earl of Warwick was the son of that Dudley minister to Henry VII. who having by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: and as he found that lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprising spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

When Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn

up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles\*; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: he boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired, that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt seems to have consisted in some unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the merchants.

But the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much solicitation, to give his consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partisans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: there were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a message was sent by the king, enjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce †. The bill passed in a full house.

\* Burnet, vol. ii. Col. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18. † 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it\*. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been enured; for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy: and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: they retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: they indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: and they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies †.

There was another material act which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiritual head, and less dependent on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children; yet was this institution much forwarded by the principles of superstition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chastity so frequent among the ancient fathers, long before

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99. † 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

the establishment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests, yet confess in the preamble, "That it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage, and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain." The inconveniencies which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular\*. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament passed, forbidding the use of flesh-meat during Lent and other times of abstinence †.

The principal tenets and practices of the Catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people †. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might in part be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary and, as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: and the Catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English Catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed in that age a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: but there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the Protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as

\* 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21. † 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19. ‡ Burnet, vol. ii. cap. 104.

so certain that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it, and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer\*. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: and in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh †." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles creed: these latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner, as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him; a species of

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181. † Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.



frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age\*.

These rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who using his interest with sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council †.

There is no abuse so great in civil society as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks always residing in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public riches, yet did it provide to many a relief from the extreme pressures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that as the friars were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman Catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under-value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often spent in the capital; and the farmers living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

These grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which of all mechanical employments requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: pasturage was

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181. † Heylin, p. 102.

found more profitable than unskilful tillage: whole estates were laid waste by inclosures: the tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: and a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom\*. This grievance was now of an old date; and sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

The general increase also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect beneficial to society, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion of their faculties.

It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued: the good specie was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures,

\* Strype, vol. ii. Repository Q.

highways, and cottages\*. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but fought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert: those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

The commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Stamford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made the insurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed †. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the hosts, which they covered with a canopy ‡. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit §, and

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171. † Hayward, p. 292. Hollinghed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. ‡ Heylin, p. 76. § Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior fort were put to death by martial law\*: the vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle †.

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Mousehold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the Oak of Reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where lord Sheffield was killed †. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: he therefore sent the earl of Warwick at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwick having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector §.

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no

\* Hayward, p. 295, 296. † Heylin, p. 76. Hollingshed, p. 1026. ‡ Stowe, p. 597. Hollingshed, p. 1030—34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174. § Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

supply to the garrison: the place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: and as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry VIII. had conquered from France. On other pretences he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions\*. He endeavoured to surprise Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris †. He left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; but they all proved unsuccessful.

Strozzi, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event ‡.

As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the Catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connections with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than

\* Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6. † Hayward, p. 300. ‡ Thuan. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597.

those of a king of France\*. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England †.

Somerſet, deſpairing of aſſiſtance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and beſides that he was not in a condition to maintain ſuch ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hoſtility. The Scots had ſent away their queen; and could not, if ever ſo much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: and as Henry VIII. had ſtipulated to reſtore Boulogne in 1554, it ſeemed a matter of ſmall moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he propoſed theſe reaſons to the council, he met with ſtrong oppoſition from his enemies, who ſeeing him unable to ſupport the war, were determined, for that very reaſon, to oppoſe all propoſals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an iſſue fatal to the authority of the protector.

After Somerſet obtained the patent, inveſting him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counſellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought in every thing to yield to his ſentiments. All thoſe who were not entirely devoted to him were ſure to be neglected; whoever oppoſed his will received marks of anger or contempt ‡; and while he ſhewed a reſolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any reſpect proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more ſubtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himſelf with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a ſtrong party, who were determined to free themſelves from the ſlavery impoſed on them by the protector.

The malcontent counſellors found the diſpoſition of the nation favourable to their deſigns. The nobility and gentry were in general diſpleaſed with the preference which Somerſet ſeemed to have given to the people; and as they aſcribed all the inſults to which they had been lately expoſed to his procraftination and to the countenance ſhown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the relief of the people §, and he interpoſed with the judges in their behalf; a meaſure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deſerve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a ſtretch of power, ſeemed the more impolitic, becauſe it diſguſted the nobles, the ſureſt ſupport of monarchical authority.

