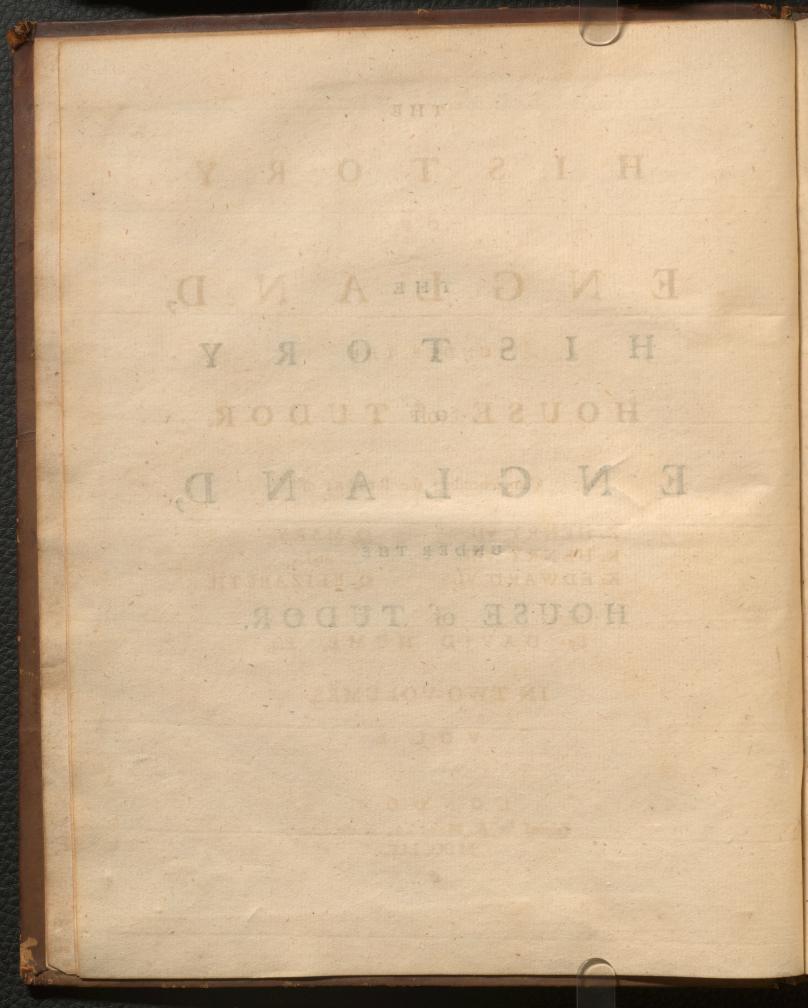


# HISTORY of ENGLAND,

THE

UNDER THE

HOUSE of TUDOR.



### THE

# HISTORY

### OF

# ENGLAND,

### UNDER THE

# HOUSE of TUDOR.

Comprehending the REIGNS of

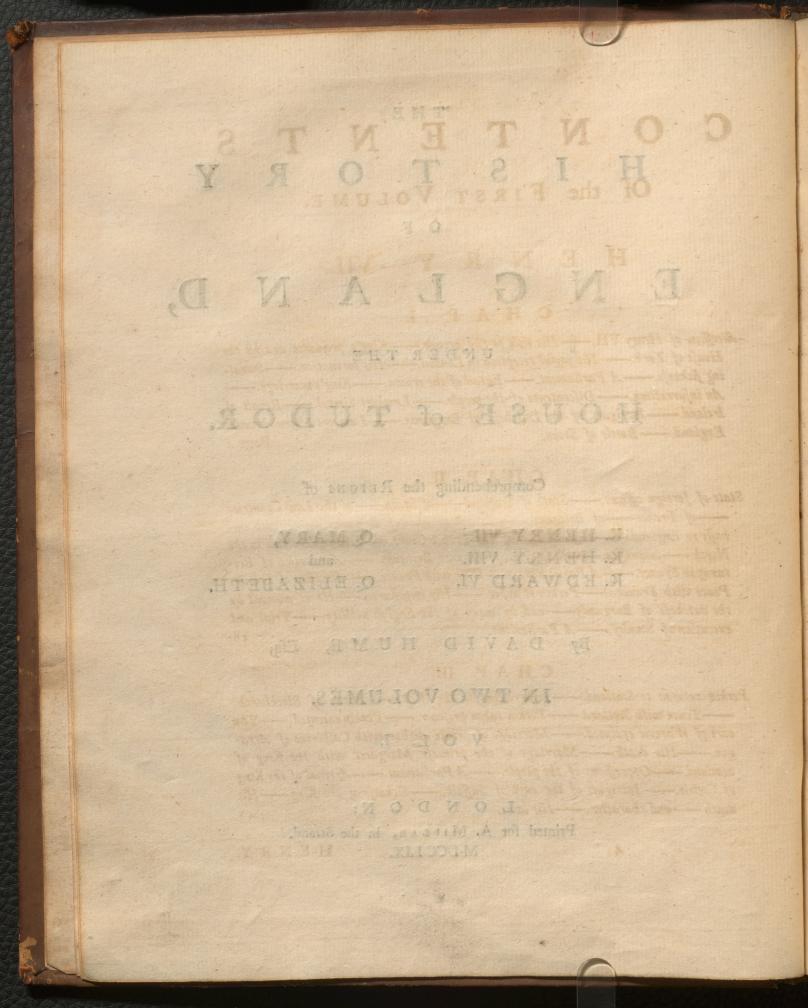
K. HENRY VII. K. HENRY VIII. K. EDWARD VI. Q. MARY, and Q. ELIZABETH.

By DAVID HUME, Efq;

### IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N: Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand. MDCCLIX.



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#### HENRY VII.

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HE victory, which the earl of Richmond gained at Bofworth over Richard the third, was entirely decifive; being attended, as well with August 22. the total rout and differion of the royal army, as with the death of the King himfelf. The joy of fo great fuccels fuddenly prompted the foldiers, in the field of battle, to beftow on their victorious general the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto assumed; and the acclamations of Long live Henry the Accession of seventh, by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quar. Henry VII. ters. To beflow fome appearance of formality on this species of military election, Sir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in-battle, R

1485.

and

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and which had been found among the spoils; and he put it on the head of the conqueror. Henry himself remained not in fuspense; but immediately, without \* hefitation, accepted of the magnificent prefent, which was tendered him. He was come to the great crifis of his fortune; and being obliged fuddenly to determine himfelf, amidst great difficulties, which he must have frequently revolved in his mind, he chofe that party, which his ambition fuggefted to him, and to which he feemed to be conducted by his prefent profperous fuccefs.

crown.

His title to the THERE were many titles, on which Henry could found his right to the throne; but no one of them free from great objections, if confidered, either with respect to justice or to policy.

DURING fome years, Henry had been regarded as heir to the house of Lancaster, by the party attached to that family ; but the title of the houfe of Lancaster itfelf to the crown was generally efteemed to be very ill founded. Henry the fourth, who had first raised that family to royal dignity, had never clearly determined the foundation of his claim; and while he plainly invaded the order of fucceffion, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The Parliament had indeed often recognized the title of the Lancastrian princes; but these votes. had little authority, being confidered as inftances of prudent complaifance towards a family in poffeffion of prefent power: And they had accordingly been often reverfed during the late prevalence of the house of York. Prudent men also, who had been willing, for the fake of peace, to fubmit to any established authority, defired not to fee the claims of a family revived, which must produce many convulfions at prefent, and which disjointed for the future the whole fyftem of hereditary right. Befides; allowing the title of the house of Lancaster to be legal, Henry himfelf was not the true heir of that family ; and nothing but the obflinacy of faction, which never, without the utmost reluctance, will fubmit to their antagonists, could have engaged the partizans of that house to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret, counters of Richmond, was fole daughter and heirefs of John duke of Somerfet, grandfon to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster: But the birth of the first of the Somerset line was itself illegitimate and even adulterous. And tho' the duke of Lancaster had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent of Richard the fecond, confirmed in Parliament; it might juftly be doubted, whether this Deed could beflow any title to the Crown; fince in the patent itfelf all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the fucceffion to the kingdom, by being omitted, is thereby tacitly excluded. In all the fettlements of the crown, made during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerfet had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch, that men had paid any attention to their claim. And to add to the general diffatisfaction against Henry's Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was still alive; and evidently preceded him in the order of fuccession.

THE title of the house of York, both from the plain reason of the case, and from the late popular government of Edward the fourth, had obtained univerfally the preference in the fentiments of the people; and Henry might engraft his claim on the right of that family, by his intended marriage with the princefs Elizabeth, the heirefs of it; a marriage, which he had folemnly promifed to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his past fucceffes. But many reafons diffwaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in right of his fpoufe, his power, he knew, would be very limited; and he must expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a species of courtefy, than poffers the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princers die before him without islue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in fucceffion : And even, if his bed should be bleft with offspring, it feemed dangerous to expect, that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining prefent possession of regal power. An act of Parliament, indeed, might be eafily procured to fettle the crown on him during his life, but Henry knew how much fuperior the claim of fucceffion by blood was to the votes of an affembly \*, which had always been overborne by violence in the shock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times, than by any confiderations derived from reafon or public intereft.

THERE was yet a third foundation, on which Henry might reft his claim, the right of conqueft, by his victory over Richard, the prefent poffeffor of the crown. But befides that Richard himfelf was deemed no better than an ufurper, the a my, which fought against him, confisted chiefly of Englishmen; and a right of conqueft over England could never be established by fuch a victory. Nothing also would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be construed as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the establishment of despotic authority in the fovereign  $\ddagger$ . William himfelf, the Norman, tho' at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at first declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full establishment of his authority that he had ventured to advance fo violent and deftructive a pretension.

But Henry knew, that there was another foundation of authority, fomewhat refembling the right of conqueft, to wit, prefent possibling in and that this title, guarded by vigour and ability, would be sufficient to fecure perpetual possibling of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry the sourth; who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many infurrections, and had at last

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\* Bacon in Kennet's compleat Hiftory, p. 579.

† Bacon, p. 579.

been

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Chap. I. been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He was fensible, that this title, which had been perpetuated thro' three fucceflions of the family of Lancaster, might still have subfisted, notwithstanding the preferable claim of the house of York; had not the scepter devolved into the hands of Henry the fixth, which were too feeble to fuftain it. Inftructed by thefe recent experiences, Henry was determined to put himfelf in prefent poffeffion of regal authority; and to show all oppofers, that nothing but force of arms and a fuccefsful war would be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the houfe of Lancaster he was refolved to advance; and never allow it to be difcuffed : And he hoped that this title, favoured by the partizans of that family, and feconded by prefent power, would fecure him a perpetual and an independant authority.

THESE views of Henry are not exposed to much blame; because founded on good policy, and even on a fpecies of neceffity: But there entered into all his measures and councils another motive, which admits not of the fame apology. King's preju- The violent contentions, which, during fo long a period, had been maintained between the rival families of York and Lancaster, and the many fanguinary revenges which they had mutually exercised on each other, had inflamed the oppofite factions into a high pitch of animofity. Henry himfelf, who had feen most of his near friends and relations perish in the field or on the fcaffold, and who had been exposed in his own perfon to many hardships and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy to the York party, which no time nor experience were ever able to efface. Inftead of embracing the prefent happy opportunity of abolifhing thefe fatal diffinctions, of uniting his title with that of his fpouse, and of bestowing favour indifferently on the friends of both families; he carried into the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the passions, which are carefully guarded against by every true politician in that fituation. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the retainers of the house of York, were still the favourite objects of his pursuit; and thro' the whole course of his reign, he never forgot these early preposseffions. Incapable from his natural temper of a more enlarged and more benevolent fystem of policy, he exposed himfelf to many prefent inconveniencies, by too anxioufly guarding against that future possible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princes, whom he efpoused. And while he treated the Yorkifts as enemies, he foon rendered them fuch, and taught them to discuss that right to the crown, which he fo carefully kept feparate; and to perceive its weaknefs and invalidity.

To these paffions of Henry, as well as to his fuspicious politics, we are to ascribe the measure, which he embraced two days after the battle of Bosworth. Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwic, fon to the unfortunate duke of Clarence, was detained in a species of confinement at Sherif-Hutton in Yorkshire by the jealoufy

dice against the houfe of York.

jealouly of his uncle, Richard; whose title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwic had now reason to expect better treatment, as he was no obstacle to the succession either of Henry or El zabeth; and from a boy of fuch tender years no danger could reafonably be apprehended. But Sir Robert Willoughby was dispatched by Henry with orders to take him from Sherif-Hutton, to convey him to the Tower, and to retain him in close cuftody \*. The fame meffenger carried directions, that the prince's Elizabeth, who had been confined to the fame place, fhould be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her efpoulals.

HENRY himfelf fet out for the capital, and advanced by flow journies. Not to roufe the jealoufy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and fo to reftrain the infolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an eftablished monarch, making a peaceable progrefs thro' his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened a way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where His joyful reloud, and no lefs fincere and hearty. Befides the favour, naturally attending a ception in young and victorious prince on his acceffion, the nation promifed themfelves London, great felicity from the new fcene, which opened before them. During the courfe of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid wafte by domeftic wars and convultions; and if at any time the noife of arms had ceafed, the found of faction and difcontent fill threatened new diforders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, feemed to enfure an union of the contending titles of their families; and having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjointed the fucceffion even of the house of York, and filled his own family with blood, an unfeigned favour was observed every where to attend him. Numerous and splendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progrefs. The mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city: The crouds of people and citizens were zealous in their expressions of fatisfaction. But Henry, amidst thefe general effusions of joy, difcovered still the statelines and referve of his temper, which made him fcorn to court popularity: He entered London in a clofe chariot, and gratified not the people with the fight of their new monarch. He went first to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the standards, taken in the field of battle; and fung orifons for the victory, which he had there obtained. He departed thence to the bishop of London's palace, where lodgings were prepared for him.

But Henry did not fo much neglect the favour of the people, as to delay giving them affurance of his marriage with the prince's Elizabeth, which he knew

\* Bacon, p. 579. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.

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knew to be fo paffionately defired by the whole nation. On his leaving Britanny, he had artificially dropt fome hopes, that, if he fhould fucceed in his enterprize, and obtain the crown of England, he would espouse Anne, the heirefs of that dutchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begot anxiety in the people, and even in the princefs Elizabeth herfelf. Henry took care to diffipate these apprehensions, by folemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promife, which he had already given, to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth. But tho' bound by honour, as well as intereft, to compleat this alliance, he was refolved to postpone it, till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognized by the Parliament. Anxious still to support his perfonal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded left a preceding marriage with the princefs fhould imply a participation of fovereignty in her, and raife doubts of his own title by the houfe of Lancaster. THERE raged at that time in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a species

nefs.

His corona-

tion.

30th of October.

Sweatingfick- of Malady, unknown to any other age or nation, the Sweating fickness, which occasioned a fudden death to great multitudes; the' it was not propagated by any contagious infection, but arole from the general difpolition of the air and of the human body. In lefs than twenty-four hours the patient commonly died or recovered ; but when the peftilence had committed ravages for a few weeks, it was obferved, cither from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen, which was difcovered, to be confiderably abated \*. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the fplendor of that appearance, he beftowed the rank of knights banneret on twelve perfons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jasper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, he created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in law, earl of Darby; and Edward Courteney, earl of Devon hire. At the coronation likewife there appeared a new institution, which the king had established for fecurity as well as pomp, a band of fifty archers, who were denominated yeomen of the guard. But left the people should take umbrage at this unufual symptom of jealousy in the prince, as if it implied a perfonal diffidence of his fubjects, he declared the inftitution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury.

7th of Nowember.

THE Parliament being affembled at Weftminster, the majority immediately appeared to be devoted partizans of Henry; all perfons of another difpolition, A Parliament either declining to ftand in these dangerous times, or being obliged to diffemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancastrian party had every where been fuccessful

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 567.

### HENRY VII.

fuccefsful in the elections; and even many of them had been returned knights and burgeffes, who, during the prevalence of the houfe of York, had been exposed to the rigour of the law, and been condemned by fentence of attainder or outlawry. Their right to take feats in the houfe being queffioned, the cafe was referred to all the judges, who affembled in the Exchequer Chamber, in order to deliberate on fo delicate a fubject. The fentence pronounced was very prudent, and contained a juft temperament between law and expediency \*. They determined, that the members attainted fhould forbear taking their feats till an act were paffed for the reverfal of their attainder. There was no difficulty of obtaining this act; and in it were comprehended an hundred and feven perfons of the King's party +!

But a difficulty was flarted of a nature flill more important. The King himfelf had been attainted; and his right of fucceffion to the crown might thence be exposed to fome doubt. The judges extricated themfelves from this dangerous queftion, by a fingular position, which they effablished; "That the crown "takes away all defects and ftops in Blood; and that from the time the King "affumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and cor-"ruptions of blood dicharged ‡." Befides the urgent neceffity of the cafe, which admitted of no deliberation; the judges probably thought, that no fentence of a court of judicature ought to bar the right of fucceffion; that the jealoufy of a King towards his heir might readily occasion firetches of law and juftice agains thim; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjustifiable measures during his predeceffor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birth-right.

WITH a Parliament fo obfequious as the prefent, the King could not fail to obtain whatever act of fettlement he was pleafed to require. He feems only to have entertained fome doubts within himfelf on what title he fhould found his pretenfions. In his firft addrefs to the Parliament he mentioned his juft title by hereditary right : But left that title fhould not be effecemed fufficient, he fubjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies in the field of battle. And again, left this pretenfion fhould be interpreted as affuming a right of conqueft, he enfured his fubjects in the entire enjoyment of their former properties and poffeffions.

THE entail of the crown was drawn, according to the fenfe of the King, and Entail of the probably in the words, dictated by himfelf. He made no mention in it of the crown. princess Elizabeth, nor any branch of the family of York; but in other respects the act was composed with sufficient referve and moderation. He did not infift, that it should contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; as on

the

\* Bacon, p. 581. + Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. n. 2, 3, 4. -- 15, 17, 26-65. ‡ Bacon, p. 581.

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the other hand, he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. He chofe a middle courfe, which, as is commonly unavoidable in fuch cafes, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obfcurity. It was voted, "That the inheri-"tance of the crown fhould reft, remain, and abide in the King \*;" but whether as rightful heir, or only as prefent poffeffor, was not determined. In like manner, the King was contented that the fucceffion fhould be fecured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in cafe of their failure, to exclude the houfe of York, or give the preference to that of Lancafter: He left that great point ambiguous for the prefent; and trufted, that, if ever its determination fhould become requifite, future incidents would open the way for the decifion.

But after all these precautions, the King was so little fatisfied with his own title to the crown, that, in the following year, he applied to Rome for a confirmation of it; and as that court gladly laid hold of all opportunities, which the imprudence, weakness, or necessities of princes afford it to extend its authority, Innocent the eighth, the reigning pope, readily granted a bull, in whatever terms the King was pleased to defire. All Henry's titles, by fuccession, marriage, parliamentary choice, even conquest, are there enumerated; and to the whole the fanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the prefert possibility, no criminal, except in the article of death, can be absolved but by the pope himself, or his special commissioners. It is difficult to imagine, that the fecurity derived from this bull, could be a compensation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and to the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpose in these concerns.

It was natural, and even laudable in Henry to reverfe the attainders, which had paffed againft the partizans of the houfe of Lancafter: But the revenges, which he exercifed againft the retainers of the York family, to which he was fo foon to be allied, cannot be confidered in the fame light. Yet the Parliament, at his inftigation, paffed an act of attainder againft the late King himfelf, againft the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, vifcount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catefby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's fide in the battle of B fworth. How men could be guilty of treafon, by fupporting the King in poffeffion againft the earl of Richmond, who affumed not the title of King, it was not eafy to determine, and nothing but a fervile complaifance in the Parliament could have engaged them to make this ftretch of juffice. Nor was it a fmall mortification to the

\* Bacon, p. 581.

the people in general, to find, that the King, prompted either by avarice or refentment, could, in the very beginning of his reign, fo far violate the cordial union, which had been previously concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his acceffion to the throne.

THE King, having gained to many points of confequence from his Parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any fupply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeitures of Richard's adherents, feemed to render fomewhat fuperfluous. The Parliament, however, conferred on him 10th of Deduring life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the cember. fame manner by fome of his immediate predeceffors; and they added, before they broke up, other lucrative bills of no great moment. The King, on his part, made fome returns of grace and favour to his people. He published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all fuch as had taken arms, or formed any attempts against him; provided they submitted themselves to mercy by a certain day, and took the ufual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their fanctuaries, and the minds of men were every where much quieted. Henry chofe to take wholly to himfelf the merit of an act of grace, fo agreeable to the nation; rather than communicate it with the Parliament, (as was his first intention) by passing a bill to that purpose. The earl of Surrey, however, tho' he had fubmitted, and delivered himfelf into the King's hands, was fent prifoner to the tower.

DURING this parliament, the King also bestowed favours and honours on some particular perfons, who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldeft fon to the duke of Buckingham, forfeited in the late reign, was reftored to all the honours of his family, as well as to all its fortune, which was very ample. This generofity, fo unufual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had first concerted the plan of his fucceffion to the crown, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Britanny was created earl of Bath, Sir Giles Daubeny lord Daubeny, and Sir Robert Willoughby lord Broke. Thefe were all the titles of nobility, conferred by the King \*.

But the ministers, whom the King most trusted and favoured, were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton, and Richard Fox, two clergymen, perfons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he most confided his affairs and fecret councils. They had fhared with him all his former dangers and diftreffes; and he now forgot not to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 566.

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council; and Morton was created bishop of Ely, Fox of Exeter. The former foon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raifed to the fee of Canterbury. The latter was made lord privy feal; and fucceffively, bifhop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchefter. For Henry, as lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates, becaufe, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their fervices : And it was his maxim to raife them by flow fteps, and make them first pass thro' the inferior bishoprics \*. He probably expected, that as they were naturally more dependant on him than the nobility, who, during that age, enjoyed poffeffions and jurifdictions dangerous to royal authority; fo the profpect of fome farther elevation would render them still more active in his fervice, and more obfequious to his commands.

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King's marriage.

In prefenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the Parliament, anxious to 18th of Janu- preferve the true and undifputed fucceffion to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonstrations of the greatest earnestness, to espouse the princess Elizabeth; but they covered their real reafon under the dutiful pretence of their defire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earnest of fatisfying the minds of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London; and that with greater appearance of universal joy, than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much difpleasure this general favour which was borne the house of York. The suspicions, which arose from it, not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign ; but bred difgust towards his spouse herself, and poyfoned all his domeftic enjoyments. Tho' virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaifance from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his fullen mind, prevailed over all the fentiments of conjugal tendernefs.

THE King had been carried along with fuch a tide of fuccefs ever fince his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withftand the fortune, and authority which attended him. He now refolved to make a progrefs into the North, where the friends of the house of York, and even the partizans of Richard were most numerous; in hopes of curing, by his prefence and conversation, the prejudices of the malecontents. When he arrived at Nottingham, he heard that viscount Lovel, with Sir Humphry Stafford and Thomas, his brother, had withdrawn themfelves fecretly from their fanctuary at Colchefter : But this news appeared not to him of fuch importance as to ftop his journey ; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard, that the Staffords had levied an army in the county

An infurrection.

\* Bacon, p. 582. Bacon adds, that the King's reason for these gradual promotions, was in order to enjoy the more first fruits; not reflecting that these belonged not to the crown, till after the reformation.

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county of Worcefter, and were approaching to befiege that city: And that Lovel, at the head of an army of three or four thouland men, was marching to attack him in York. Henry was not difmayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of refources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy. Tho' he knew himfelf to be furrounded with enemies in these difaffected counties, he affembled a fmall body of troops, in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this hafty armament was more formidable by their fpirit and their zealous attachment to him, than by the arms or military ftores of which they were provided. He therefore gave B dford orders not to approach the enemy; but previoufly to try every proper expedient to diffipate them. Bedford published a general promife of pardon to the rebels, which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterprize, that exceeded his courage and capacity, was fo terrified with the fears of defertion among his troops, that he fuddenly withdrew himfelf, and, after lurking fome time in Lancashire, he made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutchefs of Burgundy. His army fubmitted to the King's clemency ; and the other infurgents, hearing of this fuccefs, raifed the fiege of Worcefter, and difperfed themfelves. The Staffords took fanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found, that that church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence: The eldeft Stafford was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he was milled by his brother, obtained his pardon \*.

HENRY's joy for this fuccefs was followed, fome time after, with the birth of <sub>20th</sub> of Sepa prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous tember. British King of that name, from whom, it was pretended, the family of Tudor derived their defcent.

THO' Henry had been able to diffipate that hafty rebellion, which was raifed Difcontents of by the relicts of Richard's partizans, his government was become in general very the people. unpopular: The fource of the public difcontent arofe chiefly from his prejudice against the house of York, which was universally beloved by the nation, and which, for that very reason, became every day more the object of his hatred and jealous. Not only a preference on all occasions, it was observed, was given to the Lancastrians; but many of the opposite party had been exposed to great feverity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general refumption likewife had passed of all grants made by the princes of the house of York; and tho' this rigour had been covered under the pretence, that the revenue

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 569.

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was become infufficient to fupport the crown, and tho' the liberalities, during the latter years of Henry the fixth, were refumed by the fame law, yet the Yorkparty, as they were the principal fufferers by the refumption, thought it chiefly levelled against them. The feverity, exercifed against the earl of Warwic, begot compaffion towards youth and innocence, exposed to fuch oppression; and his confinement in the tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like cataftrophe for him, and led them to make a comparison between Henry and that detefted tyrant. And when it was remarked, that the queen herfelf met with harsh treatment, and even after the birth of a fon, was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepoffeffions were then concluded to be abfolutely incurable, and men became equally obstinate in their difgust against his government. Nor was the manner and addrefs of the King calculated to cure thefe prejudices contracted against his administration; but had, in every thing, a tendency to promote fear, or at beft reverence, rather than good will and affection \*. And while the high idea, entertained of his policy and vigour, retained the nobility and men of character in obedience; the effects of his unpopular government foon appeared in the public, by incidents of a very extraordinary nature.

THERE lived in Oxford, one Richard Simon, a prieft, who poffeffed fome fubtlety, and still more boldness and temerity. This man had entertained the defign of disturbing Henry's government, by raifing up a pretender to his crown; Lambert Sim- and for that purpofe, he caft his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was fon of a baker, and who, being endowed with underftanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to perfonate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been fpread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, duke of York, fecond fon to Edward the fourth, had, by a fecret escape, faved himself from his uncle's cruelty, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be fo fondly cherished by the public : But hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwic had made his escape from the tower, and observing that this news was attended with no lefs general fatisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince +. Tho' the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was instructed to act; yet was it remarked, that he was better informed in circumstances relating to the royal family, and particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwic, than he could be fuppofed to have learned from one of Simon's condition : And it was thence conjectured, that perfons

\* Bacon, p. 583.

+ Polydore Virgil, p. 569, 570.

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perfons of higher rank, partizans of the houfe of York, had laid the plan of this confpiracy, and had conveyed proper inftructions to the actors. The queen dowager herfelf was exposed to great fufpicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might feem, that fhe had fecretly given her confent to this impofture. This woman was of a very reftlefs difpofition. That character of ambit on and intrigue, which fhe had betrayed during the reign of her hufband, had not abandoned her during the usurpation of Richard; and in her closet was first laid the plan of that great confederacy, which overturned the throne of the tyrant, and raifed the earl of Richmond to royal dignity. Finding, that, inftead of receiving the reward of these fervices, she herfelf was fallen to absolute infignificance, her daughter treated with feverity, and all her friends brought under fubjection, the had conceived the most violent animofity against Henry, and had refolved to make him feel the effects of her refentment. The impoftor, the knew, however fucces ful, it would be easy at last to set aside; and if a way could be found at his rifque to fubvert the King's government, fhe hoped that a fcene would be opened, which, tho' difficult at prefent exactly to forefee, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole lefs irkfome to her than that flavery and contempt, to which fhe was reduced \*.

But whatever care Simon might take to convey inftruction to his pupil, Simnel, he knew, that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; and he was therefore determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. That island, which was zealoufly attached to the houfe of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwic's father, who had been their lieutenant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the fame condition, in which he found it; and all the councellors and officers, who had been appointed by his predeceffor, still retained their authority. No fooner did Simnel prefent himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection, as the unfortunate Warwic, than that credulous nobleman, not fufpecting fo bold a fiction, lent attention to him, and began to confult fome perfons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. These he found even more fanguine in their zeal and belief than himfelf: And in proportion as the flory diffufed itfelf among those of lower condition, it became the object of ftill higher paffion and credulity; till the people in Dublin with one confent tendered their allegiance to Simnel as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty, which flattered their natural propenfion, they overlooked the daughters of Edward the fourth, who ftood before Warwic Revolt of Irein the order of Succession; they payed the pretended prince attendance as their land. lovereign, lodged himin the caffle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the virgin, and publicly proclaimed him King, under the ap-

pellation:

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 570, 7

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pellation of Edward the fixth. The whole island followed the example of the capital; and not a fword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

WHEN this intelligence was conveyed to Henry, it reduced him to fome perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in perfon, he yet fcrupled at prefent to leave England, where he fuspected the conspiracy was first framed, and where, he knew, many perfons of condition, and the people in general were much difposed to lend it countenance. In order to difcover the fecret fource of the contrivance, and take measures against this open revolt, he held frequent confultations with his ministers and counfellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority, and the fuppreffion of his enemies.

THE first event, which followed these deliberations, gave great surprize to the public: It was the feizure of the queen dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her perfon to the nunnery of Bermondefey. So arbitrary and violent an act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alledged, that, notwithstanding the fecret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yet yielded to the follicitations and menaces of Richard, and delivered that princess and her fisters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become obfolete, and might admit of many alleviations, was therefore fuspected not to be the real cause of the feverity, with which fhe was treated; and men believed, that the King, unwilling to accufe fo near a relation of a confpiracy against him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under the pretext of an offence, known to the whole world \*. They were afterwards the more confirmed in this fufpicion, when they found, that the unfortunate queen, tho' fhe furvived this difgrace feveral years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, folitude, and confinement. This woman had been raifed to the throne from a very private flation; poffeffed great authority during her hufband's life time; fell afterwards into the deepeft diftrefs; faw the murder of all her male children; had again the fatisfaction of contributing to the exaltation of her daughter; an event which immediately involved her in vexation, and foon after in milery : And on the whole, the furnishes ample materials for reflections on the inftability of fortune; reflections, which hiftory, as it relates the adventures of the great, does more frequently fuggest than even the incidents of common life.

THE next measure of the King was of a less exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwic should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the ftreets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the eyes of the

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\* Bacon, p. 583. Polydore Virgil, p. 571.

the whole people. He even gave directions, that fome perfons of condition, who were attached to the house of York, and were best acquainted with the person of this prince, fhould approach him and converse with him : And he trufted, that thefe, being convinced of the abfurd imposture of Simnel, would put a ftop to the credulity of the people. The expedient had its effect in England : But in Ireland the people fill perfifted in their revolt, and zealoufly retorted on the King the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shown a counterfeit. Warwic to the people.

HENRY had foon reafon to apprehend, that the defign against him was not laid on fuch flight foundations as the abfurdity of the contrivance feemed to promife. John earl of Lincoln, fon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest fister to Edward the fourth, was engaged to take part in the confpiracy. This nobleman, who poffeft capacity and courage, had entertained very afpiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle, Richard, who had formed a defign, in cafe himfelf fhould die without iffue, of declaring Lincoln fucceffor to the crown. The King's jealoufy against all eminent perfons of the York-party, and his sigour towards Warwic, had farther ftruck Lincoln with apprehenfions, and made him refolve to feek for fafety in the most dangerous councils. Having fixed a fecret correspondence with fir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in Lancashire, he set out for Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he joined the court of his aunt, the dutchess of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

MARGARET, widow of Charles the bold, duke of Burgundy, having born no Intrigues of children to her husband, attached herself with an entire friendship to her daughter- the dutches in-law, married to Maximilian, archduke of Auftria; and after the death of that of Burgundyprincess, she perfevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret, her children, and occupied herfelf in their education and in the care of their perfons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour, fhe had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as œconomy, upon that ample dowry, which she inherited from her husband. The refentments of this princes were no less warm than her friendships; and that spirit of faction, which it is fo difficult for a focial and fanguine temper to guard against, had taken strong poffeffion of her heart, and entrenched fomewhat on the probity, which shone forth in other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealoufy, entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all its partizans; she was moved with the higheft indignation, and determined to make him repent of that enmity, which he feemed fo wantonly to court. After confulting with Lincoln and

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nel invades England.

and Lovel, fhe hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the consmand of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer \*; and fent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance, given by perfons of fuch high condition, and the acceffion of this military force, raifed extremely the courage of the Irifh, and made them entertain the refolution of invading England, where they believed the fpirit of difaffection to prevail as much as it had appeared to do in Ireland. The poverty alfo, under which they Lambert Sim- laboured, made it impossible for them to maintain any longer their new court and army, and infpired them with a ftrong defire of enriching themfelves by plunder and preferment in England.

HENRY was not ignorant of these intentions of his enemies; and he prepared himfelf for refiftance. He ordered troops to be mustered in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford. He confined from jealoufy the marquis of Dorfet, who was brother to the queen regent; and who, he fuspected, would revenge the injuries suffered by his fifter. And to allure the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walfingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for fuccess and for deliverance from his enemies.

BEING informed that Simnel and his forces were landed at Foudrey in Lancathire, he drew together his own troops, and advanced towards them as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes, that the difaffected counties in the North would rife in their favour : But the people, averse to join Irish and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's imposture, and kept in awe by the King's reputation for fuccefs and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave all affiftance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in speedy victory, was determined to bring the matter to a decifion; and the King, supported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great acceffion of volunteers, which had joined him, under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The opposite armies met at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle, which was more bloody and more obstinately difputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were refolved to conquer or to die, and they infpired their troops with a like refolution. The Germans alfo, being veteran and experienced foldiers, kept the victory long doubtful; and even the Irifh, tho' ill-armed and almost defenceles, showed themselves not defective in spirit and bravery. The King's victory was purchased with

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 572, 573.

6th of June. Battle of Stoke.

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with lofs, but was entirely decifive. Lincoln, Broughton and Swart perished in the field of battle, with four thousand of their troops. Lovel, never having been heard of more, was believed to have undergone the fame fate. Simnel with his tutor, Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to clofe cuftody : Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehension or refentment in Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the King's kitchen; whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer \*.

HENRY had now leifure to revenge himfelf of his enemies. He took a progress into the northern parts, where he made the people fully fensible of the rigours of his juffice. A ftrict inquiry was made after those who had affisted or favoured the rebels. The punishments were not all fanguinary. The King made his revenge fubservient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied from the delinquents. In giving fentence, the proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themfelves, were entirely arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commiffioners appointed for that purpole, or they fuffered punishment by fentence of a court martial. And as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the King's army was cut in pieces, and that the King himfelf had efcaped by flight, Henry was refolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of difaffection; and he punished many for that pretended crime. But fuch, in this age, was the fituation of the English government, that the royal prerogative, which was but little restrained during the most peaceable periods, was fure, in tumultuous, or even fuspicious times, which frequently occurred, to break all bounds of law and order.

AFTER the King had fatisfied his rigour by the punishment of his enemies, he refolved to give contentment to the people, in a point, which, tho' a mere ceremony, was very paffionately defired by them. The Queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great difcontent to the public, and had been one principal fource of the difaffection which prevailed. The King, inftructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation; and to fhew a ftill more gracious difposition, he z5th of Nogave liberty to her uncle, the marquifs of Dorfet, who had been able to clear himfelf of all the crimes of which he was accufed.

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\* Bacon, p. 586. Pol. Virg. p. 574.

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### CHAP. II.

State of foreign affairs.—State of Scotland—of Spain—of the Low Countries—of France—of Britanny.—French invafion of Britanny.—French embaffy to England.—Diffimulation of the French Court.—An infurrection in the North—fuppreffed.—King fends forces into Britanny.—Annexation of Britanny to France. —A Parliament.—War with France.—Invafion of France. —Peace with France.—Perkin Warbec.—His impofture. —He is avowed by the dutchefs of Burgundy—and by many of the Englifh nobility.—Trial and execution of Stanley.—A Parliament.

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THE King acquired great reputation throughout all Europe by the profperous and vigorous conduct of his domeftic affairs; and as fome incidents, about this time, invited him to look abroad, and exert himfelf in behalf of his allies, it will be neceffary, in order to give a just account of his foreign measures, to explain the condition of the neighbouring kingdoms; beginning with Scotland, which lies most contiguous.

State of Scotland.

THE kingdom of Scotland had not as yet attained that ftate, which diftinguifhes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and inflitutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the fovereign, to maintain itfelf in order and tranquillity. James the third, who now filled the throne, was a man of little induftry and of a narrow genius; and tho' it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his minifters, he had never been able to make any choice, which could give contentment both to himfelf and to his people. When he beftowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found, that they exalted their own family to fuch a height, as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the ftate: When he conferred favour on any perfon of meaner birth, on whofe fubmiffion he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upftart minion, proceeded to the utmoft 8

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extremities against their fovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conquefts, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to fubjection; but as he was probably fenfible, that a warlike people, tho' they might be over-run by reason of their domestic divisions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather proposed the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and fent an embaffy to James for that purpofe. But the Scotch, who never defired a long peace with England, and who thought that their fecurity confifted in preferving themfelves conftantly in a warlike posture, would not agree to more than a feven years truce, which was accordingly concluded \*.

THE European flates on the continent were then hastening fast to that fituation, in which they have remained, without any material alterations, for near three centuries; and began to unite themfelves into one extensive fystem of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Christendom. Spain, which had hi-State of Spain. therto been almost entirely occupied within herfelf, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Castile, in the perfons of Ferdinand and Ifabella, who, being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterprizes the most advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conquest of Granada over the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy conclusion. And in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and fecurity were attained; and her princes, no longer held in fear by a domettic enemy fo dangerous, began to enter into all the transactions of Europe, and make a great figure in every war and negotiation.

MAXIMILIAN, King of the Romans, fon to the emperor Frederic, had, by Of the Low his marriage with the heirefs of the houfe of Burgundy, acquired an intereft in Countries. the low country provinces; and tho' the death of his fpouse had weakened his connexion with that territory, he fill pretended to the government as tutor to his fon Philip, and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and feveral of the provinces. But as Flanders and Hainault still refused to fubmit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars against those obstinate people, and never was able thoroughly to subdue their fpirit. That he might free himfelf from the opposition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis the eleventh, and had given his daughter, Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the Dauphin ; together with Artois, Franchecomté, and Charolois as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the defired effect. The dauphin fucceeded to the crown of France under the appel-

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\* Polyd. Virg. p. 575.

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State of

France.

lation of Charles the eighth; but Maximilian still found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the Court of France.

FRANCE, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty encrease in power and greatnefs; and had not other flates of Europe at the fame time received an accession of fo ce, it had been impossible to have retained her within her antient boundaries. Most of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy had been united to the crown; the English had been expelled from all their conquests; the authority of the prince had been raifed to fuch a condition as enabled him to maintain law and order; a confiderable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to fupport them. Lewis the eleventh indeed, from whom many of these advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his fon, in very early youth and ill educated, to fuftain the weight of the monarchy : But having entrufted the government to his daughter, Anne Lady of Beaujeu, a woman of spirit and capacity, the French power fuffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princefs formed the great project, which at last she happily effected, of uniting to the crown Britanny, the last and most independent fief of the monarchy.

Of Britanny. FRANCIS the fecond, duke of Britanny, was a good, but a weak prince, who, confcious of his own unfitnefs for government, had refigned himfelf entirely to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of very mean birth, more remarkable for his ability than for his virtue or integrity. The nobles of Britanny, difpleafed with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded to difaffection against their fovereign; and after many tumults and conspiracies, they at last united among themfelves, and in a violent manner, feized, tried, and put to death the obnoxious minister. Fearing the refentment of the prince for this invation of his authority, many of them retired to France; and others, for their protection and fafety, maintained a correspondence with that court. The French ministry, observing the great diffentions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading that dutchy; and fo much the more, that they could cover their ambition under the fpecious pretence of providing for domeftic fecurity.

LEWIS, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and prefumptive heir of the monarchy, had difputed the administration with the lady of Beaujeu; and tho' his pretensions had been rejected by the states, he still maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid schemes for subverting the authority of that princes. Finding his fchemes detected, he took arms, and fortified himfelf in Beaugenci; but as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to rife with him, he had been obliged to fubmit, and to receive whatever conditions the French ministry were pleased to impose upon him. Actuated however by his ambition, and even by his fears, he foon retired out of France, and took shelter with the duke

duke of Britanny, who was defirous of ftrengthening himfelf against the defigns of the lady of Beaujeu by the friendship and credit of the duke of Orleans. This prince alfo, obferving the alcendant which he foon acquired over the duke of Britanny, had engaged many of his partizans to join him at that court, and had formed the defign of aggrandizing himfelf by a marriage with Anne, the heirefs of that opulent dutchy.

THE barons of Britanny, who faw all favour engroffed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a stricter correspondence with France, and even invited the French King to make an invafion on their country. Defirous however to preferve its independancy, they had regulated the number of fuccours, which France was to fend, and had flipulated that no fortified place in Britanny should remain in the poffeffion of that monarchy. A vain precaution, where revolted fubjects treat with a power fo much fuperior ! The French invaded Britanny with forces French invathree times more numerous than those which they had promised to the barons; fion of Briand advancing into the heart of the country, laid fiege to Ploermel. To oppofe tanny. them, the duke raifed a numerous, but ill-disciplined army, which he put under the command of the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, difcontented with this choice, and jealous of their confederates, foon difbanded, and left their prince with too fmall a force to keep the field against his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but being hotly purfued by the French, who had made themfelves masters of Ploermel, he escaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having taken and garrifoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid close fiege to that city. The barons of Britanny, finding their country menaced with total subjection, began gradually to withdraw from the French army, and make peace with their fovereign.

THIS defertion, however, of the Bretons difcouraged not the court of France from pursuing their favourite project of reducing Britanny to subjection. The fituation of Europe appeared very favourable to the execution of this defign. Maximilian was engaged in close alliance with the duke of Britanny, and was even in treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occafions fo neceffitous of money, and at that time fo difquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual affistance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conquest of Granada; and it was also known, that if France refigned to him Roufillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretenfions, fhe would at any time engage him to abandon the interefts of Britanny. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interefts, to fupport the independency of that dutchy; and the most dangerous opposition was therefore, by the French, expected from that quarter. In order to cover their real defigns, no fooner were they informed of

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of Henry's fuccefs against Simnel and his partizans, than they dispatched ambassadors to the court of London, and made professions of the utmost trust and confidence in that monarch.

French embaffy to England.

THE ambaffadors, after congratulating Henry on the late victory, and communicating to him in the most cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, fome fucceffes of their master against Maximilian, came in the progress of their difcourfe to mention the late transactions in Britanny. They told him that the duke of Britanny having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the King had been neceffitated, contrary to his intention and inclination, to carry war into that dutchy : That the honour of the crown was interested not to fuffer a vaffal fo far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the fecurity of the government of France less concerned to prevent the confequences of this dangerous temerity : That the fugitives were no mean nor obfcure perfons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, finding himself obnoxious to justice for treasonable practices in France, had fled into Britanny ; where he still perfevered in laying fchemes of rebellion against his fovereign: That the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defensive, it would immediately ceafe, when the duke of Britanny, by returning to his duty, fhould remove the causes of it : That their mafter was fensible of the obligations which that duke, in very critical times, had conferred on Henry; but it was known alfo, that, in times still more critical, he or his mercenary counfellors had deferted him, and put his life in the utmost hazard : That his fole refuge in fuch desperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his perfon, but fupplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England : That France, in this transaction, had, from friendship to Henry, acted contrary to what, in a narrow view, might be esteemed her own interest; fince, instead of an odious tyrant, fhe had contributed to eftablish on a rival throne a prince endowed with fuch virtue and ability : And that as both the juffice of the caufe and the obligations conferred on Henry thus preponderated on the fide of France, their mafter expected, that, if the fituation of Henry's affairs allowed him not to give affiftance to that kingdom, he would at least preferve a neutrality between the contending parties \*.

THIS difcourfe of the French ambaffadors was plaufible; and to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in confidence, their mafter's intent on, after he fhould have composed the differences with Britanny, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: A project, which,

\* Bacon, p. 589.

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which, they knew, would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all thefe artifices were in vain employed against the penetration of the King, He clearly faw, that France had entertained the view of fubduing Britanny ; but he also perceived, that she would meet with great, and, as he thought, infuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that dutchy, he knew, had always been confiderable, and had often, without any foreign affistance, refisted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them eafily abandon every enterprize, which required perfeverance; and as the heir of the crown was confederated with the duke of Britanny, the courtiers would be still more remiss in profecuting a scheme which must draw on them his refentment and displeasure. Should even these internal obstructions be removed, Maximilian, whofe enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addreffes to the heirefs of Britanny, would be able to make a diverfion on the fide of Flanders; nor could it be expected, that France, if fhe profecuted fuch ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Ifabella. Above all, he thought, the French court could never expect, that England, fo deeply interested to preferve the independancy of Britanny, fo able by her power and fituation to give effectual and prompt affiftance, would permit fuch an acceffion of force to be made to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the ministers of France, convinced of the impracticability of their fchemes, would at last embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterprize, fo obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

THIS reafoning of Henry was folid, and might very juftly engage him in dilatory and cautious measures: But there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the just bounds, because founded on a ruling paffion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averfe to all warlike enterprizes and diftant expeditions; and engaged him previoufly to try the expedient of negotiation. He difpatched Urfwic, his almoner, a man of address and ability, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties : An offer, which, he thought, if accepted by France, would foon lead to a composure of all differences; if refused or eluded, would at least discover the perfeverance of that court in their ambitious projects. Urfwic found the lady of Beaujeu, now dutchefs of Bourbon, engaged in the fiege of Nantz, and had the fatisfaction to find that his mafter's mediation was very readily embraced, and with many expressions of confidence and moderation. That able princess concluded, that the duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Bri-Diffimulation tanny, forfeeing that every accommodation must be made at his expence, would of the French use all his interest to have Henry's proposal rejected; and would by that means Court.

make

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Chap. II. 1488. make an effectual apology for the French measures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obstinacy and injustice. The event justified her prudence. When the English ambassador made the same applications to the duke of Britanny, he received for answer, in name of that Prince, that having so long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry, during his youth and adverfity, he had expected, from a monarch of fuch virtue, more effectual affistance, in his prefent diftreffes, than a barren offer of mediation, which fuspended not the progress of the French arms : That if Henry's gratitude was not fufficient to engage him in fuch a measure, his prudence, as King of England, should discover to him the pernicious consequences attending the conquest of Britanny, and its annexation to the crown of France: That that kingdom, already become too powerful, would be enabled, by fo great an accession of force, to difplay, to the ruin of England, that hoftile difpofition, which had always fubfilted between those rival nations: That Britanny, fo useful an ally, which, by its fituation, gave the English an entrance into the heart of France; being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled from its fituation to difturb, either by pyracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England : And that if the duke refused Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, which he experienced to be fo ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be fo much inferior to that of the enemy; but merely from a sense of his present necessity, which must engage the King to act the part of his confederate, not of a mediator.

WHEN this answer was reported to the King, he abandoned not the system of conduct which he had formed: He only concluded, that fome more time was requifite to quell the obftinacy of the Bratons and make them fubmit to reason. And when he learned, that the people of Britanny, anxious for their duke's fafety, had formed a tumultuary army of 60,000 men, and had obliged the French to raife the fiege of Nantz, he fortified himfelf the more in his opinion, that the court of France would at last be reduced, by multiplied obstacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Britanny to fubjection. He continued therefore the scheme of negotiation, and thereby exposed himself to be deceived by the artifices of the French ministry; who, still pretending pacific intentions, fent lord Bernard Daubigni, a Scotch man of quality, to London, and preffed Henry not to be difcouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Britanny. The King on his part difpatched another embaffy composed of Urfwic, the abbot of Abingdon and Sir Richard Tonstal, who carried new proposals for an amicable accommodation. No effectual fuccours, mean while, were provided for the diffreffed Bretons. The lord Woodville, brother to the queen dowager, a man

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man of courage and enterprize, having afked leave to raife underhand a body of volunteers and transport them into Britanny, met with a refusal from the King, who was defirous of preferving the appearance of a ftrict neutrality. That nobleman, however, still persisted in his intentions. He went over to the Isle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of 400 men; and having at last obtained, as is supposed, the fecret permission of Henry, failed with them to Britanny. This enterprize proved fatal to the leader, and brought fmall relief to the unhappy Duke. The Bretons rashly engaged in a general action with the 28th of July. French at St. Aubin, and were totally difcomfited. Woodville and all the English were put to the sword; together with a body of Bretons, who had been accouttered in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowefs of that nation was always formidable \*. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other perfons of rank were taken prifoners. And the military force of Britanny was totally diffipated. The death of the duke, which followed soon after, threw affairs into still greater oth Septemconfusion, and feemed to threaten the state with a final fubjection.

THO' the King prepared not against these events, so hurtful to the interest of England, with fufficient vigour and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined to observe a pacific conduct, as far as the situation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike disposition of his subjects, and observed, that their antient and inveterate animofity to France was now revived by the prospect of this great accession to its power and grandeur. He resolved therefore to make advantage of those humours, and to draw fome supplies of money from the people, under pretext of giving affiftance to the Duke of Britanny. He had fummoned a Parliament to meet at Westminster +; and he foon perfwaded them to grant him a confiderable fubfidy ‡. But this fupply, the' voted by Parliament, involved the King in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always difcontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppreffions, under which they had laboured, after the suppression of Simnel's rebellion, resisted the commissioners who were ap- An infurrecpointed to levy the new tax. The commissioners, terrified with this appear-tion in the ance of fedition, made application to the Earl of Northumberland, and defired of him advice and affiftance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to confult the King; who, unwilling to yield to the humours of a difcontented populace, and forefeeing the per-E nicious

\* Argentré Hift. de Bretagne, Liv. 12. + 9th November, 1487. 1 Polydore Virgil, p. 579, fays that this imposition was a capitation tax; the other historians fay it was a tax of two fhillings on the pound.

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nicious consequences of fuch a precedent, renewed his orders for a first levy of the imposition. Northumberland fummoned together the justices and chief freeholders, and delivered the King's commands in the most imperious terms, which, he thought, would inforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the advifer of those orders which he delivered to them +. They flew to arms, and attacked Northumberland's houfe, whom they put to death. Having incurred fuch deep guilt, their mutinous humour prompted them to declare against the King himself; and being instigated by one John Achamber, a seditious fellow of mean birth, they chose Sir John Egremond their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. Henry was not difmayed with an infurrection fo precipitant and ill fupported. He immediately levied a force which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had delivered from confinement, and reftored to his favour. His intention was to fend down these troops, in order to check the progress of the rebels; while he himfelf fhould follow with a greater body, which would abfolutely infure fuccefs. But Surrey thought himself ftrong enough to encounter a raw and unarmed multitude; and he fucceeded in the attempt. The rebels were diffipated ; John Achamber taken prifoner, and afterwards executed with fome of his accomplices; Sir John Egremond fled to the dutchefs of Burgundy, who gave him protection ; the greater number of the rebels received their pardon.

HENRY had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from the Parliament, that he would be able to terminate the affair of Britanny by negotiation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the imposition. But as the diffreffes of the Bretons still multiplied, and became every day more urgent; he found himfelf under the neceffity of taking fome meafures, in order to fupport them. On the death of the duke, the French had revived fome antiquated claims to the dominion of the dutchy; and as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretext for hostilities could no longer ferve as a cover to their ambition. The King refolved therefore to engage as auxiliary to Britanny; and to confult the interest, as well as defires of his people, by oppofing himfelf to the progrefs of the French power. Befides entering into a league with Maximilian, and an ther with Ferdinand, which were diftant refources, he levied a body of troops, to the number of 6000 men, with an intention of transporting them into Britanny. Still anxious, however, for the payment of his expences, he concluded a treaty with the young dutchefs, by which fhe was engaged to deliver into his hands two fea-port towns, there to remain till the fhould entirely refund the charges of the armament \*. Tho' he engaged for the

4 Bacon, p. 595.

\* Du Tillet, Recueil des Traitez.

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the fervice of thefe troops during the fpace of eight months only, yet was the Chap. II. dutchefs obliged, by the neceffity of her affairs, to fubmit to fuch rigid conditions, King fends imposed by an ally, fo much concerned in interest to protect her. The forces forces into arrived under the command of lord Willoughby of Broke; and made the Britanny. Bretons, during fome time, mafters of the field. The French retired into their garrions; and proposed by dilatory measures to waste the fire of the English, and difgust them with their enterprize. The scheme was well laid, and met with fuccefs. Lord Broke found fuch difcord and confusion in the councils of Britanny, that no meafures could be concerted for any undertaking; no fupply obtained; no provisions, carriages, arillery, or military stores procured. The whole court was rent into factions : No one minister had acquired the afcendant : And whatever project was formed by one, was fure to be traverled by another. The English, difconcerted in every enterprize, by these animofities and uncertain councils, returned home as foon as the time of their fervice was elapfed; leaving only a fmall garrifon in those towns which had been put into their hands. During their flay in Britanny, they had done nothing but contributed fill farther to wafte the country; and by their departure, they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the faccour, which Henry in this important conjuncture afforded his ally, whom the invafion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domeftic diffensions, had reduced to the utmost distrefs.

THE great object of diffention among the Bretons was the disposal of the young dutchefs in marriage. The marefchal Rieux feconded the fuit of the lord Albert, who led fome forces to her affiftance. The chancellor Montauban, obferving the averfion of the dutchefs to this fuitor, infifted, that a petty prince, fuch as Albert, was unable to support Anne in her prefent extremities; and he recommended fome more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian, King of the Romans. This party at last prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy; and the dutchefs thenceforth affumed the title of queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all fhe gained by her marriage. Maximilian, deflitute of troops and money, and embarraffed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could give no affiftance to his diffressed confort: While Albert, enraged at the preference given his rival, deferted her caufe, and received the French into Nantz, the most important place in the dutchy, both for ftrength and riches.

THE French court began now to change their scheme with regard to the subject on of Britanny. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian; who, tho' too young to confummate her marriage, had been

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Chap. II. fent to Paris to be educated, and bore at this time the title of queen of France. Befides the rich dowry, which fhe brought the King, fhe was, after her brother, Philip, then in early youth, heirefs to the whole dominions of the houfe of Burgundy; and feemed in many refpects the most proper match, which could be chofen for the young monarch. These circumstances had fo blinded the councils both of Maximilian and Henry, that they never fuspected any other intentions in the French court ; nor were able to difcover, that engagements, fo advantageous and fo folemnly entered into, could be infringed and fet afide. But Charles began to perceive, that the conquest of Britanny, in opposition to the natives, and to all the great powers in Chriftendom, would prove a very difficult enterprize; and that even, if he should over-run the country and make himself master of the fortresses, it would be impossible for him long to retain possession of them. The marriage alone of the dutchefs could fully re-annex that fief to the crown; and the prefent and certain enjoyment of fo confiderable a territory feemed preferable to the prospect of inheriting the dominions of the house of Burgundy; a prospect which became every day more distant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared deftructive to the grandeur and even fecurity of the French monarchy; while that prince fhould poffefs Flanders on the one hand, and Britanny on the other, and might thus from both quarters. make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for thefe evils was therefore concluded to be the diffolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not confummated; and the efpoufals of the dutchefs of Britanny, and the King of France.

THIS expedient, which had not been forefeen by any court of Europe, and which they were, all of them, fo much engaged in point of interest to oppose, it was requifite to keep a profound fecret, and only to difcover to the world by the full execution of it. The measures of the French ministry were in the conduct of this delicate enterprize very wife and political. While they preffed Britanny with all the rigours of war, they fecretly gained the count of Dunois, who poffeffed great authority with the Bretons; and having also engaged in their interests the prince of Orange, coufin-german to the dutchefs, they gave him his liberty, and fent him into Britanny. These persons, supported by other emissaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and difplayed, tho' ftill with many precautions, all the advantages of an union with the French monarchy. They reprefented to the British barons, that their country, harraffed during fo many years with perpetual war, had need of fome repofe, and of a folid and lafting peace with the only power that was formidable to them : That their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even prefent protection; and by 12200 uniting

uniting them closely with a power, which was rival to the greatness of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that powerful monarchy: That their near neighbourhood exposed them first to the inroads of the enemy; and the happiest event, which in fuch a fituation could befal them, would be to attain peace, tho' by a final subjection to France, and by the loss of that liberty, transmitted them from their anceftors : And that any other expedient, compatible with the honour of the flate, and their duty to their fovereign, was preferable to a fcene of fuch diforder and devastation.

THESE fuggestions had influence on the Bretons : But the chief difficulty lay in furmounting the prejudices of the young dutchefs herfelf. That princefs had imbibed in her education a firong prejudice against the French nation, and particularly against Charles, who had been the author of all the calamities, which, from her earlieft infancy, had befallen her family. She had also fixed her affections on Maximilian; and as fhe now deemed him her hufband, fhe could not, fhe thought, without incurring the greatest guilt, and violating the most folemn engagements, contract a marriage with another person. In order to overcome her obstinacy, Charles gave the duke of Orleans his liberty, who, tho' formerly a fuitor of the dutchefs, was now contented to ingratiate himfelf with the King, by employing in his favour all the interest which he still possessed in Britanny. The marefchal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were reconciled by his negotiations; and thefe rival minifters now concurred with the prince of Orange, and the count of Dunois, in preffing the conclusion of a marriage with Charles. From their fuggestion, Charles advanced with a powerful army and invested Rennes, at that time the refidence of the dutchefs; who, affailed on all hands, and finding none to support her in her inflexibility, at last opened the gates of the city, and agreed to espouse the King of France. She was married at Langey Annexation in Touraine; conducted to St. Denis, where she was crowned; and thence made of Britanny her entry into Paris, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded to France. this marriage as the most prosperous event that could have befallen their monarchy.

THE triumph and fuccess of Charles was the most fensible mortification to the King of the Romans. He had loft a confiderable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplifhed princefs whom he had efpoufed; he was affronted in the perfon of his daughter Margaret, who was fent back to him, after being treated during fome years as queen of France; he had reafon to reproach himfelf with his own fupine fecurity, in neglecting the confummation of his marriage, which was eafily practicable for him, and which would have rendered

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dered the tye indiffoluble: These confiderations threw him into the most violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expressions; and he threatened France with an invalion from the united arms of Austria, Spain, and England.

THE King of England had also just reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction; and tho' the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precifely forefee, his negligence, in leaving fo long his moft useful ally exposed to the invasion of superior power, could not but appear on reflection the refult of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himfelf very much on his extensive forefight and profound judgment, the afcendant acquired over him, by a raw youth, fuch as Charles, could not but give him the higheft difpleafure, and prompt him to feek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become absolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he fought even from his prefent difappointments, the gratification of this ruling passion. Under pretext of a French war, he issued a commission for levying a Benevolence on his people \*; an arbitrary taxation, which had been abolished by a recent law of Richard the third, and which was the more provoking, that, tho' really raifed by menaces and extortion, it was neverthelefs pretended to be given by the voluntary confent of the people. This violence fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were poffeffed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near 10,000 pounds. Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, instructed the commissioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended: If the perfons applied to lived frugally, they were told, that their parfimony muft neceffarily have enriched them : If their method of living was splendid and hospitable, they were concluded opulent on account of their expences. This device was by fome called chancellor Morton's fork, and by others his crutch.

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ing this arbitrary impolition, that he foon after fummoned that affembly to meet at Weftminfter; and he even expected to enrich himfelf farther by working on their paffions and prejudices. He knew the refentment, which the English had con-A Parliament. ceived against France, by reason of the conquest of Britanny; and he took care to infift on that topic, in the fpeech, which he himfelf pronounced to the Parliament. He told them, that France, elevated with her late fucceffes, had even proceeded to a cont mpt of England, and had refused to pay that tribute, which Lewis the eleventh had flipulated to Edward the fourth : That it became fo warlike a

So little apprehenfive was the King of a Parliament, on account of his levy-

\* Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 446. Bacon fays that the benevolence was levied with confent of Parliament, which is a mistake.

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nation as the English to be rouzed with this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repressing the present injury: That for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown of France itfelf, and to maintain by force of arms fo just a title transmitted to him by his gallant anceftors : That Creffy, Poictiers, and Agincourt were fufficient to inftruct them in their fuperiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue : That a King of France had been prifoner at London, and a King of England had been crowned at Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that enjoyed by their forefathers : That the domeftic diffentions of England had been the fele caufe of her lofing thefe foreign dominions; and her prefent union and harmony would be the effectual means of recovering them : That where fuch lafting honour was in view, and fuch an important acquifition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treafure : And that for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itfelf, and hoped, by the invafion of fo opulent a kingdom as France, to encreafe, rather than diminifh, the riches of the nation \*

NOTWITHSTANDING thefe magnificent vaunts of the King, all men of penetration concluded, from the perfonal character of the man, and still more, from the fituation of his affairs, that he had no ferious intention of pufhing the war to fuch extremity as he pretended. France was not now in the fame condition as when fuch fuccefsful inroads had been made into her by the former Kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were defirous of peace and tranquility; the kingdom abounded with able captains and veteran foldiers; and the general afpect of its affairs feemed more to threaten its neighbours, than to fubject it to any infults from them. The levity and vain glory of Maximilian were supported by his pompous titles; but were ill feconded by military power, and still lefs, by any revenue, proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a flow of war, was actually negotiating for peace; and rather than expose himself to any hazard, would accept of very moderate conceffions from France. Even England was not free from domeftic difcontents; and in Scotland, the death of Henry's friend and ally, James the third, who had been murdered by his rebellious fubjects, had made way for the fucceffion of his fon, James the fourth, who was devoted to the French interest, and would furely be alarmed with any progrefs of the English arms. But all these obvious confiderations had no influence with the Parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of fubduing France, and of inriching themfelves with the fpoils of that kingdom,

\* Bacon, p. 601.

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Chap. II. kingdom, they gave into the mare prepared for them, and voted the fupply which the King demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and the better to enable his vaffals and nobility to attend him, an act was paffed, empowering them to fell their effates, without paying any fines for alienation.

> THE nobility were univerfally feized with a defire of military glory; and having creduloufly fwallowed all the boafts of the King, they dreamed of no lefs than carrying their triumphant arms to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on Henry's head. Many of them borrowed large fums or fold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater fplendour, and lead out their followers in more compleat order. The king croffed the feas, and arrived at Calais on the fixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot and fixteen hundred horfe, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford: But as fome inferred, from his opening the campaign in fo late a feafon, that peace would foon be concluded between the crowns, he was defirous of fuggefting a contrary inference. " He had come over," he faid, " to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. " It was therefore of no confequence at what feafon he began the invafion; efpe-" cially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters." As if he had ferioufly intended this enterprize, he inftantly marched with his army into the enemy's country, and laid fiege to Bulloigne : But notwithftanding this appearance of a hoftile difpolition, there had been fecret advances made towards a peace above three months before; and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambaffadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him, that Maximilian was in no readinefs to join him; nor was any affiftance to be hoped for from that quarter. Soon after, meffengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a ceffion of the counties of Rouffillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Tho' these articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed thro' the army, the King was ftill apprehenfive, left a fudden peace, after fuch magnificent promifes and high expectations, would expose him to great reproach. That he might more effectually cover the intended measures, he fecretly engaged the marquifs of Dorfet, together with twenty three perfons of condition, to prefent him a petition for his agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late feafon of the year, the difficulty of fupplying the army at Calais during winter, the obstacles which arose in the siege of Bulloigne, the desertion of those allies whose affistance had been most relied on : Events which might, all of them, have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

War with France.

Invation of France.

IN

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In confequence of these preparatory steps, the bishop of Exeter and the lord Daubeney were fent to confer at Eftaples with the marefchal of Cordes, and to put the laft hand to the treaty. A few days fufficed for this purpofe: The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the King of France, who effected the peaceable poffeffion of Britanny an equivalent for any money, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the propofals 3d of Nomade him. He engaged to pay Henry feven hundred and forty-five thousand Peace with crowns, about one hundred and eighty-fix thousand two hundred and fifty pounds France. fterling; partly as a reimburfement of the fums advanced for Britanny, partly as arrears of the penfion due to Edward the fourth. And he flipulated a yearly penfion to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus the King, as remarked by his historian, made profit upon his fubjects for the war; and upon his enemies for the peace \*. And the people agreed, that he had fulfilled his promise, when he faid to the parliament, that he would make the war maintain itfelf. Maximilian was comprehended in Henry's treaty, if he pleafed to accept of it; but he difdained to be in any respect beholden to an ally, of whom, he thought, he had reason to complain: He made a separate peace with France, and obtained reftitution of Artois, Franchecomte and Charolois, which had been given as the dowry of his daughter, when the was affianced to the King of France.

THE peace, concluded between England and France, was the more likely to continue, that Charles, full of ambition and youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the fide of Italy, and foon after undertook the conquest of Naples; an enterprize, which Henry regarded with the greater indifference, that Naples lay remote from him, and France had never, in any age, been fuccessful on that quarter. The King's authority was fully established at home; and every rebellion, which had been attempted against him, had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and confolidate his power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was every day augmenting; his treasures had encreased even from the most unprosperous events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage, as by the iffue which it had brought him. In this promifing fituation, the King had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of a durable peace and tranquillity: But his inveterate and indefatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raifed up to him an adverfary, who kept him long in inquietude, and fometimes even brought him into danger.

THE dutchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the depression of her family and its partizans, rather irritated than difcouraged with the bad fuccels of her paft

\* Bacon, p. 605. Pol. Virg. p. 586.

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enterprizes,

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enterprizes, was determined at least to disturb that government, which she found it fo difficult to fubvert. By means of her emissaries, she propagated the report, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he lay ftill fomewhere concealed: And finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, fhe had been looking out for fome young man, proper to. perfonate that unfortunate prince.

Perkin War-

THERE was one Ofbec or Warbec, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by fome bufiness to London in the reign of Edward the fourth, and had there a fon born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the King, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whole manners were very affable, to ftand godfather to his fon, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted after the Flemish manner into Peter-kin, or Perkin. It was by some believed, that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, had had a fecret correspondence with Warbec's wife; and from this incident people accounted for that refemblance, which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch \*. Some years after the birth of this child, Warbec returned to Tournay; where Perkin his fon remained not long, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most careful enquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural verfatility and fagacity of his genius; and he feemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or affume any character. In this light he had been represented to the dutchess of Burgundy, who, ftruck with the concurrence of fo many circumstances fuited to her purpose, defired to be made acquainted with the perfon, on whom the began already to ground her Hisimposture. hopes of fuccess. She found him to exceed her most fanguine expectations; fo beautiful did he appear in his perfon, fo graceful in his air, fo courtly in his addrefs, fo full of docility and good fense in his behaviour and conversation. The lessons, which were necessary to be taught him, in order to his personating the duke of York, were foon learned by a youth of fuch quick comprehenfion; but as the feason seemed not then favourable for his enterprize, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, fent him, under the care of Lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world.

THE war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, feemed to afford a proper opportunity for the difcovery of this new phænomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was pitched on as the proper place for his first appearance +. He landed at Corke ; and immediately

\* Bacon, p. 606.

+ Polyd. Virg. p. 589.

mediately affuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partizans among that ignorant and credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Defmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party: He dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from his uncle Richard's cruelty; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general fubject of their difcourfe, and even the object of their favour.

THE news foon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the private follicitations of the dutchefs of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a fecretary of Henry, who had deferted his fervice, fent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; fettled on him a handfome penfion, affigned him magnificent lodgings, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and fecurity, gave him a guard for his perfon, of which lord Congrefall accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction, which their fovereign thought it his interest to adopt: Perkin, both by his deportment and perfon, supported the prepoffeffion, which was foread abroad of his royal pedigree: And the whole kingdom was full of the accomplifhments, as well as fingular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a diftance. From France, the admiration and credulity diffused themselves into Eng. land: Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and a hundred gentlemen more came to Paris, in order to offer their fervice to the fuppofed duke of York, and to fhare his fortunes: And the impostor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final fuccefs in his undertakings.

WHEN peace was concluded between France and England at Eftaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, refolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to difmifs him. The pretended Plantagenet retired to the dutchefs of Burgundy in Flanders, and craving her protection and affiftance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth, to which he laid claim. The princefs He is ; vowed affected ignorance of his pretentions; even put on the appearance of diftruft; and by the dutchhaving, as the faid, been already deceived by Simnel's claim, the was determined gundy, never again to be feduced by any impostor. She defired before all the world to be inftructed in his reafons for affuming the name which he bore; feemed to examine every circumstance with the most fcrupulous nicety; put many particular questions to him; affected aftonishment at his answers; and at last, after long and fevere fcrutiny, burft out into joy and admiration at his wonderful delivery, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the fole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate fucceffor of the English throne. She imme-F 2 diately

els of Bur-

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diately affigned him an equipage, fuited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the White Rose of England. The Flemings, moved by the authority, which Margaret, both from her rank and perfonal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent : No furmize of his true birth was as yet heard of : Little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion : And the English, from their great communication with the natives of the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor.

IT was not the populace alone of England, that gave credit to Perkin's pretenfions. Men of the higheft birth and quality, difgusted with Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depressed, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant, and fome of them even entered into a correspondence with him. Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites betrayed their inof the English clination towards him : Sir William Stanley himfelf, lord chamberlain, who had been fo active in raifing Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a reftless ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy \*. Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were still more open in their measures : They went over to Flanders, offered their fervice to Perkin, and were introduced by the dutchefs of Burgundy to his acquaintance. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew perfectly the perfon of Richard duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himfelf, and that no circumstance of his ftory was exposed to the least difficulty. Such positive intelligence, conveyed by a perfon of fuch high rank and character, was fufficient with many to put the matter beyond all queftion, and excited the wonder and attention even of the most indifferent. The whole nation were held in fuspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the King's authority; and a correspondence settled between the malecontents in Flanders and those in England.

THE King was well informed of all these particulars; but agreeable to his character, which was both cautious and refolute, he proceeded very deliberately, but fteadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion, which had always prevailed with regard to that event. Four perfons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews; Sir James Tirrel, to whom he had committed the government of the Tower for that purpofe, and who had feen the dead princes; Miles Forrest and John Dighton, who perpetrated the action; and the prieft who buried the bodies. Tirrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the fame flory; but as the prieft was dead, and as the bodies had been

\* Bacon, p. 608.

been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interted, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, fo much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.

HE met at first with more difficulty, but was in the end more fuccessful, in detecting who this wonderful perfon was that thus boldly advanced pretenfions to his crown. He disperfed his spies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to infinuate themfelves into the confidence of his friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any confpirator, he bribed his retainers, his domeftic fervants, nay fometimes his confessior, and by these means traced up some other confederate; Clifford himfelf he engaged by hopes of reward and pardon, to betray the fecrets committed to him; the more truft he gave any of his fpies, the higher refentment did he feign against them; fome of them he even caufed to be excommunicated and publicly anathematized, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies : And in the iffue, the whole plan of the confpiracy was laid clearly before him; and the whole pedigree, adventures, life and conversation of the pretended duke of York. This latter ftory was immediately published for the fatisfaction of the nation : The confpirators he referved for a flower and more fecure vengeance.

MEANWHILE, he remonftrated with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection, which was afforded in his dominions to fo infamous an impofture; contrary to treaties fublifting between the fovereigns, and to the mutual amity, which had fo long been maintained by the fubjects of both flates. Margaret had intereft enough to get his applications rejected; under pretence that Philip had no authority over the demefnes of the dutchefs dowager. And the King, in refentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banifhed the Flemings from England, and recalled his own fubjects from thefe provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts; but Henry knew, that fo mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humours of their prince, to be deprived of fo beneficial a branch of commerce as that which they carried on with England.

HE had it in his power to inflict more effectual punifhment on his domeftic enemies; and when his projects were fufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his refertment. Almost in the fame inftant, he arrefted Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creffenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin.

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GREATER and more folemn preparations were efteemed requifite for the trial of Stanley, lord chamberlain, whofe authority in the nation, whofe domeftic connexions with the King, as well as his former great fervices, feemed to fecure him against any accusation or punishment. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himfelf at the King's feet, while placed at the council table; craving pardon for his past offences, and offering to attone for them by any fervices, which should be required of him. Henry told him, that the best proof he could give of penitence, and the only fervice he could now render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the difcovery of all his accomplices, however diffinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accufed Stanley then prefent, as his chief abettor; and offered to lay before the council the whole proofs of his guilt. Stanley himfelf could not difcover more furprize than was affected by Henry on this occasion. He received the intelligence as abfolutely false and incredible ; that a man, to whom he was, in a great measure, beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man, to whom, by every honour and favour, he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whofe brother, the earl of Derby, was the King's father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the truft of his perfon, by creating him lord chamberlain : That this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, not actuated by any motive of discontent or apprehension, should engage in a conspiracy against him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the confequences of this acculation; but as he perfifted in the fame politive affeverations, Stanley was committed to cuftody, and foon after examined before the council +. He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford ; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confession would ferve for an atonement, or trufted to his prefent connexions, and his former fervices, Trial and ex- for pardon and fecurity. But princes are often apt to regard great fervices as a ground of jealoufy, especially if accompanied with a craving and reftless disposition, in the perfon who has performed them. The general difcontent alfo, and mutinous humour of the people, seemed to require some great example of severity. And as Stanley was one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom, being possessed of

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 592.

ecution of Stanley.

+ Bacon, p. 611. Polyd. Virg. p. 593.

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of above three thousand pounds a year in land, and forty thousand merks in plate and money, befides other property of great value, the profpect of fo rich a forfeiture was deemed no fmall motive in Henry for proceeding to extremity 15th of Fcagainst him. After fix weeks delay, which was interposed in order to shew that bruary. the King was reftrained by doubts and fcruples; he was brought to his trial, condemned, and prefently after beheaded. Hiftorians are not well agreed with regard to the crime which was proved against him. The general report is, that he fhould have faid in confidence to Clifford, that, if he was fure the young man, who appeared in Flanders, was really fon to King Edward, he never would bear arms against him. This sentiment might difgust Henry as implying a preference of the house of York to that of Lancaster, but could fcarcely be the ground, even in those arbitrary times, of a fentence of hightreason against Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, what is afferted by some historians, that he had expressly engaged to affist Perkin, and had actually fent. him fome fupply of money.

THE fate of Stanley made great impreffion on the whole kingdom, and ftruck. all Perkin's retainers with the deepest difmay. From Clifford's defertion, they found that all their fecrets were difcovered; and as it appeared, that Stanley, even while he feemed to live in the greatest confidence with the King, had been continually furrounded by fpies, who reported and registered every action which he committed, nay, every word which fell from him, a general diffrust took. place, and all mutual confidence was deftroyed, even among the most intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and fevere temper of the King, together with his great reputation for fagacity and penetration, kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of fedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, crept out against Henry's perfon and administration; and being greedily propagated, by every fecret art, flowed that there flill remained. among the people a confiderable root of diffeontent, which wanted only a properopportunity to difcover itfelf.

But Henry continued more intent on increasing the terrors of his people, than on gaining their affections. Trufting to the great fuccefs which attended him in all his enterprizes, he gave every day, more and more, a loofe to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and juffice, in order to exact fines and compositions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on fome penal statutes to pay the fum of 2743 pounds, and was obliged to compound for fixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the first noted cafe of that nature; but it became a precedent, which prepared the-

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way for many others. The management, indeed, of these oppressive arts was the great fecret of the King's administration. While he depressed the nobility, he exalted, and honoured and careffed the lawyers; and by that means both bestowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleased, to pervert them to his own advantage. His governmert was oppressive; but it was fo much the lefs burthenfome, that, by extending his own authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the fole oppreffor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found, that the King's authority gained ground daily among the people, and that his own pretenfions were becoming obfolete, he refolved to attempt fomething, which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partizans. Having gathered together a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and neceffitous perfons of all nations, to the number of 600 men, he put to fea with a refolution of making a defcent in England; and of exciting the common people to arms, fince all his correspondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and feverity. Information being brought him, that the King had made a progrefs to the north, he caft anchor on the coaft of Kent, and fent fome of his retainers ashore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent gathered together fome troops to oppose him; but they proposed to do more effential fervice than by repelling the invafion : They carried the femblance of friendship to Perkin, and invited him to come himfelf ashore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, observing that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be fuppofed in new levied forces, who had taken arms against established authority, refused to commit himself into their hands; and the Kentish troops despairing of success in their stratagem, fet upon fuch of his retainers, as were already landed; and befides fome who were flain and fome who efcaped, they took an hundred and fifty prifoners. These were tried and condemned; and all of them executed, by order from the King, who was refolved to use no mixture of lenity towards men of such desperate fortunes \*.

THIS year a Parliament was fummoned in England, and another in Ireland; A Parliament, and fome remarkable laws were paffed in both countries. The English Parliament enacted, that no perfon who should affist in arms or otherwise the King for the time being fhould ever afterwards, either by course of law or act of Parliament, be attainted for fuch an inftance of obedience. This statute might be exposed to some blame, as favourable to usurpers; were there any precise rules, which always, even during the most factious times, could determine the true fucceffor, and render every one inexcufable, who did not fubmit to him. But as the titles of princes are then the great subject of dispute, and each party pleads topics

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 595.

topics in their own favour, it feems but equitable to fecure thofe who act in fupport of eftablished tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance. Henry, confcious of his disputed title, promoted this law in order to fecure his partizans against all events; but as he had himfelf observed a different practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reason to apprehend, that, during the violence which usually ensues on public convultions, his example, rather than his law, would, in case of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legislature itself, by prefcribing rules to future Parliaments, was plainly contradictory to the fundamental principles of political government.

THIS Parliament also passed an act, impowering the King to levy by course of law, all the fums which any perfon had agreed to pay by way of benevolence : A statute, by which that abitrary method of taxation was directly authorized and justified.

THE King's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolable in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been fent over with fome troops into that country, with an intention of quelling the partizans of the houfe of York, and of reducing the natives to fubjection. He was not fupported with forces fufficient for that important enterprize : The Irifh, by flying into their woods, and moraffes, and mountains, in fome measure, eluded his efforts : But Poynings fummoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more fuccefsful. He passed that memorable flatute, which shill bears his name, and which establishes the authority of the English government in Ireland. By this statute, the Parliament of England were empowered to make laws for Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Irifh parliament, unless it previously receive the fanction of the council of England.

WHILE Henry's authority was thus eftablifhed throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combuftion by the French invation of Italy, and by the rapid fuccefs which attended Charles in that rafh and ill-concerted enterprize. The Italians, who had entirely loft the ufe of arms, and who, in the midft of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were aftonifhed to meet with an enemy, that made the field of battle, not a pompous tournament, but a fcene of blood, and fought at the hazard of their own lives the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were diffipated every where on the approach of the French army: Their beft fortified cities opened their gates : Kingdoms and flates were in an inftant overturned: And thro' the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated with-

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out refistance, they feemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country, than making conquests over an enemy. The maxims, which the Italians, during that age, followed in negotiations, were as ill calculated to fupport their flates, as the habits to which they were addicted in war. A treacherous, deceitful, and inconftant fystem of politics prevailed; and even those small remains of fidelity and honour, which were preferved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy, as proofs of ignorance and rufticity. Ludovico, duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never defired nor expected their fuccess; and was the first alarmed at the prosperous iffue of those projects, which he himfelf had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among feveral potentates to oppose the progress of Charles's conquests and fecure their own independency. This league was composed of Ludovico himself, the pope, Maximilian King of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic. of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expence or trouble in confequence of his engagements. The King of France, terrified by fo powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greatest. part of his army, and returned to France. The forces, which he left in his new conquests, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invasion of the Spaniards, were foon after fubdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples fuddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, fon to Alphonfo, who had been fuddenly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died foon after ; and left his uncle, Frederic, in peaceable possession of the throne.

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## HENRY VII.

## CHAP. III.

Perkin returns to Scotland. \_\_\_ Infurrection in the Weft. \_\_\_ Battle of Blackheath .---- Truce with Scotland .---- Perkin taken prifoner.---- Perkin executed .---- The earl of Warwic executed ---- Marriage of prince Arthur with Catherine of Arragon .---- His death .---- Marriage of the princess Margaret with the King of Scotland .---- Oppressions of the People. \_\_\_\_ A Parliament. \_\_\_\_ Arrival of the King of Castile. \_\_\_\_ Intrigues of the Earl of Suffolk.----Sickness of the King---his death 

FTER Perkin was repulsed from the coaft of Kent, he retired into Flan-A ders; but as he found it impossible to subfift himself and his followers, while he remained in tranquillity, he foon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poinings had now put the affairs of that illand in fo good a pofture, that Perkin met with little fuccess; and being tired of the favage life, which he was obliged to lead, while skulking among the wild Irish, he bent his course towards Scotland, and prefented himfelf to James the fourth, who then governed that kingdom. He had been previoufly recommended to that prince by the King of France, who was difgusted that Henry had entered into the league against him; and this recommendation was even feconded by Maximilian, who, tho' one of the confederates, flood on ill terms with the King, on account of his prohibition of commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given Perkin by these princes procured him a favourable reception with the King of Scotland, who Perkin retires affured him, that, whatever he were, he never should repent the putting him- to Scotland. felf into his hands \*: The infinuating addrefs and plaufible behaviour of the youth himfelf feem even to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught diftruft and caution, was feduced to believe the ftory of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence fo far as to give him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and a near kinfwoman of his own; a young woman too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

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\* Bacon, p. 615. Pol. Virg. p. 596, 597.

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THERE subfisted at that time a great jealousy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction, which, he thought, might reduce his enemy to diffrefs or difficulty. He fuddenly refolved to make an inroad into England, attended with fome of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes, that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an infurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himself difperst a manifesto, where he set forth his own story, and craved the affistance of all his fubjects in expelling the usurper, whose tyranny and mal-administration, whose depression of the nobility by the elevation of mean perfons, whole opprefiion of the people by multiplied impositions and vexations, had justly, he faid, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretensions, attended by repeated difappointments, were now become stale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hoftile difpofitions, which fubfifted between the kingdoms, rendered a prince, fupported by the Scotch, but an unwelcome prefent to the English nation. The ravages also, committed by the borderers, accustomed to licence and diforder, ftruck a terror into all men; and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for the misery of his plundered fubjects; and publickly remonstrated with his ally against the depredations exercifed by the Scotch army \* : But James told him, that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of his enemy, and that he was anxious to preferve what never would belong to him. That prince now began to perceive, that his attempt would be fruitlefs; and hearing of an army, which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

THE King difcovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this infult committed on him by the Scotch nation : His chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it would afford him to levy impofitions on his own subjects. He summoned a Parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints against the irruption of the Scotch, the absurd imposture which was countenanced by that nation, the cruel devastation which they had fpread over the northern counties, and the complicated affront which had thus been offered both to the King and kingdom of England. The Parliament made the expected return to this discourse of the King, by granting him a sublidy to the amount of 120,000 pounds, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant, they were difmiffed.

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\* Polydore Virgil, p. 598.

THE vote of parliament for imposing the tax was easily procured by the au- Chap. III. thority of Henry; but he found it not fo eafy to levy the money upon his fubjects. The people, who were acquainted with the immenfe treafures amaffed by the King, could ill brook the new impositions raifed on every flight occasion; and it is probable, that the flaw, which was univerfally known to lie in his title, made his reign the more fubject to infurrections and rebellions. When the fub- Infurrection fidy began to be levied in Cornwal, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robuft and courageous, murmured against a tax, occasioned by a fudden inroad of the Scotch, from which they efteemed themfelves entirely fecure, and which had commonly been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill humour was farther incited by one Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable, talking fellow, who, by thrufting himfelf forward on every occafion, and being loudeft in every complaint against the government, had acquired an authority among these rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the fedition, by informing them, that the tax, tho' imposed by Parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility, by their tenures, were obliged to defend the nation against the Scotch; and that if these new impositions were tamely submitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his courtiers would foon render the burthen intolerable upon the nation. A petition, he faid, must be delivered to the King, feconded by fuch force as would give it authority; and in order to procure the concurrence of the reft of the kingdom, care must be taken, by their orderly deportment, to shew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redrefs of all those grievances, under which the people had fo long laboured.

ENCOURAGED by these speeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themfelves with axes, bills, bows, and fuch weapons as country people are ufually poffeffed of. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders. They soon conducted the Cornish through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerset. At Taunton the infurgents killed in their fury an officious and eager commissioner for the fublidy, whom they called the provoft of Perin. When they reached Wells, they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an antient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and reftlefs in his temper. He had from the beginning entertained a fecret correspondence with the first movers of the infurrection ; and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by fo confiderable a nobleman, they pushed on their march; breathing destruction to the King's miniflers and favourites, particularly Morton, now a cardinal, and Sir-Reginald Bray, who were deemed his most active instruments in all his oppressions. Amidst their rage against the administration, they carefully followed the directions

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Chap. III. rections given them by their leaders; and as they met with no refiftance, they committed, during their march, no violence or diforder.

THE infurgents had been told by Flammoc, that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unfubdued, and had even maintained their independancy during the Norman conqueft, would furely embrace their party, and declare themfelves for a caufe, which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentish people had very lately diffinguished themfelves by repelling Perkin's invafion; and having received from the King many gracious acknowledgments for this fervice, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated to his government. It was easy therefore, for the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham, who poffeffed great authority in those parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Cornish rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not difcontent every where, but no one would take part in fo rash and ill-concerted an enterprize; and the fituation in which the King's affairs then flood, difcouraged even the boldeft and most daring.

HENRY, in order to oppose the Scotch, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of lord Daubeney, the chamberlain; and fo foon as he heard of the Cornish infurrection, he ordered it to march southwards, and suppress the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceless, he dispatched thither the earl of Surry, who fummoned out the forces on the borders, and made head against the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three most fatal incidents, which can befal a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domestic rebellion, and a pretender to his throne; but he enjoyed great refources in his army and treasure, and still more, in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He gave not, however, immediately full fcope to his military fpirit. On other occasions, he had always hastened to a decision, and it was an usual faying with him, that he defired but to fee his rebels : But as the Cornish infurgents behaved in an inoffenfive manner, and committed no fpoil on the country, as they received no acceffion of force on their march or in their encampment, and as fuch hafty and popular tumults might be expected to diminish every moment by delay, he took post in London, and carefully prepared the means of enfuring the victory.

AFTER all his forces were collected, he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to affail the enemy. The first body, commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Effex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themfelves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped : The fecond and

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and most confiderable Henry put under the command of lord Daubeney, and or- Chap. III. dered him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action. The third, he kept as a body of referve about his own perfon, and took poft in St. George's field; where he fecured the city, and could eafily, as occafion ferved, either reftore the fight or finish the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had 22d of June. fpread a report that he was not to attack them till fome days after; and the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford-bridge; and before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the afcent of the hill, and placed himfelf in array before them. They were very formidable for their numbers, being fixteen thousand ftrong, and were not defective in valour; but being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and unprovided of cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the King's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt of the enemy, which had almost proved fatal to him. He rushed into the midst of them, and was taken prisoner; but soon after was relieved by his own troops. After fome refiftance, the rebels were broke, and put to flight \*. Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joseph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter feemed even to exult in his end, and boafted, with a prepofterous ambition, that he would make a figure in hiftory. The rebels, being furrounded on every fide by the King's troops, were almost all made prifoners; and immediately difmiffed without farther punifhment. Whether, that Henry was fatisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thousand, or that he pitied the ignorance and fimplicity of the multitude, or favoured them on account of their inoffenfive behaviour, or was pleafed that they had never, during their infurrection, difputed his title, and had shewn no attachment to the house of York, the most capital crime of which in his eyes they could have been guilty.

THE Scottish King was not idle during these commotions in England. He levied a confiderable army, and fat down before the caftle of Norham in Northumberland ; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox, bishop of Durham, fo well provided both in men and ammunition, that he made little or no progrefs in the fiege. Hearing that Surrey had collected fome forces and was advancing upon him, he retreated backwards into his own country, and left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the English general, who befieged and took Aiton, a fmall caffle that lies a few miles beyond Berwic. These unfuccessful or frivolous attempts on both fides prognofticated a speedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithstanding his fuperior force, was no lefs defirous than James of terminating the differences

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 601.

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Chap. III. differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the first advances towards peace, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of address and learning, who had come to him as ambaffador from Ferdinand and Isabella, and who was charged with a committion of negotiating the marriage of the infanta Catherine, their daughter, with Arthur prince of Wales \*.

HIALAS took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry, as minister of a prince, who was in alliance with both potentates. Commissioners were foon appointed to meet, and confer of the terms of accommodation. The first demand of the English was, that Perkin should be put into their hands; but James replied, that he himfelf was no judge of Perkin's pretenfions, but having received him as a fupplicant, and promifed him protection, he was determined not to betray a man, whatever he was, who had trufted to his good faith and his generofity. The next demand of the English met with no better reception: They required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England : The Scotch commissioners replied, that the spoils were like water fpilt upon the ground, which never could be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss than their master's to repair it. Henry's commiffioners next proposed, that the two Kings should have an interview at Newcastle, in order to adjust all differences; but James said, that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Left the conferences should break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded for fome months; and James perceiving, that while Perkin remained in Scotland, he never would enjoy a folid peace with Henry, privately defired him to depart the Kingdom.

Truce with Scotland.

> Access was now barred Perkin into the low countries; his usual retreat in all his disappointments. The Flemish merchants, who felt severely the loss refulting from their want of commerce with England, had made fuch interest in the arch-duke's council, that commissioners were sent to London, in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemish court agreed that all English rebels should be excluded the low countries; and in this prohibition the demeines of the dutchefs dowager were expressly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were eafily adjusted. A treaty of commerce was finished, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which they gave long the appellation of Intercurfus magnus, the great treaty. And when the English merchants returned to their usual mansion at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in procession, with great joy and festivity.

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PERKIN was a Fleming by descent, tho' born in England; and it might therefore be doubted, whether he was comprehended in the treaty between the two nations : But as he must difmiss all his English retainers if he took shelter in the 10w countries, and as he was fure of a cold reception, if not bad ufage, among a people who were determined to keep on terms of friendship with the court of England ; he thought fit rather to hide himfelf, during fome time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient however of a retreat, which was both difagreeable and dangerous, he held confultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Aftley, three broken tradefmen; and by their advice, refolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the King's lenity, still subsisted, after the suppression of their rebellion. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwal, than the populace, to the number of three thoufand men, flocked to his ftandard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of fuccess, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard the fourth, King of England. Not to fuffer the expectations of his followers to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and by many fair promises, invited that city to join his caufe. Finding that the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid fiege to the place; but being unprovided of artillery, ammunition, and of every thing requifite for that attempt, he made no progrefs in his undertaking. Meffengers were fent to the King, informing him of this infurrection; and the citizens meanwhile were determined to hold out to the last extremity, in expectation of receiving fuccour from the known vigilance of that monarch.

WHEN Henry was informed, that Perkin was landed in England, he exprefied great joy, and prepared himfelf with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at laft, to put a period to a pretenfion, which had fo long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, fenfible that their activity on this occafion would be the moft acceptable fervice which they could render the King, prepared themfelves for the enterprize, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney, and Broke, with Sir Rice ap Thomas, haftened forward with a fmall body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonfhire, and the moft confiderable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms of themfelves, and marched to join the King's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himfelf at the head of a troop of young nobility and gentry, who ferved as voluntiers, and who longed for an opportunity of difplaying their courage and their loyalty. The King himfelf prepared to follow with a confiderable army; and thus all England feemed united againft a pretender, who had at firft engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

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PERKIN, informed of these great preparations, immediately broke up the fiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Tho' his followers now amounted to the number of near feven thousand men, and seemed still resolute to defend his cause, he himfelf defpaired of fuccefs, and fecretly withdrew to the fanctuary of Beuley in the new foreft. The Cornish rebels submitted themselves to the King's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhaufted in their behalf. Except a few pe fons of desperate fortunes, who were executed, and some others who were feverely fined, all the reft were difmift with impunity. The Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the conqueror's hands, and was treated with a generofity, which does him honour. He foothed her mind with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which appear as Bodicia in Corewal. the fhe enjoyed even under his fucceffor.

HENRY next deliberated what course to take with Perkin himself. Some counfelled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of flate, to take. him by violence from the fanctuary, to inflict on him the punishment due to his. temerity, and thus at once to put an end to an imposture which had long disturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people and the artifices of malecontents were still capable of reviving. But the King deemed not the matter of fuch importance as to merit fo violent a remedy. He employed fome perfons to deal with Perkin, and perfwade him, under promife of pardon, to deliver Perkin taken himfelf into the King's hands \*. The King conducted him in a species of mock. triumph to London. As Perkin paffed along the road, and through the ftreets. of that city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the highest derifion his fallen fortunes. They feemed defirous of revenging themfelves by their infults for the shame which their former belief of his impostures had thrown upon them. Tho' the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Perkin's real parentage and station, Henry thought proper to require of him a confession of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be published soon after for the satisfaction of the public. But as his regard to decency made him fupprefs entirely the fhare which the dutchefs of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the imposture, the people, who knew that she had been the chief instrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the filence on that head, to pay lefs credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

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Bur Perkin, tho' his life was granted him, was still retained in custody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke loofe from his keepers, and flying to the fanctuary of Shyne, put himfelf into the hands

\* Polydore Virgil, p. 606.

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of the prior of that monastery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of fanctity; and he prevailed with the King again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But in order to reduce him to fill greater contempt, he was fet in the flocks Weftminster and at Cheapside, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confession which had been formerly published in his name. He was thrown into the Tower, where his habits of reftlefs intrigue and enterprize ftill followed him. He infinuated himfelf into the intimacy of four fervants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower ; and by their means, opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwic, who was confined to the fame prifon. That unfortunate prince, who had from his earlieft infancy been thut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the most common affairs of life, had fallen into a fimplicity which made him fusceptible of any impressions. The continued dread also of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his efcape, by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterprize. The confpiracy efcaped not the King's vigilance : It was even very generally believed, that the scheme was laid by himself, in order to draw Perkin and Warwic into the fnare : But the fubsequent execution of two of Digby's fervants for the contrivance feems to clear the King of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character, than on any politive evidence.

PERKIN, by this new attempt, after fo many enormities, had rendered himfelf totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and Perkin exefoon after hanged at Tyburn, perfifting ftill in the confeffion of his impofture \*. cuted.

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\* Stow, Baker, Speed, Biondi, Holingshed, Bacon Some late writers have been fo whimfical as to doubt, whether Perkin was an impostor, and even to affert him to be the real Richard Plantagenet, duke of York. But to refute this fancy, we need but reflect on the few following particulars. I. Had not the queen mother, and the other heads of the York party, been fully affured of the death of both the young princes, would they have agreed to call over the earl of Richmond, the head of the Lancastrian party, and marry him to the prince's Elizabeth ? 2. The flory told constantly by Perkin of his escape is utterly incredible, that those who were fent to murder his brother took pity on him, and granted him his liberty. 3. What became of him during the course of feven years, from his fuppoied death till his appearance in Ireland in 1491? Why was not the queen mother, the dutchefs of Burgundy, and the other friends of the family applied to, during that time, for his fupport and education ? 4. Tho' the dutchefs of Burgundy at laft acknowledged him for her nephew, the had loft all pretence to authority by her former acknowledgment and fupport of Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor. It is remarkable, that Mr. Carte, in order to preferve the weight of the dutchefs's teffimony, in favour of Perkin, fuppreffes entirely this material fact. A remarkable effect of party prejudices, and the author's defire of blackening Henry the feventh, whofe hereditary title to the crown was defective. 5. Perkin himfelf con-Yeffed his imposture more than once, and read his confession before the whole people. It is pretended that

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Chap. III. It happened about that very time, that one Wilford, a cordwainer's fon, encouraged by the furprizing credit which had been given to other impostures, had undertaken to perfonate the earl of Warwic; and a prieft had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his caufe to the people, who feemed still to retain a propenfity to adopt it. This incident ferved Henry as an apology for his feverity towards that unfortunate prince. He was brought to trial, and accufed, not of contriving his escape, (for as he was committed for no crime, the defire of liberty must have been regarded as natural and innocent) but of forming defigns Warwic exe- to difturb the government, and raife an infurrection among the people. Warwic confessed the indictment, was condemned, and the fentence was executed upon him.

THIS violent tyranny, the great stain of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begot great difcontent among the people, who faw an unhappy prince, that had long been deprived of all the privileges of his high birth, even cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at last deprived of life itself, merely for refifting that oppression under which he laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of this guilt, by fharing it with his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he faid, had ferupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur, while any prince of the house of York remained alive. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at feeing a young prince facrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two fubtle and crafty tyrants.

Bur tho' thefe discontents festered in the minds of men, they were fo checked by Henry's watchful policy and fleady feverity, that they appeared not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely fecure, payed him rather the greater courtship and attention. The arch-duke Philip, in particular, defired an interview with the King; and this monarch, who had passed over to Calais, agreed to meet him at St. Peter's church near that city. The arch-duke, on his approaching the King, made hafte to alight, and offered to hold Henry's ftirrup; a mark of condescension, which that prince would not admit of. He called the King father, patron, protector; and by his whole behaviour expressed a strong defire of conciliating the friendship of England. The duke

that this confession was drawn from him by torture; but no antient historian gives any ground for this furmife. 6. He renewed his confession at the foot of the gibbet on which he was executed. 7. After Henry the eighth's acceffion, the titles of the houfe of York and Lancaster were fully confounded, and there was no longer any neceffity for defending Henry the feventh and his title; yet all the historians of that time, when the events were recent, fome of these historians too, fuch as Sir Thomas More, of the higheft authority, agree in treating Perkin as an impoftor.

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duke of Orleans had fucceeded to the kingdom of France under the appellation of Lewis the twelfth ; and having carried his arms into Italy, and fubdued the dutchy of Milan, his progress begot jealoufy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the council, therefore, of these monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoize to the greatness of France. No particular plan however of alliance feems to have been concerted between thefe two princes in their interview : All paffed in general professions of affestion and regard; at least, in remote projects of a closer union, by the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a state of infancy.

THE pope too, Alexander the fixth, neglected not the friendship of a monarch, whofe reputation was spread all over Europe. He sent a nuntio to England, who exhorted the King to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to lead in perfon his forces against the Turk. The general frenzy for croifadoes was now entirely exhausted in Europe; but it was still thought a neceffary piece of decency to pretend zeal for those pious enterprizes. Henry regreted the diftance of his fituation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expose his perion in defence of the christian cause. He promised, however, his utmost assistance by aids and contributions; and rather than the pope fhould go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promifed to overlook all other confiderations, and to attend him in perfon. He only required as a neceffary condition, that all differences should be previously composed among christian princes, and that some sea-port towns in Italy should be put into his hands for his retreat and fecurity. It was eafy to conclude from this answer, that Henry had determined with himself not to intermeddle in any wars against the Turk: But as a great name, without any real assistance, is fometimes of fervice, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time efteemed the bulwark of Chriftendom, chose the King protector of their order.

But the prince, whofe alliance Henry valued the most, was that of Ferdinand of Arragon, whofe vigorous and fleddy policy, always attended with fuccefs, had rendered him, in many respects, the most confiderable monarch in Europe. There was also a remarkable fimilarity of character between these two princes : Both were full of craft, intrigue, and defign; and tho' a refemblance of this nature be a slender foundation of confidence and friendship, where the interests of the parties in the leaft interfere; yet fuch was the fituation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealoufy ever on any occafion arofe between them. The King had Marriage of prince Arthur now the fatisfaction of compleating a marriage, which had been projected and with Catherine negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and of Arragon.

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1502. 2d of April. His death.

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Chap. III. the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Ifabella; he near fixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince, a few months after, fickened and died, very much regreted by the whole nation. Henry, defirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and alfo unwilling to reftore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his fecond fon, Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the princefs. The prince made all the oppofition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of; but as the King perfifted in his refolution, the espoulals were at last, by means of the pope's dispensation, concluded between the parties: An event, which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences.

Marriage of of Scotland.

1503. 11th of February.

THE fame year, another marriage was concluded, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events: The marriage of Margaret, the King's eldeft with the King daughter, with James King of Scotland. This alliance had been negotiated during three years, tho' interrupted by feveral broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all fource of difcord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whole animofity England had been fo often infefted. When this marriage was deliberated on in the English council, some objected, that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. " No;" replied Henry, " Scotland, in that event, would only become an acceffion to England." Amidst these prosperous events, the King met with a domestic calamity, which made not fuch impression on him as it merited. His queen died in child-bed; and the infant lived not long after. This princefs was defervedly a great favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her encreafed, on account of the harfh treatment, which, it was thought, fhe met with from her confort.

THE fituation of the King's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now, in every respect, very defirable. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negotiation, were turned to the fide of Italy; and the various events, which there arofe, made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, and yet interested him so little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His close connexions with Spain and Scotland enfured his tranquillity; and his continued fucceffes over domeftic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire fubmiffion and obedience. Henry therefore, uncontrouled by apprehension or opposition of any kind, gave full scope to his natural propenfity; and avarice, which had ever been his predominant paffion, of the people, being encreased by age, and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of fhame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to fecond his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and prey upon

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upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers, Chap. III. the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the fecond better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjuft, fevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge in the law, these men were qualified to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the King fupported them in all their iniquities.

IT was their usual practice to observe so far the appearance of law as to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress : Upon which the perfons were committed to prifon, but never brought to trial; and were at last obliged. to recover their liberty, by paying heavy fines and ranfoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees, the very appearance of law was neglected : They fent forth their precepts to attach men, and fummon them before themfelves and fome others, at their private houses, in a court of commission; where, in a fummary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were iffued, both in pleas of the crown and controverfies between private parties. Juries themselves, when summoned, proved but small security to the subject; being brow-beat by these oppressors; nay, fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave fentence against the inclination of the ministers. The whole system of the feudal law, which then prevailed, was turned into a scheme of oppression. Even the King's wards, after they came to full age, were not fuffered to enter in poffession of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were also haraffed with informations of intrusion upon fcarce colourable titles. When an outlawry in a perfonal action was iffued against any man, he was not allowed to purchase his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great fum; and if he refused. the composition required of him, the strict law, which, in fuch cases, allows forfeiture of goods, was rigoroufly infifted on. Nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were feized during two years; as a penalty in cafe of outlawry. But the chief instrument of oppression, employed by these ministers, were the penal Statutes, which, without confideration of rank, quality, or fervices, were firicity put in execution against all men : Spies, informers, and inquifitors were rewarded and encouraged in every corner of the kingdom : And no difference was made whether the flatute was beneficial or hurtful, recent or obfolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The fole end of the King and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority \*.

\* Bacon, 629, 30. Hollingshed, p. 304. Polyd. Virg. p. 613, 615.

1503.

By

Chap. III. 1503. By the prevalence of fuch an arbitrary and iniquitous administration, the English, it may fafely be affirmed, were confiderable losers by the ancient privilege, which fecured them from all taxations and impositions, except such as were levied by their own confent. Had the King been empowered to lay on general taxes at his pleasure, he would naturally have abstained from these oppressive expedients, which destroyed all fecurity in private property, and begot an universal diffidence thro' the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the Parliament, which was pretty frequently fummoned during this reign. That affembly was so overawed, that, at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppression, the commons chose Dudley their speaker, the very man

25th January. who was the chief inftrument of his oppreffions. And tho' the King was known A Parliament. to be immenfely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprizes of

any kind, they granted him the fublidy, which he demanded. But so infatiable was his avarice, that the next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppreffive method of taxation. By all these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expence, he so filled his coffers, that he is faid to have posseffed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds: An incredible treasure, if we confider the fcarcity of money in those days \*.

Bur while Henry was enriching himself with the spoils of his oppressed people, there happened an event abroad, which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Ifabella, queen of Caftile, died about this time; and it was forefeen, that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdidand, her husband, would be much affected. The King was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful left the general fyftem of Europe should be affected by fo important an event : He alfo confidered the fimilarity of his own fituation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the iffue of thefe transactions as a precedent for himfelf. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Ifabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heirefs of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present administration of that kingdom. Henry knew, that, notwithstanding his own pretensions by the house of Lancaster, the greatest part of the nation were convinced of the superiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded left the prince, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the

\* Silver was during this reign at 37 fhillings and fix pence a pound, which makes Henry's treafure above 2,750,000 pounds fterling. Befides, many commodities became twice as dear by the encreafe of gold and filver in Europe. And what is a circumftance of ftill greater weight, all other ftates were then very poor, in comparison of what they are at prefent: These circumftances make Henry's treafure appear very great; and may lead us to conceive the opprefions of his government.

1505.

1504.

T

HENRY VII.

the throne. By his perpetual attention to depress the partizans of the York family, he had more closely united them into one party, and encreafed their defire of fhaking off that yoke, under which they had fo long laboured, and of taking every advantage, which his oppreffive government would give his enemies against him. And as he possessed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himfelf, by his narrow politics, had confirmed in factious prejudices ; he apprehended that his fituation would prove in the iffue ftill more precarious.

NOTHING could turn out more contrary to the King's inclination than the transactions in Spain. Ferdinand had become very unpopular in Castile, chiefly by reason of his former exactions and impositions; and the states of the kingdom difcovered an evident refolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of these favourable dispositions, the archduke, now King of Caftile, attended with his confort, embarked for Spain during the winter feafon; and meeting with a violent tempest in the channel, was obliged to take shelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority A rival of the in the county of Dorfet, hearing of a fleet upon the coaft, had affembled fome King of Cafforces; and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of an tile. armed body, he came to that town. Finding, that Philip, in order to relieve his fickness and fatigue, was already come afhore, he invited him to his house; and immediately dispatched an express to inform the court of this important incident. The King fent in all hafte the earl of Arundel to congratulate the archduke on his arrival in England, and to inform him, that he intended to pay him a vifit in perfon, and give him a fuitable reception in his kingdom. Philip knew, that he could not now depart without the King's confent; and therefore, for the fake of difpatch, he refolved to anticipate his vifit, and to have an interview with him at Windfor. Henry received him with all the magnificence poffible, and with all the feeming cordiality; but he refolved, notwithstanding, to extract fome advantage from this involuntary vifit, payed him by his royal gueft.

Ермоно de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward the fourth, and bro-Intrigues of ther to the earl of Lincoln, flain at the battle of Stoke, had fome years before the Earl of killed a man in a fudden fit of paffion, and had been obliged to apply to the Suffolk. King for a remiffion of his crime. The King had granted his requeft; but being little indulgent to all perfons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk more refenting the affront, than grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt, the dutchess of Burgundy : But being promised forgiveness by the King, he returned into England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural

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1506.