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132. 175. † Idem, p. 133. ‡ Strype, vol. ii. p. 181.  
§ Ibid. p. 182.

But though Somerset courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The Catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: the great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: not content with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away were buried in unconsecrated ground\*.

All these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them: the common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them †.

\* Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 308. † Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollinghed, p. 1057.

As soon as the protector heard of the defection of the counsellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No sooner was this despondency known, than lord Ruffel, sir John Baker speaker of the House of Commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwic, whom every one now regarded as master. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: they therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower\*, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him †; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was in some degree involved in the very idea of regal authority.

The Catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not

\* Stowe, p. 600. † Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollinghed, p. 1059.



to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprife. He took care very early to exprefs his intentions of fupporting the reformation; and he threw fuch discouragements on Southampton, who flood at the head of the Romanifts, and whom he confidered as a dangerous rival, that that high-fpirited nobleman retired from the council, and foon after died from vexation and difappointment. The other counfellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruffel was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, befides the office of chamberlain of the houfehold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the fee of London\*. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but compofed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerfet, and who derived their feat from an authority which was now declared ufurped and illegal. But fuch niceties were during that age little underftood, and ftill lefs regarded, in England.

A feflion of parliament was held; and as it was the ufual maxim of that afsembly to acquiefce in every adminiftration which was eftablifhed, the council dreaded no oppofition from that quarter, and had more reafon to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerfet had been prevailed on to confeff on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge againft him; and he imputed thefe mifdemeanors to his own rafhnefs, folly, and indifcretion, not to any malignity of intention †. He even fubfcribed this confeffion; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after fending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, paffed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thoufand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treafurer in his place, and Warwic earl marfhal. The profecution againft him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: he recovered his liberty: and Warwic, thinking that he was now fufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much leffened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own fon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerfet ‡.

During this feflion a fevere law was paffed againft riots §. It was enacted, That if any, to the number of twelve perfons, fhould meet together for any matter of ftate, and being required by a lawful magiftrate fhould not difperfe, it fhould be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclofures, without lawful authority, it fhould be felony: any attempt to kill a privy counfellor was fubjected to the fame penalty. The bifhops had

\* Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226. † Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603. ‡ Hayward, p. 309. § 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the discipline of the church: from which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: but others thought, that such an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament for the present contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons\*. The king did not live to affix the royal sanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder †. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent, that he had become a very honest man.

When Warwic and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: but he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: the English stipulated to restore Lauder

\* 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. † Ibid. c. 13.

and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth\*. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully settled †: but this project never took effect.

The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the Protestants, was nowise acceptable to that party in England: but in all other respects the council was steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their fees during the king's pleasure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any colour of law or justice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were now sent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find some grounds for depriving him; he professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or desired ‡. A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement; he was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common-prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the law of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to set his hand to all the articles except the first: he maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive;

\* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, p. 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211.

† Hayward, p. 218. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 292. ‡ Heylin, p. 99.

and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed\*:

The council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also insisted on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they demanded a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: but Gardiner, who saw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: he still maintained his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: sentence was pronounced against him: he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: his books and papers were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages †.

Gardiner, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: but the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers ‡.

These plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to sir Anthony Aucher §. Many of these books were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99. † Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & seq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier. ‡ Goodwin de Prælat. Angl. Heylin, p. 100. § Collier, vol. ii. p. 307. from the council books.

was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: those of literature were condemned as useless: those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy\*. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: they were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his associates.

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during some time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison †; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories ‡. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: she only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: and as for Protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented §. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her; but though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to comply, they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass and other Popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: and when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

The great object, at this time, of antipathy among the Protestant sects was popery, or, more properly speaking, the Papists. These they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment

\* Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272. † Strype, vol. ii. p. 249.  
 ‡ Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet. § Hayward, p. 315.

to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partisans by fire and sword: they had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of such furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the whole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the Catholics, settled during some time at Ermden in East Friesland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies\*.