Chap. III. natural inquietude of his temper, and uneafy from debts which he had contracted by his expences at prince Arthur's marriage, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The King, well acquainted with the general difcontent which prevailed against his administration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his usual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to fly from his charge, and to infinuate himfelf into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his fervices. Upon information fecretly conveyed by Curlon, the King feized William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, his brother in law, married to the lady Catherine, daughter of Edward the fourth; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir James Windham, with fome perfons of inferior quality; and he committed them all to cuftody. The lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were also apprehended; but were foon after freed from their confinement. William de la Pole was retained in prifon during a long time : And the earl of Devonshire recovered not his freedom during the King's life. But Henry's chief feverity fell upon Sir James Windham, and Sir James Tirrel, who were both brought to their trial, condemned, and executed : The fate of the latter gave univerfal fatiffaction, on account of his participation in the murther of the young princes, fons to Edward the fourth. Notwithstanding these difcoveries and executions, Curfon was still able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffolk; and Henry, in order to remove all suspicions, had ordered him to be excommunicated, together with Suffolk himfelf, for his pretended rebellion. But after that traitor had performed all the fervices expected from him, he fuddenly deferted the earl, and came over to England, where the King received him with unufual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, aftonished at this instance of perfidy, finding even that the dutchefs of Burgundy, tired with fo many fruitlefs attempts, had become indifferent to his cause, fled fecretly into France, thence into Germany, and returned at last into the Low Countries; where he was protected, tho' not countenanced, by the archduke Philip, then in clofe alliance with the king.

HENRY neglected not the prefent opportunity of complaining to Philip of the reception, which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. " I really thought," replied the King of Castile, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far " above apprehensions from any perfon of fo little confequence : But to give " you fatisfaction, I shall banish him my state." " I expect, that you will carry " your complaifance farther," faid the King : " I defire to have Suffolk put " into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his fubmiffion and obedience." " That measure," faid Phillip, " will reflect dishonour upon you as well as " myfelf.

#### ENRY VII. H

" myfelf. You will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." " Then the Chap. III, " matter is at an end," replied the King, " for I will take that diffionour upon " me; and fo your honour is faved \*." The king of Caftile found himfelf under a neceffity of complying; but he first exacted Henry's promise that he would fpare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip; as if the King would grant him a pardon, by the interceffion of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance, he was committed to the Tower; and the King of Caftile, having fully fatisfied Henry, as well by this conceffion, as by figning a treaty of commerce between England and Castile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom +, was at last allowed to depart, after a ftay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Caffilians, and put in poffeffion of the throne. He died foon after; and Joan, his widow, falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to re-inftate himfelf in his authority, and to govern, till the day of his death, the whole Spanish monarchy.

THE King furvived these transactions two years; but little memorable occurrs in the remaining part of his reign, except his affiancing his fecond daughter Mary with the young archduke Charles, fon of Philip of Caftile. He entertained alfo fome intention of marriage for himfelf; first with the queen dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the dutchefs dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian, and fifter of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all Sickness of fuch thoughts; and he began to caft his eye towards that future existence, which the King. the iniquities and feverities of his reign rendered a very difinal profpect to him. To allay the terrors, under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by diffributing of alms and founding of religious houses, to make attonement for his crimes, and to purchase, with the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconcilement to his offended Maker. Remorfe even feized him by intervals for the abuses of his authority by Empfon and Dudley; but not fufficient to make him ftop the rapacious hand of those oppreffors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thousand pounds under some frivolous pretences, and was committed to the Tower for daring to murmur against that iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an iffue. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two fheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and fent to prifon till they made payment. The King gave countenance to all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed new terror upon him; and he then ordered, by a general claufe in his will, that restitution 10

\* Bacon, p. 633.

+ Rymer, vol. 13. p. 142.

1507.

1508.

Chap. III. 1509. His death. 22d April.

restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a confumption at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-fecond year of his age +.

THE reign of Henry the feventh was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which

And character the nation had been long harraffed, he maintained peace and order in the flate, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the confideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war; tho' agitated with continual fuspicions of his fervants and minifters, he discovered no timidity either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and tho' often fevere in his punishments, he was commonly lefs actuated by revenge than by the maxims of policy. The fervices, which he rendered the people, were derived from his views of private interest, rather than the motives of public spirit; and where he deviated from felfish regards, it was unknown to himself, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction or the mean projects of avarice; not from the fallies of palfion, or allurements of pleasure; still less, from the benign motives of friendship and generofity. His capacity was excellent, but fomewhat contracted, by the narrownefs of his heart; he poffessed infinuation and addrefs, but never employed these talents, except where some great point of interest was to be gained; and while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of refting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs, but poffeffed not the faculty of feeing far into futurity; and was more expert at providing a remedy for his miftakes than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was on the whole his ruling paffion\*; and he remains an inflance, almost fingular, of a man, placed in a high station, and poffeffed of talents for great affairs, in whom that paffion predominated above ambition. Even among private perfons, avarice is commonly nothing but a fpecies of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the profpect of that regard, diftinction and confideration which are derived from riches.

THE power of the Kings of England had always been fomewhat irregular or difcretionary; but was scarce ever so absolute during any reign as during that of

Henry.

#### 1 Dugd. baronage II. p. 237.

\* As a proof of Henry's attention to the fmallest profits, Bacon tells us, that he had feen a book of Accompts kept by Empfon, and fubfcribed in almost every leaf by the King's own hand. Among other articles was the following. " Item, Received of fuch a one five marks for a pardon, which, if " it do not pass, the money to be repayed, or the party otherwise satisfied." Opposite to this memorandum, the King had wrote with his own hand, " otherwife fatisfied." Bacon, p. 630.

### HENRY VII.

Henry. Befides the perfonal character of the man, full of vigour, induftry, and feverity, deliberate in all projects, fleady in every purpofe, and attended with caution, as well as good fortune, in each enterprize; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had deftroyed all the great nobility, who alone could refift the encroachments of his authority: The nation was tired with difcord and inteffine convulfions, and willing to fubmit to ufurpations, and even injuries, rather than plunge themfelves anew into like miferies: The fruitlefs efforts made againft him ferved always, as is ufual, to confirm his authority: As he ruled by a faction, and the leffer faction, all thofe on whom he conferred offices, fenfible that they owed every thing to his protection, were content to fupport his power, tho' at the expence of juffice and national privileges: Thefe feem the chief caufes which at this time beflowed on the crown fo confiderable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the prefent reign a kind of epoch in the Englifh conftitution.

This prince, tho' he exalted his own prerogative above law, is celebrated by his hiftorian for many good laws, which he caufed to be enacted for the government of his fubjects. Several confiderable regulations, indeed, are found among the flatutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce : But the former are commonly contrived with much better judgement than the latter. The more fimple ideas of order and equity are fufficient His laws, to guide a legiflator in every thing that regards the internal adminification of juffice : But the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well underflood in any flate. The real confequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to firft appearances. No wonder, that during the reign of Henry the feventh, thefe matters were often mifunderflood; and it may fafely be affirmed, that even in the age of lord Bacon, very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that fubject.

EARLY in Henry's reign, the authority of the Star Chamber, which was before founded on common law and very ancient practice, was in fome cafes confirmed by act of Parliament \*: Lord Bacon extols the ufe of this court; but men began, during the age of that hiftorian, to feel that fo arbitrary a jurifdiction was totally incompatible with liberty; and in proportion as the fpirit of independance role ftill higher in the nation, the averfion against it increased, till it was entirely abolished by act of Parliament in the reign of Charles the first, a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

LAWS were paffed in this reign, ordering the King's fuit for murder to be carried on within a year and day +. Formerly, it did not ufually commence till

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\* Rot. Parl. 3. H. 7. n. 17: + 3. H. 7. cap. 1.

Chap III. 1509.

61

after

1509.

62

Chap. III. after that term ; and as the friends of the perfon murdered, in the interval, often compounded matters with the criminal, that crime was apt to pass unpunished. Suits were given to the poor in forma pauperis, as it is called : That is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the council + : A good law at all times, efpecially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppreffion of the great; but a law very difficult to be reduced to execution. A law was made against carrying off any woman by force ‡. The benefit of clergy was abridged §, and the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter marking his crime; after which, he was punished capitally for every new offence. This law was much too indulgent, yet was in those days regarded as a violation of the rights of the church. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any perfon, without previoufly fummoning him before their court ||. It is strange, that such a practice should ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in cafes which exceeded forty pounds value \*\*. A law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any fervant of the King confpired against the life of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the King's house, this defign, tho' not followed by any execution, was made liable to the punishment of felony ++. This statute was procured by the jealousy of archbishop Morton, who found himself exposed to the enmity of great numbers.

THERE scarce passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries 11; a practice, by which they were, in a manner, inlifted under fome great lord, and were kept in readiness to affist him in all wars, infurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of juffice §§. This diforder, which had arisen during turbulent times, when the law could give little protection to the fubject, was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a ftory of his feverity against that abuse; which feems to merit praise, tho' it is commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, to whom he always gave great and deferved truft, having fplendidly entertained him at his caftle of Heningham, was defirous of making a flow of his magnificence at the departure of his royal gueft ; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be more gallant and splendid. " My lord," faid the King, " I have heard much of your " hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen « and

 + 11 H 7. cap. 12.
 ‡ 3 H. 7. cap. 2.
 § 4 H. 7. cap. 13.
 || 11 H. 7. cap. 15.

 \*\* 11 H. 7. cap. 24.
 19 H. 7. cap. 3.
 †† 3 H. 7. cap. 13.
 ‡‡ 3 H. 7. cap. 1, & 12.

 31 H. 7. cap. 3. 19 H. 7. cap. 14. §§ 3 H. 7. cap. 12. 11 H. 7. cap. 25. 8

#### HENRY VII.

" and yeomen, whom I fee on both fides of me, are furely your menial fervants." The earl finiled, and confeffed that his fortune was too narrow for fuch magnificence. " They are most of them," fubjoined he, " my retainers, who are come " to do me fervice at fuch a time, when they knew I was honoured with your " majefty's prefence." The King flarted a little, and faid, " By my faith, my " lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken " in my fight. My attorney must fpeak with you." Oxford is faid to have payed no lefs than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for his offence.

THE encrease of the arts, more effectually than all the feverities of laws, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, inftead of vying with each other, in the number and boldness of their retainers, acquired a more civilized species of emulation, and endeavoured to excell in the splendour and elegance of their equipage, houses, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in a vicious idleness by their superiors, were obliged to learn fome calling or industry, and became useful both to themselves and others. And it must be acknowledged, in spite of those who declaim fo violently against the refinement of the art, or what they are pleased to call luxury, that, as much as an industrious tradess who for merly depended on the great families; as much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an antient baron.

But the moft important law in its confequences, which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the antient entails, and of alienating their eftates +. By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinements of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually diffipated, and the property of the commons encreafed in England. It is probable, that Henry forefaw and intended this confequence; becaufe the conftant fcheme of his policy confifted in deprefing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependant on him.

This King's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which encreafed his cuftoms; but, if we may judge by most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention which were given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury ‡. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited, as favouring of usury §, which the superstition of that age zealously proferibed. All evalue contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against 1. It is needless to observe how unreasonable and iniquitous these laws, how impossible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may observe, however,

+ 4 H. 7. cap. 24. ‡ 3 H. 7. cap. 5. § 3 H. 7. cap. 6. # 7. H. 7. cap. 8.

Chap. III. 1509.

1509.

Chap. III. however, to the praise of this King, that fometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants fums of money, without intereft; when he knew, that their flock was not fufficient for those enterprizes, which they proposed to undertake\*.

Laws were made against the exportation of money, plate, or bullion +: A precaution, which ferves no other purpose than to make more be exported. But fo far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchant aliens, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to inveft, in English commodities, all the money acquired by their fales, in order to prevent their conveying away the money in a clandeftine manner 1.

HORSES were forbid to be exported ; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful §. To promote archery, no bows were to be fold at a higher price that fix shillings and four pence ||, reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation mult be either that the people would be fupplied with bad bows or none at all. Prices were also affixed to woollen cloath \*\*, to caps and hats ++: And labourers wages were regulated by law ‡‡. It is evident, that these circumstances ought always to be left free, and must be trusted to the common course of business and commerce. To fome it may appear furprizing, that the price of a yard of fcarlet cloth should be limited to fix and twenty shillings, that of a yard of coloured cloth to eighteen; higher prices than these commodities bear at present: And that the wages of a tradefman, fuch as a mason, bricklayer, tyler, &c. should be regulated at near ten pence a day; which is not much inferior to the prefent wages given in fome places of England. There is a vulgar error in imagining, that the price of labour and commodities has in general rifen extremely fince the difcovery of the West-Indies. The greater industry of the prefent times has encreased the number of tradefmen and labourers, fo as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great encrease of gold and filver. And the additional art employed in the finer manufactures, has even made some of these commodities fall below their former value. Not to mention, that merchants and dealers, being contented with less profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their customers. It appears by a flatute of this reign §§. that goods bought for fixteen pence would fometimes be fold by the merchants for three shillings. The commodities, whofe price has chiefly rifen, are butcher-meat, fowl, and fifh, (efpecially the latter) which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the encrease of art and industry. The profession which then abounded most, and was embraced by perfons of the lowest rank, was the church : By a clause of a statute, all clerks or students of the univerfity were forbid to beg, without a permifion from the vice-chancellor III.

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\* Polyd. Virg. + 4 H. 7. cap. 23. ‡ 3 H. 7. cap. 8. § 11 H. 7. cap. 13. || 3 H. 7. cap. 12. \*\* 4 H. 7. cap. 8. †† 4 H. 7. cap. 9. ‡‡ 11 H. 7. cap. 22. §§ 4 H. 7. cap. 9. |||| 11 H. 7. cap. 22.

### HENRY VII.

ONE great caufe of the low ftate of industry during this period, was the ridiculous Chap. III. reftraints put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the King, (for he was the prime mover in every thing) enlarged a little fome of these limitations; but not to the degree that was requifite. A ridiculous law had been enacted during the reign of Henry the fourth \*, that no man could bind his fon or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he was possessed of twenty shillings a year in land; and Henry the feventh, because the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of this law +. Afterwards, the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to fome branches of the woollen manufacture ‡. These abfurd limitations proceeded from a defire of promoting hufbandry, which however is never more effectually encouraged than by the encrease of manufactures. For a like reason, the law enacted against inclosures, and for the keeping up farm houses §. fcarce deferves the high praifes bestowed on it by lord Bacon. If husbandmen understand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need never dread a diminution of the people, employed in the country. All methods of fupporting populoufnefs, except by the intereft of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period, there was a continual renewal of laws and edicts against depopulation ; whence we may infer, that none of them were ever executed. The natural course of improvement at last provided a remedy.

ONE great check to industry in England was the erecting corporations; an abuse which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pafs any by-laws without the confent of three of the chief officers of ftate ||. They were prohibited to impose tolls at their gates \*\*. The cities of Glocester and Worcefter had even imposed tolls on the Severne, which were abolished ++.

THERE is a law of this reign ‡‡, containing a preamble, from which it appears, that the company of merchant adventurers in London, had, by their own proper authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom, from trading to the great marts in the low countries, unlefs each trader previoufly payed them the fum of near feventy pounds. It is furprifing that fuch a by-law (if it deferves that name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of Parliament should be requisite to abrogate it.

IT was during this reign, on the fecond of August 1492, a little before fun set, that Christopher Columbus, a Florentine, fet out from Cadiz on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world ; and a few years after, Vasquez de K Gama,

\* 7 H. 7. cap. 17. + 11 H. 7. cap. 11. ‡ 12 H. 7. cap 1. § 4 H. 7. cap. 19. || 19 H. 7. cap. 7. \*\* 19 H. 7. cap. 8. ++ 19 H. 7. cap. 18. 11 12 H. 7. cap. 6. 1509.

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Gama, a Portuguese, passed the cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. These great events were attended with the most important confequences to all the nations of Europe, even to fuch as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprizes. The enlargement of commerce and navigation encreased industry and the arts every where: The nobles diffipated their fortunes in expensive pleasures : Men of an inferior rank both acquired a share in the landed property, and created to themfelves a confiderable property of a new kind, in flock, commodities, art, credit, and correspondence. In some nations the privileges of the commons encreased, by this encrease of property : In most natione, the Kings, finding arms to be dropt by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, established standing armies, and fubdued the liberties of the kingdom : But in all places, the condition of the people, from the depreffion of the petty tyrants, by whom they had formerly been oppreffed, rather than governed, received great improvement, and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at least the most confiderable advantages of it. And as the general course of events thus tended to depress the nobles and exalt the people, Henry the feventh, who also embraced that fystem of policy, has acquired more praife, than his inftitutions, firictly speaking, feem of themselves to deferve, on account of any profound wifdom attending them.

IT was by accident only, that the King had not a confiderable hand in those great naval discoveries, by which the prefent age was fo much diffinguished. Columbus, after meeting many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, fent his brother Bartholomew into England, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. Henry invited him to England; but his brother, in returning to Spain, being taken by pyrates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, mean-while, having obtained the countenance of Ifabella, was equipped with a fmall fleet, and happily executed his enterprize. Henry was not discouraged with this disappointment : He fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, dwelling in Briftol; and fent him westwards in 1498 in fearch of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America towards the fixtieth degree of northern latitude : He failed fouthwards along the coaft, and difcovered Newfoundland, and other countries : But returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot and other merchants in Briftol made a like attempt in 1502 \*. The King expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one thip called the Great Harry +. This was properly fpeaking the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient but the hiring fhips from the merchants.

\* Rymer, vol. XIII. p. 37.

† Stowe, p. 484.

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BUT

### HENRY VII.

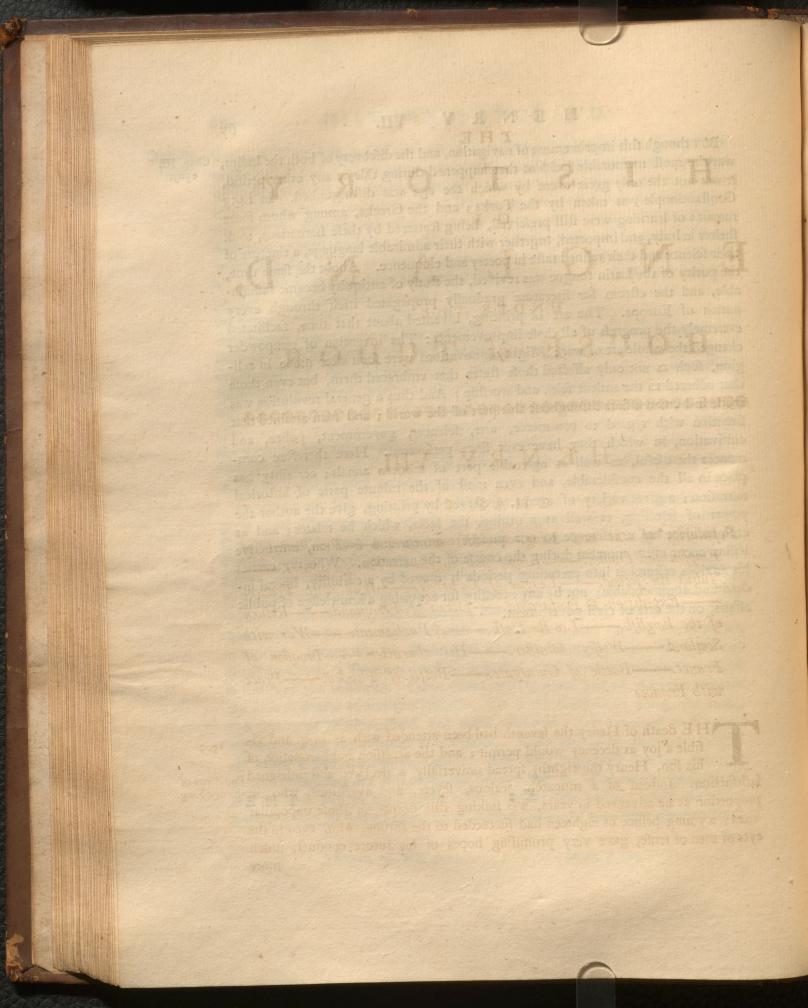
Bur though this improvement of navigation, and the difcovery of both the Indies. Chap. III. was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period. it was not the only great event by which the age was diffinguished. In 1453 Conftantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom fome remains of learning were still preferved, being fcattered by thefe Barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science and their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time, the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the fludy of antiquity became fashionable, and the effeem for literature gradually propagated itfelf through every nation of Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, facilitated extremely the progrefs of all these improvements : The invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: Mighty innovations were foon after made in religion, fuch as not only affected those flates that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the antient faith and worship : And thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men attained that fituation with regard to commerce, arts, fciences, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever fince perfevered. Here therefore commences the ufeful, as well as agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the confiderable, and even most of the minute parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preferved by printing, give the author the power of felecting, as well as adorning, the facts, which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our prefent manners and fituation, inftructive leffons occur every moment during the courfe of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious refearches into preceding periods is moved by a curiofity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any neceffity for acquiring a knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.

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### THE T S H T R ()OF G L F UNDER THE HOUSE of TUDOR.

## HENRY VIII.

### CHAP. I.

Popularity of the new King .---- His ministers .---- Punishment of Empfon and Dudley. \_\_\_\_King's marriage. \_\_\_\_Foreign affairs. \_\_\_\_ Julius the Second.-League of Cambray.----War with France. ----- Expedition to Fontarabia.---- Deceit of Ferdinand.----- Return of the English.---- Leo the tenth.---- A Parliament.---- War with Scotland.----Wolfey minister.----His character.----Invasion of France.\_\_\_\_Battle of Guinegate.\_\_\_\_Battle of Flouden.\_\_\_\_Peace with France:

HE death of Henry the feventh had been attended with as open and vifible a joy as decency would permit; and the acceffion and coronation of

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his fon, Henry the eighth, fpread univerfally a declared and unfeigned Popularity of fatisfaction. Instead of a monarch, jealous, severe, and avaritious, who, in the new King. proportion as he advanced in years, was finking still deeper in those unpopular vices; a young prince of eighteen had fucceeded to the throne, who, even in the eyes of men of fense, gave very promising hopes of his future conduct, much more

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more in those of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty and vigour of his perfon, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of fpirit and activity in all his demeanour \*. His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public bufiness, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the ftudy 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 interpreted 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 perfon, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration, which had fo long been unknown in England.

The favourable prepoffeffions of the public were encouraged by the measures, which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the counters of Richmond and Derby, was still alive, and as the was a woman much celebrated for prudence and wirtue, he very wifely thewed great deference to her His minifters. opinion in the eftablishment of his new council. The members were, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor; the earl of Shrewfbury, fteward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, mafter of the wards and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat ‡. Thefe men had been long accustomed to affairs under the late King, and were the least unpopular of all the ministers employed by that monarch.

Bur the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new King were the earl of Surrey, treafurer, and Fox, bifhop of Wincheffer, fecretary and privy feal. This prelate, who had enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired fuch habits of caution and frugality as he could not eafily lay afide; and he ftill oppofed, by his remonstrances, those fchemes of diffipation and expence, which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dextrous courtier; and tho' few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the last King, he knew how to conform himfelf to the humours of his new masser; 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 himfelf with Henry; he made profit, as well

well as the other courtiers, of the lavish disposition of his master; and he engaged him in fuch a courfe 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 immense treasures, amaffed by the late King, were gradually diffipated in the giddy expences of Henry. One party of pleafure fucceeded another : Tilts, tournaments and caroufels were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age: And as the prefent tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amufement, ferious bufinefs was but little attended to. Or if the King intermitted the course of his feftivity, he employed himfelf chiefly in an application to mufic and literature, which were his favourite purfuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made fuch proficiency in the former art, as even to compose fome pieces of church mufic which were fung in his chapel +. He was initiated in the elegant learning of the antients. And tho' he was fo unfortunate as to be feduced into a ftudy 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 diffipate the treasures, amaffed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the inftruments, whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being iffued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loofe on all the delators and informers, who had fo long exercifed an unbounded tyranny over the nation \*: They were thrown into prifon, condemned to the pillory, and most of them loft their lives from the violence of the populace. Empfon and Dudley, Punifhment who were most exposed to public hatred, were immediately cited before the of Empson council, in order to answer for their conduct, which had rendered them so ob and Dudley. noxious. Empfon made a fhrewd apology for himfelf, as well as for his affociate. He told the council, that fo far from his being juftly exposed to censure for his past conduct, his enemies themselves grounded their clamour on actions, which feemed rather to merit reward and approbation : That a strict execution of law was the crime, of which he and Dudley were accused; tho' that law had been established by the voluntary confent of the people, and tho' they had acted in obedience to the King, to whom the administration of justice was entrusted by the conftitution : That it belonged not to them, who were infiruments in the hands of the fupreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obfolete, expedient or hurtful; fince they were all alike valid, fo long

† Lord Herbert.

\* Herbert, Stow, p. 486. Hollingsched, p. 799. Pol. Virg. lib. 27.

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as they remained unrepealed by the legislature: That it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur against the reftraints of authority; but all wife ftates had ever made their glory to confift in the just distribution of reward and punishment, and had annexed the former to the observance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction : And that a fudden overthrow of all government might be expected ; where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the fubjects +.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defence, Empfon and Dudley were fent to the Tower; and foon after brought to their trial. The ftrict execution of laws, however obfolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely, that even where they had exercifed arbitrary power, the King, as they had acted by the fecret commands of his father, was not willing to have their conduct exposed to too fevere a ferutiny. 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 confpiracy against the King, and had intended, on the death of the late King, to have feized by force the administration of the government. The jury were fo far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give fentence against them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in Parliament \*, and, at the earnest defire of the people, was executed by wa rant from the King. Thus, in those arbitrary times, juffice was equally violated, whether the King fought power and riches, or courted popularity.

THE King, while he punished the inftruments of past tyranny, had yet such deference to former engagements as to deliberate, immediately after his acceffion, concerning the confummation of his marriage with the infanta Catherine, to whom he was affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with King's mar- his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections, which were urged against the espousing her : But on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modefty, and sweetness of disposition were infifted on; the affection which she bore the King; the large dowry to which she was entitled as princefs of Wales; the intereft of cementing a clofe alliance with Spain; the neceffity

### + Herbert, Hollingshed, p. 804.

\* This Parliament met on the 21st January, 1510. A law was there enacted, in order to prevent fome 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 acquital of the accused : More fevere punishments were enacted against perjury : the false inquisitions procured by Empfon and Dudley were declared null and invalid. Traverfes were allowed; and the time of vendering them enlarged. 1. H. 8. c. 8, 10, 11, 12.

riage.

### HENRY VIII.

neceffity of finding fome confederate to counterballance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late King. When thefe confiderations were weighed, they determined the council, tho' contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for compleating the marriage; which was done accordingly. The countefs of Richmond, who had concurred in the fame fentiments, died foon after the marriage of her grandfon.

THE popularity of Henry's government, his indifputed title to the throne, his extensive authority, his large treasures, the tranquillity of his subjects, were circumstances which rendered his domestic administration easy and prosperous : The fituation of foreign affairs was no lefs happy and defirable. Italy continued Foreign afftill, as during the late reign, to be the center of all the wars and negotiations fairs. of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by both fides; at the fame time, that he was not engaged by any immediate interest or necessity to take part with either. Lewis the tweifth of France, after the conquest of Milan, was the only great prince who poffeffed any territory in Italy; and could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his fituation to prefcribe laws to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the ballance among them. But the defire of making a conquest of Naples, to which he had the fame title or pretenfion with his predeceffor, still engaged him in new enterprizes; and as he forefaw 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 fettled 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 baseft treachery in the Spanish. Frederic, supported only by subjects, who were either difcontented with his government, or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to relift fo powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions : But he had the fatisfaction to fee Naples immediately prove the fource of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave fecret orders to his general, Gonfalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of the great captain, to attack the armies of France, and make himfelf mafter of all the dominions of Naples. Gonfalvo prevailed in every enterprize, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and enfured to his prince the entire poffeffion of that fine kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redrefs by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitless negotiation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his fhare of the partition ;

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and all Italy, during fome time, was held in fuspence between these two powerful monarchs.

THERE scarce has been any period, when the ballance of power was better fecured in Europe, and feemed more able to maintain itfelf, without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were established ; and no one fo far furpaffed the reft as to give any foundation, or even pretence, for jealoufy. England was united in domeflic peace, and by its fituation happily fecured from the invalion of foreigners. The coalition of the feveral kingdoms of Spain, had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand administered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis the twelfth of France, a gallant and generous prince, by espousing Anne of Britanny, widow to his predeceffor, had preferved the union with that principality, on which the fafety of his kingdom fo much depended. Maximilian, the emperor, befides the hereditary dominions of the Auftrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and notwithstanding his levity of disposition, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of interest, at least, of defence. Charles, prince of Castile, grandson to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already fucceeded 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 fignal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these feveral powerful states, which ballanced each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprizing genius of an ambitious pontiff first excited the flames of war and difcord among them.

Julius the 2d. 9

League of

Cambray.

ALEXANDER the fixth was dead; a man of a fingular character, and, excepting his fon Cæfar Borgia, almost the only man who ever joined great capacity with the blackeft vices and the most abandoned profligacy of manners. After a fhort interval, Julius the fecond had fucceeded to the papal throne, who, tho' endowed with many virtues, gave almost as much scandal to the world as his detested predecessor: His virtues were deemed unfuitable to his station of fovereign pontiff, the spiritual judge and common father of all christians. Animated with an unextinguishable thirst of glory, inflexible in his schemes, undaunted in his enterprizes, indefatigable in his pursuits; magnanimous, imperious, domineering; his vaft foul broke thro' all the fetters, which old age and a prieftly character imposed upon it, and, during his pontificate, kept the world in perpetual agitation. By his intrigues, a league had been formed at Cambray \*, between himfelf, Maximilian the emperor, Lewis the twelfth of France, and Ferdinand

\* In 1508.

dinand of Arragon; and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice.

THIS illuftrious commonwealth, the great bulwark of Europe against the Barbarians, and the admired model of civil polity, had rifen to a confiderable power, and began to make a figure, which during that age bore fome proportion to that of the great monarchies. Her riches furpaffed those of any European city, her finances were great, her commerce extensive, her naval power formidable, her armies numerous and well fupplied. Truffing only to her own power, fhe had neglected to maintain a cordial friendship with any other state; and by the endless political fuspicions, which the entertained even of her allies, the had taught them to regard her progrefs with like jealoufy. No flate could reafonably complain of any injuffice and usurpations in her measures : But as great monarchs never see without difpleafure a republic nearly on a level with themfelves, it was eafy for Julius, by his negotiations among the European princes, to compleat his scheme of a confederacy against her. Ferdinand defired to wreft from the Venetians some towns on the coaft of Naples, which his predeceffor had voluntarily, for money, configned into their hand : Lewis proposed to recover a part of the territory of Milan, which he himfelf had delivered to them by treaty: Maximilian laid claim to great part of their dominions, which they had acquired from petty princes or tyrants, that had formerly, as he pretended, in fome diftant period, ufurped them from the empire: The pope, from like pretences, challenged another part of their dominions, as the patimony of the church. In order to cover the fchome of this confederacy, the cardinal d'Amboife, prime minister of France, had met at Cambray with Margaret of Savoy, under colour of accommodating a difference between her and the duke of Guelders; and it was there, that the alliance against Venice was fecretly figned by the contracting powers; and all the meafures of operation concerted \*.

The Venetians were apprifed of their danger, and prepared themfelves for refiftance. They provided every means of defence, except the moft effential, brave and warlike forces, which it is impoffible to raife, where the ideas of military glory are extinguifhed, and men have, from long habit, acquired other objects of ambition. They fent into the field an army of 40,000 men under experienced leaders, the count of Pitigliano and Bartholomew Alviano; and hoped, that fo great a force would fecure them from the invafion of Lewis, who had led an army into Italy, and first took the field against them. But the marti.l nobility of France, headed by their gallant fovereign, utterly difcomfited thefe enervated forces; and in the action of Ghierradadda the power and L 2 glory

\* Guicciardini, lib. 8. Bembo.

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glory of Venice, the refult of confummate wildom, and the work of ages, fuffered in one day a cheque, which it has never yet been able thoroughly to recover \*. Difmayed with this lofs, the Venetians took a hafty refolution of abandoning all their dominions on the continent of Italy; and they accordingly withdrew their garrifons from every place, and freed their fubjects from their oaths of allegiance. Lewis immediately put himfelf in poffession of Cremona, Bergamo, Brefcia, Creme, and all the places which had been difmembered from the Milanese. Even Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and other towns, which, by the treaty of Cambray, fell under the partition of Maximilian, offered to open their gates to the French monarch. Had Maximilian, inftead of wafting his time at Trent, led his forces early into Italy, an end had been put for ever to the power and dominion of Venice. But Lewis, well acquainted with the fickleness and inconftancy of that prince, was determined to give him no pretext for deferting his alliance; and therefore ordered the magistrates of those towns to make their fubmissions to the emperor, whom, he told them, they were now to regard as their lawful fovereign +. The Venetian fenate, obferving those delays, and remarking the extreme regret, which their fubjects difcovered on lofing their mild and equitable government ‡, began again to affume courage, and reinstated themselves in the dominion of those cities, which they had abandoned. From this time, their prudence and found policy gave a cheque to the malignity of their fortune and the fuperiority of their enemies. They voluntarily made a facrifice to Ferdinand of those towns, which he laid claim to, and thereby detached him from the alliance §. They gratified the ambition of the Pope by a like facrifice; and farther flattered his vanity by the lowest obeisance and the most dutiful submiffions ||. After trying like arts with Maximilian, and finding his pretenfions to be utterly exorbitant, they rouzed their patriot fpirit, and prepared themfelves for refiftance, with a courage, which, tho' ill feconded by the unwarlike genius of their people, might have done honour to the Roman fenate during the most flourishing period of the republic.

THE great force and fecure fituation of the confiderable monarchies, prevented any one of them from afpiring to any conqueft of moment; and tho' this confideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more eafy in deferting engagements and changing their alliances, in which they were retained more by humour and capice than by any natural or durable intereft. Julius had no fooner humbled the Venetian republic, than he was infpired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling

\* Seiffel. hift. Louis XII. St. Gelais, Guicciard. lib. 8. + Buonacorfi, Petrus de Angleria, epift. 418. ‡ Guicciard. lib. 8. § Petrus de Angleria. # Bembo.

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expelling all foreigners from Italy, or, to fpeak in the ftile affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing that country entirely from the dominion of the Barbarians\*. He was determined to make the tempeft fall first upon Lewis; and in order to pave the way for this great enterprize, he at once fought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the Duke of Ferrara, the closest confederate of Lewis. He follicited the favour of England, by fending Henry a facred rose, perfumed with muss and anointed with chrism †. He engaged in his interest Bambrige, archbishop of York, and Henry's ambassidor at Rome, whom he foon atter created cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his fide, tho' that monarch, at first, made no declaration of his intensions. And what he chiefly valued, he framed a treaty with the Swiss cantons, who, enraged by fome neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expressions, had deferted the alliance of France, and waited an opportunity of revenging themselves on. that nation.

LEWIS was determined not to abandon the duke of Ferrara, who fuffered merely for his attachment to the crown of France. Chaumont, his lieutenant in the Milanefe, received orders to defend him againft Julius, who, fupported by his own dauntlefs fpirit, and confiding in the facednefs of his character, had fet his enemy at defiance. By a happy and unexpected movement, Chaumont, furrounded the pope and all his court in Bologna; and had he not allowed himfelf to be amufed by a treaty, which his profound refpect for the holy father made him the more willing to hearken to, he had been able, without any bloodfhed, to have reduced him to captivity. Finding himfelf expofed to fevere cenfure for not pufhing his advantages, he was agitated with fuch violent regret that he fell into a languifhing illnefs, of which he foon after died; tho' oppofite remorfes took place on his death-bed, and he very humbly craved of his holinefsa remiffion of his grievous fin, in having at all born arms againft him  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

WHILE the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies, he thought it alfo requifite to make an attack on the pope himfelf, and to defpoil him, as much as poffible, of that facred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged fome cardinals, difgufted with the violence of Julius, to defert him; and by their authority, he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who ftill 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 fummoned

\* Guicciard. lib. 8. † Spelman, Concil. vol. 2. p. 725. ‡ L'ab la Ligue de Cambray.

‡ L'abbé du Bos, Histoire de

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fummoned at Pifa, which from the beginning bore a very inaufpicious afpect, and promised little success to its adherents. Except a few French bishops, who unwillingly obeyed their King's orders in attending the council, all the other prelates kept at a diftance from an affembly, which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Pifa, the place of their refidence, showed them figns of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their fession to Milan, a town 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 himfelf fortified these violent prejudices in favour of the papal authority, by the fymptoms, 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 confort, who had great authority with him, was extremely difquieted in mind, on account of his diffentions with the holy father, all men progaofticated to Julius final fuccefs in this unequal conteft.

THAT enterprizing pope knew his advantages, and availed himfelf of them with the utmost temerity and infolence. So much had he neglected his pontifical character, that he affisted in perfon at the fiege of Mirandola, visited the trenches, faw fome of his attendants killed by his fide, and, like a young foldier, chearfully bore all the rigours of winter and a fevere feason, in purfuit of military glory +: Yet was he ftill able to throw, even on his most moderate opponents, the charge of impiety and prophanenes. He fummoned a council at the Lateran: He put Pifa under an interdict, and all the places which gave fhelter to the fchismatical council: He excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it: He even directed his spiritual thunders 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 possibilities of them.

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FERDINAND of Arragon, who had acquired the firname of the Catholic, regarded the caufe of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and felfifh politics: Henry, naturally fircere and fanguine in his temper, and the more fo on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty defire of protecting the pope from that opprefilion, to which he believed him expofed from the ambitious enterprizes of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius, that the title of the *most Christian King*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its most precious ornament, would, in

\* Guicciardini, lib. 10.

+ Guicciardini, lib. 9.

in reward of his fervices, be transferred to that of England \*. Impatient alfo of acquiring that diffinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidft the noife of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their antient 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 fent to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the pope; and when he returned without fuccefs, another was fent to make a demand of the antient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This meffage was underflood as a War with declaration of war; and a Parliament, being fummoned, readily granted fupplies France. for a purpofe fo much favoured by the English nation +.

BUONAVISO, an agent of the pope at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previoufly revealed to Lewis all the measures which Henry was concerting against him. But this infidelity did the King inconfiderable prejudice, in comparison of what he experienced from the felfish purposes of the ally, to whom he chiefly trufted for affiftance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had fo long perfevered in a courfe of crooked politics, that he began even to value himfelf on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boaft of those shameful succeffes. Being told one day, that Lewis the twelfth, a prince of a very different character, had complained that he had once cheated him : " He lies, " the drunkard !" faid he, " I have cheated him above twenty times." This prince confidered his clofe connexion with Henry, only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He advifed him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himfelf would not have it in his power to affift him : He exhorted him rather to fend forces to Fon- Expedition to tarabia, whence he could eafily make a conquest of Guienne, a province, in which, Fontarabia. it was imagined, the English had still fome adherents. He promised to affist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army. And fo forward did he feem to promote the interest of his fon-in-law, that he even fent veffels into England, to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marques of Dorfet commanded these troops, which confisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry; the lord Howard, fon to the earl of Surrey, the lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this fervice. All were on fire to diffinguish themselves by military atchievements, and to make a conqueft of importance for their master. The fecret purpose of Ferdinand in this unexampled generofity was fufpected by no body.

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\* Guicciard. lib. 11. P. Daniel, vol. II. p. 1893. Herbert, Hollingsched, p. 831-

+ Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 811.

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THE fmall kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and as John d' Albert, the present King, was connected in friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity feemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pifa lay under the fentence of excommunication, to put himfelf in poffeffion of thefe dominions. No fooner, therefore, was Dorfet landed in Guipifcoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make jointly an invation of France, and to form the fiege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne \*: But he remarked, how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in clofe alliance with France, could eafily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against fo dangerous an event, he required, that John should stipulate a neutrality in the prefent war; and when that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpole, he also required that he fhould give fecurity for his ftrict observance of it. John having likewife agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands fix of the most confiderable places of his dominions, together with his eldeft fon as a hoftage. These were not conditions to be proposed to a fovereign; and as the Spanish monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invalion of Navarre, and to reduce the whole kingdom to fubjection. Alva foon made himself mafter of all the smaller towns; and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he fummoned the marquis of Dorfet to join him with the English army, and to concert together all their operations. DORSET began to fuspect, that his master's interests 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 that enter-Deceit of Fer- prize. He remained therefore in his quarters at Fontarabia; but fo politic was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that even while the English army lay in that fituation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purposes, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to fuccour the kingdom of Navarre; fo that Alva, having full leifure to conduct the fiege, made himfelf mafter of Pampeluna, and obliged John to feek for shelter in France. The Spanish general applied again to Dorfet, and proposed to conduct with united councils the operations of the beby league, fo it was called, against Lewis: But as he still declined forming the fiege of Bayonne, and rather infifted on the invafion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the King of

\* Herbert. Hollingshed, p 813.

of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French fide of the Pyrenees, Dorfet, justly fuspicious of his finister intentions, represented, that, without new orders from his mafter, he could not concur in fuch an undertaking. In order to procure fuch orders, Ferdinand difpatched Martin de Ampios, as his envoy, to London; and perfwaded Henry, that, by the refractory and fcrupulous humour of the English general, the most favourable opportunities were lost, and that it was neceffary he should, in all things, act in concert with the Spanish commander, who was beft acquainted with the fituation of the country, and the reafons of every operation. But before orders to this purpole reached Spain, Dorlet had become extremely impatient; and observing that his farther flay ferved not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily perifhing by want and ficknefs, 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 laft, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity ; and Dorfet embarked his troop's, and prepared himfelf for the voyage. Return of the Mean while, a meffenger arrived with orders from Henry, that the troops English. fhould remain in Spain; but the foldiers were fo difcontented with the treatment. which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to fet fail for England. Henry was much displeased with the ill success of this enterprize; and it was with difficulty, that Dorfet, by explaining the fraudulent intentions of Ferdinand, was at last able to appeale him.

THERE happened this fummer an action at fea, which brought not any more decifive advantage to the English. Sir Thomas Knevet, master of Horse. was fent to the coaft of Britanny with a fleet of forty-five fail; and he carried with him Sir Charles Brandon, Sir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of difplaying their valour. After committing fome depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine fail iffued from Breft. under the command of Primauget \*, and began an engagement with the English. Primauget's fhip was fet on fire, who finding his deflruction inevitable, bore down upon the veffel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, refolved to make her share the fame fate. The ships of both fleets stood fome time in fufpence, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men faw with horror the flames which confumed both veffels, and heard the cries of fury and defpair which came from the miferable combatants. At laft, the French veffel blew up; and at the fame time deftroyed the English +. The reft of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

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M \* Or rather Porfmauget, according to P. Daniel's conjecture, vol. II. p. 1901. Hence the English feamen called him Sir Pierce Morgan. -

<sup>+</sup> Polydore Virg. lib. 27. Stow, p 490. Lanquet's epitome of chronicles, fol. 273.

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THE war, which England waged against France, though it brought little advantage to the former kingdom, was of infinite prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, loft him that fuperiority, 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 fuch feats of military art and prowefs, as were fufficient to render illustrious the whole life of the oldest captain \*. His carreer 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 compleat; and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swifs, who had rendered themfelves extremely formidable by their bands of difciplined infantry, invaded the Milanefe with a numerous army, and raifed up that inconftant people to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that dutchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely loft his Italian conquefts, except fome garrifons; and Maximilian Sforza, the fon of Ludovic, was again re-instated in possession of Milan.

JULIUS difcovered extreme joy on the difcomfiture of the French; and the more fo, that he had been beholden for it to the Swifs, a people, whofe councils, he hoped, he should always be able to govern and direct. The pontiff furvived this fuccess a very little time; and in his place was chosen John de Medici, who Leo the tenth. took the appellation of Leo the tenth, and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever fat on that throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue +; he had a foul no lefs capable of forming great defigns than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful in employing means for the execution of them. By his intrigues, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry, notwithstanding his difappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to profecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

A Parliament.

HENRY had fummoned a new feffion of Parliament ‡, and obtained a fupply for his enterprize. It was a poll-tax, and imposed different fums, according to the station and riches of the perfon. A duke payed ten marks, an earl five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition was also granted of two fifteenths and four tenths §. With these supplies, joined to the treasure which was left by his father, and which was not yet entirely diffipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himfelf very formidable to his enemy. The English

‡ 4th of November, 1512. § Stowe. + Father Paul, lib. 1. \* Guicciard, lib. 10.

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English are faid to have been much encouraged in this enterprize, by the arrival of a veffel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried prefents of wine and hams to the King, and all the most eminent courtiers; and such fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that these trivial prefents were every where received with the greatest triumph and exultation.

In order to prevent all diffurbance from Scotland, while the King's arms fhould be employed on the continent, Dr. Weft, Dean of Windfor, was difpatched in an embaffy to James, the King's brother-in-law; and inftructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as differences the intentions of the court of Scotland \*. Some complaints had already paffed on both fides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having fuffered fome injuries from the Portugueze, for which he could obtain no redrefs, had procured letters of marque against that nation; but not content with this liberty, he committed depredations upon the English, and much infested the narrow feas +. Lord Howard and Sir Edward Howard, admirals, and fons to the earl of Surrey, failing out against him, fought him in a desperate rencounter, where the pyrate was killed; and they brought his fhips into the Thames. As Henry refused all fatisfaction for this act of justice, fome 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. Notwithftanding thefe mutual grounds of diffatisfaction, matters might eafly have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invalion of France, which rouzed up the jealoufy of the Scotch nation 1. The antient league, which fubfifted betwixt France and Scotland, was conceived to be the ftrongett band of connexion ; and the Scotch univerfally believed, that, were it not for the coun- War with tenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able fo Scotland. long to maintain their independance against a people for much superior in force and riches. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne, queen of France, whole knight he had ever in all tournaments profett himfelf, and who fummoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry, prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himfelf her true and valorous champion. The remonstrances of his confort and of his wifeft counfellors, were in vain opposed to the martial ardour of that prince. He first fent a squadron of ships to the affistance of France; the only fleet which Scotland feems ever to have poffeffed. And though he made profession still to maintain a neutrality, the English ambassador easily foresaw, that a war would

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\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. † Stowe, p. 489. Hollingshed, p. 811. ‡ Buchannan, lib. 13. Drummond in the life of James IV.

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HENRY, all on fite for military fame, was little difcouraged by this appearance of a diverfion from the North; and fo much the lefs, that he flattered himfelf with the affiftance of all the confiderable potentates of Europe in his invafion of France. The pope ftill continued to thunder out his excommunications againft Lewis, and all the adherents to the fchifmatical council: The Swifs cantons made profeffions of the moft violent animofity againft France: The ambaffadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had figned with those of Henry a treaty of alliance againft that power, and had ftipulated the time and place of their intended invafion: And though Ferdinand difavowed his ambaffador, and even figned a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy; Henry was not yet fully convinced of his felfifh and finifter intentions, and ftill hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a minifter who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every fcheme to which his fanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Wolfey minister.

THOMAS WOLSEY, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the King, furpafied in favour all his ministers and courtiers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur, which he afterwards attained. This man was the fon of a butcher at Ipfwich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorfet's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and foon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron \*. He was recommended as chaplain to Henry the feventh, and being employed by that monarch in a fecret negotiation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himfelf to the King's fatisfaction, and obtained the praife both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct +. That prince having given him a commission to the emperor, who at that time refided in Bruffels, was furprized, in lefs than three days after, to fee Wolfey prefent himfelf before him; and fuppofing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolfey informed him, that he was just returned from Bruffels, and had fuccefffully fulfilled all his majefty's commands. " But on fecond thoughts," faid the King, " I found that fomewhat was omitted in your orders; and have fent " a meffenger after you with fuller instructions." " I met the meffenger," replied Wolfey, " on my return : But as I had reflected on that omiffion, I ventured

\* Stowe, p. 997.

+ Cavendish, Fiddes's life of Wolfey. Stowe.

" tured of myself to execute what, I knew, must be your majesty's intentions." The death of Henry, foon after this incident, was the reafon why Wolfey reaped no advantage from the good opinion, which that monarch had entertained of him : But from that moment he was looked on at court as a rifing man; and the bifhop of Winchester cast his eye upon him as one, who might be ferviceable to him in his prefent fituation \*. This prelate, obferving that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipfed him in favour, refolved to introduce Wolfey into the young prince's familiarity, and hoped, that he might rival Surrey in his infinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part fubordinate to Fox himfelf, who had promoted him. In a very little time, Wolfey gained fo much on Henry's good graces, that he fupplanted both Surrey in his favour, and Fox in his truft and confidence. Being admitted to the King's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment, which he found fuitable 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 feverity, the gaiety, in which Henry, who had fmall propention to debauchery, paffed his careless hours. During the intervals of amufement he introduced bufiness and ftate affairs, and infinuated those maxims of conduct, which he was defirous his master should adopt. He observed to him, that, while he entrusted his affairs into the hands of his father's counfellors, he had the advantage of employing men of wifdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who fcarce thought themfelves accountable to him for the exercise of their authority : That by the factions, and cabals, and jealoufies, which 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 fway the fcepter with abfolute authority, his beft fyftem of government would be to intrust his authority into the hands of fome one perfon, who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but of promoting his fervice: And that if this minifter had also the fame relish for pleasure with himfelf, and the fame tafte for fcience; he could the more eafily account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his mafter gradually into the knowledge of public bufinefs, and thus, without tedious constraint or application, initiate him in the science of government +.

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

+ Cavendish, p. 12, Stowe, 499.

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HENRY entered into all the views of Wolfey; and finding no one fo capable of executing this plan of administration as the perfon who proposed it, he foon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his careles hours, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his fole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrouled authority, the character and genius of Wolfey had full opportunity to difplay itfelf. Infatiable in his acquifitions, but still more magnificent in his expence : Of extenfive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprize : Ambitious of power, but His character. still more defirous of glory : Infinuating, engaging, perfuafive ; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: Haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppreffive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; lefs moved by injuries than by contempt; he feemed framed to take the afcendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of nature with fuch oftentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority or rather meannels of his fortune.

THE branch of administration, in which Henry most exerted himself, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolfey, was the military, which, as it fuited 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 fea and land to refift him, he was no lefs careful to raife a formidable army and equip a confiderable fleet for the invation of France. The command of the fleet was entrufted to Sir Edward Howard ; who, after fcouring the channel fome time, prefented himfelf before Breft, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of fome Gallies under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and faw with patience the English burn and destroy the country in the neighbourhood. At last Prejeant arrived with fix gallies, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Breft, where he fecured himself behind fome batteries, which he had planted on rocks, that lay on each fide of him. Howard was notwithstanding determined to make an attack; and as he had but two gallies, he took himfelf the command of one, and gave the other to Devereux lord Ferrars. He was followed by fome row-barges and fome crayers under the command of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney, and other officers of diffinction. He immediately fastened on Prejeant's ship, and leaped on board of her, attended with one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen English more. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened his fhip to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and as he still continued the fight with great gallantry, he was

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pufhed overboard by their pikes \*. Lord Ferrars, feeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other veffels; and the whole fleet was fo difcouraged by the lofs of their admiral, that they retired from before Breft +. The French navy came out of harbour; and even ventured to invade the coaft of Suffex. They were repulfed, and Prejeant, their admiral, loft an eye by the flot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceafed admiral, received the command of the English fleet; and little memorable paffed at fea during this fummer.

GREAT preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invafion of France by the way of Calais; but the fummer was well advanced before every thing was in fufficient readinefs for the intended enterprize. The long peace, which the kingdom had enjoyed, had fomewhat 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 inure them to the use of the weapons now employed in action. The Swifs, 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 confifted. The practice of fire-arms was become very common; tho' the caliver, which was the weapon now used, was fo inconvenient, and attended with fo many difadvantages, that it had not entirely difcredited the use of bows, a weapon in which the English excelled all European nations. The English archers still maintained their reputation; and even during the prefent reign, the king's allies had follicited him for fupplies of this kind. The fecond year after his acceffion, he fent a thousand archers, under the command of lord Dacres, to the affiftance of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, in his projected expedition against the Moors of Barbary; but as that prince turned his arms against the French in Italy, Darcy was fent back without being employed in any fervice. The King had also fent fifteen hundred archers under the command of Sir Edward Poinings to the affiftance of Margaret, dutchefs of Savoy, who made use of them with great advantage against the duke of Guelders, the great difturber of the Netherlands. A confiderable part of the forces, which Henry now levied for the invalion of France, confifted alfo of archers; and fo foon as affairs were in readinefs, the vanguard of the army, amounting to 8000 men, under the command of the earl of Shrewfbury, failed over to Calais. Shrewfbury was accompanied

\* It was a maxim of Howard's, that no admiral was good for any thing, that was not brave even to a degree of madnefs. As the fea-fervice requires much lefs plan and contrivance and capacity than the land, this maxim has great plaufibility and appearance of truth: Tho' the fate of Howard himfelf may ferve as a proof that even there courage ought to be tempered with difcretion.

+ Stowe, p. 491. Herbert, Hollingsched, p. 816.

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panied with the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Haffings, Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horfe. Another Body of 6000 men foon after followed under the command of lord Herbert, the chamberlain, attended with the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curfon, and other gentlemen.

THE King himfelf prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his abfence. That he might fecure her administration from all diffurbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the Tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and imprifoned during the late reign. The King was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him, that he never would be free from danger, while a man of fo turbulent a difposition as Suffolk was alive. And as his brother, Richard de la Pole, had accepted of a command in the French fervice, and attempted very foolifhly to revive the York faction, and to animate them againft Henry, he probably drew more fuddenly the King's vengeance on the unhappy Suffolk.

30th of June.

Invalion of France.

AT last, Henry, attended with the duke of Buckingham and many others of the nobility, arrived in Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, whence he fondly expected fo much fuccels and glory \*. Of all those allies, on whole affistance he fo much relied, the Swifs alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a fum of money fent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animofity 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 120,000 crowns from Henry, and had engaged to reinforce the Swifs with 8000 men, but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the King, he himfelf appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with some German and Flemish foldiers, who were useful in giving an example of difcipline to Henry's new-levied forces. Obferving the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, he inlisted himfelf in his fervice, wore the crofs of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns day, as one of his fubjects 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 higheft respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the combined army.

BEFORE the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp, the earl of Shrewfbury and lord Herbert had formed the fiege of Teroüane, a town fituate on the

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Eelcarius, lib. 14.

the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. 1513. Teligini and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garrifon, which exceeded not a thousand men; yet made they such shout resistance as protracted the siege a month; and they found themfelves at last more in danger from want of provisions and ammunition than from the affaults of the beliegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their fituation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles 16th August: appeared at the head of 800 horsemen, each of whom carried a fack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this fmall force he made a fudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and furmounting all refiftance, advanced to the foffee of the town, where each horfeman threw down his burthen. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were fo fortunate as again to break thro' the English, and to receive little or no loss, in this dangerous attempt \*.

Bur the English had, foon after, full revenge for that infult. Henry had re- Battle of Guiceived intelligence of the approach of the French Horfe, who had advanced to negate. protect this incursion of Fontrailles; and he ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, tho' they confisted chiefly of gentlemen, who had behaved with great valour in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on fight of the enemy, feized with fo unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were purfued by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Buffi d'Amboife, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of diffinction were taken prisoners +. This action, or rather rout, is fometimes 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 fwords or military weapons.

AFTER fo confiderable an advantage, the King, who was at the head of a compleat army of above 50,000 men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and fpread confusion and defolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy, when he heard, that the English, instead of pushing their victory, and attacking the difmayed troops of France, returned to the fiege of an inconfiderable place like Teroüane. The governors were obliged foon after to furrender the town; and Henry found his acquifition of fo little confequence, tho' gained at the expence of fome blood, and what, in his prefent circumstances, was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demolifhed the fortifi-N cations.

\* Hift. de Chev. Bayard, ch. 57. Memoires de Bellai. + Memoires de Bellai, liv. 1. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Hollingshed, p. 822. Herbert,

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cations. The anxieties of the French were again renewed with regard to the motions of the English. The Swifs at the fame time had entered Burgundy with a very formidable army, and laid fiege to Dijon, which was in no condition to refift them. Ferdinand himfelf, tho' he had made a truce with Lewis, feemed disposed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune should present to him. Scarce ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or lefs in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies, which on every fide affailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themfelves exposed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to diflodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater fafety and protection.

But Lewis was extricated from his prefent difficulties by the manifest blunders of his enemies. The Swifs allowed themfelves to be feduced into a negotiation by Tremoüille, governor of Burgundy; and without making enquiry, whether he had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoüille, who knew, that he would be difavowed by his mafter, ftipu'ated whatever they were pleafed to demand; and thought himfelf happy, at the expence of fome payments, and very large promifes, to get rid of fo formidable an enemy ‡.

THE measures of Henry showed equal ignorance in the art of war with those of the Swifs in negotiation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, tho' it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged entirely to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a paffage into the middle of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was defirous to free his grandfon from fo troublefome a neighbourhood, advised Henry to lay fiege to this place; and the English monarch, not confidering that fuch an acquifition no way advanced his conquefts in France, was fo imprudent as to follow this interested council. The city of Tournay, by its antient charters, being exempted from the burthen of a garrifon, the burghers, even against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously infisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themfelves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy \*. Their courage failed them when matters came to extremity; and after a few days fiege, the place was furrendered to the Eng-24th Septemlish. Henry so little regarded its privileges, that he immediately quartered a garrifon in it, under the command of Sir Edward Poinings. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead; and as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not inftalled in his office, the King bestowed the administration of the fee on his favourite, Wolfey, and put him in immediate poffeffion of the revenues,

1 Memoires du mareschal de Fleuranges Beliarius, lib. 14.

\* Memoires de Fleuranges.

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revenues, which were confiderable +. Hearing of the retreat of the Swifs, and obferving the feafon to be far advanced, he thought proper to retire into England; and he carried the greateft part of his army with him. Succefs had attended him in every enterprize; and his youthful mind was much elated with this feeming profperity; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages of his fituation with his progrefs, his expences with his acquifitions, were convinced, that this campaign, fo much vaunted, was, in reality, both ruinous and inglorious ‡.

THE fuccefs, which, during this fummer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more decifive. The King of Scotland had fummoned out the whole force of his kingdom ; and having paffed the Tweed with a brave, tho' a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river, and employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of little importance. The lady Ford, a woman of great beauty, being taken prifoner in her castle, was prefented to James, and fo gained on the affections of that monarch, that he wasted in idle pleasure that 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 foon confumed all the provisions, began to be pinched with neceffity; and as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military difcipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had ftolen from the camp, and retired to their houfes. Mean while, the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, of which 5000 had been fent over from the King's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scotch, who lay on fome high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey therefore fent a herald to the Scotch camp, challenging them to defcend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the fouth; and there, appointing a day for the combat, try their valour on equal ground. As he received no fatisfactory anfwer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwic; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay wafte the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. The Scotch army, in order to prevent his purpofe, put themfelves in motion; and having fet fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they defcended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the fmoke, which was blown towards him, and which covered his movements, paffed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twifel, and fent the reft of his army to find a ford farther up the river.

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† Strype's Memorials, vol: 1. p. 5, 6. ‡ Guicciardini.

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An engagement was now become inevitable between the armies, and both fides prepared for it with great 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 early of Surrey himfelf commanded the main body of the fecond line, lord Dacres-BattleofFlou- the right wing, Sir Edward Stanley the left. The Scotch front prefented three divisions to the enemy: The middle was led by the King himself: The right by the earl of Huntley, affifted by lord Hume : The left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth division under the earl of Bothwel made a body of reserve. Huntley began the battle; and after a sharp conflict, put to slight the left wing of the English, and chaced them off the field : But on returning from. the pursuit, he found the whole Scotch army in great diforder. The division under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the fuccess of the other wing, had broke their ranks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambaffador, 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 fecond line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the fword without refiftance. The division under the King himself and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, still made head against the English, and throwing themselves. into a circle, protracted the action till night feparated the combatants. The victory feemed yet uncertain, and the numbers which fell on each fide were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men : But the morning difcovered evidently where the advantage lay. The English had lost only perfons of small note; but the flower of the Scotch nobility had fallen in battle, and the King himfelf, after the most diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In fearching the field, the English met with a dead body, which resembled him, and was arrayed in a fimilar habit; and they put it in a lead coffin and fent 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 oppofition. to the holy fee + : But upon Henry's application, who pretended that that prince, in the inftant before his death, had discovered figns of repentance, absolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scotch, however, ftill afferted, that it was not James's body, which was found in the field of battle, but that of one Elphinston, who had been arrayed in arms refembling the King's, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It

> \* Buchannan, lib. 13. Drummond: Herbert. Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 493. Paullus + Buchannan, lib. 13. Herbert. Jovius.

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It was believed that James had been feen croffing the Tweed at Kelfo; and fome imagined that he had been killed by the clients of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had inftigated to commit fo enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion, that he was still alive, and having gone fecretly in pilgrimage to the holy land, would foon return, and take poffeffion of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained in Scotland.

THE King of Scots and most of the chief nobility being killed in the field of Flouden, fo this battle was called, a very inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to fubjection. But he difcovered on this occafion a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her fon, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compaffion of the helplefs condition of his fifter and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him fo great a victory, he reftored to the title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, for engaging on the fide of Richard the third. His fon, lord Howard, was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, his favourite, whom he had before created vifcount Lifle, was now raifed 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 Worcefter. Sir Edward Stanley, that of lord Monteagle.

Tho' peace with Scotland gave Henry fecurity towards the north, and enabled him to profecute in tranquillity his enterprize against France, some other incidents had happened, which more than counterballanced this fortunate event, and ferved to open his eyes with regard to the rafhnefs of an undertaking, into which his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

LEWIS, fully fenfible of the dangerous fituation to which his kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, was refolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils, and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope was no way difposed to push the French to extremity; and provided they returned not to take possession of Milan, his interest rather led him to preferve the ballance 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 predeceffor and himfelf had denounced against that King and his kingdom. Ferdinand was now fast declining in years, and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping poffession of Navarre, which he had lubdued by his arms and policy, he readily hearkened to the propofals of Lewis for prolonging the truce another year; and he even showed an inclination of forming

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forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewis had dropt hints of his intention to marry his fecond daughter, Renée, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother, Ferdinand, both of them grandchildren to the Spanifh monarch; and he declared his refolution of beftowing on her, as her portion, his claim to the dutchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embraced thefe fchemes with avidity; but alfo engaged the emperor, Maximilian, in the fame views, and procured his confent to a treaty, which opened fo inviting a profpect of aggrandizing their common grandchildren.

WHEN Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into the most violent rage, and loudly complained, that his father-in-law had first, by the highest promises and professions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the leaft warning, had now again facrificed his interest to his own felfish purposes, and had left him exposed alone to all the dangers and expences of the war. In proportion to his eafy credulity and unfuspecting 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 loft all patience when informed of the other negotiation, where Maximilian was also feduced from his alliance, and where propofals had been hearkened 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 fecond fifter; and as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the King had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable fettlement of a fifter, for whom he had entertained a very tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the higheft difpleafure, and infpired him with a defire of expreffing his difdain towards those who had taken advantage of his youth and inexperience, and had abufed his too great facility.

THE duke of Longueville, who had been made prifoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was full detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all thefe difpofitions of Henry, in order to procure a peace and even an alliance, which he knew to be fo paffionately defired by his mafter. He reprefented 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 ferve to terminate honourably all the differences between them : That fhe had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a ftrong defire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage feemed more fuitable to him than that with the princefs

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

princefs of England, whole youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular : That tho' the marriage of a princefs of fixteen, with a King of fifty three, might feem unfuitable; yet the other advantages, attending the alliance, were more than a fufficient compensation for this inequality : And that Henry, in loofening his connexions with Spain, whence he had never experienced any advantage, would contract a clofe affinity with Lewis, a prince, who, thro' his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

As Henry feemed to hearken to this difcourfe with very willing ears, Longueville informed his mafter of the probability, which he difcovered, of bringing this matter to a happy conclusion; and he received full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were eafily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis Peace with agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de France. Ja Pole should be banished to Metz, there to live on a pension assigned him by 7th of August. Lewis; that Henry should receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himfelf; and that the princefs Mary fbould bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heirefs of Britanny. The two princes alfo flipulated the fuccours, with which they fhould mutually fupply each. other, in cafe either of them was attacked by any enemy \*.

In confequence of this treaty, Mary was fent over to France with a fplendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the efpoufals were celebrated. 9th of Octo-He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accomplifhments of the ber. young princefs; and being naturally of an amorous difpolition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was feduced into fuch a course of gaiety and pleafure, as proved very unfuitable to his declining flate of health +. He died in lefs 1515. than three months after his marriage, to the infinite regret of his fubjects, who, ift of Janufenfible 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, fucceeded him on the throne; and by his activity, valour, generofity, and other virtues, gave prognoffics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely ftruck with the charms of the English princess; and even during his predecessor's life-time, had payed her such clofe attendance, as made fome of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But being warned, that, by indulging himfelf in this paffion, he might readily exclude his own title to the throne, he forbore all farther

\* Du Tillet

+ Brantome Eloge de Louis XII,

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farther addreffes; 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 perfonage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises, which were then thought to befit a courtier and a foldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his fifter, and had given indulgence to that mutual paffion, which took place between them. The queen afked Suffolk, whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her; and fhe told him, that her brother would more eafily forgive him for not afking his confent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not fo inviting an offer; and the marriage was fecretly compleated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his fifter \*, interposed his good offices in appealing him : And even Wolfey, having entertained no jealoufy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the King's pleafures, and had no ambition to interpofe in ftate affairs, was active in reconciling the King to his fifter and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permiffion to return to England.

### CHAP. II.

Wolfey's administration. Scotch affairs. Progress of Francis the first. Jealoufy of Henry. Tournay delivered to France. Wolfey appointed legate. His manner of exercising that office. Death of the emperor Maximilian. Charles, King of Spain, chosen emperor. Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais. The emperor Charles arrives in England. Mediation of Henry. Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

1515. Wolfey's administration. THE numerous enemies, whom Wolfey's fudden elevation, his afpiring character, and his haughty deportment had raifed, ferved only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who placed a pride in fupporting the choice, which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or the difcontents of the great. That artful prelate likewife, well acquainted

\* Petrus de Angleria, Epist. 544.

acquainted with the King's imperious temper, concealed from him the abfolute ascendant, which he acquired ; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind fubmiffion to the will and authority of his mafter. By entering into the King's pleafures, he still preferved his affections; by conducting his bufinefs, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaifance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealoufy, to which his exorbitant acquifitions, and his fplendid, oftentatious train of life fhould naturally have given birth. The archbishoprick of York falling vacant by the death of Bambrige, Wolfey was promoted to that fee, and refigned the bifhoprick of Lincoln. Befides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, at very low leafes, of the revenues of Bath, Worcefter, and Hereford, bifhopricks filled by Italians, who were allowed to refide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a confiderable fhare of their profits. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the fee of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchefter; and there feemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His advancement in ecclefiaftical dignity ferved him as a pretence for engroffing still more revenues : The pope, observing his great influence over the King, was defirous of engaging him in his intereft, and had created him a cardinal. Never churchman, under colour of exacting regard to religion, carried to a more exorbitant height, the ftate and dignity of that character. His train confifted of eight hundred fervants, 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 ingratiate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his fervants. Whoever was diffinguished by any art or science payed court to the cardinal; and none payed court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public inflitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition \*. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wife, he ftrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the fplendour of his equipage and furniture, the coftly embroidery of his liveries, the luftre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England who wore filk and gold, not only on his habit, but alfo on his faddles and the trappings of his horfes +. He caufed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perfon of rank ; and when he came to the King's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieft, the talleft and most comely 0 he

\* Erafm. Epist lib. 2. Epist. 1. lib. 16. Epist. 3.

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+ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Holligsfied, p. 847.

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he could find, carried before him a pillar of filver, on whofe top was placed a crofs: But not content with this parade, to which he thought himfelf intitled as cardinal, he provided another prieft of equal flature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the crofs of York, even in the diocefe of Canterbury; contrary to the antient rule and agreement between the prelates of thefe rival fees. \*. The people made merry with the cardinal's oftentation; and faid they were now fen-fible, that one crofs alone was not fufficient for the expiation of his fins and offences.

WARHAM, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, averfe to all dispute, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the feals were immediately intrusted to Wolfey. If this new accumulation of dignity encreased his enemies, it also ferved to exalt his perfonal 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 penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity  $\dagger$ .

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the King's money almoft all exhaufted by projects and pleafures, while his inclination for expence ftill continued, was glad to refign his office of treafurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, bifhop of Winchefter, profited not by his abfence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly difgufted at the afcendant acquired by Wolfey, withdrew himfelf entirely to the care of his diocefe. The duke of Suffolk had alfo taken offence, that the King, by the cardinal's perfwafion, had refufed to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Thefe incidents left Wolfey to enjoy without a rival the whole power and favour of the King; and put into his hands every fpecies of authority. In vain, did Fox, before his retirement, warn the King " not to fuffer the fervant " to be greater than his mafter:" Henry replied, " that he knew well how to " retain all his fubjects in obedience ;" but he continued ftill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counfels of the cardinal.

THE public tranquillity was fo well established in England, the obedience of the people fo entire, the general administration of justice, by the cardinal's means ‡, fo exact, that no domestic occurrence happened fo remarkable as to difturb the repose of the King and his minister: They might even have dispensed with

<sup>\*</sup> Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. † Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

<sup>1</sup> Erasm, lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish, Hall.

with themfelves from giving any ftrict attention to foreign affairs, were it poffible Chap. II. 1515. for men to enjoy any fituation in abfolute tranquillity, or abitain from projects and enterprizes, however fruitlefs and unneceffary.

THE will of the late King of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the Scotch affairs. Kingdom, and the vote of the convention of Effates, which confirmed that deflination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried \*: But notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, fhe efpouled the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a nobleman of great family and very promifing hopes. Some of the nobility now propofed the election of Angus as regent, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preferving peace with England : But the jealoufy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begot opposition to this measure. Lord Hume in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, infifted on recalling the duke of Albany, fon to a brother of James the third, 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 fovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their fituation, unpracticed in their language; yet fuch was the favour attending the French alliance, and fo 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 fome time in France; but at laft, fenfible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interefts, he permitted him to go over, and take possession of the regency: He even renewed the antient league with that kingdom, tho' it implied fuch a close connexion, as might be thought fomewhat to infringe his alliance with England.

WHEN the regent arrived in Scotland, he made enquiries concerning the flate of the country, and character of the people; and difcovered a fcene, with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be confidered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular fystem of civil polity; and even the King, much more the regent, posseft an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or juffice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were fo connected by hereditary alliances, or fo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give fecurity to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when 0 2 exercifed

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

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Chap. II. exercifed on a hoftile tribe, inftead of making a perfon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to effeem and approbation, and by rendering him ufeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And tho' the neceffity of mutual fupport ferved as a clofe cement of friendship among those of the fame kindred, the fpirit of revenge against enemies, and the defire of profecuting the deadly feuds, (fo they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

THE perfons, to whom Albany first applied for information with regard to the ftate of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume \*; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public diforders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws, and administration of justice: Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they faid, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all leffer criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past fervices, to which he had been, in a great measure, beholden for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance, with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the change, and was incited, both by views of his own fecurity and his revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himfelf to Angus and the queen dowager, and reprefented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed, from the ambition of Albany, the next heir to the crown, to whom the ftates had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his perfwalion, the formed the defign of carrying off the young King, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that confpiracy was difcovered, fhe herfelf, accompanied with 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 malecontents, and assured them of his protection. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual fuspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for fome time, detained prifoner in his caftle. But having perfwaded Arran to enter into the confpiracy with him, he was allowed to make his efcape; and he openly made war upon the regent. A new accommodation enfued, no more fincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to put himself, together with his brother, into the hands of the

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

the regent. They were immediately feized, committed to cuftody, brought to their 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 whole course of their pass life, be associated to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidences, however, of guilt produced against them, were far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while alive, were very much diffatisfied with their execution.

SUCH violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they deftroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate mimofities, their confequences are commonly very fatal both to the public, and to those who make trial of them. The regent, however, took advantage of the prefent calm which prevailed; and being invited by the French king, who was, a that time, willing to gratify Henry, he went over into France; and was detained there during five years. A great part of his authority he entrusted into the hands of Darcy, a Frenchman, whom he created warden of the marches, and who was extremely vigilant in the diffribution of juffice, and the punifhment of crimes and oppreffion. But Sir David Hume, a kinfman of the nobleman lately executed, defirous of revenging his friend's death on the friend of the regent, way-laid Darcy near Dunfe; and after reproaching him with that executior, made an attack upon him. Darcy finding himfelf too weak to refift, and trufting to the fwiftness of his horse, fled towards Dunbar; but being ignorant of the roads, he ran into a bog, was overtaken by the purfuers, and put to death. As he wore long flowing hair, Hume, exulting in this affaffination as a gallant exploit, cut out these locks, and pleating them into a wreath, wore them ever after at the pummel of his faddle \*. During the abfence of the regent, fuch confusions prevailed in Scotland, and fuch mutual enmity, rapine, and violence, among the great families, that that kingdom was, for a long time, utterly difabled both from offending its enemies, and affifting its friends. We have carried on the Scotch hiftory fome years beyond the prefent period; that as that country had little connexion with the general fystem of Europe, we might be the lefs interrupted in the narration of those memorable events, which were there transacted.

It was forefeen, that a young, active prince, like Francis, and of fo martial a difpolition, would not fuffer to lie ufelefs the great preparations, which his predeceffor, before his death, had made for the conqueft of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaston de Foix; and

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Pitscottie.

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Progrefs of Francis the firft.

1 3th September. and these tears of emulation were held to be fure prognostics of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing, as he thought, fecure behind him, he marched his armies towards the fouth of France; pretending, that his fole purpose was to secure his kingdom against the incursions of the Swifs. That formidable people still retained their animofity against France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and indeed reduced him to abfolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and intereft, to defend him against his invader ‡. They fortified themfelves with numerous forces in all those vallies of the Alps, thro' which, they thought, the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great fecrecy, industry, and perfeverance, made his entrance into Piemont by another paffage, they were not difmayed, but descended into the plain, tho' unprovided of 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, which is to be met with in the history of these latter ages; and it required all the heroic valour of that prince to infpire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaniers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning, the Swifs renewed the attack with equal alacrity; and it was not till they had loft all their braveft troops that they could be prevailed with to retire. The field was ftrowed with twenty thousand flain of both fides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been prefent at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement, which he had yet feen, was only the play of children, but that the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes \*.

AFTER this great victory, the conqueft of the Milaneze was eafy and open. Francis, fenfible how important the alliance of the cantons was, even in their loweft fortune, gave them all the conditions, which they could have demanded, had they been ever fo fuccefsful; and he courted their friendfhip by every poffible condefcention. The Venetians were in alliance with France; and as they trufted entirely to the fucceffes of that crown for the final recovery of their dominions on the continent, they feconded Francis in every enterprize. Pope Leo, whofe fole fault was too great fineffe and artifice, a fault, which, both as a prieft and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid, had hitherto temporized between the parties; and Francis's victory at Marignan determined him abfolutely to embrace the friendfhip of that monarch  $\ddagger$ . But what both facilitated moft, and

Memoires du Bellai, 1 b. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.
Guicciardini, l.b. 12. Paullus Jovius.

\* Hiftoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

and fecured the conquest of the Milaneze, was the resolution of Maximilian Sforza himfelf, who; tired of the viciffitudes of his fortune, difgufted with the tyranny of the Swifs, and defirous of privacy and repole, put himfelf into Francis's hands; and having flipulated a yearly penfion of thirty thousand ducats, refigned all pretentions to that dutchy, and retired into France.

THE fuccels and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealoufy in Jealoufy of Henry; and his rapid progrefs, tho' in fo diftant a country, was not regarded Henry. without apprehenfions by the English ministry. Italy was during that age the feat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it poffeffed alone that luftre, which has fince been fhared among other nations, it fixed the attention of all Europe, and every acquifition which was made there, appeared more important than its weight in the ballance of power fhould, ftrictly fpeaking, have demanded. Henry alfo thought, that he had reafon to complain of Francis for fending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his fifter, the queen dowager 1. The repairing the fortifications of Teroüenne was also regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the difguft which Wolfey had taken againft the French monarch.

HENRY, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bifhop elect, to the poffeffion of the temporalities, becaufe that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new fovereign; and Wolfey was appointed, in his room, administrator of the bishoprick. As the cardinal wished to obtain free and undifturbed poffeffion, he applied to Francis, and defired him to beftow on Gaillart fome fee of equal value in France, and to obtain his refignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full fettlement of Wolfey in the bifhopric would prove an obftacle to his purpofe, 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 fettlement in that fee. Wolfey, who expected to be complied with in every requeft, and who exacted respect even from the greatest monarchs, refented the flight put upon him by Francis; and he pufhed his mafter to feek an occafion for wreaking his vengeance against that monarch \*.

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MAXIMILIAN the emperor was ready to embrace every proposal of a new en. terprize, especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was extremely greedy, extremely prodigal, and extremely neceffitous. Richard Pace, formerly fecretary to cardinal Bambrige, now fecretary of flate, was difpatched

> † Pere Daniel, vol. 3. p. 31. \* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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to the court of Vienna, and had a commiffion to propole fome confiderable payments to Maximilian †: He thence made a journey into Switzerland; and by like motives engaged fome of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a confiderable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, delivered Verona to that republic for a fum of money, and thus excluded himfelf, in fome measure, from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that, after expending five or fix hundred thousand ducats, in order to gratify the cardinal's refentment, he had only loofened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

THERE were many reafons, which engaged the King not to proceed farther at prefent in his enmity against France. He could hope for affistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father in law, who had often deceived him, was now declining fast from age and infirmities; and a speedy end was looked for to the long and profperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, defired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it fo much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance, which was waiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that mo-Henry therefore remained in tranquillity during fome time; and narchy 1. feemed to give himfelf no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into fome expence, by offering to make a refignation of the imperial crown in his favour. That artifice was too großs to fucceed even with a prince fo little political as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperors motives and character, gave him warning, that the fole view of that prince in making him fo liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

1516.

15th January.

WHILE an univerfal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened, which had fo long been looked for, and from which fuch important confequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand, the catholic, and the fucceffion of his grandfon, Charles, to his extensive dominions. No commotion, however, or alteration followed immediately upon that great incident. This young prince, who had not yet reached his fixteenth year, was already a great flatefman, from the excellent education which he had received, and from the mature and folid judgment, with which nature had endowed him. He was fentible how important it was to preferve peace with foreigners, till he fhould have eftablifhed his

+ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

‡ Guicciardini, lib. 12.

his authority in his new dominions; and finding Francis defirous to take advantage of his prefent fituation, he made him an offer of fuch terms as gained the friendfhip and alliance of that monarch. He engaged to marry Francis's daughter, tho' only an infant of a year old; to receive as her dowry all her father's pretenfions on the kingdom of Naples; to pay him a hundred thoufand crowns a year, till the confummation of the marriage; and to give the King of Navarre fatisfaction with regard to his dominions \*. Charles, having finished this treaty at Noyon by his minisfers, and having thus left every thing in fecurity in the Low Countries, departed for Spain, and was willingly received to the government of these united kingdoms. The right of fucceffion lay in his mother, Joan, who was still alive; but as she was usually difordered in her judgment, Ferdinand had left the administration to his grandfon, Charles; and the states, both of Castile and Arragon, gave their confent to this defination.

THE more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis fenfible of the neceffity he 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 court, by prefents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal.

BONNIVET, admiral of France, was difpatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his infiruation and addrefs, qualities for which he was remarkable, to procure himfelf a place in Wolfey's good graces. After the ambaffador had fucceeded in his purpofe, he took an opportunity of expreffing his mafter's regret, that, by miftakes and mifapprehenfions, he had been fo unfortunate as to lofe a friendfhip, which he fo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolfey was not deaf to thefe honourable advances from fo great a monarch; and he was thenceforth obferved to express himfelf, on all occasions, in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interest, Francis entered into fuch confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most fecret affairs, and on all difficult emergencies had recourse to him as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no fecret to the King of this private correspondence; and Henry was so preposses in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that, he faid, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himfelf ‡.

WHEN matters feemed fufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his mafter's defire of recovering Tournay; and Wolfey immediately, without hefitation, engaged to effectuate his purpofe. He took an opportunity of re-P prefenting

\* Recueil de Traités par Leonard, tom. 2. ‡ Polydore Virgil, lib, 27.

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prefenting to the King and council, that Tournay lay fo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of a war, to keep the communication open between those two places: That as it was fituate on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to the attacks of both these powers, 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 preferved without a large garrifon, to reftrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever difcontented with the English government : And that the possefion of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, fo was it entirely useles, and gave little or no accels to annoy, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

THESE reafons were of themfelves very convincing, and were fure of meeting with no opposition, when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty therefore was entered into for the delivering up of Tournay; and in order to give to Tournay de- that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the Dauphin and the princefs Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be confidered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among fovereigns, tho' it was very rare, that the interefts and views of the parties continued fo fleady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at confiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve yearly payments, and to put into his hands eight hoftages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article \*. And left the cardinal fhould think himfelf neglected in these ftipulations, he promised him a yearly pension of twelve thoufand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay. He alfo engaged to recall Albany from Scotland.

FRANCIS having fucceeded fo well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more confiderable advantages, by practifing on the vanity and felf conceit of this haughty favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, confulted 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 those careffes were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in confideration of a fum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular spite to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossefied of his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extravagant a proposal met with a very favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council : He

\* Memoires du Bellay, liv. I.

He was contented to found privately the opinions of men, by dropping hints in Chap. II. conversation, as if he thought Calais a useles burthen to the kingdom +: But when he found, that all men were ftrongly riveted in a contrary perfwaficn, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and falling, foon after, into new attachments with the King of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

THE enormous pride of Wolfey was now farther encreafed by a great acceffion of dignity and power which he had received. Cardinal Campeggio had been Wolfey apfent as legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for pointed leenabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which gate. was real, and was formidable to all chriftendom, but which had been fo often made use of to ferve the interested purposes of the court of Rome, that it had loft all influence on the minds of the people. The Clergy refufed to comply with Leo's demand : Campeggio was recalled ; and the King defired of the pope, that Wolfey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invefted with the legantine power, together with the right of vifiting all the clergy and monafteries, and even with fufpending the whole laws of the church during a twelve-month. Wolfey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new difplay of that flate and parade, to which he was fo much addicted. On folemn feast-days, he was not contented without faying mass after the manner of the pope himfelf: Not only he had bifhops and abbots to ferve 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 wrote him a letter, where he fubfcribed himfelf, your loving brother, Wolfey complained of his prefumption, 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," he faid, " that " this man is drunk with too much prosperity."

BUT Wolfey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and oftentation. He crected an office, which he called the legantine court; and as he was now, Hismanner of by means of the pope's commission and the King's favour, invested with all exerciting that power, both ecclefiaftical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be fet to the authority of this new tribunal. He conferred on it a species of inquisitorial and cenforial powers even over the laiety, and directed it to examine into all matters of confcience; into all conduct which had given fcandal; into all actions, which, though they efcaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was juftly taken at this commiffion, which was really unbounded; and P'2

+ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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the people were the more difgusted, when they faw a man, who indulged himself in the licences of pleafure, fo fevere in repreffing the least appearance of immorality in others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolfey made one John Allen the judge in it, a perfon of fcandalous life\*, whom he himfelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury: And as this man either exacted fines from every one whom he was pleafed to find guilty, or took bribes to drop profecutions, men concluded, and with fome appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal thefe 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 buy an indemnity, by paying large fums of money to the legate or his judge. Not contented with this authority, Wolfey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the power of all the bishops courts; particularly that of judging of Wills and Testaments; and his decifions in these important points were esteemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himfelf were pope, and as if the pope could difpose absolutely of every ecclesiaftical establishment, 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 durft carry to the King any complaint against these usurpations of Wolfey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the difcontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. " A man," faid he, " is " not fo blind any where as in his own house: But do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolfey, and tell him, if any thing be amifs, that he " amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only ferved to augment Wolfey's enmity to Warham : But one London having profecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the King's ears, and he expreffed fuch difpleafure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority ‡.

WHILE

#### \* Strype's Memorials, vol. 1. p. 125.

† Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narration has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited : There are many circumstances, however, very fufpicious, both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolfey's conduct, could find no proof for any material crime he had committed.

‡ This year and the foregoing the fweating fickness raged anew in England. It was called Sudor Anglicus, because few, except the English nation, were attacked by it. Its malignity was such, that it commonly killed within three hours of its commencement. Some towns loft by it an half, others two thirds of their inhabitants.

WHILE Henry, indulging himself in pleafure and amufement, entrusted the Chap. II. 1519. government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died, a man, 12th of Januwho, of himfelf, was indeed of little confequence; but as his death left vacant the Death of the first station among christian princes, it put all men's spirits into agitation, and emperor Maxproved a kind of æra in the general fystem of Europe. The Kings of France and imilian. Spain immediately declared themfelves candidates for the imperial throne; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promifed them fuccefs in fo great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to put in his pretenfions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to follicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre engaged either on the one fide or the other.

FRANCIS and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalship with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, fuitors to the fame miftrefs: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; and the other muft reft contented \*. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reafonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to fharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at last prevailed, to the great difappointment of the French monarch, Charles, King who still continued in the belief, that the majority of the electoral college was of Spain, engaged in his favour. And as he was fome years fuperior in age to his rival, ror. and, after his victory at Marignan, and conqueft of the Milanefe, much fuperior in renown, he could not fupprefs his indignation, at being thus, in the face of all mankind, after long and anxious expectation, post-poned in fo important a pretenfion. From this concurrence, as much as from opposition of interest, arofe that emulation between those two great monarchs, which, while it kept their whole age in agitation, fets them in fo remarkable a contraft to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, afpiring, active, industrious; beloved by their fervants and fubjects, 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, clofe, artificial, frugal; better calculated to obtain fuccefs in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the greater monarch. The King, from his overfights and indifcretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himfelf from them with honour: The emperor, by his defigning, interefted character,

\* Belcario, lib. 16. Guicciardin, lib. 13.

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Chap. II. character, fitted, in his greatest fuccesses, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouze up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had fubdued. And as the perfonal 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 fudden fo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the fucceffion of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of Burgundy : He inherited the conquest of Naples, of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the bounds of the globe feemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poffeis the whole treasures, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But tho' the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire greater and more extensive than any known in Europe fince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of Charles's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progrefs, and maintain the contest against him.

HENRY poffeffed that felicity, of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its fituation, to hold the ballance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this fingular and ineftimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater prince than either of those mighty monarchs, who feemed to ftrive for the dominion of Europe. But the character of this King was heedlefs, inconfiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his paffion or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; fometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by refentment, feldom by his true intereft. And thus, tho' he triumphed in that fuperiority which his fituation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to the effential and durable advantage of his kingdom or his own.

### 1520.

Interview beand Francis at Calais.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He follicited an interview near Calais; in expectween Henry tation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolfey earneftly feconded this propofal; and hoped, in the prefence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his fplendour, and his influence over both monarchs \*. And as Henry himfelf loved pomp and magnificence, and had entertained a curiofity of being perfonally acquainted with the French King, he very chearfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations ftrove to furpafs each other in pomp and expence : Many of them involved

· Bideute Hb 16. Gulecta

\* Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

involved themfelves in large debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain fplendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, tho' immenfely rich, was fomewhat addicted to frugality, finding the preparations for this feftival amount to immenfe fums, threw out fome exprefions of difpleafure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that meafure +. An imprudence which proved afterwards to Buckingham the fource of great misfortunes.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he was furprized to hear The emperor that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately haftened thither with rives in Engthe queen, in order to give a fuitable reception to his royal gueft. That great land. prince, politic tho' young, having heard of the intended interview between Francis 25th of May. and Henry, was apprehenfive of the confequences, and was refolved to take the opportunity, in his paffage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the King still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Belides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he ftrove, by every teftimony of friendship, by flatteries, protestations, promifes and prefents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here inftilled into this afpiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the fole point of elevation, beyond his prefent greathefs, it was fure to attract his wifhes with the fame ardour, as if fortune had never, as yet, favoured him with any of her prefents. In hopes of reaching this dignity by the emperor's affiftance, he fecretly devoted himfelf to that monarch's interefts; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promifes, that Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely, that, for many years, he would be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry eafily observed this courtship payed to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a fubject of vanity; and believed, that, as Wolfey's fole fupport was his favour, the obeifance of fuch mighty monarchs to his fervant, was in reality a more confpicuous homage to his own grandeur.

THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over, to Calais with the queen 30th of May. and his whole court; and from thence proceeded to Guifnes, a fmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Andres, a few miles diftant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place fituate between these two towns, but still within the English pale: For Francis agreed to pay that compliment to Henry, in confideration of that prince's paffing the fea, that he might be prefent at the interview. Wolfey, to whom both Kings had entrufted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumftance, in order to do honour to his master.

+ Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Herbert. Hollingfhed, p. 855.

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THE two monarchs, after faluting each other in the moft cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpofe, and they held a fecret conference together. Henry here proposed to make fome 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 stopt 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 effential nature. That generous prince, full of honour himfelf, and incapable of diffrufting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were obferved, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch : The number of their guards and attendants was carefully counted on both fides: Every ftep was forupuloufly measured and adjusted : And if the two Kings proposed to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their feveral quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paffed each other in the middle point between the places; and at the fame inftant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himfelf into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremony, which contained fo many difhonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guifnes. The guards were furprized at the prefence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, You are all my prisoners : Carry me to your master. Henry was equally aftonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, " My brother," faid he, " you have here played me the most agreeable trick in " the world, and have fhowed me the full confidence I may place in you : I fur-" render myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15000 angels +; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it, for the fake of his prifoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a prefent, 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 reft of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals.

A DEFIANCE had been fent by the two Kings to each others court, and thro' all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were

gentlemen,

gentlemen, at tilt, tourney, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horfeback, Francis furrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgiously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely perfonages of the age, as well as the most expert in every military exercife. 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 thefe 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 here feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, Cui adbæreo praest. He prevails whom I favour \* : Expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the ballance of power among the potentates of Europe. In thefe 24th of June. entertainments, more than in any ferious bufinefs, did the two Kings pafs the time, till their departure.

HENRY, after his return to Calais, paid a vifit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pafs fome days in that fortrefs. The artful and politic Charles here compleated the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship, to which the frank and liberal nature of Francis had given birth. As the houfe of Auftria began fenfibly to take the afcendant over the French monarchy, the interefts of England required that fome fupport should be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might beftow on either of them a decifive fuperiority over the other. But the jealousy of the English against France has ever prevented a cordial union between these nations: And Charles, sensible of this hereditary animolity, and defirous 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 entire arbiter in any difpute or difference that should arise between the monarchs. But the great mafterpiece of Charles's politics was the fecuring Wolfey in his interefts, by very important fervices, and still higher promises. He renewed affurances of affifting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in prefent poffeffion of the revenues, belonging to the fees of Badajox and Palencia in Castile. The acquifitions of Wolfey were now become fo exorbitant, that, joined to the penfions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poffefs, his revenues were computed nearly to equal those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them

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them with a magnificence, or rather an offentation, which gave general offence to the people; and much leffened his mafter in the eyes of all foreign nations \*.

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Charles and Francis.

THE violent perfonal emulation and political jealoufy which had taken place between the emperor and the French King, foon broke into action. War between Francis fent an army into Navarre under the command of De Foix, in order to replace the family of Albert in the poffession of that kingdom; and this enterprize could not have been complained of as a breach of treaty, if De Foix had confined himfelf to that equitable defign. But after he had fubdued Navarre, finding Spain in great diforder from the infurrections of the people, he thought the opportunity favourable, and he ventured, with Francis's approbation, to lay fiege to Logrogno in Caftile. This invafion, contrary to what was expected, put an end to the domeftic diffentions of the Caftilians; who attacked the French, obliged them to raife the fiege, purfued the advantage, and entirely expelled them Navarre, which has ever fince remained united with the Spanish monarchy +. Robert de la Marck, duke of Boüillon and prince of Sedan, having received some difgust from the governess of the Low Countries, had taken arms and invaded those provinces; and had even fent a challenge or defiance to the emperor himfelf ‡ : A boldnefs, which feemed entirely unaccountable, except. on the fupposition that this petty prince had received fecret encouragement from Francis. On the other hand, Charles, in order to chaftife the infolence of Robert, had levied a powerful army, and advanced to the frontiers of France, which he threatened with an invafion. Hostilities were foon carried farther; his generals befieged Moufon, which they took ; they invefted Mezieres, where they met with a repulfe. In Italy likewife the two monarchs were not inactive. Francis negotiated with the Pope, in order to engage him to concur in expelling the imperialists from Naples : But Charles had the address to finish his league with the fame power for expelling the French from Milan; and the united arms of the allies had invaded that dutchy, and had almost entirely finished their enterprize.

Mediation of Henry.

WHILE thefe ambitious and warlike princes were committing hoftilities on each other in every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest defire of peace; and both of them carried inceffantly their complaints to Henry, as to the arbiter or umpire between them. The King, who appeared neutral, engaged them to fend their ambaffadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolfey and the pope's nuntio. The emperor was well acquainted with the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him confcious of this advantage. He required the restitution of

\* Polydore Virgil. Hall.

+ Vera, hift, de Charl. V.

† Memoires de Bellay, lib. 1.

of Burgundy, a province, which had been ceded many years before by treaty, and which would have given him access into the midft of France: And he demanded to be freed from the homage, which his anceftors had ever paid for Flanders and Artois, and which he himfelf had, by the treaty of Noyon, promifed to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress at Calais broke up, and Wolfey, foon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the fame flate, magnificence, and refpect, as if he had been the King of England himfelf; and he concluded in his mafter's 24th of Noname an offenfive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He engaged that England should next fummer invade that kingdom with forty thoufand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princefs Mary, the King's only child, who had now fome profpect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interefts, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independance of the kingdom, was the refult of the humours and prejudices of the King, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

THE people faw every day new inftances of the uncontrouled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had been fo unfortunate as to give difgust to the cardinal, and it was not long before he found reason to repent his indifcretion. He feems to have been a man full of levity and rafh projects; and Trialand conbeing infatuated with judicial aftrology, he entertained commerce with one Hop- demnation of kins, a carthufian monk, who encouraged him with the notion of mounting one Buckingham. day the throne of England. He was defcended by a female from the duke of Glocefter, youngeft fon of Edward the third; and tho' his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been fo imprudent as to let fall fome expressions, as if he thought himfelf best intitled, in cafe the King should die without iffue, to poffefs the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the King's life, and had provided himfelf of arms, which he intended to employ, in cafe a favourable opportunity fhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whole fon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord fleward, in order to prefide at this folemn procedure. The jury confifted of a duke, a marquis, feven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave fentence against Buckingham, which was foon after put in execution. There is no reason to think the fentence unjust \*; but as Buckingham's crime '7th of May. feemed to proceed more from indifcretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved that nobleman, expected that the King would grant him a pardon, and ascribed their disappointment to the malice and revenge of the cardinal. The

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\* Herbert. Hall. Stow, 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

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Chap. III. King's own jealoufy, however, against all pretenders to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone fufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of conftable, which Buckingham inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived by Henry.

#### HAP. III. C

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state. Origin of the reformation. \_\_\_\_ Martin Luther. \_\_\_\_ Henry receives the title of defender of the faith. \_\_\_\_ Causes of the progress of the reformation. \_\_\_\_ War with France. Invasion of France. ---- War with Scotland. ---- A Parliament.----Invahon of France.----Italian wars.----The King of France invades Italy .---- Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis. ---- Francis recovers his liberty.---- Sack of Rome.---- League with France.

URING fome years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controverfies, which produced the reformation, one of the greateft events in hiftory : But as it was not till this time, that the King of England publickly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rife and progrefs. It will now be neceffary to explain these theological difputes; 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 ecclesiaftical order was become highly expedient, if not abfolutely neceffary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the fubject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons, why there must be an ecclesiaftical order, and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

Digteffion concerning the ecclefiaftical state.

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Most of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interefts of the fociety, they are also useful or agreeable to fome individuals; and in that cafe, the conftant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to the individuals, who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to rife by the favour of their customers, encrease, as much much as poffible, their fkill and induftry; and as matters are not diffurbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always fure to be at all times exactly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also fome callings, which, tho' useful and even neceffary in a ftate, bring no advantage nor pleafure to any individuals; 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 substitutions in a must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing particular honour to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependance, or by some other expedient. The perfors employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy are inftances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at first view, that the ecclefiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may fafely be trusted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or confolation from their spiritual ministry and affistance. 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 encrease, from their encreasing practice, study, and attention.

But if we confider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wife legislator will ftudy to avoid ; becaufe in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infufing into it a ftrong mixture of fuperflition, folly, and delution. Each ghoftly practitioner, in order to render himfelf more precious and facred in the eyes of his retainers, must infpire them with the most violent abhorrence against all other fects, and continually endeavour, by fome 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 adopt d, that best fuits the diforderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address in practifing on the paffions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has paid dearly for his pretended frugality, in faving a fettled foundation for the priefts; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by affixing flated fallaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to preferve their flock from ftraying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments,

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ments, the' commonly they arofe at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of fociety.

Bur we may observe, that few ecclesiaftical 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 magifrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plaufible pretence for their encroachments and ufurpations. The higher dignities of the church ferved, indeed, to the fupport of gentry and nobility; but by the eftablifhment of monafteries, many of the loweft vulgar were taken from the ufeful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of floth and ignorance. The fupreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, who was guided by interefts, always different, fometimes contrary to those of the community. And as the hierarchy was neceffarily folicitous to preferve an unity of faith, rites and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifeft rifque of being extinguifhed; and violent perfecutions, or what was worfe, a ftupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To encreafe thefe evils, the church, tho' fhe poffeffed large revenues, was not contented with her acquifitions, but retained a power of practifing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even beftowed on each individual prieft a power of enriching himfelf by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him ftill a powerful motive for diligence and induftry in his calling. And thus, that church, tho' an expensive and burthenfome eftablifhment, was liable to many of the inconveniencies, which belong to an order of priefts, trufted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a fubfiftance.

THE advantages, attending the Romiss hierarchy, were but a small compenfation for its inconveniencies. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had ferved as a cheque to the despotism of Kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind Europe into an immense republic. And the pomp and splendour of worship, which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed, in some respects, to the encouragement of the sine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

Ir will eafily be conceived, that, tho' the ballance of evil prevailed in the Romith church, this was not the chief reafon, which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muft have contributed to forward that great work.

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POPE

POPE Leo the tenth, by his generous and enterprizing temper, had very much ex- Chap. III. haufted the treafury, and was obliged to make use of every invention, which might yield money, in order to fupport his projects; pleafures, and liberalities. The Origin of the fcheme of felling indulgences was fuggefted to him, as an expedient which had reformation. often ferved 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 fuppofed, was poffeffed of a great flock of merit, as being intitled to all the good works of the faints, beyond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded : And from this unexhaufted treafury, the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpofes, the refifting the Turk, or fubduing fchifmatics. When the money came into his treasury, the greatest 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 literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and fallacy of the doctrines, which, as fupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereft to promote : And it is the lefs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds, which his predeceffors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plaufible pretexts, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the fale of a general indulgence +; and as his expenses had not only exhaufted his ufual revenue, but even anticipated the income of this extraordinary expedient, the feveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perfons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic was affigned to his fifter, Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural fon of Innocent the eighth; and the, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoefe, now a bishop, formerly a merchant, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession **†**. The Auftin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truft had derived both profit and confideration : But Arcemboldi, fearing, left practice might have taught them means to fecret the money §, and expecting no extraordinary fuccefs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the dominicans. These monks, In order to prove themselves worthy of the diffinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefit of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, tho' not more ridiculous than those already received, were fuch as the ears of the people were not yet fully accuftomed to ...

\* Father Paul and Sleidan. § Father Paul, lib. 1... † In 1517. t Father Paul, Sleidan.

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1512.

Martin Lu-

ther.

Chap. III. to. To add to the fcandal, the collectors of this revenue are faid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have fpent in taverns, gaming houfes, and places still more infamous, the money, which devout perfons had faved from their usual expences, in order to purchase a remission of their fins \*.

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 Auftin friar, professor in the univerfity of Wirtemberg, refenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the fale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and being provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of difpute, 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, discourses, fermons, conferences; and daily encreased 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, rouzed from that lethargy, in which they had fo long flept, began to call in queftion the most antient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurifdiction : The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many fovereigns 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 feverity, to relinquish a fect, of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory, fuperior 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 fubfisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles refembled those of Luther, the new doctrines gained fecretly many partizans among the laiety of all ranks and denominations. Henry had been educated in a ftrict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, fpoke 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

\* Father Paul, lib. 1.

+ Father Paul, Sleidan.

thority conferred upon him : He even undertook to combat them with weapons Chap. III. not ufually 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 fubject and the age, does no difcredit to his capacity. He fent a copy of it to Leo, who received fo magnificent a prefent with great teftimony of regard; and conferred on him, the title of defender of the faith ; an appellation ftill retained by the Henry re-Kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverfy, foon wrote an ceives the title answer to Henry; and without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated the faith. him with all the acrimony of ftyle, to which, in the course of his polemics, he had fo 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 difpute 1. And as the controverfy became more illustrious, by Henry's entering the lifts, it drew more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe.

THE quick and furprizing progress of this bold fect may justly in part be Caufes of the afcribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning : Not that progressof the reafon bore any confiderable part, in opening men's eyes with regard to the im- reformation. poftures of the Romifh church : For of all branches of literature, philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconfiderable progress; neither is there any inflance where argument has been able to free the people from that enormous load of abfurdity, with which fuperfitition 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 fufficiently, that it owed not its fuccefs to reafon and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progrefs in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his fectaries, full of vehemence, declamation and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, fomewhat awakened from a profound fleep of fo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and fcrupled lefs to tread in any unufual path, which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other antient 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 imprefiion on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, affumed by the church of Rome, were very antient, and were prior to almost every R political

‡ Father Paul, lib. 1.

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political government established in Europe : But as the ecclesiaftics would not fubmit to poffefs their privileges as matters of civil right, which time could 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 beftow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not fatisfied with oppofing the pretended divinity of the Romifh church, and difplaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their anceftors, as abominable, deteftable, damnable; foretold by facred writ itfelf as the fource of all wickednefs and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrift, called his communion the fcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions, which, however applied, were to be found in fcripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most folid arguments. Excited by contest and perfecution on the one hand, by fuccess and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried their opposition to the greatest extremity against the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied fuperflitions, with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthuliaftic strain of devotion, which admitted of no obfervances, rites or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and extacy. The new sectaries, feized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and fet 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 ecclesiaftical jurifdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable, in some respects, to the temporal authority of fovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally difcontented; and exhorted princes to reinftate themfelves in those powers, of which the incroaching fpirit of the ecclefiaftics, and efpecially of the fovereign pontiff, had fo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monaftic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chaftity, or difgufted with the licence, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the exceffive riches, the idlenefs, the libertinifm 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 ftupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controverfy, and even every fpecies of literature ; they were unable to defend themfelves against men, armed with authorities, citations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation

alteration or debate. Such were the advantages, with which the reformers be- Chap. III. gan their attack of the Roman hierarchy; and fuch were the caufes of their rapid and aftonishing fuccess.

L10 the tenth, whole overfights and too fupine truft in the profound ignorance of the people, had given rife to this fect, but whofe found judgment, modera. If December. tion and temper, were well qualified to retard its progrefs, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the King's book against Luther; and he was fucceeded in the papal chair, by Adrian, a Fleming, tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was qualified to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and fimplicity of manners, by which he was diffinguished; but, fo 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 deteftable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this fincere avowal, he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was feduced to concur in that league, which Charles and Henry had formed against France \*; and he thereby augmented the fcandal, occafioned by the practice of fo many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms subservient to political purposes.

THE emperor, Charles, who knew, that Wolfey had received a difappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the refentment of that haughty minister, was folicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid a new visit to England; and besides 26th May. flattering the vanity of the King and the cardinal, he repeated to Wolfey all the promifes, which he had made him, of feconding his pretentions to the papal throre. Wolfey, fenfible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promifed a fudden vacancy, diffembled his refentment, and was willing to hope for a more profperous iffue of the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which fome articles were added ; and he agreed to indemnify both the King and Wolfey for the revenues which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himfelf with Henry and the English nation; he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himfelf was inftalled knight of the garter at London. After a stay of fix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he foon pacified the tumults which had arifen in his absence +.

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\* Guicciardini, lib. 14.

+ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.

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War with France. THE King declared war againft France; and this meafure was founded on fo little reafon, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refufal to fubmit to his arbitration, and his fending Albany into Scotland. This laft ftep had not been taken by the French King, till he was quite affured of Henry's refolution to attack him. Surrey landed fome troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying wafte the country, he failed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The Englifh merchants had great property in that place, which was no more fpared by the foldiers, than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and failed to Calais, where he took the command of the Englifh army, defined for the invafion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries under the command of the count of Buren, confifted in the whole of 18,000 men.

Invalion of France.

THE French had made it a maxim in all their wars with the English, fince the reign of Charles the fifth, never, without great neceffity, to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wife policy. He fupplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with ftrong garrifons and plenty of provisions : He himfelf took post at Abbeville, with some Swifs and French infantry, and a body of cavalry : The count of Guife encamped under Montreuil with fix thousand men. These two bodies were in a fituation to join upon occafion ; to throw fuccour into any town, that was threatened ; and to harrafs the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not supplied with magazines, first divided his army for the convenience of fubfisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together the forces, and laid fiege to Hedin. But neither did he fucceed in this enterprize. The garrifon made vigorous fallies upon his army: The French forces affaulted them from without : Great rains fell : Fatigue and bad weather threw the foldiers into dyfenteries : And Surrey was obliged to raife the fiege, and put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois; and five or fix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him mafter of one place within the Frenchfrontier.

THE allies were more fuccefsful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loft a bloody 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 fupplying Lautrec with money \*, was followed by the lofs of Genoa.

\* Guicciardini, lib. 14.

Genoa. The caftle of Cremona was the fole fortrefs in Italy, which remained in Chap. III. the hands of the French.