These differences among the Protestants were matter of triumph to the Catholics; who insisted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they lost all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of Protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revival, and some rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted †. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous soever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who presumes to maintain that any Pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition ‡.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts: they even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the

\* Mem. Cranm. p. 234. † Ibid. p. 289. ‡ Article xviii.

inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to seek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburg, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this, opulent company: but when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom\*.

About the same time, a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he sent other merchandise, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger †. The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint to work: good specie was coined; and much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled: a circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

But all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convulsions, arising from the ambition of Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained partisans, who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested

\* Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Stryc's Mem. vol. ii. p. 395. † Heylin, p. 109.

in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partisans, as steps only to farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, and even lessened in the public opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: he sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: they revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested\*: and Northumberland, thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

In one night the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. Next day the duchess of Somerset, with her favourites Crane and his wife, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: but, what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the

\* Heylin, p. 112.



jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in laying a design to murder privy-counsellors.

We have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: but it appears that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had usually been employed in like cases. The witnesses were at least examined by the privy council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity), their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof seems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: the intention alone of assaulting the privy-counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: and when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: but their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony\*.

Care had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continual series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon†. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Ralph

\* Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingshed, p. 1067. † Hayward, p. 324, 325.

Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was on some pretence tried in the Star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour\*. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shewn to Somerset.

The day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorised; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship †. To use the mass had already been prohibited under severe penalties; so that the reformers, it appears, whatever scope they had given to their own private judgment, in disputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were resolved not to allow the same privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time equally unknown to all sects and parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate, was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A law was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money ‡. This act was the remains of ancient superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent §.

A bill was introduced by the ministry into the House of Lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public security, or even to their own true interest, that they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice ||. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, That whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the 35th of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a *premunire*; for the third, should be attainted for treason. But if any should unadvisedly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor\*. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, profaneness, blas-

\* Stowe, p. 608. † 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. ‡ Ibid. c. 20. § Hayward, p. 318.  
 ¶ Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 195. \* 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

phemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime so severely punished by the statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treasons sent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

The House of Peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the Upper House, framed a new act to the same purpose. By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers intrusted to the prelates, seem as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers\*.

There was another occasion in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays †. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: the general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: many clergymen about this time were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or taylors, and some kept ale-houses ‡. The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tunstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained

\* 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.    † Ibid. cap. 3.    ‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 209.

the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the House of Peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partisans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the Upper House. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which had sitten during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one.

Northumberland, in order to ensure to himself a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend within their jurisdiction men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire; that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel \*." Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, sir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; sir William Fitzwilliams and sir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; sir William Drury and sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of *congé d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counsellors, we may fairly presume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

\* Sturpe's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.

It is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only person that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonstal had in the interval been deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant.

The commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: they granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion\*."

The debts of the crown were at this time considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's use †: yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds ‡; and great dilapidations were at the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince shewed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: but as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

That nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were the king's sisters by the half-blood only; and even if they

\* 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12.

† Heylin, p. 95, 131.

‡ Strype's Ecclesiastical Me-

morials, vol. ii. p. 341.

were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and successors: that the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the Protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: that, fortunately for England; the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: that when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: and that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the Protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a Catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him that he could not exclude the one sister on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk, by a second venter, having died this season of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon\*. These marriages were solemnised with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

\* Heylin, p. 199. Stowe, p. 609.

H

Edward

Edward had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected that he had there over-heated himself in exercise: he was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that as the season advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: he pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: and by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, sir John Baker and sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the Attorney and Solicitor-general, were summoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving sanction to the new settlement, and freeing its partisans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said, that he would

would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority\*.

The arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the difficulties. At last Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of sir James Hales, who, though a zealous Protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent: the intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king†. Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only signed as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk: for the duchess herself was content to give place to her daughters.

After this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

All the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope,

\* Fuller, book viii. p. 2. † Cranm. Mem. p. 295:

joined



joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution: but as the bigotry of Protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of Catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

END OF THE HISTORY OF EDWARD VI.





