EUROPE was now in fuch a fituation, and fo connected by alliances and intereft, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itfelf thro' the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the clofeft was that which had fo long fublified between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not expect to remain long unmolefted War with on the northern frontier. No fooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he Scotland. took meafures for kindling a war with England; and he fummoned the whole. force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rofline +. He thence conducted. the army fouthwards into Annandale ; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Firth. But many of the nobility were difgufted with the regent's administration ;and observing, that his connexions with his native country were very feeble in comparison of those with France, they murmured, that for the fake of foreign interefts, their peace should be fo often difturbed, and war, during their King's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, fo much fuperior 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 left 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 Merfe and Teviotdale without oppofition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scotch 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 affume the government: And the English monarch, who knew the distrest situation of the country, was determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present miferies, to make a folemn renounciation of the French alliance, and embrace that of England \*. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heirefs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient, which would for ever unite the two kingdoms 1: And the queen dowager, with her whole

+ Buchannan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitscottie, \* Buchannan, lib. 14. Herbert, ‡ Le Grand, vol. III, p. 39.

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Chap. III. whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with England. They faid, that the interests of Scotland had too long been facrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the affistance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them, fo foon 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 confequence of the unequal alliance; but that there were peculiar circumftances in the fituation of the kingdoms, which, in the present case, rendered it inevitable: That France was fo diftant and fo divided from them by feas, that fhe fcarce could by any means, and never could in time, fend fuccours to the Scotch, fufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom : That nature had, in a manner, framed an alliance between the two British nations; having enclosed them in the fame island ; given them the fame 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, fecured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever fecure and unmolefted.

THE partizans of the French alliance faid, on the other hand, that the very reasons, which were urged in favour of a league with England, the close neighbourhood of the kingdom and its fuperior force, were the real caufes, why a fincere and durable confederacy could never be framed with that hoftile nation : That among neighbouring states, occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful people would be fure to feize every frivolous pretence for oppreffing the weaker, and reducing them to fubjection : That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scotch, if they wished to maintain their independancy, to preferve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That if they deferted that old and falutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their antient enemies, flimulated both by intereft and by paffion, would foon invade them with fuperior force, and reduce them to fubjection : Or if they delayed the attack, the infidious peace, by making the Scotch lose the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a flavery more certain and more irretrieveable \*.

THE arguments employed by the French party, being feconded by the natural prejudices of the people, feemed rather to prevail : And when the regent himfelf, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the terror of the English fleet,

\* Buchannan, lib. 14.

fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that fide. By the authority of the convention of flates, he affembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them fouthwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melrofs, the English party were again able to raife fuch 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-Caftle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He fent over fome troops to befiege that fortrefs, who made a breach in it, and flormed fome of the outworks : But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and difcouraged by the advanced feafon, thought proper to difband his forces and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scotch nation, agitated by their domeftic factions, were not, during feveral years, in a condition to give any more diffurbance to England; and Henry had full leifure to profecute his defigns on the continent.

THE reafon, why the war against France proceeded fo flowly on the part of England was the want of money. All Henry the feventh's treafures were long fince diffipated; the King's habits of expence ftill remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary fupport of his government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had last year caufed a general furvey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue \*; and expressed great fatisfaction on finding the nation fo opulent. He then issued out privy feals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular fums; and this act of power, tho' fomewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practifed by the Kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry carried his authority much farther on this occasion. He issued an edict for a general tax upon his fubjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound from the clergy, two shillings from 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 confent of Parliament.

HENRY fummoned a Parliament this year, together with a convocation; and 15th of April. found neither of them in a difposition to complain of the infringement of their A Parliament. privileges. It was only doubted, how far they would carry their liberality to the King. Wolfey, who had undertaken the management of this affair, began with

\* Herbert. Stowe, 514.

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Chap. III. the convocation ; in hopes, that their example would influence the Parliament to grant a large fupply. He demanded a moiety of their ecclefiaftical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time, and tho' he met with opposition, he reprimanded fo feverely the refractory members, that his requeft was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by feveral 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 dangers of an invation 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 800,000 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a fum, computed from the late furvey or valuation, to be equivalent 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 unufual from the commons; and tho' the cardinal's demand was feconded by Sir Thomas More the fpeaker, and feveral other members attached to the court, the houfe could not be prevailed with to comply +. They only voted two shillings in the pound on all possessed of twenty pounds a year and upwards, one fhilling on all between twenty pounds and forty shillings a year; and on all the rest of the subjects above fixteen years of age a groat a-head. This last fum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four yearly payments, and was not therefore at the outmost above fix-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the fum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the difappointment, came again to the house, and defired 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 defire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possefield of fifty pounds a year, and upwards \*. The proceedings of this

+ Herbert. Stowe, 518. Parliamentary Hiftory. Strype, vol. I. p. 49, 50.

\* It is faid, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the reguired fupply, he was fo provoked, that he fent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a confiderable influence on the houfe; and he being introduced to his majefly, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: Ho! man ! will they not fuffer my bill to pass? And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: Get my bill paffed by to marrow, or elfe to-morrow this head of yours shall be off. This cavalier manner of Henry fucceeded: For next day the bill was passed. Collin's British peeroge. Grove's life of Wolfey. We are told by Hall, fol. 38. That cardinal Wolfey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that it were better, that fome should suffer indigence, than that the King at this time should lack ; and therefore beware and refist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may for tune to cast some people their heads. Such was the style, employed by this King and his ministers.

house of commons discover evidently the humour of the times : They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown, which was far from unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pafs uncenfured, tho' its direct tendency was to fubvert entirely the liberties of the people. The King was fo diffatisfied with this faving difpofition of the commons, that, as he had not called a Parliament during feven years before, he allowed feven more to elapfe, before he fummoned another. And under pretence of neceffity, he levied, in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years +; a new invafion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counfels, who, trufting to the protection, afforded him by his ecclefiaftical character, was lefs fcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new difappointment in his afpiring views. The pope, Adrian the fixth, died; and Clement the feventh, of the family of Medici, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolfey began now to perceive the infincerity of the emperor, and concluded that that prince would never fecond his pretenfions to the papal chair. This injury was highly refented by the cardinal; and he began thenceforth to eftrange himfelf from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his mafter and the French King. Meanwhile, he diffembled his refentment; 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 unufual conceffion, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In fome particulars, Wolfey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipfwich, the place of his nativity : He fought, all over Europe, for learned men to fupply the chairs of these colleges : And in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed fome smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the lefs difficult for him, that the Romish church began to perceive, that she over-abounded in monks, and that she wanted fome fupply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humour of the new reformers.

THE confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever, on the opening this campaign \*. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to defert the French alliance, and to form engagements for the fecuring Sforza in poffeffion of the Mila-

+ Speed. Hall. Herbert. \* Guicciardin, lib 14.

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nefe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the fame meafure. The emperor in perfon menaced France with a powerful invalion on the fide of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands feemed ready to break into Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domeflic confpiracy, which had been forming, and which was now come to full maturity against the French monarch.

CHARLES duke of Eourbon, conftable of France, was a prince of the moft fhining merit; and, befide diftinguifhing himfelf in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accomplifhment, which became a perfon of his high flation. His virtues, embellifhed with the graces of youth, had made fuch imprefion on Louife of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, fhe made him propofals of marriage; and meeting with a refufal, fhe formed fchemes of unrelenting vengeance againft him. She was a woman, falfe, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had by her capacity, which was confiderable, acquired an abfolute afcendant over her fon. By her infligation, Francis put many affronts on the conftable, which it was difficult for a gallant fpirit to endure; and at laft he permitted Louife to profecute a lawfuit againft him, by which, under the moft frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poffeffions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

BOURBON, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking, that, if any injuries could juftify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must fland acquitted, had entered into a fecret correspondence with the emperor and the King of England \*. Francis, pertinacious in his defign of recovering the the Milanefe, had propofed to lead his army in perfon into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned fickness, in order to have a pretence for flaying behind, intended, fo foon as the King had paffed the Alps, to raife an infurrection among his numerous vaffals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his defign; but not being prompt enough in fecuring fo dangerous a foe, the conftable made his escape +; and putting himself in the emperor's service, did all the injuries to his native country, which his enterprizing fpirit and his great talents for war enabled him to perform. Charles profeffed fuch regard for him, that he promifed him his fifter in marriage, Eleonora, widow to Emanuel, King of Portugal; and when the conftable came to Madrid, fome time after, the emperor received him with all the demonstrations of friendship. He faid to a Spanish grandee, that he must defire

\* Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

+ Belcarius, lib. 17.

defire him, while Bourbon refided in that city, to allow him to take up his re- Chap. III. fidence in his houfe, as most fuitable to his rank and quality. The nobleman replied, with a Caftilian dignity, that his majefly's defire was to him a fufficient reafon; but he must tell him beforehand, that fo foon as Bourbon departed he would raze to the ground the houfe which had been polluted by the prefence of fuch a traitor \*.

THE King of England, defirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invafion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed 24th August. over to Calais. He was attended with the 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, Invasion of amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings France. under the count of Buren, they prepared for an invalion of France. The fiege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more adviseable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided of troops; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infefted the allied army in their march, and threw garrifons, with great expedition, into every town, which was threatened by them. After coafting the Somme, and paffing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of fmall force, which commanded a bridge over the Somme. Here they were refolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himfelf into the town, and feemed determined to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and fuccefs; and when he retreated over the bridge, they purfued him fo hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but paffed it along with him, and put him to route. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they befieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oife, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great confernation; till the duke of Vendome haftened with fome forces to its relief. The confederates, then, afraid of being furrounded, and reduced to extremities during fo advanced a feafon, thought proper to retire. Montdidier was abandoned : And the English and Flemings went each into their own country.

FRANCE defended herfelf from the other invalions with equal facility and equal good fo tune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Fuftemberg. The count of Guife, who defended

\* Guicciardini.

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that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrifon-towns; and with his cavalry, he kept the field, and fo harraffed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guife attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into diforder, and cut off the greatest part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the fide of Navarre; and, tho' that frontier was well guarded by nature, it feemed now exposed to great danger from this powerful invation which threatened it. Charles belieged Fontarabia, which had fallen a few years before into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he raifed the fiege of a fudden, and fat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a fudden march and threw himfelf into Bayonne, which he defended with fuch vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were conftrained to raife the fiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this fide, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, fat down, in the winter feafon, before that city, well fortified and ftrongly garrifoned. The cowardice or mifconduct of the governor faved him the shame of a new disappointment. The place was furrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprize, put his troops into winter quarters.

Italian wars.

So obstinate was Francis in profecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithftanding thefe dangerous invafions, with which his kingdom was menaced on every fide, he had determined to lead in perfon a powerful army to the conqueft of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's revolt and efcape flopped him at Lyons; and fearing fome infurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man fo powerful and fo beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France; and to fend forward his army, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purpofely left in a condition fomewhat defencelefs, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it; and no fooner had Bonnivet paffed the Tefin, than the army of the league, and even Profper Colonna, who commanded it, a very prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without refiftance : But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opporunity to reinforce the garrifon, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took poffession of all the pofts, which commanded the paffages to it. But the army of the league, mean-while, was not inactive; and they fo ftraitened and harraffed the quarters of the French, that it feemed more likely the latter would themfelves perifh by famine, than reduce 8

reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted Chap. III. them to fuch a degree, that they were ready to raife the blockade; and their only hopes confifted in a great body of Swifs, which was levied for the fervice of the French king, and whofe arrival was every day expected.

THE Swifs had in that age to great a fuperiority in the field above almost every other nation, and had been fo much courted by all the great potentates of Europe, that they were become extremely capricious and haughty, and thought that the fate of kingdoms depended entirely on their affiftance or oppofition. Francis had promifed to this body of mercenaries, whom he had hired to join Bonnivet, that fo foon as they arrived in the plains of Piedmont, the duke of Longueville should join them with four hundred lances, and conduct them to the French camp : But by fome accident Longueville's march had been retarded, and the Swifs had been obliged to march, without the honour of being efcorted by him. Offended at this neglect, as they interpreted it, they no fooner came within fight of the French camp, than they flopped, and inftead of joining Bonnivet, they fent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then ferved under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company \*.

AFTER this defertion of the Swifs, Bonnivet had no other choice, than that of making his retreat, as faft as poffible, into France. He accordingly put himfelf in motion for that purpofe; but the allies, who forefaw this measure, were ready to fall upon his rear. The French army, however, after a fharp action, made good their retreat, tho' not without confiderable lofs both in officers and private men. Among the reft, fell in this action the brave chevalier Bayard, efteemed in that age the model of foldiers and men of honour, and denominated the knight without fear and without reproach. When this gallant gentleman felt his wounds to be mortal, and could no longer fupport himfelf on horfeback, he ordered his attendants to fet him under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that posture. The generals of the allies, and among the reft the duke of Bourbon, came about him, and expressed their concern for his prefent condition. " Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon ; " I die in the discharge of my duty: They are to be pitied alone, who fight " against their prince and country +.

THE French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were fatisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were refolved to profecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealoufy of the emperor's ambition; and their

" Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2. + Pere Daniel, vol. 3. p. 1522

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Clap. III. their jealoufy was extremely augmented, when they faw him refufe the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whofe defence he had embraced \*. They all concluded, that he intended to put himfelf in poffeffion of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection : Clement in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded fo far in opposition to the emperor, that he fent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolfey, difgusted 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 invafion of France. Charles flipulated to fupply 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 fame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poffefs thefe provinces with the title of King; but to hold them in fief of Henry as King of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles : The reft 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 enterprize, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of imperialists invaded that country under his command and that of the marquis of Pefcara. They laid fiege to Marfeilles, which, being weakly garrifoned, they expected to carry in a little time : But the burgeffes defended themselves with fuch valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pefcara, who heard of the French King's approach with a numerous army, found themfelves under a neceffity of railing the fiege; and they led their forces, much weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed in fafety the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made of breaking into his kingdom : But as he received intelligence, that the King of England, discouraged with his former fruitless enterprizes, and difgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for the invafion of Picardy, his antient ardour feized him for the conqueft of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced feafon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wifeft counfellors, to lead his army into Italy.

\* Guicciardini, lib. 15.

#### H E N R Y VIII.

HE paffed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no fooner appeared in Piedmont, than, Chap. U. he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. There was no army in the field The King of able to oppose him; and Milan itself, tho' affectionate to its duke, was not in France nthe fame pofture of defence as laft year, when blockaded by admiral Bonniver. vales Italy. It was almost wholly destitute of inhabitants: Great numbers had died of the plague ; and the reft had fled into the country for fafety. Francis immediately marched to that city, which opened its gates to receive him. The forces of the emperor and Sforza fled to Lodi ; and had Francis been fo fortunate as to purfue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally diffipated \*. But his ill fate led him to befiege Pavia, a town of confiderable ftrength, well-garrifoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the braveft officers in the Spanish fervice. Every attempt, which the French king made to gain this important place, proved fruitlefs. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were inflantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tefin, which ran by one fide of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river deftroyed in one night all the mounds which the foldiers, during a long time, and with infinite pains, had been erecting. Fatigue and the bad feafon (for it was now the depth of winter) had wafted the French army. And the more to diminish its force, Francis, at the pope's follicitation, who now declared, almost openly, for him, had detached a confiderable body, under the duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples. The imperial generals mean while were not idle. Pefcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, gathered forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels for money, went into Germany, and by his perfonal interest, levied twelve thousand Lanfquenets, with which he joined the imperialists. This army was advancing to raife the fiege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The flate of Europe was fuch, during that age, that, partly from the 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 fmall armies, which they kept on foot, could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Pefcara, 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 invafion of France, either on the fide of Spain or Flanders) ...

\* Guicciardin, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

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Chap. III. Flanders). Yet fo poor was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of fharing the plunder of the French camp, which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raifed the fiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have disperst themselves; and he had obtained a compleat victory, without danger or blood shed. But it was the character of this monarch, to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once faid, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was refolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

THE imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for feveral days, at last gave a general affault, and broke into the entrenchments. Leyva fallied Battle of Pa- from the town, and threw the befiegers into ftill greater confusion. The Swifs via, and cap- infantry, contrary to their ufual practice, behaved in a daftardly manner, and deferted their poft. Francis's whole army was put to rout, and he himfelf, furrounded by his enemies, after fighting with the most heroic valour, and killing feven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to furrender himself prifoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the fword, or were drowned in the river. The few, who escaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy. The imperial generals had fo little authority over their own troops, even after this fignal victory, that Lannoy, apprehensive lest the Lansquenets should feize Francis as security for the pay due to them, immediately removed him from the camp, and fent him to Pizzighitone. And taking advantage of the terrors, which had feized the pope, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara, and other Italian states, he obliged them, tho' fecretly enemies, to advance money for the fubfiftence of his army.

THE emperor received this news by Pennalofa, who paffed thro' France, by means of a fafe-conduct, which he received from the captive King. The moderation, which he difplayed on this occasion, had it been real, would have done him great. honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill forune, and difcovered his fense of those calamities, to which the greatest monarchs are exposed\*. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expreffions of triumph; and faid that he referved all his exultation till he fhould be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hoftilities upon France. He fpoke of concluding immediately a peace on reafonable terms. But all this feeming equity was only hypocrify, fo much the more dangerous, that it was profound. And his fole occupation was

\* Vera, Hift. de Charles V.

tivity of Francis. the 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 wholly governed.

THE fame Pennalofa, in paffing thro' France, carried alfo a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then refided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, Madam, all is lost, except our bonour. The princefs was ftruck with the greatnefs of the calamity. She faw the kingdom without a fovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; furrounded on every hand by implacable and victorious enemies : And her fole refource, in her present distresses, was the hope, which she entertained, of peace and even of affiftance 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 which could have befallen him, and the only ones which could render his fchemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decifive advantage, he might have been able to possels himself of some frontier towns, or perhaps of a small territory, which he could not keep poffetfion of, without expending much more than its value. By fome great calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of confiderable provinces, or difmember that mighty monarchy, fo affectionate to its own government and its own fovereigns. But as it is probable, that Henry had never before carried his reflections fo far; he was ftartled at this important event, and became fenfible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the lofs of a proper counterpoife to the great power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the diffressed Henry emcondition of France, he was determined to lend her his affiftance in her prefent liance of calamities; and as the glory of generofity, in raifing a fallen enemy, concurred France. with his political interefts, he hefitated the lefs in embracing these new measures.

Some difgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolfey; and that powerful minister waited only a favourable opportunity of revenging the difappointments, which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the King's jealoufy and fuspicions of his ally. The emperor fupported fo ill the appearance of moderation, which he at first affumed, that he had already changed his usual ftile to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and fubscribing himself your affectionate fon and coufin; he dictated his letters to his fecretary, and fimply fubfcribed himfelf Charles +. Wolfey alfo perceived

+ Guicciardin, lib. 16.

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Chap. III. perceived a diminution in the careffes and professions, with which the emperor's letters to him were ufually loaded; and this laft imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of fuccefs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interefts than the other.

HENRY, tho' determined to embrace new measures, was careful to fave appearances in the change; and he caufed rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly difmiffed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to refide at London ‡: But upon the regent's fubmiffive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and besides affuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise, that she never would confent to the difinembering any province of the monarchy for her fon's ranfom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he difpatched Tonftal, bifhop of London, to Madrid, with propofals for a powerful invalion of France. He required, that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poffeffion of that province; and he demanded the payment of large fums 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 executing either of these conditions; and that he had as little inclination to make him mafter of fuch confiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

TONSTAL likewife informed him, that Charles, on his part, wanted not complaints against England; and in particular was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his flipulations; that, inftead of expreffing his intentions to espouse Mary, when she should be marriageable, he had hearkened to propofals, for marrying his niece Ifabella, princefs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and scemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the fuccefs, with which fortune had crowned his arms.

30 August.

THE King, influenced by all thefe motives, concluded at Moore his alliance with the regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty on reafonable conditions\*: The regent alfo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom to be 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

\* Du Tillet, Recueil des Traites de + Du Bellay, Liv. 3. Stow. p. 221. Baker, p. 273. Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

ceive during his own life, a yearly penfion of a hundred thousand crowns. Not- Chap. III. withftanding his generofity, he could not forbear taking advantage of the calamitous fituation of France, in order to exact this lucrative condition from her. A large prefent of a hundred thousand crowns was also made Wolfey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penfion granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

MEANWHILE, as Henry forefaw, that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, he was alfo determined to fill his treafury by impofitions upon his own fubjects; and as the parliament had difcovered fome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed the advice of Wolfey, and refolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He iffued out commissions to all the counties of England, for levying four shillings in the pound from the clergy, three shillings and four pence from the laity; and fo un-Discontents of the English. controulable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the flender pretence of a loan. But he foon found, that he had prefumed too far on the paffive fubmiffion of his fubjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, but ftill more difgufted with the illegal method of impoling it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory difpolition even threatened a general infurrection. Henry had the prudence to ftop fhort, in that dangerous path, into which he had entered. He fent letters to all the counties; declaring, that he meant no force by this laft imposition, and that he would take nothing of his fubjects but by way of benevolence. He flattered himfelf, that his condefcention in employing that difguife would fatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himfelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refufing any payment required of him in this manner. But the fpirit of oppofition was once roufed, and could not fo eafily be quieted at pleafure. A. lawyer in the city objecting the flatute of Richard the third, by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an ufurper, and his Parliaments factious affemblies, his ftatutes could not bind a lawful and *abfolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace+. The judges even went fo far as to affirm politively, that the King might exact by commission any fum which he pleafed; and the privy council gave a ready affent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with fuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretext of law, Wolfey fent for the mayor of London, and defired to T 2 know

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+ Herbert, Hall.

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Chap. III. know what he was willing to give for the fupply of his majefty's neceffities. The mayor feemed defirous, before he should declare himself, to confult the common council; but the cardinal required, that he and all the aldermen should feparately confer with himfelf about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matter, however, went not fo fmoothly in the country. An infurrection was begun in fome places; but as the people, were not headed by any confiderable perfon, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perfuation and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms, and furrender themfelves 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 very prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were brought before the star-chamber; where, after a fevere charge laid against them by the King's council, the cardinal faid, " That, notwithstanding " their grievous offences, the King, in confideration of their neceffities, had " granted them his gracious pardon, upon condition, that they would give in " fureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying, that they had no fureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk, faid, that they would ftand bound for them. Upon which they were difcharged ‡.

> THESE arbitrary impositions, being generally imputed to the cardinal's counfels, increased the general odium, under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon, being ascribed to the King, was confidered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure. But Wolfey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without fcruple, to violate all ecclefiaftical privileges. which, during that age, were much more facred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unufual attempt of fuppreffing fome monafteries, he kept all the reft in awe, and exercifed over them the most arbitrary jurifdiction. By his commiffion as legate, he was impowered to vifit them, and reform them, and chaftife their irregularities; and he employed his ufual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houfes were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by giving large fums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppreffion was carried fo far, that it reached at last the King's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. He reproved Wolfey in fevere terms, which rendered him, if not more innocent, at least more cautious for the future. That haughty minister had built a splendid palace at Hampton court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Weftminster,

> > 1 Herbert, Hall, Stow, 525. Hollinsched, p. 891.

# HENRY VIII.

minster, for his own use; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this Chap. III. magnificence, and defirous to appeale the King, he made him a prefent of that building, and told him, that, from the first, he had erected it for his fervice.

THE abfolute authority, poffeffed by the King, rendered his domeftic 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 fuch a pass, that it was no longer fafe for England to be entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of very fhort date; and it was foon 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, proposed by him to his prisoner, were such as must have for ever annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the ballance of Europe. He required, that that monarch should restore to him the dutchy of Burgundy, usurped, as he pretended, by Lewis the eleventh upon his anceftors ; that he should yield Provence and Dauphiny to the duke of Bourbon, to be possefied by him in full fovereignty, without fief or homage to the crown of France; that he should fatisfy the King of England with regard to the provinces, which that prince claimed as his inheritance; and that he fhould renounce all title to Naples, Milan, Genoa, or any territory in Italy \*.

THESE demands were proposed to Francis, foon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzighitoné; and as he had hitherto trufted fomewhat to the emperor's generofity, the difappointment excited in his breaft the most lively indignation. He faid, that he would rather live and die a prifoner than agree to difmember his kingdom; and that, even were he fo bafe as to fubmit to fuch terms, his fubjects would never permit him to carry them into execution. The offers which he made for obtaining his liberty, were, that he would renounce all claims in Italy, that he would affift the emperor in recovering the territories usurped upon the empire by the Venetians, that he should relinquish the homage due by the emperor for Artois and Flanders, that he would marry Eleonora, the emperor's fifter, (for he was now a widower) and acknowledge the dutchy of Burgundy to be poffefied as her dowry; and to be inherited by her children +.

FRANCIS was encouraged to perfift in these offers, by the favourable accounts, which he heard of Henry's difpositions towards him, and of the alarms which had feized all the chief powers in Italy, upon his defeat and captivity. He was Francis reuneafy, however, to be fo far diftant from the emperor with whom he must treat; moved to and he defired to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a perfonal interview would Madrid. operate much in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his minifters, might

> \* Guicciardini, lib. 16. + De Vera Hift. de Charles V.

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Chap. III. might be found poffeffed of the fame franknefs of difpolition, by which he himfelf was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. The emperor, under pretence of an affembly of the states at Toledo, kept, during some time, at a diftance from him; and even after they broke up, delayed his vifit to the captive King; feigning a delicacy in that particular, as if his company, in the present situation of affairs, before any terms were agreed on, would be regarded as an infult upon the royal prifoner. Francis, partly from want of exercife, partly from reflections on his prefent melancholy fituation, fell into a languishing illnefs; which begot apprehenfions in Charles, left the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages, which he proposed to extort from him. He then paid him a vifit in the caftle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis was laid, the fick monarch called to him, " You come, " Sir, to vifit your prifoner." " No," replied the emperor, " I come to vifit " my brother, and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his affliction with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the King daily recovered ‡; and thenceforth employed himfelf in concerting with the ministers of the emperor, the terms of his treaty.

WHILE this negociation advanced flowly, fortune threw into the emperor's hands a new opportunity of aggrandizing his dominions in Italy. Francis Sforza, impatient that his investiture of Milan should fo long be delayed, and that even after it was granted, it should be encumbered with many exorbitant conditions, had endeavoured to feduce Pefcara, the imperial general, from his fidelity, and to engage him in a confpiracy against his master. Pescara feigned to enter into the defign; but having revealed the whole contrivance, he received orders to take possession of the Milanefe; and Charles made no fecret of his intention to try Sforza and forfeit his fief, on account of the treason, which he had committed against his liege-lord and fovereign \*. This incident retained the Italian powers in clofer union with France; and the emperor, by grafping too much, found himfelf in danger of lofing all his advantages. His apprehenfions were increafed, when he heard, that Francis had fent a refignation of his crown to the regent, and had defired that the dauphin might be crowned King; orders, which, tho' they were not obeyed, shewed his determined refolution never to fubmit to the unreasonable terms required of him. The chief difficulty of the treaty was now reduced to the dutchy of Burgundy; and even that territory, Francis had agreed to yield, but he still infisted on first recovering his liberty. All mutual confidence was loft between the princes; and each feared, left advantage

1 Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

\* Guicciardini, lib. 16.

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vantage fhould be taken of his fimplicity, fhould he first execute his part of the Chap. III. treaty.

AT last the emperor was willing to relax of his rigour in this particular; and 14 January. the treaty of Madrid was figned, by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to the differences between these two great monarchs. The principal condition was the reftoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldeft fons as hoftages to the emperor for the reftitution of Burgundy: If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this article, with regard to Burgundy, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis flipulated, that in fix weeks time, he fhould return to his prifon, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them rigorous and fevere to the last degree against the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to fubjection and dependance.

MANY of Charles's ministers forefaw, that Francis, however folemn the oaths, promifes, and proteftations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty, which was fo difadvantageous, or rather ruinous and deftructive, to himfelf, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom : By facrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himfelf of all foreign affiftance; and arming his oppreffor with the whole force and riches of that opulent country, rendered him absolutely irrefistable. To these great views of interest, were added the motives, no lefs cogent, of paffion and refentment; while Francis, a prince, who piqued himfelf on generofity, reflected on the rigor with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalship, which had fo long fubfifted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the ftrongest reluctance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had fhown himfelf fo little worthy of that advantage, which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, with one voice, would be fure to fuggeft to him, that the first object of a prince, was the prefervation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be abfolutely fupreme, and fuperior to all interefts, were with a fovereign fubordinate to the great duty of enfuring the fafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined, that Francis would be fo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a cafuistry, which was fo plausible in itself, and which fo much flat-

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Chap. III. tered all the paffions, by which, both as a prince and a man, he was ftrongly ac-1526. tuated.

> SUCH was the reafoning of feveral of Charles's minifters, particularly of Gattinara, his chancellor \*, who counfelled him to treat Francis with more generofity, and to give him his liberty on fuch terms, as would engage him, not by the feeble band of treaties, but by the more forcible tye of honour, to a ftrict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wifer and more honourable council; at the fame time, that the prospect of a general combination of Europe hindered him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confusions, which his absence must necessarily occafion in his kingdom. Still fuspicious, however, of the fincerity of his prifoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of asking him, privately and as a friend, whether he ferioufly intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; protefting, that, in all cafes, he was firmly determined to reftore him to his liberty. and that the prospect of obtaining this advantage needed no longer engage him to diffemble. Francis was too well acquainted with Charles's character to truft to the fincerity of this proteftation; and therefore renewed his affurances of fidelity, and a ftrict observance of his word. The emperor replied, that Francis was now his beft friend and ally; but if he fhould afterwards break his engagements, which he could not fuspect, he fhould think himself entitled to reproach him with a conduct fo bafe and unworthy : And on thefe terms the two monarchs parted.

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Francis recovers his liberty.

FRANCIS, on entering into his own dominions, delivered his two eldeft fons as hoftages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horfe, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand over his head, and cried aloud feveral times, I am yet a King. He foon 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 protefting, that he fhould be entirely governed by his councils 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 waved the propofal; under colour, that it was neceffary to affemble previoufly the States both of France and of Burgundy, and obtain their confent. The States of Burgundy foon met; and declaring against the clause, which contained an engagement of alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of fo ruinous and unjust an article. The imperial minister then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, 3 fhould

\* Guicciardini, lib. 16.

should now return to his prifon; but the French monarch, instead of compliance, made public the treaty, which, a little before, he had fecretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the em- 22d May, peror \*.

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in thefe events, had been held in the most anxious fufpence with regard to the refolutions, which Francis should take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who fulpected, that that prince would never execute a treaty fo hurtful to his interefts, and even deftructive of his independancy, had very frankly offered him a difpensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in fufpence; but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was flipulated, between that King, the pope, the Venetians, the Swifs, the Florentines, 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 fuitable fum of money; and that he would reftore Milan to Sforza, without farther conditions or incumbrances. The King of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but alfo as protector of the holy league, fo it was called : And if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in profecution of this confederacy, it was agreed, that Henry should enjoy a principality of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolfey, in confideration of the fervices, which he had rendered to chriftendom, fhould alfo, in fuch an event, be put in poffeffion of a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats.

FRANCIS was extremely defirous, that the appearance of this great confederacy fhould engage the emperor to relax fomtwhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained thefe hopes, he was the more remifs in his warlike preparations, nor did he fend in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. Bourbon had got pofferfion of the whole Milanefe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the inveftiture; and having levied a confiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the lefs fo, that Charles, deflitute 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 reftrained, he led them to Rome, and promifed to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himfelf 6th May. killed, as he was planting a ladder to fcale the walls; but his foldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the affault with the utmost SackofRome. valour, and entering the city, fword in hand, exercifed all those brutalities, which

\* Guicciardini, lib. 17.

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Chap. III. which may be expected from ferocity excited by refistance, and from infolence which takes place when that refiftance is no more. That renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to fo many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom fhe was often fubdued, fuch indignities as fhe was now constrained to fuffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for feveral days, were the leaft ills, to which the unhappy Romans were exposed \*. Whatever was respectable in modestry or facred in religion seemed but the more to provoke the infults of the foldiery. Virgins fuffered 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 each moment with the most cruel death, in order to engage them to reveal their fecret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ranfoms. Clement himfelf, who had trufted for protection to the facredness 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 infolent moquery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleafed to gratify their animofity by the abasement of the fovereign pontiff.

WHEN intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrify, expressed the most profound forrow for the fuccefs of his arms : He put himfelf and all his court into mourning : He stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his fon Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however grofs, is able, when feconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during feveral months, to be put up in all the churches for the Pope's liberty; an event, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

THE concern, expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally, was much more fincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the fack of Rome, had concluded a treaty + at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to fend ambaffadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranfom of the French princes, and to repay the money, borrowed of Henry; and in cafe of refufal, the ambaffadors, attended with heralds, were to denounce war against him. This war, it was agreed to profecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be fupplied by Francis, the reft by Henry. And in order to ftrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated, that either Francis or his fon, the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards

> † 30th April. \* Guicciardiani, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No Chap. III. fooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands 29th May. to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ftimulated to undertake the war with vigour for the reftoring his liberty. Wolfey himfelf croffed the feas, 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 intoxicated. He was attended with a train of a thousand horfe. The cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor Alançon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himfelf, befides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place, where he came, liberty to all prifoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced fome 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 feemed to be taking some steps towards affembling 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 dominions, each by his own authority. Wolfey made fome attempts to get his legantine power extended into France, and even into Germany; but finding his efforts fruitlefs, he was obliged, tho' with great reluctance, to defift from these ambitious enterprizes 1.

THE more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some 18th Septemtime after, concluded at London; in which Henry agreed to renounce for ever ber. all claims upon the crown of France; claims, which might now indeed be efteemed chimerical, but which often ferved as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French monarchy. As a return for this conceffion, Francis bound himfelf and his fucceffors to pay for ever fifty thousand League with crowns a year to Henry and his fucceffors ; and that a greater folemnity might France. be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the Parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their confent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied with many perfons of diffinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was fent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade, which fuited the folemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatnefs had entirely extinguished the antient animofity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, tho' a more diftant power, the chief object of jealoufy to the English.

THIS appearance of a cordial union between France and England, tho' it added influence to the joint embaffy which they fent to the emperor, was not U 2 able

1 Burnet, book 3. coll. 12, 13.

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Chap. III. able to bend that ambitious monarch to fubmit entirely to the conditions infifted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ranfom of the French princes; but he required, previoufly to their recovery of 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 confifcating the dutchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and fet him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith, remembered him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their feparation, and offered to prove by fingle combat, that that monarch had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding fecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his caufe by fingle combat. Many meffages paffed to and fro between them; but tho' both the princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, difputed zealoufly 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 fincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to that cruel fituation, that nothing but the breach of his word could preferve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with this infidelity by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But tho' this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate confequences with regard to their monarchs themfelves, it produced a confiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the antient barbarous jurifprudence, which was still preferved on very folemn occasions, and which was even countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail on the most trivial occasions; and men, on any affront or injury, thought them felves entitled, or even required in honour, to take private revenges on their enemies, by vindicating their right in fingle combat. These absurd, tho' generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in christendom during more than two centuries ; and notwithstanding the feverity of law, fuch is the prevailing force of cuftom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAP.

#### H A P. IV. C

Scruples concerning the King's marriage .---- The King enters into thefe fcruples.—\_\_\_Anne Boleyn.—\_\_\_Henry applies to the pope for a divorce. \_\_\_\_\_The pope favourable.—\_\_\_The emperor threatens him.\_\_\_\_The pope's ambiguous conduct. The cause evoked to Rome. Wolfey's fall.---- Commencement of the reformation in England.---- Foreign affairs .---- Wolfey's death .---- A Parliament .---- Progrefs of the reformation. \_\_\_\_ A Parliament. \_\_\_\_ King's final breach with Rome. -A Parliament.

TOtwithstanding the fubmissive deference, paid to the papal authority be- Chap. IV. fore the reformation, the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paffed, without much fcruple and Scruples condifficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal cerning the union between fuch near relations; and the late King, tho' he had folemnized riage. the espousals, when his son was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling them \*. He ordered the young prince, fo foon as he came of age, to enter a proteflation against the marriage +; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance, fo unufual and exposed to fuch insuperable objections. After the King's acceffion, fome members of the Privy Council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the refolution taken, of compleating the marriage; and tho' Henry's youth and diffipation kept him, during fome time, from entertaining any fcruples with regard to the meafure which he had embraced, there happened incidents, fufficient to rouze his attention, and to inform him of the fentiments, generally entertained on that fubject. The ftates of Castile had opposed the emperor, Charles's, espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter ; and among other objections, had much infifted 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 ambasfador, revived

\* Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13. + Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2. 1 Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolfey.

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Chap. IV. revived the fame objection \*. But tho' these events naturally railed fome doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to fortify his remorfe, and render his confcience more fcrupulous.

ters into these scruples.

THE queen was older than the King by no lefs than fix years; and the decay The King en- of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and difeafes, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Tho' fhe had borne him feveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ftruck with this miffortune, that the curse of being childless is the very threatening, contained in the Mofaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The King was actuated by a ftrong defire of having male iffue: With a view to that end, it is believed, more than from defire towards other gratification, he had, a few years before this period, made addreffes to a young lady, Catherine, daughter of Sir John Blount; and when fhe bore him a fon, he expressed the higheft fatisfaction, and immediately created him duke of Richmond. The fucceffion of the crown too was a confideration, that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulnefs of Henry's marriage was queftioned ; and it was apprehended, that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her fex, the King of Scots, the next heir, would certainly advance his own pretenfions, and throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convultions, ariting from a difputed title, made great impreffion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerfally defirous of any event, which might obviate fo irreparable a calamity. And the King was thus impelled, both by his private paffions, and by motives of public intereft, to feek the diffolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was efteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

HENRY afterwards affirmed, that his fcruples of confcience arofe entirely from private reflection; and that on confulting his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, he found that prelate poffeffed with the fame doubts and difficulties. The King himfelf, being fo great a cafuift and a divine, proceeded then to examine the queftion more carefully by his own learning and fludy; and having had recourfe to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church and abfolute with him, had treated of that very cafe, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of fuch marriages +. The prohibitions, faid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the reft, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine fanction; and tho' the pope may difpense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be fet afide by any authority lefs than that which enacted them. The archbishop

\* Rymer, x1v. 192, 203. Heylin, p. 3.

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+ Burnet, Fiddes.

archbishop of Canterbury was next applied to; and he was required to confult Chap. IV. his brethren : All the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochefter, declared unanimoufly, under their hand and feal, that they deemed the King's marriage unlawful \*. Wolfey also fortified the King's fcruples +, partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew, partly defirous of connecting the King more clofely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutchefs of Alençon, fifter to that monarch; and perhaps too fomewhat difgufted with the queen herfelf, who had reproved him for certain freedoms, unbefitting his character and flation 1. But Henry was carried forward, tho' perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the fuggestions of that powerful favourite.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been created maid of honour Anne Boleyn, to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being feen by the King, and of converfing with him, fhe had acquired an entire afcendant over his affections. This young lady, whole grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her fo celebrated, was daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the King in feveral embaffies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility of 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 Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoufed one of the daughters and co-heirs of the lord Haftings §. Anne herfelf, tho' then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the King's fifter, when the efpoused Lewis the twelfth of France; and upon the decease of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, Anne, whofe accomplishments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the fervice of Claude, queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after her death, she passed into the family of the dutchess of Alançon, a princess of fingular merit. The exact time, when the returned to England, is not certainly known; but it was after the King had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulnefs of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited, which he himfelf 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 visits, which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplifhments of her mind no way inferior to her exterior graces, he even

\* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548. + Le Grand, vol. 3. p. 46, 166, 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4. ‡ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 38. Strype, vol. 1. p. 88. § Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 44.

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Chap. IV. even entertained the defign of raifing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this refolution, when he found that her virtue and modefty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paffion after any other manner. And as every motive of inclination and policy, feemed thus to concur in making the King defirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he fent Knight, his fecretary, to Rome for that purpofe.

Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.

THAT he might not flock the haughty claims of the pontiff, it was refolved not to found the application on any general doubts of the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of confanguinity; but only to infift on particular grounds of invalidity 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 furprized into any conceffion, or grant any indulgence upon falle fuggeftions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had ufually been employed, wherever one pope had recalled any deed, executed by any of his predeceffors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded plentiful 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 faid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his follicitation; tho' it was known, that, at that time, he was below twelve years of age: It was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requifite, in order to preferve peace between the two crowns; tho' it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull, feemed to afford Clement a fufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a difpensation for a fecond marriage ‡.

The pope favourable.

Bur tho' the pretext for this indulgence had been lefs plaufible, the pope was in fuch a fituation, that he had the ftrongest motive to 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 reafonable terms, unlefs by the efforts of the league, which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the exorbitant ambition of Charles. When the English Secretary, therefore, made private applications to him, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be expeded to his master \*. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the imperialists to give Clement his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the Secretary, with Sir Gregory Cuffali, the King's refident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They found

t Collier, Ecclef. Hift. vol. II. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 9. \* Burnet, vol. I. p. 47.

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found him still full of high professions of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the King; but not fo expeditious in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise of the pope, to take no sleps in that affair before he communicated them to the imperial ministers; and Clement, confined by this promife, and ftill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, feemed willing to postpone those concessions defired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a commission to Wolfey, 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 difpensation +: He also granted them a provisional dispensation for the King's marriage with any other perfon; and promifed foon to expede a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he reprefented to them the dangerous confequences, which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowlege; 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 independance. And his fecret advice was, whenever they fhould find the proper time of opening the fcene, that they fhould prevent all oppofition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's inftantly espoufing fome other perfon. Nor would it be fo difficult, he faid, for himfelf to confirm these proceedings, after they were paffed, as previoufly to render them valid, by his confent and authority 1.

WHEN Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassiadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole matter before his ministers, and asked their opinion in fo delicate a fituation. The English counfellors confidered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to confirm a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in fo clandestine a manner, the King would find his fecond marriage totally invalidated; any children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever \*. And Henry's apprehensions of the poffibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed, when he reflected on the character and fituation of the fovereign pontiff.

CLEMENT the feventh was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely fubject, allowed him to make full use of those

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† Rymer, XIV. 237. ‡ Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10. \* Burnet, vol. I. p. 51.

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Chap. IV. 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 fo affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himfelf with vigour in any public measures, especially, if the interests or inclinations of that potentate flood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were, at present, powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was ftill defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And befides these dangers, Clement found or fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatned, still more immediately, his perfon and dignity.

The emperor

CHARLES, apprized of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out threatens him. perpetual menaces of fummoning a general council; which, he reprefented, as neceffary to reform the church, and correct those exorbitant abuses, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclefiaftical administration. The power of Clement himself, he faid, the fovereign pontiff, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might justly be brought in question. That pope had always passed for the natural fon of Julian of Medici, who was of the fovereign family of Florence; and tho' Leo the tenth, his coufin, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promife of marriage between his father and mother, few perfons believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority +. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely filent with regard to the promotion of baftards to the papal throne; but, what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent preposieffion, that that ftain in the birth of any perfon was sufficient to incapacitate him for so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and politive, that no man, guilty of fimony, could attain that dignity. A fevere bull of Julius the fecond had added new fanctions to this law, by declaring, that a fimoniacal election should 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 dependance on the emperor, threatned every moment to expose to public view 1.

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes, which were no lefs prevalent over his affections. At the time that the emperor's forces facked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting

> † Ibid. + Father Paul, lib. 1. \* Father Paul, lib. 1, Guicciardini.

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volting against the family of Medici, had entirely abolished their authority in Chap. IV. Florence, and re-established the former democracy. The better to protect themfelves 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 affifting him in the reftoration of his family; the event, which, of all others, he most passionately defired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effectuate this purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpfe of hope, ready to embrace every propofal of a cordial reconcilement with that monarch 1.

THESE views and interefts of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor was foreseen to Henry's divorce, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine, his aunt, and the obvious motive of diftreffing an enemy, it was efteemed dangerous to take any measure of confequence, in expectation of the fublequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whole behaviour contained always fo much duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own disposal. The fafest measure seemed to confist in previoufly engaging him fo far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important conceffions from him. For this purpofe, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's fecretary, and Edward Fox, the King's almoner, were difpatched to Rome, and were or- 10 February. dered to follicit a commiffion from the pope, of fuch a nature as would oblige him to confirm the fentence of the commissioners, whatever it was, and difable him, on any account, to recall the commiffion, or evoke the caufe to Rome\*.

But the fame reafon which made the King fo defirous of obtaining this conceffion, confirmed the pope in the refolution to refuse it : He was still determined to The pope's keep the door open to an agreement with the emperor, and made no fcruple of fa- ambiguous crificing all other confiderations to a point which he effeemed, of all others, the conduct. most important to his own fecurity, and to that of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolfey, for the trial of the King's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to infert the claufes defired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hands a letter, promifing not to recall the prefent commission; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in fuch ambiguous terms, as left him ftill the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it +.

‡ Father Paul. \* Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. I. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. 1!I. p. 28. Strype, vol. I. p. 93. with App. No. 23, 24, &c. + Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.

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CAMPEGGIO owed fome obligations to the King; but his dependance on the pope was fo much greater, that he conformed himfelf entirely to the views of his holinefs; and tho' he received his commission in April, he protracted his departure by fo many artificial delays, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took, was to exhort the King to defist from the profecution of his divorce; and finding that this counfel gave great offence, he faid, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to enter into a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previoufly to attempt an amicable composure 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 entreaties could prevail with him to make any other of the King's council privy to the fecret ||. In order to atone, in fome degree, for this obstinacy, he expressed to the King and the cardinal, the pope's great defire of fatisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for fuppreffing fome more monaftries, and converting them into cathedrals and bifhops fees, had obtained the confent of his holinefs \*.

THESE ambiguous circumftances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in fuspence, and determined the King to wait with patience the iffue of fuch uncertain councils. Fortune meanwhile feemed to promife him a more fure and expeditious way of extricating himfelf from his prefent difficulties. Clement was feized with a dangerous illnefs; and the intrigues for electing his fuccessor, began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolfey, in particular, fupported by the interefts of England and 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 fummit of his ambition. But the pope recovered his health, tho' after feveral relapfes; and he returned to the fame train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the English court. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a fudden and favourable iffue of his process : He still continued his fecret negociations with Charles, and perfevered in the refolution of facrificing all his promifes, and all the interefts of the Romifh religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decifion by the most artificial delays; and gave Clement full leifure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor. THE

t Herbert, p. 225. || Burnet, p. 58. \* Rymer, vol. XIV. p. 270. Strype, vol. I. p. 110, 111. Appen. No. 28. † Burnet, vol. I. p. 63.

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THE emperor, acquainted with the King's extreme earneftness in this affair, Chap.IV. was determined, that he should obtain fuccess by no other means but by an application to him, and by deferting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promifing her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and perfecutions of her enemies. The queen herfelf was naturally of a firm and refolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to perfevere in protefting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of inceft, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, ftruck her with the higheft indignation : The illegitimacy of her daughter, which feemed a neceffary confequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, fhe believed, had fupplanted her in the' King's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these confiderations, fhe never ceafed folliciting her nephew's affiftance, and earneftly entreating an avocation of the caufe to Rome, where alone, fhe thought, fhe could expect juffice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recall of the commission, which Campeggio and Wolfey exercised in England, a fundamental article ‡.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the 31 May. King and Queen to appear before it ... They both prefented themfelves; and the Trial of the King answered to his name, when called : But the Queen, instead of answering, King's marrofe from her feat, and throwing herfelf at the King's feet, made a very pathe- riage. tic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him, that fhe was a ftranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without affiftance; exposed to all the injustice, which her enemies were pleafed to impose upon her : That she had quitted her native country without other refource, than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected, that, inftead of fuffering thence any violence or iniquity, fhe was affured in them of a fafeguard against every misfortune: That fhe had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himfelf, whether her affectionate fubmiffion to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after fo long a time, thrown from him with fo much indignity: That the was confcious-he himfelf was affured-that her virgin honour was yet unftained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connections with his brother had been carried no further than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the Kings of England and Spain, were efteemed the wifeft princes

1 Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. I. p. 69.

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Chap. IV. of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best council, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now reprefented as fo criminal and unnatural: And that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her caufe to be tried by a court, whofe dependance on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decifion \*. Having spoke these words, she rose, and making the King a low reverence, fhe 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 tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ftricteft rules of probity and honour. He only infifted on his own fcruples, with regard to the lawfulnefs of their marriage ; and he explained the origin, the progrefs, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been fo long and fo violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolfey of having any hand in encouraging his fcruples; and he begged a fentence of the court, conformable to the justice of his cause.

THE legates, after citing the queen anew to appear before them, declared her contumacious, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the caufe. The first point which came before them, was, the proof of prince Arthur's confummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reasonably be expected of such a fact after fo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paffed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his fpouse, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent prefumption, in favour of the King's affertion +. Henry himfelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed for fome 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 confummation of her marriage 1: Julius's bull itself was founded on the fupposition, that Arthur had perhaps had knowledge of the princes: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the confummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both fides I. Thefe particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reafonings concerning the extent of the pope's auth rity, and his power of granting a difpensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard thefe doctrines with great impatience; and notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted

1 Burnet, vol. II. p. 35. + Herbert. \* Burnet, vol. I. p. 73. Hall. Stow, p. 543. || Rymer, XIII. p. 81. 8

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to interrupt and filence the King's council, when they infifted on fuch difagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolfey, tho' the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as prefident of the court ; becaufe 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 prefided in it. The bufinefs now feemed to be drawing near a period ; and the King was every day in expectation of a fentence in his favour; when, to his great furprize, Campeggio, on a fudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences 1, prorogued the court, till the first of October. The avocation, The canfe which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of fuc-evoked to cefs, which the King had fo long and fo anxioufly cherifhed §.

DURING the time, that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had by his ministers earnestly follicited Clement to evoke the cause to Rome; and had employed every topic of hope or terror, which could operate either on the passion or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no lefs earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but, tho' they employed the fame engines of promifes and menaces, the objects, which they could fet before the pope, were not fo inftant nor immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor \*. The dread of lofing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by fo confiderable an acceffion, made fmall imprefilon on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his own personal fafety, and the fond defire of reftoring the Medici to their dominion in Florence. So foon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of juffice, which required him, he faid, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and fufpending the commiffion of the legates; he evoked the caufe to Rome. The legate, Campeggio, had beforehand received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull, with which he was entrufted.

WOLSEY had long forefeen this measure as the fure fore-runner of his own ruin. Tho' he had at first defired, that the King should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himfelf with the utmost affiduity and earnestnefs to bring the affair to an happy iffue +: He was not therefore to be blamed for the unprofperous event, which the pope's partiality had produced. But he had fufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination 30

t Burnet, vol. 1. p. 76, 77. § Herbert † Collier, vol. 2. p. 45. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 53. § Herbert, p. 254. \* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 75-

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Chap. IV. or diffinction, to make his ministers answerable for the isfue of those transactions, with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn alfo, who was prepoffeffed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as fhe was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed, from a regard to decency, during the trial before the legates, fhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry's mind, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal ‡. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolfey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed the highest animosity against him; and the most opposite factions 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 haften his downfal; while he imputed the bad fuccefs of that minister's undertakings, not to fortune or mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inftantly on his head. The King, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his antient favourite, feems to have remained fome time in fufpence; and he received him, if not with all his former kindnefs, at least with the appearance of truft and regard. But it is found almost impossible for a high confidence and affection to receive

the least diminution, without finking into abfolute indifference or even running Wolfey's fall. into the oppofite extreme of hatred and averfion. The King was now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had 18th October. formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were fent

to require the great feal from him; and on his fcrupling to deliver it \*, without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was furrendered, and was delivered by the King to Sir Thomas More, a man, who, befides the ornaments of an elegant literature, poffessed the highest virtue, integrity and capacity.

WOLSEY was ordered to depart from York Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, tho' it really belonged to the fee of York, was feized by Henry, and became afterwards the refidence of the Kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were converted to the King's ufe. Their riches and fplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of filver: He had a cupboard of plate of maffy gold : There were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. All the reft of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no fmall inducement to this violent perfecution against him.

t Cavendish, p. 40.

\* Cavendish, p. 41.

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THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Afher, a country feat which he poffeffed Chap. IV. near Hampton-Court. The world, who had paid him fuch abject court during his profperity, now entirely deferted him, on this fatal reverfe of all his fortunes. He himfelf was much dejected with the change; and from the fame turn of mind, which had made him be fo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the blow of adverfity with double rigour +. The fmalleft appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy, unbecoming a man. The King had feemed willing, during fome time, to intermit the blows, which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poffeffion of the fees of York and Winchefter. He even fent him a gracious meffage, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolfey, who was on horfeback when the meffenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himfelf on his knees in the dirt, received in that humble pofture thefe marks of his majefty's gracious disposition towards him ‡.

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceafed plying the King with accounts of his feveral offences; and Anne Boleyn in particular, who bore him no kindnefs, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinftated in his former authority. He difmiffed therefore his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent mafter, the feparation paffed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both fides §. The King's heart, notwithftanding fome gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a fentence was paffed upon him. And not contented with this feverity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the Parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again affembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, confisting of forty-four 3dNovember. articles; and accompanied it with an application to the King for his punifhment, 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 fo much as called for: and as it confifts chiefly of general accufations, it was fearce fufceptible of any \*.

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+ Strype, vol. 1. p. 114, 115. App. Nº 31, &c. ‡ Stowe, p. 547. § Cavendiffr. Stowe, 549.

\* The first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the King's confent and permiffion, could be no wife criminal. Many of the other articles alfo regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to any man, that was prime minister with fo unlimited an authority; fuch as receiving first all lettes from the King's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, defiring that all applications should be made thro' him-

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The articles were fent down to the houfe of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a fervant of the cardinal, and who had been raifed by him from a very low flation, defended his unfortunate patron with fuch fpirit, generofity, 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 lodged against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard the second, commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly that invefting him with the legantine power, which he had exercifed with very extensive authority. He confessed the indistment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the King's mercy. He was perhaps within reach of the law; but befides. that this flatute was fallen altogether into difuse, nothing could be more rigorous and fevere than to impute to him as a crime, what he had openly, during a course of fo many years, practifed with the confent and approbation of the King, and the acquiescence of the Parliament and kingdom. Not to mention, what he always afferted \*, and what we can fcarce doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehenfive 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 against him, " That he was out of the King's pro-" tection; his lands and goods forfeited, and that his perfon might be commit-" ted to cuftody." But this profecution of Wolfey, tho' it was not difagreeable to Henry, was carried no farther. He even granted him his pardon for all offences; reftored him part of his plate and furniture; and ftill continued, from time to time, to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

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He was also acculed of naming himfelf with the King, as if he had been his fellow, the King and I: It is reported that fometimes he even put his own name before the King's, ego et rex meus. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whispering in the King's car, knowing himfelf to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes to far as to affirm, that no man ever fell from to high a flation, who had to few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a house of commons even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolfey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his definuction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the flatute of provisors, which afforded him to little buft hold on that minister. For that this indictment was fubfequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendish's life of Wolfey, Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themselves. Parliamentary History, vol. 3. p. 42, article 7. Coke's Infl. pt. 4. fol. 89.

\* Cavendish, page 72.

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THE complaints against the usurpations of the ecclesiaftics had been very Chap. IV. antient 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 Lu- Commencetheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in fome measure, to the frightful idea ment of the reformation in of herefy and innovation. The commons, finding the occafion favourable, England. paffed feveral bills, reftraining the impositions of the clergy; one for regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills \* ; . a third against non-refidence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclefiaftical order, were the fevere invectives, thrown out, almost without opposition, in the house, against the diffoluteness of the priefts, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert + has even preferved the speech of a gentleman of Grey's-Inn, which is of a very fingular nature, and contains fuch topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member infifts upon the vaft variety of theological opinions, which prevailed in different nations and ages ; the endlefs inextricable controverfies maintained by the feveral fects; the impoffibility, that any man, much lefs the people, could ever know, much lefs examine, the tenets and principles of each fect ; the neceffity of ignorance and a fuspence of judgment with regard to all these 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 fentiments would be esteemed latitudinarian, even in our time; and would not be advanced, without fome precaution, in a public affembly. But tho' the first broaching of religious controverfy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few perfons of a studious disposition; the zeal, with which men soon after attached themselves to their feveral parties, ferved effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with fome opposition in the house of lords. Bifhop Fifher in particular imputed thefe measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed defign, 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 very fevere, and even fomewhat indecent terms. He told him, that the greatest clerks are not always the wifeft men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his

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\* These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had rifen to a great height. A member faid in the house, that a thousand merks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol 188. Strype, vol. 1. p. 73. + P. 293.

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time, that had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bifhop of Rochefter's fpeech ftopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their fpeaker, made complaints to the King of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bifhop was obliged to put a more favour able conftruction on his words \*.

HENRY was not difpleafed, that the court of Rome and the clergy fhould be fenfible, that they were entirely dependant on him, and that his Parliament, if he were willing to fecond their inclinations, were fufficiently difpofed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclefiaftics. The commons gratified the King in another particular of moment: They granted him a difcharge of all thofe debts, which he had contracted fince the beginning of his reign: And they grounded this bill, which occafioned many complaints, on a pretence of the King's great care of the nation, and of his employing regularly all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public fervice. Moft of the King's creditors confifted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the fupply of Henry's demands; and the prefent courtiers were well pleafed to take the opportunity of mulcting them  $\ddagger$ . Several alfo approved of an expedient, which, they hoped, would ever after difcredit a method of fupply, fo irregular and fo unparliamentary.

Foreign affairs.

THE domeftic transactions of England were at prefent fo interesting to the King, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in fubordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to flipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercifed no hostilities against any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this fummer eftablished in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy met at Cambray, and fettled the terms of pacification between the French King and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoftages. Henry was fo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he fent him an acquital of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not fo well fatisfied as the King with the peace of Cambray: They were there almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and feemed to have no other means of fecurity left, but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave refistance, was fubdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medici. The Venetians were better treated :

\* Parliamentary Hiftory, vol. 3. p. 59. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 82. † Burnet, vol. 1. p. 83.

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treated: They were only obliged to relinquish fome acquisitions, which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned all his pass offences. The emperor in person passed over 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 enterprize, 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 tho' Charles feemed to be profperous on every fide, and the conqueft of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that fearcity of money, under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himfelf threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his defire of remedying them was the chief caufe of his granting fuch moderate conditions to the powers in Italy. Sultan Solyman, the greateft and moft accomplifhed prince, that ever fat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely fubdued Hungary, had befieged Vienna, and, tho' repulfed, ftill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houfe of Austria with conqueft and fubjection. The Lutheran princes in the empire, finding, that liberty of confcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes of the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and under pretence of fecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a fcheme of aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominions over all Germany.

The friendfhip of Henry was one material circumflance yet wanting to Charles, in order to render his ambitious projects feafible; and the King was fufficiently acquainted, 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 moft earneft wifhes. But be fides that the interefts of his kingdom feemed to require a confederacy with France, his haughty fpirit could not brook a friendfhip impofed on him by conftraint; and as he had ever been accuftomed to receive courtfhip, fubmiffion, and follicitation from the greateft potentates, he could ill bear that dependance, to which this unhappy affair feemed to have reduced him. Amidft the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with the court of Rome; and tho' he had been educated in a fuperfititious reverence to the papal authority, it is likely, that his perfonal experience of the duplicity and felfifh politics of Clement, had ferved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his royal prerogative

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Chap. IV. prerogative firmly established at home: He observed that his people were in general much difgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclefiaftical order : He knew, that they had cordially taken part with him in his profecution of a divorce, and highly refented that unworthy treatment, which, after fo many fervices and fuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn alfo could not fail, by her infinuations, to engage him into extremities with the pope, both as it was the readieft way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutchefs of Alançon, a princefs inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding all these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to defire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations : He dreaded the reproach of herefy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of papal power: And having once exerted himfelf with fuch applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romissi communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion fuch a palpable inconfistency. 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 fatisfaction.

ties confulted about the King's marriage.

DR. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jefus-College in Cambridge, was a man The universi- remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more, for the candour and difinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now fecretary of ftate, and Fox the King's almoner; and as the bufinefs of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the readiest way either to quiet Henry's confcience or extort the pope's confent, would be to confult all the univerfities of Europe with regard to this controverted point : If they agreed to approve the King's marriage with Catherine, his remorfes would na urally ceafe; if they condemned it, the pope wou'd find it difficult to refift the follicitations of fo great a monarch, f conded by the opinion of all the learned men in Chriftendom \*. When the King was informed of this proposal, he was delighted with it; and fwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right fow by the ear: He fent 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 profecution of the fcheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the j dgment of all the univerfities in Europe. HAD

\* Fox, p. 1860. 2d edit. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p 5.

HAD the queftion of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the Chap. IV. principles of found philosophy, exempt from superstition, it feemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason, why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral fentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preferve purity of manners ; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorized between the nearest relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal diffoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary confiderably, and open an intercourfe, more or lefs reftrained, between different families, or between the feveral members of the fame family, fo we find, that the moral precept, varying with its caufe, is fufceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the feveral ages and nations of the world, The extreme delicacy of the Greeks, permitted no converse between persons of the two fexes, except where they lived under the fame roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother, and her daughters, were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's fons, as against those from any strangers or more remote relations : Hence in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece, but his half fifter by the father : A liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourfe was authorifed between the fexes. Reasoning from this principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes, is fo obstructed by ceremony, and numerous attendants, that no ill confequence would refult among them, from the marriage of a brother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the fovereign priest is previously required, in order to justify what may in common cafes be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as ftrong motives of public intereft and tranquillity may frequently require fuch alliances between the fovereign families, there is lefs reason for extending towards them the full rigour of that rule which has place among individuals \*.

BUT

\* Even judging of this question by the scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the King's cause appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law: And tho' it is there faid, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating these degrees of confanguinity, had. incurred the divine displeasure, the extension of this maxim to every precife case before specified, is fuppoing the fcriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precifion, to which, we know with certainty, the facred penmen did not think proper to confine themfelves. The defcent of mankind. from one common father, obliged them in the first generation to marry in the nearest degrees of confanguinity :..

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But in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected Henry had cuftom and practice on his fide, the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. Marriages with a brother's widow were fo unufual, that no other inftance of it could be found in any hiftory or record of any Christian nation; and tho' the popes were accustomed to difpense with more effential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, fuch as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not as yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several univerfities of Europe, therefore, without hefitation, as well as without interest or reward +, gave verdict in the King's favour ; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Tholouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but alfo those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, tho' under the immediate jurisdiction Oxford alone ‡ and Cambridge || made fome difficulty; beof Clement. cause these universities, alarmed with the progress of Lutheranism, and fearing a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their fanction to measures, whole consequences, they feared, would prove so fatal to the ancient religion : Their opinion however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last procured; and the King, in order to give weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his caufe to the holy father, and threatning him with the most dangerous confequences in cafe of a denial of juffice §. 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 difpenfe\*. But Clement lying ftill under the influence of the emperor, continued to fummon the King to appear, either by himfelf 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 infult, 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

fanguinity: Inflances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cafes, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a politive precept by the Mofaical law. It is in vain to fay, that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just, that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwife God, who is the author of all purity, would never, in any cafe, have enjoined it.

+ Herbert. Burnet. ‡ Wood. hift. and ant. Ox. lib. I. p. 225. || Burnet, vol. I. p. 6. § Rymer XIV. 405. Burnet, vol. I. p. 95. \* Rymer XIV. 454, 472.

appearing by proxy; and as the first instance of difrespect from England, refufed to kifs his holinefs's foot, which he very gracioufly held out to him for that purpose \*.

THE extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclefiaftical order, were naturally very difagreeable to cardinal Wolfey; and as Henry forefaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason which can be affigned for his continuing to perfecute with fo much rigour his ancient favourite. After Wolfey had remained fome time at Afher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a prefent from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But the courtiers, dreading still his near neighbourhood to the King, procured an order for him to remove to his fee of York. The cardinal knew it was vain to refift: He took up his refidence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular to 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 Wolfey's ecclefiaftical character, to arreft him for high treafon, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of the journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was feized with a diforder which turned into a dyfentery; and he was able, with fome difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and monks advanced to receive him with much respect and ceremony, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he addreffed himself in the follow-28 Novemb, ing words to Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in cuftody. " I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majefty, " and befeech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that " have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his busi-" nefs with the queen; and then will he know in his confcience whether I have " offended him.

" HE is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and ra-" ther than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one " half of his kingdom.

" I Do affure you, that I have often kneeled before him, fometimes three " hours together, to perfuade him from his will and appetite; but could not " prevail: Had I but ferved God as diligently as I have ferved 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 fer-66 vice Z

\* Burnet, vol. I. p. 94.

+ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

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Wolfey's

death.

Chap. IV. " vice to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advife you, if you " be one of the privy-council, as by your wifdom 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 feems to have contained as fingular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obflinacy and violence of the King's temper may alleviate much of the blame which fome of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we confider, that the fubrequent part of Henry's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal than that which was directed by Wolfey's councils, we shall be inclined to sufpect of partiality those historians, who have endeavoured to load his memory with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics, he fometimes employed his influence over the King for his private purpofes, rather than his mafler's intereft, which, he boafted, he had folely 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 fuitable return for all his favours. The cardinal d'Amboife, whole memory is precious in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in fome respects, fimilar to Wolfey's; and we have reason to think, that Henry was well acquainted with the motives by which his minister was influenced. He regreted very much his death, when informed of it; and always fpoke favourably of his memory: A proof, that humour more than reafon, or any difcovery of treachery, had occafioned his last perfecutions against him.

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A NEW feffion of Parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the A Parliament King gave ftrong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to employ it to the depression of the Clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost become obfolete, had been made use of to ruin Wolfey, and render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the King's permission; the fame law was now turned against the ecclefiastics. It was pretended, that every one who had fubmitted to the legantine authority, that is, the whole church, had violated the flatute of provifors; and the attorney-general brought accordingly an indictment against them \*. The convocation knew that it would be vain to oppose reason or equity to the King's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain confequence of not fubmitting to Wolfey's commission, which was procured by Henry's confent, and fupported by his authority. They chose therefore to throw themselves on the mercy of their fovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 l. for their pardon +. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the King was the protector and the supreme bead of the church and clergy of England; tho' fome of them had the dexterity to get a clause inferted, which invalidated the whole fubmiffion, and which ran in these terms, in fo far THE as is permitted by the law of Christ.

† Cavendifh. \* Antiq. Brit. Ecclef. p. 325. Burnet, vol. I. p. 106. + Hollingshed, p. 923.

THE commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehenfive for themfelves, left either they should afterwards be brought into trouble, on account of their fubmiffion to the legantine court, or a supply be extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the King, to grant a remiffion to his lay fubjects ; but met with a repulfe. He told them, that, if he ever pleafed to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodnefs, not from their application, left he fhould feem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they defpaired of obtaining this conceffion, he was pleafed to iffue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for this act of clemency 1.

By the first execution of the flatute 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 fome measure, diffolved. The next feffion found both King and Parliament in the fame difpolitions. An 15 January. 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 Progress of confiderable fums. Since the fecond of Henry the feventh, no lefs than one hundred the reformaand fixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome, on account of this claim; which the Parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. of all the epifcopal 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 pleafure : And it was voted, that any cenfures which fhould be paffed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, should be entirely difregarded, and that mass thould be faid, and the facraments administered, as if no fuch cenfures had been iffued.

THIS feffion the commons preferred to the King, a long complaint against the abufes and opprefiions of the ecclefiaftical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arole, which put an end to the feffion, before the Parliament had finished all their business. It was become a cuftom for men to make fuch fettlements, or truft deeds, of their land by will, that they defrauded, not only the King, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the fame artifice the King was deprived of his primier feifin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconfiderable branches of the revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: He was contented, that every man Z 2 fhould

† Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208. || Burnet, vol. I. Collect. No. 41. Strype, vol. I. p. 144.

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Chap. IV. fhould 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 reafonable " thing, when it was offered, he would fearch out the extremity of the law; " and then would not offer them fo much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill : A fingular inftance, where Henry might fee, that his power and authority, tho' extensive, had yet fome boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The King made good his threats: He called together the judges and ableft lawyers, who argued the queftion in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands, in prejudice of his heir \*.

10 April.

THE Parliament being again affembled after a fhort prorogation, the King caufed 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 fufpected between them, while the prelates feemed to fwear allegiance to two fovereigns+, the Parliament showed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were fuddenly ftopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable, that one Temfe ventured this feffion to move, that the Houfe should address the King, to take back the queen, and ftop the profecution of his divorce. This motion occasioned the King to fend for Audley, the Speaker; and to explain to him the fcruples with which his confcience had fo long been agitated; fcruples, he faid, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were over, and which were confirmed by the concurring fentiments of all the learned focieties in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of, that any man had espoused two fifters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first christian man who had ever married his brother's widow 1.

AFTER the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, forefeeing that all the measures of the King and Parliament tended to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, which his principles would not permit him to concur with, defired leave to refign the feals; and he defcended from this high flation with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The aufterity of this man's virtue, and the fanctity of his manners, had no way encroached on the gentlenefs of his temper, nor even diminished that frolic and gaity to which he was naturally inclined. He fported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high

\* Burnet, vol. I. p. 116. Hall, Parliamentary Hiftory. 1 Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

+ Burnet, vol. I. p. 123, 124-

high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay Chap. IV. hold of his ferene and equal fpirit. While his family difcovered fymptoms of forrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distress; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's chearfulness, on account of such trivial miffortunes. The King, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, admitted his refignation with fome difficulty; and he beftowed the feals foon after on Sir Thomas Audley.

DURING these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclefiaftical authority, the court of Rome were not without folicitude; and they entertained very just apprehensions of losing entirely their authority in England; the kingdom, which, of all others, had long been most devoted to the holy fee, 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 counfellors reprefented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had fignalized himfelf, both by his pen and his fword, in the pope's caule, fhould be refused a favor, which he demanded on fuch just grounds, and which had fcarce ever before been denied to any perfon of his rank and itation. Notwithstanding thefe remonstrances, the Queen's appeal was received at Rome; the King was cited to appear; and feveral confistories were held, to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to fend any proxy to plead his caufe before this court : He only difpatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excufators, fo they were called, to carry his apology, for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogative of his crown, he faid, must be facrificed, if he allowed of appeals from his own kingdom; and as the queftion regarded confcience, not power or intereft, no proxy could fupply his place, or convey that fatisfaction which the dictates of his own mind could alone confer. In order to fupport 11 October. himfelf in this measure, and add greater fecurity to his defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his perfonal friendship, as well as public alliance, with that monarch, and concerted all meafures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which, he believed, he had perfuaded Francis to imitate his example in withdrawing his obedience from the bifhop of Rome, and administering ecclefiaftical affairs without having farther recourfe to that fee. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as refolute to ftand all confequences, he privately cele- 14 November. brated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchionefs of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, foon after raifed to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated

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ciated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new Queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were prefent at the ceremony \*. Anne became pregnant foon after her marriage; and this event, both gave great joy to the King, and was regarded by the people as a ftrong proof of the Queen's former modefty and virtue.

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THE Parliament was again affembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the A Parliament great council of the nation, proceeded fill in those gradual and fecure fteps, by which they loofened their connections with the fee of Rome, and represed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other fuits cognizable in ecclefiaflical courts; appeals effeemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurifdiction; and found to be infinitely vexatious, by the expence and the delay of juffice, which necessarily attended them +. The more to shew his difregard 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 lawfulnefs, he prepared measures for declaring, by a formal fentence, the invalidity of his former marriage with Catherine: A fentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espoulals of Anne 1.

THE King, notwithstanding his fcruples and remorfes on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with refpect and diffinction; and he endeavoured, by every foft and perfualive 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 defired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which the should please to refide. She had fixed her court for some time at Amphill 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

+ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. ‡ Collier, vol. II. p. 31. and Re-\* Herbert, 340, 341. cords, Nº. 8.

|| Bishop Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the King, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbishop of Canterbury. By a fecond, directed to himfelf, he is made archbishop. By a third, he is abfolved from all centures. A fourth, is to the fuffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the fame purpofe. A fixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A feventh to all the laity in his fee. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordained to be confecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth bull the pall was fent him. By an eleventh, the arehbishop of York, and the bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were fo many artifices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation, that

42 April.

to May.

court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of Chap. IV. the place was chosen in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, neither by herfelf nor proxy, she was declared contumacious; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the caufe. The evidences of Arthur's confummation of the marriage were produced ; the opinions of the univerfities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after thefe preparatory fleps, Cranmer proceeded to a fentence, and annulled the King's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a fublequent fentence, he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who foon after was publicly crowned Queen, with all the pomp and dignity fuited to that ceremony \*. To compleat the King's satisfaction, on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, 7 September. the was fafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards fwayed the fcepter with fuch renown and felicity. Henry was fo much delighted with the birth of this child, that foon after he conferred on her the title of princefs of Wales +; a ftep fomewhat irregular, as fhe was only prefumptive, 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 beftow on the offspring of his prefent marriage, the fame marks of diffinction, as well as exclude Mary from all hopes of the fucceffion. His regard for the new Queen feemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to fee the entire afcendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had fet her at fo great a diftance, and who, by a proper mixture of feverity and indulgence, had long managed fo intractable a fpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as poffible, all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was fent to the unfortunate and divorced Queen, to inform her, that the was henceforth to be treated only as princefs dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiefce in that determination. But the continued obftinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage ; and the would admit of no fervice from any perfon, who did not approach her with the accuftomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generofity towards her, employed menaces against fuch of her fervants as com-1 plied

that he did not intend thereby to refirain himfelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the King, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of thefe. This device was the invention of fome cafuift, and not very compatible with that ftrict fincerity, and that fcrupulous confcience, of which Cranmer made profeffion. Collier, vol. II. in Coll. Nº. 22. Burnet, vol. I. p. 128, 129.

nornheitorg a stan \* Heylin, p. 6.

+ Burnet, vol. I. p. 134.

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Chap. IV. plied 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 fee, the conclave were in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive fentence, and to emit his fpiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's fentence, as well as that of Henry's fecond marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November enfuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition, in which they formerly flood ‡. 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 fovereignty of Reggio and Modena\*; and having fubmitted his pretenfions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was furprized to find a fentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this difappointment, he hearkened to propofals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his fecond fon, with Catherine of Medici, niece to the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was fo much honoured. An interview was even appointed of the pope and French King at Marfeilles; and Francis, as a common friend, employed his good offices in mediating an agreement between his new ally and the King of England.

HAD this connexion of France with the fee of Rome taken place a few years fooner, there had been little difficulty in composing the quarrel with Henry. The King's requeft was an ordinary one; and the fame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a difpensation for his espousing Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel, the state of affairs was much changed on both fides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence with which he had been early imbued for the apoftolical fee; and finding, that his fubjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his movements for breaking foreign dependance, he had taken a relifh for his fpiritual authority, and would fcarce, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his fubmiffions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, ran now a manifest rifque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the King; and as

\* Burnet, t Le Grand, vol. 3. p. 566. + Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 132. vol. 2. p. 133. Guicciardini.

as a fentence of divorce could no longer be refted on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be conftrued as an acknowledgment of papal ufurpations, it was forefeen, 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 defpair of mediating an agreement. He still observed that the King had fome remains of prejudice in favour of the apoftolic fee, and was apprehenfive of the confequences, which might enfue from too violent innovations. He faw plainly the intereft, that Clement had in preferving the obedience of England, which was one of the richeft jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped, that these motives on both fides 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 fend a proxy to Rome, and thereby fubmit his caufe to the holy fee, he would appoint commiffioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he would immediately afterwards pronounce the fentence of divorce, required of him. Bellay, bilhop of Paris, was next difpatched to London, and obtained a promife of the King, that he would fubmit his caufe to the Roman confiftory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promife to Rome; and the pope agreed, that, if the King would fign a written agreement to the fame purpofe, his demands should be fully complied with. King's final A day was appointed for the return of the meffengers; and all the world re- breach with Rome. garded 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 promife, was detained beyond the day appointed: News are brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the King in derifion of the pope and cardinals +. The pope and cardinals enter into the confiftory enflamed with 23d March. anger; and by a precipitate fentence, 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, tho' he repented heartily of this hafty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the fame footing as before.

It is not probable, that the pope, had he conducted himfelf with ever fo great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was both im-

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• Father Paul, lib. 1.

+ Father Paul, lib. 1.

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Chap. IV. petuous and obstinate in his character; and having proceeded fo far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been induced tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time, when he was negotiating a reconcilement with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had affembled a Parliament; and continued to enact laws A Parliament, totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding feffion had retrenched fomething from the power and profit of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during fome years, to teach the nation, that a general council was much fuperior to the pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was intitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocefe ‡. 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 fentence from Rome, which would have removed all the doubts with regard to his fecond marriage and the fucceffion, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the apoftolic fee, but never would have furrendered to it any confiderable share of his assumed prerogative. The nature and importance of the laws, paffed this feffion, even before news arrived of the violent refolutions 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 to imprison or try any person upon suspicion alone, without prefentment by two lawful witneffes; and it was declared, that to fpeak against the pope's authority was no herefy : Bishops were to be appointed, by a congè d'elire from the crown, or in cafe of the dean and chapter's refufal, 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 Salifbury and Worcefter, 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 fuspend or inforce, was finally established : And a fubmiffion, which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this feffion the fanction of Parliament +. In this fubmiffion, the clergy acknowledge, that convocations ought only to be affembled by the King's authority; they promife to enact no new canons without his confent; and they agree, that he fhould appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate fuch as should be

† 25. H. S. c. 19. 1 Burnet, vol. 1. p. 144. \* Le Neve's Faffi ecclef. Ang:

be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative t. An appeal was alfo allowed Chap. IV. from the bishop's court to the King in Chancery.

But the most important law passed this fession, was that which regulated the fucceffion to the crown : The marriage of the King with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect : The primate's fentence, annulling it, was ratified : And the marriage with Queen Anne was effablished and confirmed. The crown was appointed to defcend to the iffue of that marriage, and failing them to the King's heirs for ever. An oath likewife was ordered to be taken in favour of this fucceffion, under penalty of imprifonment during the King's pleafure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all flander against the King, Queen, or their iffue, was fubjected to the penalty of mifprifion of treafon. After thefe compliances, the Parliament was prorogued; and those acts, fo contemptuous 30th March. towards the pope, and fo deftructive of his authority, were paffed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hafty fentence against the King. Henry's refentment against Queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of fucceeding to the crown; contrary to his first intention, when he began the fuit of divorce, and of difpenfation for a fecond marriage.

THE King found his ecclefiaftical fubjects 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, fhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom : And they voted, that the bifhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurifdiction in England than any other foreign bifhop; and that the authority, which he and his predeceffors had exercifed there, was only by usurpation and the fufferance of English princes. Four perfons only oppofed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It paffed unanimoully in the upper. The bifhops went to far in their complaifance, that they took out new commiffions from the crown, where all their fpiritual and epifcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleafure +.

THE oath regarding the fucceffion was generally fworn throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochefter, and Sir Thomas More, were the only perfons of note, who entertained fcruples with regard to its legality. Fifher was obnoxious on account of fome practices, into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, feems to have betrayed him. But More was the perfon of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was be-

‡ Collier, vol. 2. p. 69, 70.

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+ Collier's Eccl. Hift. vol. 2.

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lieved, that his authority would have influence on the fentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulnefs of the oath. He declared, that he had no fcruple with regard to the fucceffion, and thought that the Parliament had full power to fettle it: He offered to draw an oath himfelf, which would affure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refufed the oath prefcribed by law; becaufe the preamble of that oath afferted 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 Cromwel, now fecretary of flate, who highly loved and efteemed More, earneftly follicited him to lay afide his fcruples; and their friendly entreaties feemed to weigh more with him, than all the penalties attending his refufal \*. He perfifted however, in a mild, tho' firm manner, to maintain his refolution; and the King, irritated againft him as well as Fifher, ordered them both to be indicted upon the flatute, and committed prifoners to the Tower.

3d November. THE Parliament, being again affembled, conferred on the King the title of the only fupreme *bead* on earth of the church of England; as they had already invefted 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 " vifit, and reprefs, redrefs, reform, order, correct, reftrain, or amend all errors, " herefies, abufes, offences, contempts and enormities, which fell under any " fpiritual authority or jurifdiction †." They alfo declared it treafon to attempt, imagine, or fpeak evil againft the King, Queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour the depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tythes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a fubfidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fifher for mifprifion of treafon. And they united England and Wales together, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Englifh laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excefs of its acquifitions, and by ftretching its pretenfions beyond what it was poffible for any human principles or prepoffeffions to fuftain. The right of granting indulgences had in former ages contributed extremely to enrich the holy fee; but being openly abufed, ferved to excite the first commotions and oppofitions in Germany. The prerogative of granting difpenfations had alfo contributed much to attach all the fovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the caufe, why England feparated herfelf from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the King's supremacy introduced there a greater fimplicity into the

+ 26 H. 8. C. I.

\* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 156.

the government, by uniting the fpiritual with the civil power, and preventing dif- Chap. IV. putes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending parties. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitancy of fuperfition, and breaking those shakles, by which all human reason, policy, and industry had fo long been incumbered. The prince, it may be fuppofed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurifdiction of the kingdom, tho' he might fometimes 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 ignorance or bigotry, would be fure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from these revolutions very beneficial consequences; tho' perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the perfons who had the chief hand in conducting them.

WHILE Henry proceeded with fo much order and tranquillity in changing the antient religion, and while his authority feemed entirely fecure in England, he was held in fome inquietude by the flate of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

THE earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the King's natural fon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accufed of fome violences against the family of Offory, his hereditary enemy, he was called over to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his fon, who hearing that his father was thrown into prifon, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himfelf to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Old Kildare mean-while died in prifon, and his fon, perfevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promifed him affiftance. The King was obliged to fend over fome forces to Ireland, which fo harraffed the rebels, that Kildare, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promifes, was reduced to the neceffity of furrendering himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorfet. He was fent over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public juffice; tho' two of the uncles, in order to fave the family, had pretended to join the King's party.

THE earl of Angus had acquired the entire afcendant in Scotland, and having got poffeffion of the King's perfon, 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 spouse, bred him great difturbance : For having feparated herfelf from him, on account of fome jealoufies and difgufts, and having procured a divorce, the had married another

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Chap. IV. another man of quality of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented notility, who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was diffatisfied with the flavery, to which he was reduced; and by fecret correspondence, he excited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, to free him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of fuccefs; but James, impatient of reftraint, found means at last of flying to Stirling, where his mother then refided; and having fummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglaffes, 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 himfelf with great fpirit and valour, in repreffing those feuds, ravages, and diforders, which, tho' they difturbed the course of public juffice, ferved to support the martial spirit of the Scotch, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independancy. He was defirous of renewing the antient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account fomewhat cold in hearkening to his propofals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of fuch an ally, to breed diffurbance to England. He offered the Scotch King the choice of three princesses, his near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his fifter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his coufin, the daughter of Henry; whom he pretended to difpole of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propolal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propenfity. to France at last prevailed over all other confiderations. The alliance with Francis neceffarily engaged James to agree to terms of peace with England. But tho' invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiaftics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed with to put himself in the King's power. In order to have a pretext for refufing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any perfonal negotiations with an enemy of the holy fee. By thefe meafures, Henry eafily 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.

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#### CHAP. V.

Religious principles of the people-of the King-of the ministers. ----- Farther progress of the reformation.----- Sir Thomas More.--------- The maid of Kent .---- Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochefter-of Sir Thomas More.---King excommunicated.----Death of Queen Catherine.---- Suppression of the lesser monasteries. - A Parliament. A convocation. Translation of the Bible. ---- Difgrace of Queen Anne.---- Her trial---- and execution.----A Parliament. \_\_\_\_A Convocation. \_\_\_\_ Discontents among the people. ----- Infurrection.-----Birth of prince Edward and death of Queen Jane. \_\_\_\_\_Suppression of the greater monasteries. \_\_\_\_Cardinal Pole.

THE antient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interest between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English Clergy and the court of Rome, had fufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the Roman Religious pontiff; and men had penetration enough to difcover abuses, which were plainly principles of calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found the people. destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human underftanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breafts, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions, which the interested spirit of the fovereign pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to difpute concerning the nature of the facraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during fome 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 fincere, but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reafoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As foon as a new opinion therefore was advanced, fupported by fuch an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for fuch difquifitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the fudden and violent movements by which the 8 people

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people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions : Hence their feeming profitution in facrificing to prefent power the most facred principles : And hence the rapid progress during fome time, and the fudden as well as entire check given afterwards to the new doctrines. When men were once fettled in their particular fects, and had fortified themfelves in a habitual detestation against those effeemed heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education ; and the limits of the two religions remained thenceforth fixed and unchangeable.

NOTHING forwarded more the first progress of the reformers, than the offer, which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the fummons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Tho' 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 fuffering perfecution, death, and torments; a disgust against the reftraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the eccless were men so generally induced during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of fubmitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in fome refpects, dangerous to the rights of fovereigns, and feemed to deftroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magiftrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of fhaking fuch an ancient and deep founded eftablifhment as that of the Roman hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for new innovations. The republican fpirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increafed this jealoufy. The furious infurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptifts in Germany \*, furnifhed a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor fhould we conclude, becaufe proteftants in our time prove as dutiful fubjects as thofe of any other religion, that therefore fuch apprehenfions were altogether without any appearance or plaufibility. Tho' the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the difciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiefce in thofe eftablifhments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was posseffed of fuch absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himfelf, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiaftical

\* Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

ecclefiaftical powers +; and there was fmall likelihood, that any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging fedition, could ever pretend to his fayour and countenance. But befides this political jealoufy, there was another Of the King. reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his fentiments againft Luther; and having entered the lifts in those scholastic quarrels, he had received, from his courtiers and theologians, infinite applaufe for his performance. Elated by this imaginary fuccefs, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obfinacy 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 fentiments. Luther alfo had been fo imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonift; and tho" he afterwards made the humbleft fubmiffions to Henry, and apolog zed 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 herefy still appeared deteftable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilft his refertment against the fee of Rome had removed one confiderable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquifh the reft. Separate as he flood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himfelf on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and fword, the imagined purity of his fpeculative principles.

HENRY's minifters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct ; Of the miniand feemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new iters. religion. The Queen, engaged by intereft as well as inclination, favoured the caule of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created fecretary of flate, and who was every day advancing in the King's confidence, had embraced the fame views ; and as he was a man of prudence and ability, he was able, very effectually, tho' in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had fecretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and fincerity; virtues which he possefield in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and opprefied with tyranny, could eafily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to Bb the

+ Here are the terms in which the King's minister expressed himself to the pope. An non, inquam, fanctitas veftra plerofque habet quibufcum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum effe quam fi uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis ferenisfimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui finguli in suo regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Reginon esse fidelissimi. Væ namque illis, fi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Le Grand, tom. III. p. 113. The King once faid publicly before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know, that he was mafter. Et qu'il n'y auroit fi belle tete qu'il n'e fit voler. Id. p. 218.

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the ancient faith; and by the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents, both for peace and war, he had great weight in the King's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the fame party; and the suppleness of his character, as well as the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

ALL these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles, were obliged to difguife their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the fentiments of their mafter. Cromwel and Cranmer ftill carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's refentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an affent to the King's fupremacy, and to his renounciation of the fovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his paffion for the catholic faith, and inftigated him to punish those daring heretics, who had prefumed to reject his theological principles. Both fides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party : The King mean while, who held the ballance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtship payed him both by protestants and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority : And tho' in all thefe measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he cafually held a courfe, which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrify, in his fituation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them referve in complying with a monarch, whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained : But while the franknefs, fincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious paffions; each fide dreaded to lofe him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themfelves that a blind compliance with his will, would throw him, cordially and fully, into their interefts.

THE ambiguity of the King's conduct, tho' it kept the courtiers in awe, ferved to encourage the proteftant doctrine among his fubjects, and promoted that fpirit of innovation with which the age was generally feized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a fteddy feverity in the administration, could be able to reprefs. There were fome Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Conftantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the King's authority, had fled to Antwerp ‡; where the great privileges posseful by the Low Country provinces, ferved, during fome time, to give them protection. These men employed themfelves in writing books, in English, against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, relicts, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiofity of men

t Burnet, vol. I. p. 159.

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Farther progrefs of the reformation.

men with regard to that queffion, the most important in theology, the terms of Chap. V. acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans and other protestants, they afferted, that falvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible road to perdition \* was a reliance on good works; by which terms they underflood, as well the moral duties, as the ceremonial and monaftic observances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works; but they did not exclude from this appellation the focial virtues, it was still the fuperstitions, gainful to the church, which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books, composed by these fugitives, being ftole over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the fcriptures by Tindal, that was effeemed most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to confiderable objections; and Tindal, who was poor. and could not afford to lofe a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made fenfible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being defirous to discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies, which could be found at Antwerp; and he burnt them publicly in Cheapfide. By this contrivance, he fupplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave occasion to great fcandal and reproach, in thus committing to the flames the word of God +.

THE difciples of the reformation met with little feverity during the miniftry of Wolfey, who, tho' himfelf a clergyman, bore too fmall regard to the ecclefiaffical order, to ferve as an inftrument of their tyranny : It was even an article of impeachment against him t, that by his connivance he had encouraged the growth of herefy, and that he had protected and acquitted fome notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who fucceeded Wolfey as chancellor, is at once an ob-Sir Thomas ject deferving our compassion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's fen-More. timents during that age. This man, whofe 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 prefent would

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\* Sacrilegium est & impietas velle placere Deo per opera & non per solam fidem. Luther adversus regem. Ita vides quam dives fit homo christianus five baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere falutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. Id. de castivitate Babylonica.

+ Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. I. p. 138. Burnet, vol. I. p. 159. ment in Herbert. Burnet.

‡ Articles of impeach-

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be efteemed fomewhat libertine, had, in the courfe of events, been fo irritated by polemics, and thrown into fuch a fuperfitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquifitors have been guilty of greater violence in their profecutions of herefy. Tho' adorned with the gentleft mannets, and the pureft integrity, he carried to the utmoft height his averfion to heterodoxy; and one James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the temple, experienced from him the high. eft feverity. Bainham, accufed of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's houfe, and having refufed to difcover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipt in his prefence, and afterwards fent him to the Tower, where he himfelf faw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all thefe feverities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepeft compunction for this apoftacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obftinate and relapfed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield \*.

MANY were brought into the bishops courts for offences, which appear very trivial, but which were regarded as fymbols 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 perfecuted preachers, to neglect the fafts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieft, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was fo haunted by remorfe, that his friends dreaded fome fatal effects of his defpair. At laft, his mind feemed to be more composed; 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 thro' Norfolk, teaching every where the people to beware of idolatry, and of truffing either to pilgrimages, or to the cowle of St. Francis, to the prayers of the faints, or to images. He was foon feized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapse; 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 punifhment; and fome mendicant friars, who were prefent, fearing that his death would be imputed to them, and make them lofe those alms, which they received from the charity of the people, defired him publicly to acquit them + of having any hand in his death. He very willingly complied; and by this meeknefs gained the more on the fympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real prefence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly

\* Fox. Burnet, vol. I. p. 165. + ]

+ Ibid. p. 164.

tenderly embraced the faggots, which were to be the inftruments of his punifhment, as the means of procuring him eternal reft. In fhort, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those fevere executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now ferved only the more to diffuse it among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting perfecutors.

But the' Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he efteemed herefy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain confequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the King, had the affurance 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 t." The King took no notice of this infult; 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 flanderer, a dog, and a traytor. Elston, another friar of the fame house, interrupted the preacher; and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who fought by adultery to establish the fucceffion to the crown; but that he himfelf would juftify all that Peyto had faid. Henry filenced this petulant friar; but fhowed no other mark of refentment than ordering Peyto and him to be fummoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence +. He even bore patiently fome new inftances of their obstinacy and arrogance. For when the earl of Effex, a privy counfellor, told them, that they deferved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elfton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land ||.

But feveral monks were detected in a confpiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the King, was attended with more fatal confequences to themfelves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *boly Maid of Kent*, had been fubject to hyfterical fits, which threw her body into unufual convultions; and having produced an equal diforder in her mind, made her utter ftrange fayings, which, as the was fcarce confcious of them during the time, had foon after entirely efcaped her memory. The filly people in the neighbourhood were ftruck with these appearances, which they imagined to be fupernatural; and Richard Mafters, vicar of the parith, a defigning fellow, founded

‡ Strype, vol. I. p. 167. † Collier, vol. II. p. 26. Burnet, vol. I. p. 151. || Stov, p. 562.

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founded on them a project, by which he hoped to draw both profit and confideration to himfelf. He went to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was at that time alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he fo far wrought on that prudent, but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and to note down carefully all her future speeches. The regard paid her by a perfon of fo high a rank, foon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to perfuade them, as well as the maid herfelf, that her ravings were infpirations of the Holy Ghoft. Knavery, as is usual, foon after fucceeding to illufion, the learned to counterfeit trances ; and fhe then uttered, in an unufual tone of voice, fuch speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters affociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their defign was to raife the credit of an image of the virgin, which flood in a chapel belonging to Mafters, and to draw fuch pilgrimages to it as ufually frequented the more famous images and relicts. In profecution of this defign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the prefence of a great multitude, fhe fell anew into convulfions ; and after difforting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, fhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceffion of the virgin\*. This miracle was foon bruited abroad; and the two priefts, finding the impofture to fucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated herefy; against innovations in ecclefiaftical government; and against the King's divorce from Catherine. She went fo far as to affert, that, if he profecuted that defign, and married another, he would not be a King a month longer, and would not an hour longer poffess 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 this delufion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth +. Miracles were daily added, to encrease the wonder; and the pulpit every where refounded with accounts of the fanctity and infpirations of this new prophetefs. Meffages were carried from her to Queen Catherine, by which that princefs was exhorted to perfift in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambaffadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochefter, tho' a man of fense and learning, was carried away with an opinion fo

\* Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of chronicles.

+ Strype, vol I. p. 181.

fo favourable to the party, which he had embraced ‡. The King at last began Chap. V. to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrefted, he brought them before the ftar-chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The Parliament, in the feffion held the beginning of this year, paffed 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 bilhop of Rochefter, Abel, Addifon, Laurence, and fome others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal fpeeches which they heard from Elizabeth +: And they were thrown intoprifon. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetess's miracles was detected ; and even the fcandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions, which fo naturally infinuate themfelves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different fexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was faid to have been miraculoufly opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the fake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for lefs refined purpofes.

THE detection of an imposture, attended with fo many odious circumstances, hurt much the credit of the ecclefiaftics, particularly of the monks, and inftigated the King to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamor was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the reft. Meanwhile, he exercifed punishment on individuals, who were obnoxious to him. The Parliament had made it treafon to endeavour the depriving the King of his dignity or titles : They had lately added to his other titles, that of fupreme head of the church : It was inferred, that to deny his fupremacy was treason ; and many priors and ecclefiaftics loft their lives for this new fpecies of crime. It was certainly a high inftance of tyranny to make the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that no way affected the King's temporal right, to be a capital offence, tho' attended with no overt act; and the Parliament, in paffing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed : But the violence of changing fo fuddenly the whole fystem of government, and the making it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been herefy to affert, is an event which may appear fomewhat extraordinary. Even the stern, unrelenting mind of Henry was, at first, shocked with

t Collier, vol. II. p. 87. \* 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. I. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220. + Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

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with these fanguinary measures; and he went fo far as to change his garb and drefs, pretending forrow for the neceffity, by which he was pushed to fuch extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and defirous of ftriking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to confummate his lawlefs tyranny.

Trial and execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochefter.

JOHN Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate, eminent for his learning and morals, no lefs than for his ecclefiaftical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long poffeffed with the King. When he was thrown into prifon, on account of his refufing the oath of fucceffion, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues. but ftripped of his very cloaths, and, without confideration of his extreme age, was allowed nothing but rags, which fcarce fufficed to cover his nakednefs \*. In this condition, he lay in prifon above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompense the fufferings of fo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; tho' Fisher was so careless of that dignity, that even if the purple were lying on the ground, he declared that he would not floop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, rouzed the indignation of the King; and he refolved to make the innocent perion feel the effects of his refentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the King's supremacy, 22d of June. was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

Of Sir Thomas More.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whofe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxioufly defired by the King. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the fport of paffions, was fusceptible of towards a man, who in any particular, opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on, contrary to his principles, to acknowledge the King's fupremacy; and tho' Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpofe. Rich, the follicitor general, was fent to confer with More, then a prifoner, who kept a cautious filence with regard to the fupremacy .: He was only inveigled to fay, that any queftion with regard to the law, which established that prerogative, was like a two edged fword : If a perfon anfwer one way, it will confound his foul; if another, it will deftroy 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 cafually dropped from him,

\* Fuller's Church Hift. book 5. p. 203.

were interpreted as a denial of the fupremacy\*. Trials were mere formalities Chap. V. during this reign : The jury gave fentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his conftancy, but even his cheerfulnefs, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a facrifice of his life to his integrity with the fame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the fcaffold, he faid to one, " Friend, help me up, and when " I go down again let me shift for myfelf." The executioner asking him forgivenefs, he granted the requeft, but told him, " You will never get credit by " beheading me, my neck is fo fhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ftay till he put afide his beard : " For," faid he, " it never com-" mitted treafon." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better caufe, more free from weaknefs and fuperflition. But as the man followed his principles and fenfe of duty, however mifguided, his conftancy and integrity are equally objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age. 6th July.

WHEN the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invefted with the dignity of cardinal, every one difcovered the most violent rage against the King; and numerous libels were publifted, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement the feventh had died about fix months after he pronounced fentence against the King; and Paul the third, of the name of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who had always favoured Henry's caufe while a cardinal, had hoped, that, perfonal animofities being buried with his predeceffors, it might not be impoffible to form an agreement with England : And Henry himfelf was fo defirous 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 accuftomed to prefcribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating 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 30th August. fo capital an injury, that he immediately paffed cenfures 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 realm; fubjected the kingdom to an interdict; declared his King excomiffue by Anne Boleyn i'legitimate; diffolved all leagues with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed

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\* More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

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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 refentment upon him +. He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third fon of Francis. These two princes also mide advances to the protestant league in Germany, who were ever jealous of the emperor's ambition : And Henry, befides remiting them fome money, fent Fox, bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, lord of Langey, to treat with those princes. But during the first fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as an union of interest, to be effential to a good correspondence among flates; and tho' both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Aufbourg, it was looked upon as a bad fymptom of their fincerity, 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 himfelf the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, in order to confer with him, and to inftruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in antient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with these wretched composers of metaphyfical polemics. The German princes told the King, that they could not fpare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with fuch zealous difputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not affociate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, tho' they agreed in every thing elfe, they differed in fome particulars with regard to the eucharift, he was the more indifferent on account of this refufal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Smalcalde d'd not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their intereft to oppose the emperor : And the hatred between Francis and

\* Sanders, p. 148.

+ Herbert, p. 350, 351.

t Sleidan, lib. 10.

and that monarch was fo inveterate, that he efteemed himfelf fure of a fincere Chap. V. ally in one or other of these potentates.

DURING these negotiations an incident happened in England, which promised a more amicable conclusion of these disputes, and seemed even to open a way for a reconcilement between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was feized with a lingering illnefs, which at last brought her to her grave: She died at 6th January. Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before fhe expired, fhe wrote a very tender letter to the King; where fhe Death of gave him the appellation of ber most dear Lord, King, and Husband. She told Queen Cathehim, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, fhe laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptinefs of all human grandeur and enjoyment : That tho' his fondnefs towards thefe perifhing advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himfelf much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that this pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, but to recommend to him his daughter, the fole pledge of their loves, and to crave his protection for her maids and fervants. She concluded with these words, I make this vow, that mine eyes defire 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 faid to have expreffed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit +.

THE emperor thought, that as the decease of his aunt had removed all foundation for perfonal animofity between him and Henry, it might not now be impoffible to detach him from the alliance of France, and renew that confederacy with England from which he had formerly reaped fo much advantage. He fent Henry propofals for a return to antient amity, upon these conditions ‡; that he should be reconciled to the pope, that he should affift him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take party 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 he would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions propofed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were fo just, and fo fully ratified by the Parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when chriftian princes should have fettled peace among themselves, he would

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+ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 192.

\* Herbert, p. 403.

Burnet, vol. 3. in Coll. Nº 50.

1 Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert.

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not fail to exert that vigour, which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully reftored, he would then be in a fituation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to affist the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was his experience of the usual duplicity and infincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the prefent transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, was dead without iffue; and the emperor maintained, that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as the head of the Germanic body : Not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on fome prince, who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third fon to Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was contented to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to clofe with this propofal. But his fole intention in that liberal conceffion 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 antient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in personal infults on each other, not becoming perfons of their rank, and still lefs fuitable to men of fuch unqueftioned bravery. Charles foon after invaded Provence in perfon, with an army of fifty thoufand men; but met with no fuccefs. His army perished with fickness, fatigue, famine, and other difasters; and he was obliged to raife the fiege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of imperialifts, near 30,000 ftrong, which invaded France on the fide of the Netherlands, and laid fiege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the fatisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to support himself without foreign affistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enfured by thefe violent wars and animofities on the continent.

Is any inquietude remained with the English court, it was folely occasioned by the flate of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the diftreffed fituation of his ally, Francis, very generously levied fome forces; and embarking them on board vessels, which he had hired for that purpose, landed them fasely in France. He even came over in perfon; and making haste to join the French King's camp, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor's invasion, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by fo agreeable and scalonable an inftance of friendship,

friendship, the King of Scots made suit to Magdalen, daughter to the French Chap. V. monarch, who had no other fcruple in agreeing to the match, than what was derived from the infirm flate of his daughter's health, which feemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princefs, and obtained her confent, the father would no longer oppofe the united defires of his daughter and friend; and they were accordingly married, and foon after fet fail for Scotland, where the young Queen, as was forefeen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, left his ally, Henry, whom he likewife looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be difpleafed that this clofe confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore difpatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expreffed fuch difpleafure, that he refused even to confer with the ambaffador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince, who regulated his meafures more by humour and paffion than by the rules of political prudence. But Henry was fo fettered by the opposition, in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he purfued no farther this difguft against Francis ; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity both on the fide of France and Scotland.

THE domeftic peace of England feemed to be exposed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing enfured public tranquillity fo much as the decifive authority acquired by the King, and his great afcendant over all his fubjects. Not only the devotion paid the crown, was profound during that age: The perfonal refpect, infpired by Henry, was confiderable; and even the terrors, with which he over-awed every one, were not attended with any confiderable degree of hatred. His franknefs, his fincerity, his magnificence, his generofity, were virtues which counterballanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuofity. And the important rank, which his vigour, more than addrefs, 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, confcious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous trial of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by feveral expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in poffession of their ample revenues.

THE great encrease of monasteries, if matters be confidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every

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other difadvantage, attending that communion, feems to have an infeparable connection with these religious inftitutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquifition, the multiplication of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry, were ultimately derived from the authority and infinuation of monks, who being fcattered every where, proved fo many colonies of fuperflition and of folly. This order of men were extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the fole 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 facredness 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 state, gave them reason to expect like confequences in England; and tho' the King ftill maintained the ancient doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and fupport, it was forefeen, that, in the progrefs of the conteft, he would every day be led to depart wider from antient inflitutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interefts naturally induced him to ally himfelf. Moved by these confiderations, the friars made use of all their influence to enflame the people against the King's government; and Henry, finding their fafety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to feize the prefent opportunity, and utterly deftroy his declared enemies.

CROMWEL, fecretary of flate, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent, a new office, by which the King's fupremacy, or the abfolute, uncontroulable power affumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellafis, and others, as commiffioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous enquiry 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 adverfaries; and as it was known, that the King's intention in this vifitation, 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 to the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore faid 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 lufts between perfons of the fame fex. It is indeed probable, that the blind fubmiffion of the people, during those ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diffolute, than they are in any roman catholic country at prefent : But still, the reproaches, 2

reproaches, which it is fafeft to credit, are fuch as point at vices, naturally connected with the very inftitution 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 fame walls, never can forget their mutual animofities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly curfed with hearts more felfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds, practifed to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The fupine idlenefs, alfo, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no queftion ; and tho' monks were the true prefervers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men, whofe life, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raife the mind, or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquifition carried on by Cromwel and his commiffioners, furrendered their revenues into the King's hands; and the monks received fmall penfions as the reward of their obfequioufnefs. Orders were given to difmifs fuch nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, and whofe vows were, on that account, fuppofed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to fuch as were above that age; and all those recovered their liberty who defired it. But as all thefe 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 vifitors 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, the' determined to abolish utterly the monastic order, refolved to 4 February. proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the Par-A Parliament. liament to go no further at prefent, than to suppress the leffer monasteries, who poffeffed revenues below two hundred pounds a year value\*. Thefe were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less forutiny +; and it was effeemed fafeft to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act Suppression of three hundred and feventy fix monasteries were fuppressed, and their revenues, the leffer moamounting to thirty two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the King; befides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds

more.

\* 27 Hen. VIII, c, 28, † Burnet, vol. I. p. 193;

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more ‡. It appears not that any opposition was made to this important law: So abfolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the King's revenue, was appointed for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from the erection of this court, that Henry intended to proceed in spoiling 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 prefent confusion of that law encreafed his authority, and kept the clergy in ftill greater dependance.

FARTHER progress was made in compleating the union of Wales with England : The feparate jurifdictions of feveral 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 jurifdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished § this feffion.

THE commons, fenfible that they had gained nothing by oppofing the King's will, when he formerly endeavoured to fecure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law \*, fuch 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 diffolved the Parliament; a Parliament memorable, not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had fat, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it fo obfequious to his will, that he did not chuse, during these religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same Parliament above fix years : A practice, at that time, quite unprecedented in England.

THE convocation, which fat during this feffion, were engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the fcriptures. Tindal had formerly given a translation, and it had been greedily read by the people; but as the clergy complained of it, as very inaccurate and unfaithful, it was now proposed that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections. The friends of the reformation afferted, that nothing could be more abfurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue,

It is pretended, fee Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the diffolution of the leffer monafteries. If fo, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have fupported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, ftill continued their former profession. \* 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

§ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. II 27 Hen. VIII. C. 27.

14 April.

A convocation.

tongue, the word itfelf of God, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpose of universal falvation, had published that falutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice was not very abfurd, the artifice at leaft was very barefaced, and proved a confcioufnefs, that the gloffes and traditions of the clergy flood in direct opposition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now neceffary for the people, fo long abufed by interefted pretenfions, to fee with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclefiaftics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven : And that as a fpirit of refearch and curiofity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the pretensions of different fects, the proper materials for decifion, and above all, the holy fcriptures, fhould be fet before them, and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had fomewhat obfcured, 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 fee with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itfelf a very barefaced artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and feduce 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 flupidity, their neceffary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles, and it was a mocquery to fet materials before them, of which they could not poffibly 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 queftions were placed much beyond the fphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiaftics themselves, tho' affisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an affiduous fludy of the fcience, could not be fully affured of a just decision; except by the promife made them in fcripture, that God would be ever prefent with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her : That the gross errors adopted by the wifest heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way, thro' this profound darknefs; nor would the fcriptures, if trufted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, thefe fatal illufions: That facred writ itfelf was involved in fo much obfcurity, was exposed to to many difficulties, contained fo many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon which could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and

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and giddy multitude: That the poetical fpirit, in which a great part of it was compofed, at the fame time that it occafioned uncertainty in the fenfe, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was fufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticifm, and thereby throw civil fociety into the moft furious combuftion: That a thoufand fects muft arife, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the fcripture; and would be able, by fpecious arguments, or even without fpecious arguments, to feduce filly women, and ignorant mechanics, into a belief of the moft monftrous principles: And that if ever this diforder, dangerous to the magiftrate himfelf, received a remedy, it muft be from the tacit acquiefcence of the people in fome new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther conteft or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more fecure effablifhments.

THESE latter arguments being more agreeable to ecclefiaftical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and fome other bifhops, who were fuppofed to fpeak the King's fenfe of the matter. A vote was paffed for publifhing a new tranflation of the fcriptures; and in three years time this great work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers; and a confiderable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was foon expected, after fuch important fuccess.

But while the retainers to the new religion were triumphing in their profperity, they met with a mortification, which feemed to blaft all their hopes : Their patronefs, Anne Boleyn, loft the King's favour, and foon after her life, from the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had perfevered conftantly in his love to this lady, during fix years that his profecution 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 purfuing his purpose. But the affection which had fubfifted fo long under difficulties, had no fooner attained fecure poffeffion of its object, than it languished from fatiety; and the King's heart was apparently alienated from his confort. Anne's enemies foon perceived this fatal change; and they were very forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interpoling in those delicate concerns. She had brought forth a dead fon; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the prefent, difappointed, his temper, equally violent and fuperflitious, was difposed to make the innocent mother answerable for this misfortune \*. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to enflame the King againft her, was his jealoufy.

Anne,

\* Buinet, vol. I. p. 195.

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Difgrace of Q. Anne.

ANNE, tho' fhe 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 these freedoms; and it was with difficulty fhe conformed herfelf to that ftrict ceremonial which was practifed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, fhe was pleafed to fee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and fhe indulged herfelf in an eafy familiarity with perfons, 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 tho' the lover had been entirely blind, the hufband poffeffed but too quick difcernment and penetration. Wicked inftruments interpofed, 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 fifter-in-law, infinuated the most cruel fufpicions into the King's mind; and as fhe was a woman of a very profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which the fuggested. She pretended, that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his fifter; and not contented with this imputation, she poifoned every action of the Queen, and reprefented each inftance of favour which the conferred on any one, as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston, and Brereton, gentlemen of the King's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were observed to poffess much of the Queen's friendship; and they ferved her with a zeal and attachment which, tho' chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be feasoned with fome mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The King's jealousy laid hold of the flighteft circumstance; and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itfelf equally on every one who came within the verge of its fury.

HAD Henry's jealoufy been derived from love, tho' it might on a fudden have proceeded to the moft violent extremities, it would have been fubject to many remorfes and contrarieties; and might at laft have ferved only to augment that affection, on which it was founded. But it was a more flern jealoufy, foftered entirely by pride: His love was wholly transferred to another object. Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the Queen, a young lady of fingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire afcendant over him; and he was determined to factifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moft monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damfels of their court rather honoured than difgraced by their paffion, he never thought of any other attachment than that of mar-

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riage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties and committed greater crimes than those which he fought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the defign of raising his new mistrefs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every fuggestion, which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

ist May.

THE King's jealoufy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the Queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably cafual, but interpreted by him as an inftance of gallantry to fome of her paramours \*. He immediately retired from the place; fent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrefted Norris, Brereton, Wefton, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into prifon. The Queen, aftonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earneft, 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, fhe was informed of her fuppofed offences, of which the had been hitherto ignorant : She made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when the entered the prifon, the fell on her knees, and prayed God fo to help her, as the was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her furprize and confusion threw her into histerical diforders; and in that fituation, she thought that the best proof of innocence was to make an entire confession, and she difcovered fome indifcretions and levities, which her fimplicity 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 the thould be a widow : She had reproved Wefton, the faid, for his affection to a kinfwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife : But he told her, that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herfelf : Upon which, she defied him +. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice when he played on the harpficord : But fhe acknowledged, that he had once had the boldnefs to tell her, that a look fufficed him. The King, instead of being fatisfied with the candour and fincerity of her confession, regarded these indifcretions only as preludes 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 connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic

\* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 198.

+ Strype, vol. 1. p. 281.

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 fupport the most intimate connexions with the apostolic fee. 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. It contains so much nature and even elegance, as to deferve to be transmitted to posterity, without any alteration of the expression. It is as follows.

" SIR, your grace's difpleafure, and my imprifonment are things fo ftrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excufe, I am altogether ignorant. "Whereas you fend unto me (willing me to confefs a truth, and fo obtain your favour) by fuch an one, whom you know to be mine antient profeffed enemy, I no fooner received this meffage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and, if, as you fay, confeffing a truth indeed may procure my fafety, I fhall with all willingnefs and duty perform your command.

" But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be <sup>46</sup> brought to acknowledge a fault, where not fo much as a thought thereof pre-" ceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, \* and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn : With " which name and place I could willingly have contented myfelf, if God and " your grace's pleafure had been fo pleafed. Neither did I at any time fo far <sup>46</sup> forget myfelf in my exaltation or received queenfhip, but that I always looked " for fuch an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being " on no furer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaft alteration I knew was " fit and fufficient to draw that fancy to fome other object. You have chosen " me from a low eftate to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my defert " or defire. If then you found me worthy of fuch honour, good your grace " let not any light fancy, or bad counfel of mine enemies, withdraw your " princely favour from me; neither let that ftain, that unworthy ftain, of a " difloyal heart towards your good grace, ever caft fo foul a blot on your most " dutiful wife, and the infant-princefs your daughter. Try me, good King, " but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my fworn enemies fit as my acculers " and judges; yea let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open " fhame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and " conscience 2

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<sup>64</sup> confcience fatisfied, the ignominy and flander of the world ftopped, or my <sup>64</sup> guilt openly declared. So that whatfoever God or you may determine of me, <sup>64</sup> your grace may be freed from an open cenfure, and mine offence being fo law-<sup>64</sup> fully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to <sup>64</sup> execute worthy punifhment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your af-<sup>64</sup> fection, already fettled on that party, for whofe fake I am now as I am, whofe <sup>64</sup> name I could fome good while fince have pointed unto, your grace not being <sup>64</sup> ignorant of my fufpicion therein.

"BUT if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous flander muft bring you the enjoying of your defired happinefs; then I defire of God, that he will pardon your great fin therein, and likewife mine enemies, the inftruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ftrict account for your unprincely and cruel ufage of me, at his general judgment-feat, where both you and myfelf muft fhortly appear, and in whofe judgment I doubt not (whatfoever the world may think of me) mine innocence fhall be openly known, and fufficiently cleared.

" My laft and only requeft fhall be, that myfelf may only bear the burden of your grace's difpleafure, and that it may not touch the innocent fouls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my fake. If ever I have found favour in your fight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earneft prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this fixth of May;

> "Your moft loyal " and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.

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, Wefton, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced againft them. The chief proof of their guilt confifted in a hear-fay report from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hope of life, to confefs 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 alfo

\* Burnet, vol. I. p. 202.

Her trial.

alfo Brereton and Wefton. Norris had been much in the King's favour; and an offer was made him of life, if he would confefs his crime, and accufe the Queen: But he generoufly rejected that propofal; and faid, that in his confcience he believed her entirely guiltlefs: But, for his part, he could accufe her of nothing, and he would die a thoufand deaths rather than calumniate an innocent perfon.

THE Queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, confifting of the duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more : Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, prefided as lord high fleward. Upon what proof or pretext the crime of inceft was imputed to them is unknown : The chief evidence, it is faid, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been feen to lean on her bed before fome company. Part of the charge against her was, that fhe had affirmed to her minions, that the King never had her heart; and had faid to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatfoever : Which was to the flander of the iffue begot between the King and her : By this firained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the flatute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any flander upon the King; Queen, or their iffue. Such palpable absurdities were, at that time, admitted, and they were regarded by the peers of England as a fufficient reason for facrificing an innocent Queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Tho' unaffifted by counfel, fhe defended herfelf with great judgment and prefence of mind; and the fpectators 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 pleafure. When this dreadful fentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, faid, " O! Father, O! Creator, thou who " art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweft that I have not deferved " this death." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

HENRY, not fatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was refolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iffue illegitimate : He recalled to his memory, that, a little after her appearance in the English court, fome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract nor promise of marriage had ever passed between them : He received the facrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this folemn act he accompanied with the most folemn protestations of his veracity. Chap. V. 1536:

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racity\*. The Queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the fentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court, fome lawful impediment to her marriage with the King+. The afflicted primate, who fat 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 inconfissent, and that if her marriage was, from the beginning, invalid, she could not possible be guilty of adultery.

And execution.

19th May.

THE Queen now prepared for fuffering that death to which she was fentenced. She fent her last meffage to the King, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in continuing thus uniformly his endeavours for her advancement : From a private gentlewoman, she faid, he had first made her a marchionefs, then a queen, and now, fince he could raife her no higher in this world, he was fending her to be a faint 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, fhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herfelf with her ufual ferenity, and even with chearfulnefs. " The executioner," fhe faid to the lieutenant, " is, I hear, " very expert; and my neck is very flender :" Upon which fhe grafped it in her hand, and laughed heartily. When brought, however, to the fcaffold, fhe foftened her tone a little with regard to her proteftations of innocence. She reflected, that the obstinacy of Queen Catherine, and her refistance to the King's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary; and her maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation, which the unjust fentence, by which she fuffered, naturally excited in her. She faid, that fhe was come to die, as fhe was fentenced, by the law : She would accufe none, nor fay any thing of the ground upon which fhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious fovereign; and if any one fhould think proper to canvals her cause, she defired him to judge the beft ‡. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheft of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

THE innocence of this unfortunate Queen cannot reafonably be called in queftion. Henry himfelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accufe as her lover; and tho' he imputed guilt to her brother, and four perfons more, he

\* Herbert, page 384.

+ Heylin, p. 94.

‡ Burnet, vol. I. p. 205.

was

was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenour of her con- Chap. V. duct forbids us to afcribe to her an abandoned character, fuch as is implied in the King's accufation; and had fhe been fo loft to all prudence and fenfe of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies the clearest 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 paffion, caufed him to forget all regard to decency ; and his cruel heart was not foftened a moment by the bloody cataftrophe of a perfon, who had fo long been the object of his most tender affections.

THE lady Mary thought the death of her ftep-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herfelf with the King, who, befides other caufes of difguft, had been offended with her, on account of the part which fhe had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her fome further proofs of fubmiffion and obedience : He required this young princefs, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his fupremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be inceftuous and unlawful. These points were of hard digestion with the princes; but after some delays, and even refusals, the was at last prevailed with to write a letter to her father \*, containing her affent to the articles required of her: Upon which fhe was received into favour. But notwithftanding the return of the King's affection to the iffue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new Queen, who was bleft with a fingular fweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment to that young princefs.

THE trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the fubsequent events, made it 8th June. neceffary for the King to fummon a new Parliament ; and he here, in his fpeech, A Parliament. made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding his misfortunes in his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The fpeaker received this profession with a fuitable gratitude; and he took thence occalion to praife the King for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature : He compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for ftrength and fortitude to Sampfon; and for beauty and comelinefs to Abfalom. The King very humbly replied, by the mouth of his chancellor, that he difavowed these praifes; fince, if he was really poffeffed of fuch virtues, they were the gifts of Almighty God only. Henry found that the Parliament were equally fubmiffive in deeds as complaifant in their expressions; and that they would go the fame lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. His divorce from Anne Bo-Ee ·leyn

|| Eurnet, vol. I. p. 207. \* Ibid. Strype, vol. I. p. 285:

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leyn was ratified ; that Queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted ; the iffue of both the two former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to affert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any flander upon the prefent King, Queen, or their iffue, was fubjected to the fame penalty ; the crown was fettled on the King's iffue by Jane Seymour, or any fubfequent wife; and in cafe he should die without children, he was impowered by his will, or letters patent, to difpose of the crown : An enormous concession +, especially when entrufted to a prince fo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of fettlement, was declared to be guilty of treafon; and by this claufe a fpecies of political inquifition 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 caftles, honours, liberties, or franchifes; words which might have been extended to the difmembring the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independant jurifdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the King's confent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the difcovery of a defign, formed by Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, to efpoufe the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the King by his fifter the Queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty foon after; but he died in that confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

A NEW acceffion was likewife gained to the authority of the crown: The King or any of his fucceffors was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever acts of parliament had been paffed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bifhop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to reftore it in England, was fubjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of the laws. And any perfon who poffeffed any office, ecclefiaftical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown; and yet refufed to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treafon. The renounciation prefcribed runs in the ftyle of *So help me God*, all faints, and the holy evangelifts ‡. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's difgrace and death, hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making fome advances

+ The King is thought to have had a defign of leaving the crown, in cafe of the failure of his lawful male iflue, to his favourite fon, the duke of Richmond. But the death of that promifing nobleman, which happened foon after, difappointed all projects in his favour. Heylin, p. 6.

‡ 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

vances to Henry: But this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become abfolutely indifferent with regard to papal cenfures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perfevere in his prefent measures. This Parliament alfo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Tho' the elections had been made of a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his perfon and government ‡.

THE extreme complaifance of the convocation, which fat at the fame time A convocawith the Parliament, encouraged him in his refolution of breaking entirely with tion. the court of Rome. There was a division of fentiments in the minds of this affembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by f me late fuccesses, the refentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and loffes: But the authority of the King kept every thing fubmiffive and filent; and the new affumed prerogative, the fupremacy, whofe limits no one was fully acquainted with, reftrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour: Cromwel fat as vicar-general; and tho' the catholic party expected, that, on the fall of Queen Anne, his authority would receive a great check, they were furprized to find him still maintain equal credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salifbury, Hilfey of Rochefter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite party were led by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonftal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchefter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chichefter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlifle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, feconded 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 averfe to the reformation; and the lower houfe framed a lift of opinions, in the whole fixty feven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, fome held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern proteftants, or Gofpellers, as they were fometimes called. This catalogue they fent to the upper houfe to be cenfured; but in the preamble of their reprefentation, they difcovered the fervile fpirit by which they were governed. They faid, " that they intended not to do or fpeak any thing

E e 2 ‡ Burnet, vol. I. p. 212. 211

" which

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"which might be unpleafant to the King, whom they acknowledge their fu-"preme head, and whofe commands they were refolved to obey; renouncing "the pope's ufurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extin-"guifhed and abolifhed; and addicting themfelves to Almighty God and his laws, "and unto the King and the laws made within this kingdom \*."

THE convocation came at laft, after fome debate, to decide articles of religion; and their tenets were of as compounded a nature as the affembly itfelf, or rather as the King's fyftem of theology, by which they were refolved entirely to fquare their principles. They determined the ftandard of faith to confift in the fcriptures and the three creeds, the Apoftolic, the Nicene, and the Athanafian; and this article was a fignal victory to the reformers: Auricular confeffion and pennance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as facraments; and in this omiffion the influence of the proteftants appeared. The real prefence was afferted, conformable to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were effablifhed to be the merits of Chrift, and the mercy and good pleafure of God, fuitable to the new principles.

So far the two fects feem to have made a fair partition, by fharing alternately the feveral claufes. In framing the fubfequent articles, each of them feems to have thrown in their ingredient. The catholics prevailed in afferting, that the ufe of images was warranted by fcripture; the proteftants, in warning the people againft idolatry, and the abufe of thefe fenfible reprefentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expediency of praying to faints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of faints to any trade, profeffion, or courfe of action. The former rites of worfhip, the ufe of holy water, the ceremonies practifed on Afh-wednefday, Palm-funday, and Good-friday, &c. were ftill maintained; but the new refinements were alfo adopted, which made light of thefe inftitutions, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting fin, and by its afferting that their fole merit confifted in promoting pious and devout difpofitions in the mind.

But the article with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hefitation, arifing 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 fouls departed; and fince 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 fince the place "where

\* Collier, vol. II. p. 119.

\*\* where departed fouls are retained, before they reach Paradife, as well as the na- Chap. V. " ture of their pains, is left uncertain by fcripture; all fuch queftions are to be " fubmitted to God, to whofe mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the " deceased, trufting that he accepteth our prayers for them." \*

THESE articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the King, were fubscribed by every member of that affembly ; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except the King. himfelf, who had adopted precifely these very doctrines and opinions. For tho' there be not any contradiction in the tenets here advanced, it had happened in England, as in all other states where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neutrals were to be found; and thefe confifted only of fpeculative or whimfical people, of whom two perfons could fcarce be brought to an agreement in the fame dogmas. The protestants, all of them, carried their opposition to Rome farther than these articles : None of the catholics went fo far : And the King, by being able to retain the nation in fuch a delicate medium, difplayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any hiftory furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when feconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprizes, which any fovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to fet that furious machine in movement, and yet regulate and even ftop its career : He could fay to it, thus far fhalt thou go and no farther : And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation fubfervient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his smallest caprices; nay, to his most refined. and most scholastic subtilties.

THE concurrence of these two national assemblies ferved, no doubt, to increase the King's power among the people, and raifed him to an authority more abfolute, than any prince, in a fimple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the most flavish fubmiffion cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diffolution of the fmaller monasteries, and the imminent danger, to which all the reft were exposed +, had bred discontent in the people, and disposed them to a revolt. The

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & feq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

+ A propofal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leffer monafteries ; and had been much opposed by bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren, that this was fairly flowing the King the way, how he might come at the greater monafteries. " An ax, which " wanted a handle, came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees, that he " wanted a handle to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to fit idle ; therefore he made " it his requeit to them, that they would be pleafed to grant him one of their fmall faplings within. ss. the

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Difcontents among the people.

Chap. V. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both men's piety and compassion; and as the antient religion held the populace by powerful motives, fuited to their capacity, it was able, now that it was brought in apparent hazard, to excite the ftrongest zeal in its favour +. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whofe anceftors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those inftitutions, as well as reaped fome benefit from them, by the provisions, which they afforded them for their younger children. The more fuperflitious were interested in the fate of their forefathers fouls, which, they believed, must now lye, 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 mof: moderate and reafonable thought it fomewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which previled in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future fublistance. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners and others employed in visiting the morasteries, intercepted much of the profits refulting from these confiscations, it tended much to encrease the general difcontent 1.

> But the people did not break out into open fedition, till the complaints of the fecular clergy concured with those of the regular. As Cromwel's perfon was very little acceptable to the ecclefiaftics; the authority, which he exercifed, being fo new, fo abfolute, fo unlimited, infpired them with great difgust and terror. He published, in the King's name, without the confent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance, by which he retrencted a great many of the antient holydays; prohibited feveral fuperflitions, gainful to the clergy, fuch as pilgrimages, images, relicts; and even ordered the incumbents in the parifhes to fet apart a confiderable portion of their revenues for repairs and for the fupport of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The fecular priefts, finding themfelves thus reduced to a grievous flavery, inftilled into the people those difcontents, which they had long harboured in their own bofoms.

> > THE

" the wood to make him a handle ; who, miftrufting no guile, granted him one of their fmaller trees " to make him a handle. But now becoming a compleat ax, he fell fo to work, within the fame wood, " that, in procefs of time, there was neither great nor fmall trees to be found in the place, where the " wood ftood. And fo, my lords, if you grant the King thefe fmaller momfteries, you do but make " him a handle, whereby, at his own pleafure, he may cut down all the ceda's within your Lebanons." Dr. Bailies' Life of Bishop Fisher, p. 108.

1 Burnet, vol. i. p. 223. + Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

THE first rifing was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior Chap. V. of Barlings, who was difguifed like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name Infurrection. of captain Cobler. This tumultuous army amounted to above 20,000 men ||; but notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the King, and seemed still over-awed by his authority. They acknowleged him to be fupreme head of the church of England; but they complained of his fuppreffing the monafteries, of evil counfellors, of men of mean birth entrusted by him, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed : And they prayed him to confult the nobility of the realm concerning the redrefs of thefe grievances §. The King was little difposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he defpised. He sent forces against the infurgents under the 6th of Octocommand of the Duke of Suffolk ; and he returned them a very fharp anfwer to ber. their petition. There were fome gentry, whom the populace had forced to take party with them, and who kept a fecret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that refentment against the King's reply was the chief cause, which retained the malecontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably diffipate the rebellion: Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being fo well fortified with power, he thought, that, without lofing his dignity, he might now fhow them fome greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with fecret affurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect : The populace were diffipated : Mackrel and fome of their leaders fell. into the King's hands, and were executed : The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their ufual occupations : A few of the more obstinate fled into the North, where they joined the infurrection, that was raifed in those parts.

THE northern infurgents, as they were more numerous, were alfo more formidable than those of Lincolnfhire, because the people were more accustomed to arms, and because of the near neighbourhood to Scotland, which might make advantage of these diforders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he possesses of *Grace*: Some priefts marched before enterprize they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Some priefts marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: In their banners was inwove a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ\*: They wore on their fleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the midft: They all took an oath, that they had'

|| Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert.

§ Herbert, p. 410.

\* Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

Chap. V. 1536. had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive, than their love to God, their care of the King's perfon and iffue, their defire of purifying the nobility, of driving bafe-born perfons from about the King, of refloring the church, and of fuppreffing herefy. Allured by thefe fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancafter, and those northern provinces, flocked to their ftandard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, infpired the court with apprehensions.

THE Earl of Shrewfbury, moved by his zeal for the King's fervice, raifed forces, tho' at firft without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The Earl of Cumberland repulsed them from his caftle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborow-caftle against them  $\pm$ : Courtney, marquess 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 laid fiege to Pomfret caftle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was foon furrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who fecretly favoured the cause, feemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

THE duke of Norfolk was named general in chief of the King's forces against the northern infurgents; and as he headed the party, which fupported the antient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause, which he was fent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped at Doncafter, together with the earl of Shrewfbury; and as his army was small, scarce exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post, where he had the river in front, the ford of which he proposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night, there fell fuch violent rains as rendered the river utterly impaffible; and Norfolk very wifely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he fent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself fitting in a chair of flate, 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 propofals from the infurgents; and Henry protracted giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire fatisfaction, in expectation that neceffity would foon oblige them to difperfe themfelves. Being informed, that his artifice had in a great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms and fubmit to mercy; promifing a pardon to all except fix whom he named, and four

+ Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

four whom he referved to himfelf the power of naming. But tho' the greatest part of the rebels had gone home for want of fubliftance, they had entered into the most folemn engagements to return to their standards, in cafe the King's anfwer should not prove fatisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, foon found himself in the fame difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to fend three hundred perfons to Doncafter, with propofals for an accommodation; and he hoped to be able, by intrigue and separate interests, to throw diffension among so great a number. Aske himself had propoled to be one of the deputies, and he required a hoftage for his fecurity: But the King, when confulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other, whom he effeemed fo little as to put him in pledge for fuch a villain. The demands of the infurgents were fo exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them ; and they prepared again to decide the contest by force of arms. They were as formidable as ever both by their numbers and spirit; and notwithstanding a fmall river, which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reafon to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in fuch abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their defign; and the populace, partly reduced to neceffity by the want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the fame accident, fuddenly difperfed themfelves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the difperfion, by the promife of a general amnefty ; and the King ratified this act of clemency. He published, how-9th of Deever, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; where cember. he employed a very lofty ftyle, fuited to fo 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 ftrange, that ye, who be but brutes and in-" expert 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 go into the northern parts, in order to exact a general fubmission. Lord Darcy as well as Aske were sent for to court ; and the former, upon his refufal or delay to appear, was thrown into prifon. Every place was full of jealoufy and complaints. A new infurrection broke out, headed by Mufgrave and Tilby; and the rebels befieged Carlifle with 8000 men. Being repulfed by that town, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prifoners of all their officers, except Ff Musgrave.

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1 537.

Mufgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of feventy perfons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to furprize Hull, met with no better fuccefs; and feveral other rifings were fuppreffed 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 ufual violence, he made the innocent fuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his mafter, fpread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first infurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prifon; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Huffey was found guilty as an accomplice in the infurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, tho' he pleaded compulsion, and appealed to a long life, passed in the fervice of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accufed Norfolk of having fecretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either fenfible of that nobleman's great fervices and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of fuch 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 juffice at York, for deciding lawfuits to the northern counties : A demand which had been made by the infurgents.

12 October. Birth of prince Edward, and death of Q. Jane.

Soon after this profperous fuccefs against the rebels, an event happened, which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a fon, who was baptifed under the name of Edward. Yet was not this happiness compleat: The Queen died twelve days after +. But a fon had fo long been ardently longed for by Henry, and was now become fo neceffary, in order to prevent difputes with regard to the fucceffion, after the fucceffive illegitimation of the two Princeffes, that the King's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great fatisfaction on this occasion. The Prince, not fix days old, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Chefter. Sir Edward Seymour, the Queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raifed 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 Ruffel, Lord Ruffel.

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THE fuppreffion of the rebels and the birth of a fon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, encreafed his confideration among foreign princes, and made his

\* Herbert, p. 428:

† Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

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his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on, with various fuccefs, and without any decifive event, between Charles and Francis; and tho' inclined more to favour the latter, he was determined not to incur, without neceffity, either hazard or expence in his behalf. A truce, concluded about this time, between these potentates, and which was afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

HENRY was very defirous of cementing an union with the German protestants ; and for that purpole, he fent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunfwick ; but that minifter made no great progrefs in his negotiations. The princes defired to know, what were the articles in their confession which Henry difliked; and they fent new ambaffadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to diffute. They endeavoured to convince the King, that he was guilty of a miftake, in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing of private maffes, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy \*. Henry would by no means acknowlege any error in these particulars; and was offended that they fhould pretend to prefcribe rules to fo great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and fyllogifms enough to defend his caufe ; and he difmiffed the ambaffadors without coming to any conclusion. Jealous alfo left his own fubjects flould become fuch theologians as to queftion his tenets, he used great precautions in publishing that translation of the fcripture, which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in each parish church, 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 <sup>46</sup> his goodnefs and his liberality to them; who therefore fhould ufe it mode-" rately, for the encrease of virtue, not of strife: And he ordered that no man " fhould read the Bible aloud, fo as to difturb the prieft, while he fang mafs, " nor prefume to expound doubtful places, without advice from the learned." In this meafure, as in the reft, he ftill halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

THERE was only one particular, in which Henry was quite decifive, becaufe he was there impelled by his avarice, or more properly fpeaking, his rapacity, occafioned by profufenefs: This meafure was the entire deftruction of the monafleries. The prefent opportunity feemed favourable for that great enterprize; Supprefion of while the fuppreffion of the late rebellion fortified and encreafed the royal authority; the greater and as fome of the abbots were fufpected of having encouraged the infurrection, monafteries. and of corresponding with the rebels, the King's refertment was farther incited

Ff 2

by

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

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by that motive. A new vification was appointed of all the monafteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their fupprefilion, it was eafy for a prince, poffeffed of fuch exorbitant power, and feconding the prefent humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger, to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the leffer monafteries, that nothing could withft and the King's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary refignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces and even extreme violence were employed; and as feveral of the abbots, fince the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the King's intentions were the more eafily effectuated. Some alfo, having fecretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the defign was conducted with fuch fucces, that, in lefs than two years, the King had got poffeffion of all the monaftic revenues.

In feveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great intereft was made to preferve fome convents of women, who, as they lived in the moft irreproachable manner, juftly merited, it was thought, that their houfes fhould be faved from the general deftruction \*. There appeared alfo great difference between the cafe of nuns and friars; and the one inftitution might be very laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of fervice to the public; and none of them could want employment, fuited to his flation and capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a fettlement in the married flate, an accident to which fuch perfons were more liable than women of lower flation, had really no rank which the properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her fituation. But the King was determined to abolifh monafteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that thefe antient eftablifhments would be the fooner forgot, that no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to fubfift in the kingdom.

THE better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, flories were publifted of the deteftable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court was determined to ruin. The relicts alfo, and fuperflitions, which had fo long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious fpirit, now less bent on exterior observances and fensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be particular in fuch an enumeration : Protestant historians mention on this occasion with great triumph the facred repositories of convents; the parings

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

ings of St. Edmond's toes; fome of the coals that roafted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin flown in eleven feveral places; two or three heads of St. Urfula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancafter, an infallible cure for the headach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's fhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; fome relicts, an excellent preventive againft rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But fuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the moft refined periods of antiquity, form no peculiar nor violent reproach on the catholic religion.

THERE were also discovered in the monafteries fome impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, had been shown, during feveral ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration, with which such a relict was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relict; the facred blood was not visible to any one in mortal fin, even when fet before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the diffolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two of the monks, who were let into the fecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it into a phial, one fide of which confisted of thin and transparent chrystal, the other of thick and obscure. When any rich pilgtim arrived, they were fure to show him the dark fide of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, near 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. Hilfey, bifhop of Rochefter, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's crofs, and fhewed the whole people the fprings and wheels by which it had been fecretly moved. A great wooden idol of Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was alfo brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn fryar Foreft +, who was punifhed for denying the fupremacy, and for fome pretended herefies. A finger of St. Andrew's, covered with a thin plate of filver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the King's commiffioners refufed to releafe the pawn, people made themfelves very merry with the poor creditor, on account of his fecurity.

But of all the inftruments of antient fuperflition, no-one was fo zealoufly deftroyed as the fhrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury.

\* Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575: + Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

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Chap. V. Canterbury. This faint owed his canonization to the zealous defence, which he had made for the apostolic fee; and on that account alfo, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberlefs were the miracles, which, they pretended, his relicts wrought on his devout votaries. They raifed 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 holyday : 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 town the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for inftance, there was offered in one year three pounds two shillings and fix-pence; at the Virgin's, fixty three pounds five shillings and fix-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty two pounds twelve shillings and three-pence. But next year, the difproportion 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 fhare nine hundred and fifty four pounds fix fhillings and threepence\*. Lewis the seventh of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had beftowed on the fhrine a jewel, which was effeemed the richeft in Chriftendom. It is obvious, how obnoxious to Henry a faint of this character must appear, and how much contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich fhrine, dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the faint himfelf 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 feftival to be expunged from all breviaries; and his bones to be burned, and the afhes to be diffipated.

On the whole, the King, at different times, suppressed fix hundred and forty five monasteries : Of which twenty eight had abbots, who enjoyed a feat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in feveral counties; two thousand three hundred and feventy four chantries and free chappels : A hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and fixty one thousand one hundred pounds +. It is worthy of observation, that the whole lands and poffeffions of England had, a little before this period, been rated at three millions a year; fo that the revenues of the monafteries did not really much exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A fum vaftly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents,

> + Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed. \* Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

vents, were commonly let at very low leafes; and the farmers, who regarded themfelves as a fpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leafes before they expired.

GREAT murmurs were every where excited against these violences; and men much queftioned, whether priors and monks, who were only truftees or tenants for life, could by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the King the entire property of their eftates. In order to reconcile the people to fuch mighty innovations, they were told, that the King would never henceforth have occafion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of the government \*. While fuch topics were employed to pacify the populace, the King took an effectual method of engaging the nobility and gentry to take part with his measures + : He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or fold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very difadvantageous terms. He was fo profuse in these liberalities, that he is faid to have given a woman the whole revenues of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding, which happened to gratify his palate z. He alfo fettled fallaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly penfion of eight marks : He erected fix new bishoprics, Weftminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Briftol, Chefter, and Gloucefler; of which the laft five fubfilt at this day : And by all these means of expence and diffipation, the profit which the King reaped by the feizure of church lands, fell much fhort of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been forefeen fome years ere it happened, the monks had taken care to diffipate beforehand most of their stock, furniture, and plate; fo that the fpoils of the great monasteries bore not, in these respects, any proportion to those of the leffer.

BESIDE the lands, poffeffed by the monafteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a confiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes, annexed to them; and thefe were alfo at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means came into the hands of laymen : An abufe which many zealous churchmen regard as the moft criminal facrilege. The monks were formerly much at their eafe in England, and enjoyed revenues, which much exceeded the regular and ftated expence of the houfe. We read of the abbey of Chertfey in Surrey, which poffeft 744 pounds a year, tho' it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furnefs, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained but thirty monks §. In order to diffipate their revenues, and fupport popularity, the monafteries lived in a very hofpitable manner; and befides the poor, maintained

\* Coke's 4th Inft. fol. 44. † Dugdale's Warwickschire, p. 800. ‡ Fuller. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

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tained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who paffed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely fubfilted at the tables of the friars. By this hofpitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurferies of idlenefs; but the King, not to give offence by too fudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands, to fupport the ancient hofpitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very flort time.

IT is eafy to imagine the indignation with which intelligence of all thefe violences was received at Rome; and how much the ecclefiaftics of that court, who had fo long kept the world in fubjection by big founding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was provoked at laft to publish the bull, which he had passed against that monarch; and in a public manner delivered over his foul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were difperfed, where he was compared to the most furious perfecutors in antiquity; and the preference was even given on their fide: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themfelves respected; was at open enmity with heaven; and had engaged in profeffed hoftility with the whole hoft of faints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his refemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was faid, he imitated in his apoftacy and learning, tho' he fell fhort of him in his morals. Henry could diffinguish in many of these libels the flile and animofity of his kinfman, Pole; and he was thence anew incited to vent his rage, by every poffible expedient, on that famous cardinal.

Cardinal Pole.

REGINALD de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended of the royal family, being fourth fon of the countefs of Salifbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He discovered in very early youth evident fymptoms of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which, during his whole life, he was so much diftinguished; and Henry having conceived great friendship for him, proposed to raife him to the higheft ecclefiaftical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter +, in order to help him to bear the expences of his education. Pole was carrying on his fludies in Paris, at the time when the King follicited the fuffrages of that university in favour of his divorce; but tho' applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in that affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce friendship with a perfon, whole virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove useful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to posses his deanry, and gave him permission 8

+ Goodwin's Annals.

permission to finish his studies at Padua: He even paid him fome court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him, while in Italy, defiring him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the late measures taken in England, for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now entered into an intimate friendship with whatever was eminent for dignity or merit in Italy; Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true tafte 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 fovereign. He replied, by writing a treatife of the unity of the church, where he inveighed against the King's fupremacy, his divorce, his fecond marriage; and even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to his family, and to the catholic caufe. Henry, tho' provoked beyond measure at this outrage, diffembled his refentment; and fent a meffage to Pole, defiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found fomewhat obfcure and difficult : But Pole was on his guard against this infidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was extremely beloved and effeemed by all the world.

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 facrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and tho' he never took higher orders than those of a deacon, he was fent legate into Flanders about the year 1536\*. Henry was fenfible, that Pole's chief intention in chooling that employment, was to foment the mutinous dispolition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in fuch a vigorous manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that the difmiffed the legate, without allowing him to exercife his commiffion. The enmity which he bore Pole, was now open, as well as violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even sufpected of aspiring to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the King was every day alarmed by informations, which he received, of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a confpiracy 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 Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Thefe perfons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who prefided in the trial, as lord high fteward. They were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having

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first carried to the King fecret intelligence of the confpiracy. We know little of the juffice or iniquity of the fentence pronounced against these men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man, who was, at that time, profecuted by the court, forms no prefumption of his guilt; tho' as no historian of credit mentions, in the prefent case, any complaints occasioned by these trials, we may prefume, that fufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter, and his affociates +.

### CHAP. VI.

Disputation with Lambert—A Parliament—Law of the fix articles—Proclamations made equal to laws—Settlement of the fucceffion—King's projects of marriage—He marries Anne of Cleves —He dislikes her—A Parliament—Fall of Cromwel— His execution—King's divorce from Anne of Cleves—His marriage with Catherine Howard—State of affairs in Scotland— Discovery of the Queen's crimes—A Parliament—Ecclesiastical affairs.

HE rough hand of Henry feemed well adapted for rending afunder those bands, by which the ancient fuperfition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and tho', after renouncing the pope's fupremacy, and fuppreffing monasteries, most of the political ends of a reformation were already attained, few people expected, that he would ftop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremity against the church of Rome; and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as difcipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, that a general council was fummoned to meet at Mantua, 'he previoufly renounced all fubmiffion to it, as being fummoned by the pope, and lying entirely under fubjection to that fpiritual ufurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpofe; and he had prefcribed to them many other alterations on ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this courfe; and while Queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her infinuation and addrefs, been very fuccelsful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner,

+ Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

diner, who was returned from his embaffy to France, kept the King more in fufpence; and by feigning an unlimited fubmiffion to his will, he was frequently able to guide him to his own purpofes. Fox, bifhop of Hereford, had fupported Cranmer in his schemes for a more entire reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, tho' he had hitherto feemed a furious enemy to the fee of Rome, was determined to facrifice every thing to prefent interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himfelf, it was believed, had fecretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers, he endeavoured to preferve, as much as poffible, the ancient faith and worfhip.

HENRY was fo much governed by paffion, that nothing could have retarded his animofity and oppofition against Rome, but fome other passion, which stopped his career, and raifed him new fubjects of animofity. Tho' he had gradually, fince he came to years of maturity, been changing the tenets of that theological fystem, in which he had been educated, he was equally positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, as if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken : And tho' he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had fo enflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himfelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ftandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point, where he chiefly placed his orthodoxy, happened to be the real prefence; that very doctrine, in which, among the numberless victories of fuperfition over common fense, her triumph is the most fignal 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 effential article, the purity of the catholic faith.

THERE was one Lambert\*, a school-master in London, who had been quef- Disputation tioned for unfound opinions by archbishop Warham; but, upon the death of with Lamthat prelate, and the changing of councils at court, he had been releafed. bert. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he ftill continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a fermon the corporal prefence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his diffent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten feveral head. Taylor carried the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that, tho' the fubstance of bread and wine remained in the facrament, yet the real body and blood of Chrift were there alfo, and were, in a certain mysterious manner, incorporated with the material ele-Gg 2 ments.

\* Fox, vol. II. p. 396.

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Chap. VI. ments. By the prefent laws and practice, Barnes was no lefs exposed to the flake than Lambert; yet fuch was the perfecuting rage which prevailed, that he was determined to bring this man to condign punifhment; because, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one ftep farther than himfelf. He engaged Taylor to delate Lambert to 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 furprized, when, inftead of compliance, he ventured to appeal to the King.

THE King, not difpleafed with an opportunity, where he could at once exert his fupremacy, and difplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and was determined to mix, in a very unfair manner, the difputant with the judge. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lifts with this fchool-mafter: Scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enfigns of majefty: The prelates were placed on his right hand: The temporal peers on his left. The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops : The courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers : And in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and he was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist +.

THE bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by faying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the King; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the King could ever be induced to protect a heretic : That tho' his majefty had thrown off the ufurpations of the fee of Rome; had difincorporated fome idle monks, who lived like drones in a beehive; had remedied the idolatrous worship of images; had published the bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made fome lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost feverity all departure from it : And that he had taken the prefent opportunity, before fo learned and grave an auditory, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still perfevered obstinately in them, he must expect the most condign punishment ‡.

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the King asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal prefence in the facrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his discourse with fome

+ Fox, vol. II. p. 426.

† Goodwin's Annals.

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fome compliment to his majefty, he rejected the praise with difdain and indigna- Chap. VI. tion. He afterwards prefied Lambert with fome arguments, drawn from fcripture and the schoolmen : The audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition : Cranmer feconded his proofs by fome new topics : Gardiner entered the lifts as a fupport to Cranmer : Tonftal took up the argument after Gardiner : Stokefley brought fresh aid to Tonstal : Six bishops more appeared fucceffively in the field after Stokefley. And the difputation, if it deferves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to filence. The King then, returning to the charge, afked him whether he was convinced; and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he was refolved to live or die? Lambert, who poffeffed that courage which confifts 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 was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, read the fentence against him \*.

LAMBERT, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to perfevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of that punishment, to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the fufferings of a man who had perfonally oppofed the King, as cruel as poffible : He was burned at a flow fire; his legs and thighs were confumed to the flumps; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, fome of the guards, more merciful than the reft, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was confumed. While they were employed in this friendly

\* \* Collier, in his ecclefiaftical hiftory, vol. II. p. 152, has preferved an account which Cromwel gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyat, the King's embaffador in Germany. " The "King's majesty," fays Cromwel, " for the reverence of the holy facrament of the altar, did fit " openly in his hall, and there prefided at the difputation, process and judgment of a miferable here-" tic facramentary, who was burned the 20th of November. It was a wonder to fee how princely, " with how excellent gravity, and ineffimable majefty his highness exercised there the very office of " fupreme head of the church of England. How benignly his grace effayed to convert the miferable " man : How firong and manifest reasons his highness alledged against him. I wish the princes and " potentates of Chriftendom to have had a meet place to have feen it. Undoubtedly they should have " much marvelled at his majefty's most high wifdom and judgment, and reputed him no other wife " after the fame, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other Kings and princes in Chriftendom." It was by fuch flatteries, that Henry was engaged to make his fentiments the flandard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the feverest penalties, his Arong and manifest reasons for translubfantiation.

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Chap. VI. friendly office, he cried aloud feveral times, None but Chrift, none but Chrift; and these words were in his mouth when he expired +.

SOME few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptifts, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's crofs; and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the fame fect and country, were burned in Smithfield 1. floo T of bis should adquoid yellinge .: 190 flicceff vely in the field after Stokefley, 4

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28th April.

IT was the unhappy fituation of the English, during that age, that when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the fatisfaction of expecting redrefs from Parliament : On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that affembly, and were then fure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with fome circumftance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper, of themselves, to A Parliament. carry into execution. This abject fervility never more eminently appeared than in a new Parliament, which the King now affembled, and which, if he had fo pleafed, might have been the last that ever fat 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 defire, to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinions with regard to religion; and as this enterprize was difficult and important, he defired them to chufe a committee among themfelves, who might frame certain articles, and communicate them afterwards to the Parliament. The lords named the vicar-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 feen what a hopeful task they were undertaking: This fmall committee itfelf was agitated with fuch diverfity of opinions, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, that, fince there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, proposed to be established, should be reduced to fix; and new committees be appointed to frame an act with regard to them. As this peer was underftood to fpeak the King's mind, his motion was immediately affented to; and, after a fhort prorogation, the bill of the fix articles, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having paffed the two houfes, had the King's affent affixed to it.

Law of the fix articles.

In this law, the real prefence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chaftity, the utility of private maffes, the celibacy

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‡ Stowe, p. 556. + Fox's acts and monuments, p. 427. Burnet.

celibacy of the clergy, the neceffity of auricular confession. The denial of the Chap. VI. first article, with regard to the real prefence, fubjected the perfon to death by fire, and to the fame forfeiture as in cafes of treason; and admitted not the privil.ge of abjuring: An unheard of feverity, and unknown to the inquifition itfelf. The denial of any of the other five articles, even tho' recanted, was punifhable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the King's pleafure : An obffinate adherence to error, or a relapfe, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priefts was subjected to the fame punishment : Their commerce with women, for the first offence, was forfeiture and imprisonment; for the fecond, death. Abstaining from confeffion, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the perfon to fine and imprifonment, during the King's pleafure ; and if the criminal perfevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cafes of felony \*. Commiffioners were to be appointed by the King, for enquiring into thefe herefies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

THE King, in framing this law, laid his oppreffive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reafon to complain, that the friars and nuns, tho' difmiffed their convent, fhould be capricioufly reftrained to the practice of celibacy + : But as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the feverity of the act, the mifery 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 tho' the King defired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance ‡. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and fincerity ; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unufual indulgence in that particular, and never allowed even a whifper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the flatute, to difmifs his wife, the niece of Ofiander, a famous divine of Nuremburg ||; and Henry, fatisfied with this proof of fubmiffion, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics, on account of this law, and were committed to prison.

THE

\* 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

+ There is a flory, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, soon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who was fuspected of favouring the reformation, faid to him, " Now, Sir, what think your " of the law to hinder priefls from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, " you " have done that; but I will answer for it, you cannot hinder men's wives from having priests."

1 Burnet, vol. I. p. 249, 270. Fox, vol. 11. p. 1037. 1 Herbertin Kennet, p. 219-

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laws.

THE Parliament having thus refigned all their ecclesiastical liberties, proceeded Proclamations to an entire furrender of their civil; and without fcruple or deliberation they Chap. VI: made equal to made by one act a total fubverfion of the English constitution. They gave to the King's proclamations the fame force as to a statute enacted by Parliament; and to render the matter worfe, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declarative, and were intended to explain the natural extent of the regal authority. The preamble contains, that the King had formerly let forth feveral proclamations, which froward perfons had wilfully contemned, not confidering what a King by his royal power may do ; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to difobey the laws, of Almighty God, but also to difhonour the King's most royal majesty, who may full ill bear it; that fudden emergencies often occur, which equire speedy remedies, and cannot await the flow affembling and deliberations of Parliament; and that, tho' the King was empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to confult 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 occafion of doubt, afcertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majefty, with the advice of his council, to fet forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he shall think proper : And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws \*.

WHAT shows either a stupid or wilful blindness of the Parliament; they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain fome limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any perfon of his lawful poffeffions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchifes; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable cuftom of the realm. They confidered not, that no pains could be inflicted on the difobedience of proclamations, without invading fome liberty or property of the fubject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the difpenfing power, then exercifed by the crown, amounted to a full legiflative authority. It is true, the Kings of England had been always accustomed, from their own authority, to iffue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a ftrong fymptom of abfolute government : But still there was a difference between a power, which was exercifed on a partcular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expediency or neceffity; and an authority conferred by a politive flatute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation.

Settlement of COULD any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would the fucceffion. have been another of the fame parliament. They paffed attainders, not only againft denoting the state of a second state

\* 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

against the Marquess of Exeter, the Lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, Chap. VI. who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against fome perfons, of the higheft quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred, which Henry bore to cardinal Pole, had extended itfelf to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countefs of Salifbury, had, on that account, become extremely obnoxious to him. She was alfo accufed of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from perusing the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, 'tis faid, were found at Coudray, her country feat; of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal : But Henry sound, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be fubject to fuch fevere punishment as he defired to inflict upon her. He refolved, therefore, to proceed against her in a more fummary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpofe, he fent Cromwel, who was but too obfequious to his will, to demand of the judges, whether the Parliament could attaint a perfon, who was forthcoming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them \*. The judges replied, that it was a dangerous queftion, and that the high court of Parliament ought to give examples to inferior courts of proceeding according to juffice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being preffed to give a more explicite answer, they replied, that, if a perfon were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never after be brought in queftion, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decifion, that fuch a method of proceeding, tho' directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he refolved to employ it against the counters of Salisbury. Cromwel fhowed to the house of peers a banner, on which was embroidered the five wounds of Chrift, the fymbol, chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the Countefs's houfe +. No other proof feems to have been produced, in order to afcertain her guilt : The Parliament, without farther enquiry, paffed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same act, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude Marchionefs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortefcue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed : The marchionefs was pardoned, and furvived the King; the countefs received a reprieve.

THE only beneficial act, passed this fession, was that by which the parliament confirmed the furrender of the monasteries; and yet even this act contains much falshood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must fubmit to Hh public

\* Coke's 4th Inft. p. 37, 38.

† Rymer xiv. 652.

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Chap. VI. public intereft, much injustice and iniquity. The fcheme of engaging the abbots to make a furrender of their monasteries had been conducted, as may eafily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances : Arts of all kinds had been employed upon them; every motive, that could work on the frailty of human nature, had been fet before them; and it was with great difficulty that thefe dignified conventuals were brought to a conceffion, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interefts, as well as facrilegious and criminal in itfelf \*. Three abbots had fhown more conftancy than the reft, the abbot of Colchefter, of Reading, and of Glaffenbury ; 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 revenues of the convents had been forfeited +. Befides, tho' none of these violences had had place, the King knew, that a furrender made by men, who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore refolved to make all fure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament afferts, that all the furrenders, made by the abbots, had been, " without " conftraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of common " law." And in confequence, the parliament confirms the furrenders, and afcertains the property of the abbey lands to the King and his fucceffors for ever :. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still fat in the house of peers; and that none of them made any protestation against this statute.

In this feffion, the rank of all the great officers of flate was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency affigned him above all of them. It was thought fingular, that a black-finith's fon, for he was no other, fhould have precedence next the royal family; and that a man poffeffed of no manner of literature, should be placed at the head of the church.

As foon as the act of the fix articles had paffed, the catholics were extremely vigilant to inform against offenders; and no lefs than five hundred perfons were in a little time thrown into prifon. But Cromwel, who had not had intereft enough to prevent that act, was able, for the present, to elude its execution. Seconded by the Duke of Suffolk, and lord chancellor Audley, as well as Cranmer, he remonftrated against the cruelty of punishing fo many delinquents; and he obtained permiffion to fet them at liberty. The uncertainty of the King's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No fooner had Henry paffed this law; which feemed to give fo deep a wound to the reformers, than he granted a general permiffion, for every one to have the new translation of the Bible

‡ 31 H. VIII. c. 13. + 31 H. VIII. c. 10. \* Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & feq.

Bible in his family : A conceffion regarded by that party, as a most important Chap VI. victory.

Bur as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives, while he retained Henry's prohis fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party, feemed to depend much riage. 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 on the dutchess dowager of Milan, niece to the Emperor; and he made propofals for obtaining that alliance. But meeting with difficulties in this defign, he was carried, by his friendship for Francis, rather to think of a French princefs. He demanded the dutchefs dowager of Longueville, daughter of the Duke of Guife, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that that lady was already betrothed to the King of Scotland. The King, however, would not take a repulse: He had fet his heart extremely on the match : The information, which he had received, of the dutches's accomplishments and beauty, had prepofieffed him in her favour; and having privately fent over Meautys to examine her perfon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts, which that agent brought him, ferved farther to inflame his defires. He learned, that fhe was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become fomewhat corpulent. The pleafure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his profecution of this match; and he infifted, that Francis should give him the preference to the King of Scots. But Francis, tho' fenfible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interest, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther follicitation, he immediately fent the Princefs 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 Princefs, he would not hear any farther of fuch a propofal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger fifters of the new Queen of Scots; and he affured him, that they were no way inferior either in merit or fize to their elder fifter, and that one of them was even fuperior in beauty. The King was as fcrupulous with regard to the perfon of his wives, as if his heart had been really fufceptible of a delicate paffion ; and he was unwilling to truft 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 bufinefs; and that that monarch should bring along with h m the two Princeffes of Guife, together with the fineft ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallante fpirit of Francis was shocked with this proposal; and he was impressed with

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too much regard for the fair fex, to carry ladies of the first quality, like geldings, to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the merchant \*-Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still infisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest defire of continuing a good correspondence with him, was at last finally rejected.

THE King began then to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely difgufted against the Emperor on account of the perfecution of their religion, he hoped, by matching himfelf into one of their families, to renew an amity, which he regarded as fo ufeful to him. Cromwel joyfully feconded this intention; and propored to him Anne of Cleves, whofe father, the duke of that name, had great intereft among the Lutheran princes, and whofe fifter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteftant alliance. A flattering picture, drawn for the Princefs by Hans Holben, determined Henry to apply to her father; and after fome negotiations, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded ; and the Princess was fent over into England. The King, impatient to be fatisfied with regard to the perfon of his bride, came privately to Rochefter, and got a fight of her. He found her big, indeed, and tall, as he could wifh; but utterly devoid both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and reprefentations, which he had received : He fwore fhe was a great Flanders-mare; and declared, that he never could poffibly bear her any affection. The matter was worfe, when he found, that fhe could fpeak 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 Diflikes her. very melancholy; and much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to Lord Ruffel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This laft gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to Kings, who could not, like private perfons, choose for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

> IT was the fubject of debate among the King's counfellors, whether the marriage could not yet be broke; and the Princefs be fent back to her own country. Henry's fituation feemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce, concluded between the Emperor and the king of France, a good understanding feemed to have taken place between thefe rival monarchs; and fuch marks of union appeared, as gave great jealoufy to the court of England. The Emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An infurrection had been raifed in the Low Countries

> > \* Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

He marries Anne of Cleves.

# H E N R Y VIII.

Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and feemed to threaten the most danger- Chap. VI. ous confequences. Charles, who refided at that time in Spain, refolved to go in perfon to Flanders, in order to appeafe these diforders; but he found great difficulties in contriving the manner of his paffage thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious : The voyage thro' the Channel dangerous, by reafon of the English naval power : He afked Francis's permiffion to pafs thro' his dominions ; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival, whom he had fo mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris, with great magnificence and courtefy; and tho' prompted both by revenge and intereft, as well as by the advice of his miftrefs and favourites, to make advantage of the prefent opportunity, he conducted the Emperor fafely out of his dominions; and would not fo much as fpeak to him of bulinefs during his abode in France, left his demands fhould bear the air of violence upon his royal gueft.

HENRY, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these two great monarchs; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England \*. An alliance with the German princes feemed now, more than ever, requifite for his interest and fafety; and he knew, that, if he fent back the Princefs of Cleves, fuch an affront would be highly refented by her friends and family: He was therefore refolved, notwithstanding his averfion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, fince matters had gone fo far, 6 January. he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interest was concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the King, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his fpouse any better. The King told him, that he hated her worfe than ever; and that her perfon was more lothfome on a near approach : He was refolved never to meddle with her; and even fuspected her not to be a true maid : A point, about which he had entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued however to be civil to Anne; he even feemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel; but tho' he exerted. this command over his temper, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burft out on the first opportunity.

A feffion of Parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed 12 April. a place in the house of peers. The King, by the mouth of the chancellor, com- A Parliament. plained to the Parliament of the great diversity of religions, which still prevailed among his fubjects : A grievance, he faid, which ought the lefs to be endured; because the scriptures were now published in English, and ought univerfally to be the flandard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he

\* Stowe, p. 579.

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Chap. VI. faid, fome bifhops and divines to draw up a lift of tenets, to which his people were to affent; and he was determined, that Chrift, the doctrine of Chrift, and the truth should have the victory. The King feems to have expected more effect in afcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enfued from the publication of the fcriptures. Cromwel, as vicar general, made also in the King's name a fpeech to the upper house; and the peers, in return, bestowed fuch flattery on him, that they faid he was worthy, by his defert, to be vicar general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces : He received, foon after the fitting of the Parliament, the title of Earl of Effex, and was inftalled knight of the garter.

THERE remained only one religious order in England ; the knights of St. John of Jerufalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclefiastical, partly military, had, by their valour, done great fervice to Chriftendom; and had very much retarded, at Jerufalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general furrender 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 fociety that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to the Parliament for the diffolution of this order. Their revenues were large; and formed an addition no way contemptible to the many acquifitions, which the King had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue obtained by the plunder of the church : His profuse generofity diffipated faster than this rapacity could supply; and the Parliament were surprized this feffion to find a new demand made upon them of four tenths and a fublidy of one shiling in the pound during two years: So ill were the people's expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, tho' lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow fubjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty that that grant could be obtained by this abfolute 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 been put to for the defence of the nation, in building forts along the fea coaft, and in equipping a navy. As he had at prefent no ally on the Continent, in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic ftrength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the dangers of an invalion.

THE King's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage of Anne of Cleves, were b th of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the Queen fecretly encreafed every day; and having at last broke all restraint, it prompted him

him at once to feek the diffolution of a marriage fo odious to him, and to in- Chap. VI. volve his minister in ruin, who had been the author of it. The fall of Cromwel Fall of Cromwas haftened by other caufes. All the nobility hated a man, who, being of fach well. base extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar get neral, but had engroffed many of the other confiderable offices of the kingdom : Befides that commission, which gave him a high, and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was Lord privy feal, Lord chamberlain, and Mafter of the wards : He had alfo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on the most illustrious families, and which feemed to be profaned by its being communicated to fo mean a perfon. The people were averfe to him, as the fuppofed author of the violences on the monafteries; eftablishments, 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 perfecutions exercifed 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 arifen against the administration, was not difpleafed to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred, and he hoped, by fo eafy a facrifice, to regain the affections of his fubjects.

But there was another caufe, which fuddenly fet 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 paffion, he could find no other expedient but by procuring a divorce from his prefent confort, to raife Catherine to his bed and throne. The Duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the fame use of her infinuations, to ruin that minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolfey : And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the King, to arrest Cromwel at the council-board on the accufation of high treafon, 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, tho' not without some oppofition. Cromwel was accused of herefy and treason; but the inftances of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, or even absolutely ridiculous \*. The only cifcumstance of his conduct, by which he seems to have merited this fate.

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\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

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Chap. VI. was his being the inftrument of the King's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills, in the former feffion, against the counters of Salifbury and others. 1540.

CROMWEL endeavoured to fosten 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 tho' the unhappy prifoner wrote once in fo moving a ftrain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himfelf 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 " prifoner and poor flave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, " Moft " gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." \* When brought to exe-His execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the fentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would refent on his fon these fymptoms 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 ability; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Tho' raifed to the fummit of power from a very low origin, he betrayed no infolence or contempt of his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his lower fortune, he had owed to any one. He had ferved as a private fentinel in the Italian wars, where he received fome good office from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgot his person, as well as the fervice, which he had rendered him. Cromwel, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to caft his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately fent for him, put him in mind of their antient friendship, and by his grateful affiftance, re-inftated him in his former prosperous circumstances +.

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

THE meafures for divorcing the King from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the fame time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to him by petition, defiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined ; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had been formerly contracted by her father to the Duke of Lorrain; but fhe, as well as the Duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by the confent of both parties. The King, however, pleaded this contract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reafons more, which may feem a little extraordinary; that, when he espoufed Anne, he had not inwardly given his confent, ore son a andola and

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

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† Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

and that he had not confummated the marriage. The convocation were fatisfied Chap. VI. with these reasons, and folemnly annulled the marriage between the King and Queen: The Parliament ratified the decision of the clergy ‡; and the fentence was foon after notified to that princefs.

ANNE was bleft with a happy infenfibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her fex; and the King's averfion towards her, as well as his profecution of the divorce, had never given her the leaft uneafinefs. She willingly hearkened to terms of composition with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his fifter, to give her place next the Queen, and his own daughter, and to make a fettlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted the conditions, and gave her confent to the divorce \*. She even wrote to her brother, (for her father was dead) that she had been very well used in England, and defired him to live on good terms with the King. The only inftance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return into 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 to their refentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had fubfifted during a very fhort time : The diffimilarity of their characters foon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealoufy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that fatisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make fome very dangerous confidences to that interefted monarch; and having now loft all fuspicion of his rival, he hoped, that the emperor and he, fupporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negociations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians : He alfo laid open the follicitations which he had received from Ii the

1 To flow how much Henry fported with law and common fenfe ; how fervilely the Parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were loft to all fentiment of fhame; an act was paffed this feffion, declaring, that a precontract fhould be no ground of annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the King's intention in this law is faid to be a defign of reftoring the princefs Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the prefent object, without regarding the inconfistency of his conduct. The Parliament made it high treason to deny the diffolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

\* Herbert, p. 458, 459.

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Chap. VI. the court of England, to enter into a confederacy against him\*. Charles had no fooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He flatly refused to execute his promife, and put the duke of Orleans in poffession of the Milanese: He informed Solyman, and the fenate of Venice, of the treatment which they had received from their ally : And he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how willingly Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed fuch important obligations, and had facrificed him to a new confederate: He even poifoned and misrepresented many things, which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generofity, this incident alone had been fufficient to guide him in the choice of his allies. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had fo unexpectedly given the emperor the preference: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted the offer ; and thinking himfelf fecure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

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THE new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs, was extremely agreeable to his catholic fubjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes His marriage of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the King with rine Howard. Catherine Howard, which followed foon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a very favourable incident to their cause; and the subsequent events corresponded perfectly to their expectations. The King's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious perfecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the fix articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the caufe of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the feverity of the perfecuting fpirit; and, by a bill which paffed in parliament, without trial, he was condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the debate between him and the sheriff, turned upon the invocation of faints, he faid, that he doubted whether the faints 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 fheriff to carry to the King his dying requefts, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had fent him to the ftake. The purport of his requefts was, that Henry, befides repreffing fuperfitious ceremonies, fhould be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common fwearing +. WHILE

† Burnet, vol. I. p. 298. Fox.

\* Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

WHILE Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his fupremacy; and a foreigner, who was at that time in England, had reason to fay, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged t. The King even difplayed. in an oftentatious manner, this tyrannical equity and impartiality, which reduced both parties to fubjection, and infused terror into every breaft. 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 alfo executed for his religion. Thefe catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to fuch heretical mifcreants as fuffered with them

THO' the fpirit of the English feemed to be totally funk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared fome fymptoms of difcontent : An inconfiderable infurrection broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was foon fupprefied, and Nevil, with the other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were fuppofed to have been inftigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the King was inftantly determined to make the countefs of Salifbury fuffer for her fon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to the place of execution, 27 May. and this venerable matron maintained ftill, in these diffressful circumftances, the fpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended \*. She refused to lay her head on the block, or fubmit to a fentence 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, fhe ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitlefs blows at her neck, before he was able to give her the fatal ftroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but fill greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the fpace of three hundred years. The lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered great fervice to the crown, was also beheaded for treason, soon after the counters of Salisbury. We know little of the grounds of his profecution.

THE infurrection 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 proposed to hold a conference at York with his nephew the King of Scotland, and, if poffible, to cement a clofe and indiffoluble union with that kingdom.

#### Ii 2

† Fox, vol. II. p. 529. || Saunders de schiftn. Angl.

\* Herbert, p 468.

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THE fame fpirit of religious innovation, which had feized the other parts of 1541. State of affairs Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, long before this period, to excite the fame jealousies, fears, and perfecutions. About the year 1527, Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was fent abroad for his education ; but had fallen into company with fome reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill difpofed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest honours. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impoffible for him to conceal his fentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendship, and a fympathy in opinion, had infinuated himfelf into his confidence, delated him to Beaton, archbifhop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain, with fome of the clergy, a difpute concerning the controverted points; and after much reafoning with regard to justification, freewill, original fin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burnt for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the infinuations of ambition, was lefs likely to be fhaken with the fears of death, while he proposed to himfelf both the glory of bearing teftimony 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 with the conftancy of his end; and the event still more confirmed them in their favourable fentiments towards him. He cited Campbel, who still infulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-feat of Chrift; and as that perfecutor, either aftonished with these events, or overcome with remorfe, or, perhaps, feized with a diftemper, foon after loft his fenfes, 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, tho' he did not openly difcover his fentiments, was fuspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkel, enjoined him, when he met with a good epiftle or good gofpel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the reft alone. Forreft anfwered, that he had read both old and new testament, and had not found an ill epiftle, or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the fcriptures was regarded in those days as a fure characteristic of herefy ; and Forrest was foon after brought to his trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priefts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a byftander advifed them to burn to Beglohimdz

> > it Spotswood's Hift. church of Scotland, p. 62.

him in fome cellar: For that the fmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infect- Chap. VI. ed all those on whom it blew 1.

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 fubverfion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable, the priefts, who found both their honours and properties at flake, thought that they had a right to relift, by every extremity, these dangerous invaders, and that the fame fimple principles of equity, which juftified a man in killing a pyrate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of fuch heretics. A toleration, tho' it is never acceptable to ecclefiaftics, might, they faid, be admitted in other cafes; but feemed an abfurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the poffeffions, and even the fubfiftence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But tho' the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of perfecution, they found the fuccefs of this remedy very precarious, and observed, that the enthusiaftic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove very contagious on the compassionate minds of the fpectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, fpread itfelf fecretly every where; and the minds of men were gradually difposed to a revolution in religion.

But the most dangerous fymptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, moved by the example of England, had caft a wiftful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclefiaftics. James himfelf, who was very poor, and was fomewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been fwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the fame fate which attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry alfo, never ceafed exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making profelytes, and the prospect of fecurity, if Scotland should embrace a close union with him, he follicited the King of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promife to that purpofe.

The ecclefiaftics were extremely alarmed with this refolution of James; and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent it. They reprefented the dangers of innovation; the pernicious confequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himfelf into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependance which must enfue upon losing the friendship of France, and all foreign potentates. To these confiderations, they added the prospect of present interest, by which they found the King to be much go-

verned :

1 Spotswood, p. 65.

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verned: They offered him a prefent gratuity of fifty thousand pounds Scots: They promifed him, that the church should always be ready to contribute to/his fupply: And they pointed out to him, the confiscations of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues \*. The infinuations of his new Queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, feconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged, first to delay his journey, then to fend excuses to the King of England, who had already come to York, in order to be prefent at the conference.

HENRY, vexed with the difappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting pyracies at fea, and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received foon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more fenfible, and which touched him in a point where he had always fhewn an extreme delicacy. He had thought himfelf very happy in his new marriage : The youth, beauty, and agreeable disposition of Catherine, had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no fecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even put up a prayer in his chappel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity which the conjugal flate afforded him; and he defired the bifhop of Lincoln to compose a form of thanksgiving for that purpofe. But the Queen very little merited this tendernefs which he bore her : She had abandoned herfelf to lewdnefs. One Lascelles brought intelligence of her diffolute life to Cranmer, and told him, that his fifter, formerly a fervant in the old dutchefs of Norfolk's family, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of all her diforders. Derham and Mannoc, both of them fervants of the dutchefs, had been admitted to her bed; and the had even taken little care to conceal her fhame from the other fervants of the family. The primate, ftruck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to difcover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed, that the matter should by no means be buried in filence; and the archbishop himself feemed the most proper perfon to difclose it to the King. Granmer, unwilling to speak on fo delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aftonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his confort, that he gave at first no credit to the information ; and he faid to the lord privyfeal, to lord Ruffel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothefley, that he regarded the whole as a forgery. Cranmer was now in a very perilous fituation; and had not full proofs been found, certain and inevitable deftruction hung over

\* Buchanan, lib. XIV. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

Difcovery of the Queen's crimes.

The King's impatience, however, and jealoufy prompted him to over him. fearch the matter to the bottom: The privy-feal was ordered to examine Lafcelles, who perfitted in the information he had given ; and ftill appealed to his fifter's teftimony. That nobleman made next a pretence of hunting, and went to Suffex, where the woman at that time refided : He found her both conftant 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 arrefted at the fame time, and examined by the chancellor, made the Queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded ftill more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her fecrets; and fome of them had even paft the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the King, who was fo deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. The Queen being now queftioned, denied her guilt; but when informed, that a full difcovery was made, she confessed, that she had been criminal before her marriage; and only infifted, that she had never been false to the King's bed. But as there was evidence, that one Colepeper had passed the night with her alone fince her marriage; and as it appeared, that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her fervice; fhe feemed to deferve very little credit in this affeveration; and the King befides, was not of a difposition to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

HENRY found, that he could not fo fully or expeditioufly fatiate his vengeance on all these criminals as by affembling a Parliament, the usual inftrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the Queen's confession, began by an addrefs to the King; which confifted of feveral particulars. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were fubject ; but to confider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They defired leave to frame a bill of attainder against the Queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his affent to this bill, not in perfon, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpofe. And as there was a law in force, making it treafon to fpeak ill of the Queen, as well as King, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them should, on the prefent occasion, have transgreffed any part of that flatute.

HAVING obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the Parliament proceeded to an act of attainder for treason against the Queen, and the viscounters of Rocheford, who had conducted her fecret amours; and in this act Colepeper, 8 and

\* Eurises and in [7. 31 fr

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Chap. VI. and Derham, were also comprized. At the fame time, they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counters of Bridgewater, and nine perfons more; becaufe they knew the Queen's vicious life before her marriage, and yet concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should fo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the fentiments of fhame and decency, as to reveal to him the most fecret diforders of their family. He himself feems to have been fenfible of the cruelty of this fentence : For he pardoned the dutchefs of Norfolk, and most of the others, condemned for misprision of treason.

HOWEVER, to fecure himfelf for the future, as well as his fucceffors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the Parliament to frame a law, equally full of extravagance. It was enacted, that any one, who knew, or vehemently prefumed any guilt in the Queen, and did not, within twenty days, disclose it to the King or council, should be guilty of treason; prohibiting every one, at the fame time, from fpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whifpering 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, in case she did not previoufly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this extraordinary claufe, and faid, that the King must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perfwaded to incur the penalty of the flatute\*. After all these laws were paffed, the Queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner fuitable to their diffolute life; and as the lady Rocheford was known to be the chief inftrument, who had brought Anne Boleyn to her end, fhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable fentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate Queen.

THE King made no demand of any fublidies from this Parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter : He took farther fteps towards the diffolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practifing on the prefidents and governors, to make a furrender of their revenues to the King; and they had been fuccefsful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress ; It had been provided, by the local ftatutes of most of these foundations, that no president, nor any fellows, could make fuch a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this confent was not eafily obtained. All fuch statutes were now annulled by Parliament; and the revenues of these houses, so useful to the public,

Burnet, vol. I. p. 314:

public, were now laid open to the rapacity of the King and his favourites \*. Chap. VI. The church had been fo long their prey, that nobody was furprized at any new inroads made upon it. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devaftations on the fecular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a furrender of chapter lands ; and by this devife he pillaged the fees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parafites and flatterers with their fpoils.

THE clergy have been commonly fo fortunate as to make a concern for their Ecclefiaftical temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both affairs. these passions be regarded, by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as a zeal for religion : But the violent and headftrong character of Henry now disjoined thefe objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church; his bigotry and arrogance by perfecuting heretics. Tho' he engaged the Parliament to mitigate the penalties of the fix articles, fo far as regards the marriage of priefts, which was now only fubjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattles, and lands during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, confisting of the two archbishops and feveral bishops of both provinces, together with a confiderable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclefiaftical fupremacy he had given them in charge to choose a religion for his people. Before the commiffioners had made any progrefs in this arduous undertaking, the Parliament, in 1541, had paffed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets, which thefe divines should establish with the King's confent : And they were not ashamed of expressly declaring that they took their religion upon truft, and had no other rule, in religious as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute, which may feem to favour somewhat of the fpirit of liberty : It was enacted, that the ecclefiaftical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this provifo was inferted by the King, to ferve his own purpofes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more the Kk mafter

\* It was enacted by this Parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any country where the King fhould appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and fuch an expedient faved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The fame Parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This feffion, the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arrefted, by a writ iffued by the fpeaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent encreased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards confiderable confequences. Hollingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

\* Burner vol. I. p. 11.

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maîter of every one's life and property. And as the antient independance of the church ftill gave him jealoufy, he was well pleafed, under cover of fuch a claufe, to introduce appeals from the fpiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reafon, he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and encouraged the judges on all occafions to interpofe in ecclefiaftical caufes wherever they thought the law or royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; tho' at first invented for arbitrary purpofes !

THE King, armed by the authority of Parliament, or rather by their acknowlegement of that fpiritual fupremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commiffioners to felect a fyftem of tenets for the affent and belief of the nation. A fmall volume was foon after publifhed, called, the *Inftitution of a Chriftian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible ftandard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of juftification, faith, freewill, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: The facraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are now encreafed to the number of feven, conformable to the fentiments of the catholics. The King's caprice is difcernible thro' 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 tye his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himfelf had formerly eftablifhed.

THE people had occafion foon after to fee a farther inftance of the King's inconftancy. He was not long fatisfied with his Inftitution of a Chriftian Man: He ordered a new book to be composed, called, the *Erudition of a Chriftian Man*; and without asking the affent of the convocation, he published, by his own authority, and that of the Parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the inftitution \*; but the King was no lefs 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 fignal. In both these books, he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passfive obedience; and he was no less careful to retain the nation in the practice.

WHILE the King was fpreading his own books among the people, he feems to have been extremely perplexed, as well as the clergy, what courfe to take with the fcriptures. A review had been made by the ecclefiaftical fynod of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that, instead of employing English expressions throughout, feveral Latin words should shill be preferved, because they contained, as he pretended, such peculiar energy and fignificance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue +. Among these were eclessia, panitentia, pontifex, contritus, kolocausta, facramentum, elementa, ceremonia,

\* Collier, vol. ii. p. 190,

+ Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, Sacrificium, bumilitas, Satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, Chap. VI. hostia, 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 antient ignorance, the propofal was rejected. The knowlege of the people, however, at least their difputative turn, feemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the King and Parliament ‡, foon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession, which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants to peruse them |. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent hefitation, and a dread of the confequences : These perfons were allowed to read, fo it be done quietly and with good order. And the preamble to the act fets forth, " that many feditious and " ignorant perfons had abufed the liberty granted them for reading the Bible, " and that great diverfity of opinions, animolities, tumults, and fchilms had been " occafioned by perverting the fense of the fcriptures." It feemed very difficult to reconcile the King's model for uniformity, with the permission of free enquiry.

THE mass book also passed under the King's cognizance; and little alteration was as yet made in it : Some doubtful or fictitious faints only were ftruck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewife ufed with regard to every new book, that was printed, or even old book that was fold. 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 perfecution of it did not rather imprint it more ftrongly in the memory of the people.

THE King took care about this time to clear the churches of another abufe, which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derifion of the former fuperflitions; and the reverence of the multitude for their antient principles and modes of worfhip, 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 often actuated. Perhaps the people were not difposed to relish a jest on that fide : Perhaps the greater fimplicity and the more fpiritual abstract worship of the protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on fenfible reprefentations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable conceffion, which Henry made the catholic party, to fupprefs entirely thefe religious comedies.

THUS Henry laboured inceffantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal flatutes, to bring his fubjects to an uniformity in their religious fentiments : But as he en-

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‡ Which met on the 22d of January, 1543. || 33 Hen. VIII. c. I. § Parliamentary Hiftory, vol. iii. p. 113. \* Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

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tered,

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Chap. VI. tered, himself, with the greatest earnestness, into all these scholastic reasonings, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themfelves to the fludy of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however prefent fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any fet of tenets or opinions preferibed to them.

# CHAP. VII.

retraited the concellion, which they had formerly

War with Scotland .---- Victory at Solway .---- Death of James the Fifth.\_\_\_\_Treaty with Scotland.\_\_\_\_New rupture.\_\_\_\_Rupture with France.\_\_\_\_A Parliament.\_\_\_\_Affairs of Scotland.\_\_\_\_A Parliament. \_\_\_\_ Campaign in France. \_\_\_\_ A Parliament. \_\_\_\_ Peace with France and Scotland. \_\_\_\_ Perfecutions. \_\_\_\_ Execution of the Earl of Surrey .---- Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk .---- Death of the King. ----- His character.----- His laws.

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ENRY, being determined to avenge himfelf of the King of Scots for flighting the advances, which he made for his friendship, would gladly have obtained a fupply from the Parliament, to enable him to profecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to difcover his intentions, the Parliament, conformable to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the King was difappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and fo foon as he thought himfelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify his hostilities. He complained of James's difappointing him in the promifed interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel \* : But in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; that his nephew had given protection to fome English rebels and fugitives, and had detained fome territory, which, Henry pretended, belonged to England. He even revived the old claim of the dependance of the crown of Scotland, and he fummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and fuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the fcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and tho' James fent the bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darfay, to appeafe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was affembling his army at Newcaftle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended with Sir

\* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the fifth.

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Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an in- Chap. VII. curfion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deftroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been fo many years banifhed their country, and had fubfifted by Henry's bounty, joined the Englifh army in this incurfion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had posted a confiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his clients, was haftening to join Huntley, when he met with the Englifh army; and a battle immediately enfued. While they were 24th August. engaged, the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Englifh, afraid of being overpowered and furrounded, took to flight, and were purfued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and fome other perfons of diffinction, were taken prifoners. A few only of fmall note fell in this fkirmish \*.

THE duke of Norfolk, mean while, began to move from his camp at Newcaftle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewfbury, Derby; Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His army amounted to above twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts of Scotland to refift fuch formidable preparations. James had affembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance fo foon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwic, and advanced along the banks of the river as far as Kelfo; but hearing that James had gathered together near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country +. The King of Scots, inflamed with a defire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the fignal for purfuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was furprized to find, that his nobility, who were generally difaffected on account of the preference, which he had given the clergy. opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this defection, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still refolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreffion on the enemy's country. He fent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway firth; and he himfelf followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Difgusted, however, with the refractory difpolition of his nobles, he fent a meffenger to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The

\* Buchanan, lib. 14.

+ Buchanan, lib. 14.

army

1542. 24 November. Victory at Solway.

Chap. VII. army were extremely difpleafed with this alteration, and were ready to difband ; when a fmall body of English appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Mufgrave. A panic feized the Scotch, who immediately took to flight, and were purfued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken prifoners, and fome of the principal nobility. Among these were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Sommerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all fent to London, and given in cuftody to different noblemen.

> THE King of Scots, hearing of this difaster, was confounded to the last degree; and being naturally of a melancholy difpolition, as well as endowed with a high fpirit, he loft all command of his temper on this difmal occafion. Rage againft his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; fhame for a defeat by fuch unequal numbers; regret of the past, fear of the future; all these pasfions fo wrought upon him, that he would admit of no confolation, but abandoned himfelf wholly to defpair. His body was wafted by fympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no child living; and hearing that his Queen was fafely delivered, he afked whether fhe had brought him a male or female? Being told, the latter; he turned about in his bed : " The crown came with a woman," faid he, " and it will go with " one: Many miferies 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 confiderable virtues and talents, well fitted, by his vigilance and perfonal courage, for reprefing those diforders, to which his kingdom, during that age, was fo much exposed. He executed justice with the greatest 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 repressed, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any confiderable imputation on him \*. HENRY

> \* The perfecutions, exercifed during James's reign, are not to be afcribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he feems to have been as free as Francis the first or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, shewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all these princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the fituation of affairs, during that age, which rendered it impoffible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the refolution of fupporting the antient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed defign of changing the national religion. And even the greatest friends to liberty of confcience have admitted, that tho' a fect, which has already diffused itself, has a just claim to indulgence, yet may it often be confistent with equity as well as found policy, to reprefs by feverity the first beginnings of schifm and new fystems of theology.

14th of December. Death of Iames the fifth.

HENRY was no fooner informed of his victory and of the death of his ne- Chap. VII. phew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his fon, Edward, to the heirefs of that kingdom\*. He called together the Scotch nobles, who were his prifoners; and after reproaching them, in fevere terms, for their breach of treaty, as he pretended, he began to fosten his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, those diforders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to beftow on them their liberty without ranfom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the Prince of Wales with their young mistrefs. They were eafily prevailed on to give their affent to a propofal, which feemed fo natural, and fo advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk, hostages for their return, in cafe the intended nuptials were not compleated : And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in fome confusion.

THE pope, finding his authority in Scotland exposed to danger from the fpreading of the new opinions, had beftowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal; and that prelate had been long regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party, which defended the antient privileges and properties of the ecclefiaftics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the confequences both to his party and himfelf, endeavoured to keep poffession of the power; and for that purpofe, he is accused of executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is faid, a will for the King, appointing himfelf, and three noblemen, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant Princess +: At least, for historians 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 affent and approbation ‡. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having joined his interests with those of the Queen dowager, he obtained the confent of the convention of ftates, and excluded the pretenfions of the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter to James the third; and on that account feemed best entitled to possess that high office, into which the cardinal had intruded himfelf. The prospect also of his fucceffion after a Princess, who was in fuch tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and tho' his character contained little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity, which he had discovered for the new opinions,

\* Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan. + Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotfwood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15. ‡ John Knox, Hiftory of the reformation.

1543.

Chap. VII. opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of these innovations. By means of all these adherents, joined to the vaffals of his family, he had been 1543. able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the sufpicion of Beaton's forgery, with the acceffion of the noblemen, who had been prifoners in England, affisted too by fome money, fent from London, was able to turn the ballance in his favour. The earl of Angus, and his brother, having taken the prefent opportunity of returning into their own country, opposed the cardinal with all the force 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 cultody under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Englifh ambaffador, for the marriage of the infant Queen with the Prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on ; that the Queen should remain Treaty with in Scotland till she was ten years of age; that she should then be fent to England Scotland. to be educated ; that three Scotch nobles fhould immediately be delivered as hoftages to Henry ; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, fhould still preferve its laws and privileges\*. By means of these equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with fuch difmal calamities, feemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and unanimity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to reftore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared to be fo well concerted. He affembled the most confiderable ecclesiaftics; and having reprefented to them the imminent danger, to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he perfwaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large fum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he promised to overturn the schemes of their enemies +. Besides the partizans, whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he rouzed up the zeal of those, who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the fure forerunner of ruin to the church and the antient religion. The national antipathy of the Scotch against the English nation, was also an infallible engine, by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and tho' the terror of Henry's arms, and their inability to make refiftance, had procured a temporary affent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the fettled habits of the nation produced an extreme averfion to those measures. The English ambaffador and his train received many infults from perfons whom the cardinal had incited to commit those indignities, in hopes of bringing on a rupture. But Sadler very prudently diffembled

\* Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

+ Buchanan, lib. 15.

fembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery Chap. VII. of the hoftages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for anfwer, 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 themfelves as hoftages to the English. Sadler, forefeeing the confequence of this refufal, fent a fummons to all those who had been prifoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promife which they had given of returning into cuftody. None of them showed fo much fentiment of honour, as to perform their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caffilis. Henry was fo well pleafed with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him gracioufly, but honoured him with prefents, gave him his liberty, and fent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hoftages\*.

THIS behaviour of the Scotch nobles, tho' it reflected difhonour on the nation, was not unacceptable to the cardinal, who forefaw, that all these perfons New rupture. would now be deeply interefted to maintain their enmity and oppofition to the English. And as a war was foon expected with that kingdom, he found it neceffary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the affiftance of that ancient ally, during the prefent diftreffes of the Scotch nation. Tho' Francis was fully fenfible of his intereft in fupporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his refentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made very great, tho' fruit'es efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more difabled at prefent from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any fuccour to the Scotch. Mathew 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, fent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the Queen mother : And he promifed, that a fupply of money, and, if neceffary, even military fuccours, should foon be difpatched after him. Arran, the governor, feeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perfon of the infant Queen into his cuftody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral perfons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Arefkines, Lindfeys, and Leviftons. The arrival of Lenox, in the midft of thefe tranf-LI

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\* Buchanan, lib. XV.

actions.

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Chap. VII. actions, ferved to render the victory of the French party over the English still more undisputable 1.

THE opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues, excited his refentment, and farther confirmed the refolution which he had before taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. Fupture with He had other grounds of complaint against the French King; which, tho' they were not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overballance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in feparating himfelf entirely from the fee of Rome, and that he had broke his promife in that particular. He was diffatisfied, that James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a prince is of the houfe of Guife; and he confidered thefe alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scotch against the power of England\*. He had been informed of fome railleries, which the French King had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was difgufted, that Francis, after fo many obligations which he owed him, had facrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his fecrets to that fubtle and interefted monarch. And he complained, that regular payments were never made of the fums due to him by France, and of the penfion which had been promifed. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himfelf from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very earneftly courted his alliance. This league, befides ftipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twentyfive thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the fums which he owed him, and to confign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a fecurity for the regular payment of his penfion for the future : In cafe these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed, to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France, and 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 to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Chriftendom had fuffered from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French King's refufal, war was declared against him by the confederates. It may be proper to observe, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical King of England, as no lefs odious than

t Buchanan, lib. XV: Drummond.

\* Pere Daniel.

+ Rymer, XIV. p. 768. XV. 2.

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than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they observed, Chip. VII, that this league was a breach of that solemn promise which he had given to Clement the seventh, never to make peace or alliance with England.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negociating, the King fummoned a 22 January. new feffion of Parliament, in order to obtain fupplies for his projected war with A Parliament. France. The Parliament granted him a fubfidy to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three fhillings in the pound upon any individual ‡. The convocation gave the King fix fhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater fums were always, even during the eftablifhment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than the laity : Which made the emperor Charles fay, when Henry diffolved the monafteries, and fold their revenues, or beftowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs \*.

THE Parliament alfo facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the King's proclamations were made equal to flatutes: They appointed, that any nine counfellors fhould form a legal court for punifhing all difobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal caufes, as well as of all Parliaments, feemed, if the King had fo pleafed, the neceffary confequence of this enormous law. He might iffue proclamations, for the execution of any penal flatutes, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the law, but for difobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable, that the lord Mountjoy entered a protefl against this flatute; and it is equally remarkable, that that proteft is the only one which was entered against any public bill during this whole reign +.

WE have taken notice, in the end of the former chapter, of fome laws regarding religion, which the Parliament paffed this feffion, in order to gratify the King's humour. It was farther enacted  $\parallel$ , that every fpiritual perfon, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the King's book, the *Erudition of a cbriftian man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he fhall henceforth promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his errors; on the fecond, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refufed 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 to be liable to perpetual Ll 2

<sup>‡</sup> They who were worth in goods twenty fhillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, fixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two fhillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, paid eight pence in the pound from twenty fhillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, fixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two fhillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three fhillings.

\* Collier, vol. II. p. 176. + Burnet, p. 322. || 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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Chap. VII. imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prifoner was allowed to bring witneffes for his purgation. These penalties were lighter than those formerly imposed on a denial of transubstantiation: It was, however, fubjoined in this flatute, that the act of the fix articles was still in force. But in order to make the King more entirely mafter of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleafure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause, both parties were retained in subjection; fo far as regarded religion, the King was invefted, in the fullest manner, with the fole legislative authority in his kingdom; and all his fubjects were, under the fevereft penalties, exprefsly bound to receive implicitly, whatever doctrine he fhould pleafe to recommend to them.

12th July.

THE reformers began to entertain hopes, that this exorbitant power would be employed in their favour. The King married Catherine Par, widow to Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and fomewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage, Henry made good what had formerly been foretold in jeft, that he would be obliged to efpouse a widow. The King's league with the emperor, feemed to be a circumftance no lefs favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly ballanced between the factions.

THE advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles, were very inconfiderable, during the prefent 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 perfon, took the field early; and made himself master, without refistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg : He afterwards took Landrecy, and added fome fortifications to it. Charles, having at last affembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to fubmit to the terms which he was pleafed to prefcribe to him. Being then joined by a body of fix thousand English, he fat down before Landrecy, and covered the fiege 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 abandon the fiege : But while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all the world flood in expectation of fome great event; the French found means to throw fuccours into Landrecy, and having thus effected their purpose, they skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the feafon far advanced, defpaired of fuccefs in his enterprize, and found it neceffary to raise the siege. THE

I Memoires du Bellay, lib. Xa

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THE vanity of Henry was flattered, by the figure which he made in the great Chap. VII. transactions on the continent : But the interefts of his kingdom were much more Affairs of deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was Scotland. of fo indolent and unambitious a character, that had he not been ftimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had afpired to any fhare in the administration; and when he found himfelf 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 fure pledge of his fincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himfelf to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity he loft his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief fupport of his power, his most mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired the entire afcendant in the kingdom : The Queen dowager put implicit confidence in him : The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretention : Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to fome 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 caufe, had flattered him with the hopes of fucceeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalship had tended still farther to rouze the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to afpire to the marriage of the Queen dowager, which would have given him fome pretenfions to the regency; and as he was become affuming, on account of the fervices which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, fince he must choose between the friendfhip of Lenox and Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more eafily governed, and who was invefted with present authority, was in every respect preferable. In order to remove the former, after the eafieft and leaft obnoxious manner, he wrote to Francis, with whom he had entire credit, by means of the duke of Guise, father to the Queen dowager; and after praising Lenox for his past fervices, he represented the present difficulties and obstructions, which he occasioned in the administration, and defired that he might be recalled to France, where he enjoyed great credit and large possessions. But the impatience of Lenox to attain his purposes, allowed not this political artifice leifure to operate. Finding that he was not likely to fucceed in his pretenfions to the Queen dowager, and that Arran prevailed in every contest, he retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely in his interefts; he entered into a fecret negociation with the English

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Chap. VII. English court; and he fummoned his clients and partizans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account difcontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party, and they readily made him a tender of their fervices. In a little time, he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatned his enemies with immediate deftruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man, he forefaw that Lenox could not long fubfift fo great an army, and he endeavoured to protract time, by opening a negociation with him. He feduced his followers, by various artifices; he engaged the Douglaffes in his interefts; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions. And Lenox, finding himfelf engaged in an unequal conteft, was at laft obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of terms of accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Prefent peace was reftored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his caffles, and putting himfelf in a pofture of defence, waited the fuccours of the English, from whole affiftance alone he expected to obtain the fuperiority over his enemies.

1544. 14 January. A Parliament.

WHILE the winter feason restrained Henry from military operations, he fummoned a new Parliament; where a law was paffed, fuch as he was pleafed to dictate, with regard to the fucceffion of the crown. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the King's male iffue, were first and immediate heirs to the kingdom, the Parliament reftored the two princeffes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of fucceffion. This feemed 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, however laudable, without betraying, in fome circumflances, his usual caprice and extravagance : Tho' he opened the way for these two princeffes to mount the throne, he would not allow the act to be reverfed which had declared them both illegitimate; he made the Parliament confer on him a power of flill excluding them, if they refused to fubmit to any conditions which he should be pleafed to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own iffue, he might dispose of the crown, as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably forefee, that in proportion as he degraded the Parliament, by rendering them the paffive inftrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all their acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes which he was fo bent to attain.

AN act was paffed, that the King's ufual file should be "King of England, \* France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the fupreme head

" of the church of England and Ireland." It feemed a palpable inconfiftency, Chap. VII. to retain the title of defender of the faith, which the fee of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its caufe against Luther; and yet fubjoin his ecclesiaftical fupremacy, in opposition to the claims of that fee:

An act was also passed, for the remission of a loan of money, which the King had lately raifed. It will eafily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary \*. But there was a peculiar circumfance attending the prefent flatute, which none but Henry would have thought of : That those who had already got payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the fums to the exchequer.

THE oaths which Henry established for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any diftinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's fupremacy; but as the claufes which they fwore to, had not been efteemed entirely fatisfactory, 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 reprefent men as bound by an oath which they had never confented to take.

THE most commendable act to which the Parliament gave their fanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the fix articles, and ordained, that no perfon should be put to his trial upon any accufation concerning any of the offences comprized in that fanguinary ftatute, except on the oath of twelve perfons before commissioners authorized for that purpose; and that no perfon should be arrefted or committed to ward for any fuch offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accused of speaking in his fermon contrary to these articles, mustbe indicted within forty days.

THE King always experienced the limits of his exorbitant authority whenever he demanded fubfidies, however moderate, from the Parliament; and, therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this seffion of a supply : But as his wars both with France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his treasury: Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his fubjects : And he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and filver from three fhillings and nine pence to four fhillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could any way ferve the purpofe. He even coined fome bafe money,

> \* 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12. + 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

1544.

1544.

Chap. VII. money, and ordered it to be current by his proclamation. He named commiffioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about feventy thousand pounds by that expedient. Read, alderman of London II, a man fomewhat advanced in years, having refufed to contribute his fhare, or not coming up to the expectations of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot foldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prifoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prifon, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition \*. These powers of the prerogative, (which at that time passed for unqueftioned) of the King's compelling any man to ferve in any office, and of imprifoning any man during pleafure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the fovereign, in a manner, abfolute mafter of the perfon and property of every individual.

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EARLY this year the King fent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet confifted of near two hundred veffels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lifle commanded the fea forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were difembarked near Leith; and after diffipating a fmall body which oppofed them, they took that town without refiftance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were foon beat down (for little or no refiftance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose fo great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eaftward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Hadington and Dunbar, and then retired into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected fome forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was juftly fufpected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some refistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry fettled a penfion on him, and even gave him his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox flipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to a total fervitude +.

HENRY's policy was blamed in this fudden and violent incurfion; by which he inflamed the paffion of the Scotch, without fubduing their fpirit; and it was commonly faid, that he did too much, if he intended to follicit an alliance, and too little, if he meant a conquest ‡. But the reason of his withdrawing the troops

\* Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 588. 11 Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292. + Rymer, XV. 23, 29. ‡ Herbert. Burnet.

18th May,

### . HENROY VIII.

troops fo foon, was his eagerness to carry on his projected enterprize against Chap. VII. France, where he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatned the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary confequence, have involved the subjection of England. Thefe two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men : Henry engaged to fet out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: They were to enter on no fiege, 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.on oradw

HENRY, having appointed the Queen regent during his absence, passed 14th July. over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied with the dukes of Nor-Campaign in folk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of France. 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 horfe; and the whole composed an army, which nothing on that frontier was able to refift. The chief force of the French army was drawn to the fide of Champagne, in order to oppose the imperialist.

THE emperor, with an army of near fixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to lofe time, while he waited for the march of his confederate, he fat down before Luxembourg, which he took : He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meufe, which was furrendered to him: Ligny met with the fame fate : He next laid fiege to St. Difier on the Marne, which, tho' a weak place, made a brave refiftance, under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the fiege 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 frontiers, or thinking that the emperor had first broke engagements by forming fieges, or, perhaps, foreseeing the dangerous consequences of destroying entirely the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, fat. down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil : The King himfelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, and under him Philip Corfe, a brave old foldier, who encouraged the garrifon to defend themselves to the last extremity against the 14th Septem-English. He was killed during the course of the fiege, and the town was im-ber. mediately Mm

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Chap. VII. mediately furrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this difhonourable capitulation.

DURING the courfe of this fiege, Charles had taken St. Difier; and finding the feason much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, fince all his fchemes for fubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deferting his ally, he fent a meffenger to the Englifh 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 fiege of Boulogne to raife it with honour, and that the emperor himfelf had first broke the concert by forming fieges. This answer ferved Charles as a sufficient 18th Septem- reason for concluding a peace with Francis at Crepy, where no mention was made of the English. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's fecond fon; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piemont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, fo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the decifive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the imperialifts. at Cerifolles in Piemont, partly by the emperor's great defire to turn his arms. against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to feparate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged to raise 30th Septem- the fiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ferved, to the populace, as matter of great triumph; but all men of fenfe concluded, that the King had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at an infinite charge, an acquifition which was of no manner of confequence.

> THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various fuccefs. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid wafte the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merfe, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took poffeffion of, and fortified. The regent affembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to diflodge them from this poft; but he had no fooner opened his batteries before the place, than a fudden panic feized him, and he fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutinies of his army, and pretended to be afraid left they fhould deliver him into the hands of the English: But his own unwarlike fpirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable retreat. The Scotch army, upon the departure of their general, immediately 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 fuccess, boafted to Henry, that he 6 had

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had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this im- Chap. VII. portant fervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty fuch acquifitions would be maintained against a warlike people, advifed the King to grant him, as his reward, the conquefts of which he fo highly boafted. 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 fome Scotch forces appeared near the abbey of Melrofs. Angus had excited the regent to more activity; and a proclamation being iffued for affembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a confiderable body had repaired to his flandard. Norman Lefly, fon to the Earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he infpired courage into the whole, as well by this acceffion of force, as by his perfonal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the neceffity of a fteddy defence, the Scotch leaders ordered all their cavalry to difmount, and they refolved to wait, on fome high grounds at Ancram, the affault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too 17th of Femuch to defpife the enemy, thought, when they faw the Scotch horfes led off bruary. the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they haftened to attack them. The Scotch received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the furprize of the English, who expected no refiftance, they foon put them to flight, and purfued them with a confiderable flaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prifoners. In order to fupport the Scotch in this war, Francis, fome time after, fent 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 fuccours, the regent affembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Hadington, and marched thence to ravage the eaft borders of England. They laid all wafte wherever they came; and having met with no confiderable refiftance, they retired into their own country, and difperfed themfelves. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and weft marches; and the war on both fides was fignalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any confiderable advantage gained by either party.

THE war likewife between France and England was not diffinguished this year by any memorable events. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred fail, befides gallies; and having embarked fome land forces on board, he fent them to make a defcent in England +. They failed to the Ifle of Wight, where they found the Mm 2 English

> + Beleair. Memoires du Bellay. \* Buchanan, Iib. XV. Drummond.

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Chap. VII. English fleet lying at anchor in St. Helens. It confisted not of above an hundred fail; and the admiral thought it most adviseable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow paffages and rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded one another for two days; and except the finking of the Mary Rofe, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both fides was inconfiderable. The French landed troops in the Ine of Wight, and committed ravages; but being repulfed by the militia of the country, they retired to their ships, which foon after fet fail for France. They were again driven by the wind on the coaft of England, where they met with the English fleet; and a new cannonading enfued, which proved no more decifive than the foregoing. It was indeed fcarce possible, that a fleet at that time could, without boarding, gain any confiderable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly fo ill ferved, that a French writer of memoirs + observes, as a circumstance somewhat fingular, that each of these numerous fleets in a two hours engagement, fired full three hundred shot. One large ship in our time could, without difficulty, do as much.

FRANCIS's chief intention, in equipping fo great a fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing fuccours into Boulogne, which he intended to befiege; and for that purpofe, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he proposed to block up the harbour. After a confiderable lofs of money and time, the fort was found fo ill conftructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and tho' he had brought together, on that frontier, an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any confiderable enterprize. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which ferved commonly to fupply the garrifon with provisions; and he laid it entirely wafte by fire and fword. Several skirmishes ensued between the French and English, in one of which the duke of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and nofe; and notwithstanding that the lance broke and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not difmounted by fo violent a flock, and the head of the lance being extracted by a skilful furgeon, he afterwards recovered, and rendered himfelf extremely famous by the name of the duke of Guife. Henry, in order to defend his dominions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found they could advance no farther. The Emperor would not allow them a paffage through his dominions : They received intelligence of a fuperior army on the fide of France ready to intercept them : Idleness and want of pay foon bred a mutiny among them : And having feized the English 8 com-

+ De Langey.

commiffaries as a fecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There feems to have been fome want of forefight and contrivance in this expenfive armament.

THE great expence of these two wars, maintained by Henry, obliged him to fum, 23 November. mon a new Parliament. The commons granted him a fublidy, payable in two years, of two fhillings a pound on land  $\pm$ : The fpirituality voted him fix fhillings a pound. But the Parliament, apprehenfive left more demands should be made upon them, thought to fave themfelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; and by one vote they beftowed on the King the whole revenues of the univerfities, as well as of the chauntries, free chappels §, and hofpitals. Henry was pleafed with this conceffion, as it encreafed his power; but he had no intention of defpoiling learning of all her endowments; and he foon took care to inform the universities, that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus thefe antient and celebrated eftablishments owed their subfissance to the generofity of the King, not to the protection of this fervile and profitute Parliament.

THE proflitute fpirit of the Parliament appeared farther in the preamble of a ftatute ||; where they recognize the King to have always been by the word of God fupreme head of the church of England, and acknowlege, that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical perfons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate : To him alone, and fuch perfons as he shall appoint, full authority and power is given from above to hear and determine all manner of caufes ecclefiaftical, and to correct all manner of herefies, errors, vices and fins whatfoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, nor even of a Parliament. His proclamations are acknowleded to have not only the force of a law, but the authority of a revelation ; and by his royal power he may regulate the actions of men, and even direct their inward fentiments and opinions.

THE King made in perfon a speech to the Parliament on proroguing them; 24 December, where, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he faid, equalled what was ever paid by their anceftors to any King of England, he complained of their diffenfions, disputes and animofities in religion. He told them, that millions of hitres, belides a claim of goo, ego livres, which was after surds

I Those who possessed goods or money, above five pound and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound : Those above ten pound, a shilling.

§ A chauntry was a little church, chappel, or particular altar in fome cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for maintainance of one or more priefts, daily to fay mais or perform divine fervice, for the use of the founders, or fuch others as they appointed : Free chappels were independant on any church, and endowed for much the fame purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dist. || 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

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A Parliament.

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Chap. VII. that the feveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptift, which was retaliated by the opprobious terms of papift and hypocrite : That he had permitted his people the use of the fcriptures, not in order to furnish them materials for difpute and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their confciences and inftruct their children and families : That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was proftituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alchouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the fpiritual and legal paftors : And that he was forry to obferve, that the word of God, while it was the object of fo much anxious fpeculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that tho' an imaginary knowlege fo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay \*. The King gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging fpeculation and difpute, was ill qualified to promote that peaceable fubmiffion of opinion, which he recommended.

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7th of June. Peace with France and Scotland.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by Parliament; and he fent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Lisle the admiral, to Calais with a body of nine thousand men, two thirds of which confisted of foreigners. Some fkirmishes ensued of fmall confequence; and no hopes of any confiderable progrefs could be entertained by either fide. Henry, whofe animofity against Francis was not violent, had given fufficient vent to his humour by this fhort war; and finding, that from his great encrease in corpulence and decay in ftrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was defirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewife, on his part, was not averfe to peace with England; becaufe, having lately loft his fon, the duke of Orleans, he revived his antient claim upon Milan, and forefaw, that hostilities mult foon, on that account, break out between him and the Emperor. Commissioners therefore having met at Campe, a place between Ardres and Guifnes, the articles were foon agreed, and the peace figned 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, befides a claim of 500,000 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 coft him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds fterling +, was a bad fecurity for a debt, which was not a third of the value.

\* Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

+ Herbert, Stowe.

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THE King, being now freed from all foreign wars, had leifure to give his at- Chap. VII. tention to domeftic affairs; and particularly to the establishment of uniformity of opinion, on which he was fo intent. Tho' he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mais in Latin ; but he was at last prevailed with to permit, that the Litany, a confiderable part of the public worfhip, fhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been fomewhat difcouraged by the feverity of the statute of the fix articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to fave us from the tyranny of the biflop of Rome, and from all his deteftable enormities. Cranmer was employing his authority to engage Henry to farther innovations, and he took advantage of Gardiner's abfence, who was employed in an embaffy to the emperor ; but Gardiner, having wrote 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 fuccefs of Cranmer's projects was for the time retarded. Cranmer loft this year the most fincere and most powerful friend, whom he poffeffed at court; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk : The Queen dowager of France, spouse to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one inftance, that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and fleady friendship; and Suffolk feems to have been entirely worthy of that favour, which, from his earlieft youth, he had enjoyed with him. The King was fitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death ; and he took that occasion both to express his own forrow for the lofs, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that, during the whole courfe of their correspondence, he had not made any attempt to injure an adverfary, and had never whilpered a word to the difadvantage of any one. " Is there any of you, my lords, who can fay as much ?" When the King fubjoined thefe words, he looked round in all their faces, and faw that confusion, which the confcioufness of fecret guilt threw upon them \*.

CRANMER himfelf, when bereaved of this fupport, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition of party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered fo eager among Henry's ministers and counfellors. The catholics took advantage of the King's paffion for orthodoxy; and they reprefented to him, that, if his laudable zeal for inforcing the truth met with no greater fuccefs, it was owing altogether to the primate, whofe example and encouragement were, in reality, the fecret fupports of herefy. Henry, feeing the point to which they tended, feigned a compliance, and defired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promiling that, if he was found guilty, he fhould fend him to the Tower, and bring him to condign punifhment.

\* Coke's Infl. cap. 99.

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Chap. VII. All the world now gave the primate for loft; and his old friends, from mercenary views, as well as the opposite party, from animolity, began to show him marks of neglect and difregard. He was obliged to ftand feveral 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 fend him to the Tower. Cranmer faid, that he appealed to the King himfelf; and finding his appeal difregarded, 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 reproved them in the fevereft 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, fince gentle methods were vain, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his fervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, by faying, that their only intention was to fet 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 fign of their cordial reconcilement. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this reconcilement more fincere on his part, than is ufual in fuch forced compliances +.

Persecutions.

But tho' Henry's partiality to Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevifunefs, irritated by his declining flate of health, carried him to punifh with fresh feverity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himfelf, particularly in the capital point of the real prefence. Anne Afcue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty t, who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the Queen herfelf, was accufed of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, inflead of having indulgence to the weaknefs of her fex and age, was but the more provoked, that a woman fhould dare to oppose his theological fentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a feeming recantation; but fhe qualified it with fome referves, which did not fatisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prifon, and there employed herfelf in composing prayers and discourses, by which the fortified her refolution 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, fhe believed as much as Chrift himfelf had faid of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required : But while the could not be brought to acknowlege an affent to the King's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh infult. The chancellor, Wriothefely, who had fucceeded Audley, and who was much attach-

+ Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranm.

‡ Bale, Speed, 780.

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ed to the catholic party, was fent to examine her with regard to her patrons at Chap. VII. court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her : But she maintained a very laudible fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most cruel manner, and continued still refolute in preferving fecrecy. Some authors + add a very extraordinary circumstance : That the chancellor, who flood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to ftretch the rack farther; but the lieutenant refused compliance with that cruelty : The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who was otherwife a perfon of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it fo violently that he almost tore her body afunder. Her conftancy still furpassed the barbarity of her perfecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being fo diflocated by the rack, that fhe could not ftand, fhe was carried to the flake in a chair. Together with her, were brought Nicholas Belenian, a prieft, John Laffels of the King's family, and John Adams a taylor, who had been condemned for the fame orime to the fame punishment. They were all tied to the ftake; and in that dreadful fituation, the chancellor fent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and figned, and should inftantly 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 faw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which confumed them. Wriothefely did not confider, that this public and noted fituation interefted their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

But tho' the fecrecy and fidelity of Anne Afcue faved the Queen from this peril, the foon after fell into a new danger, from which the very narrowly escaped. There was an ulcer broke out in the King's leg, which, joined to his extreme corpulency and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him, even more than ufual, peevifh and paffionate. The Queen, during this time, attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every foothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour, to which he was become fo fubject. His favourite topic of converfation was theology; and Catherine, whofe good fenfe made her capable of difcourfing on any fubject, was frequently engaged into the argument; and being fecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, the unwarily difcovered too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked Nn

+ Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumftance : Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the King, that he difapproved of Wriothefely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

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Chap. VII. voked that the thould prefume to differ from him, made complaints of her obfinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praifed the King's anxious care of preferving the orthodoxy of his fubjects; and reprefented, that the more elevated the perfon was who was chaftifed, and the more near to his perfon, the greater terror would the example ftrike into every one, and the more glorious would the facrifice appear to all pofferity. The chancellor, being confulted, was engaged by religious zeal to fecond thefe topics; and Henry, hurried by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counfellors, went fo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againft his confort. Wriothefely executed his commands; and foon after brought the paper to him to be figned : For as it was high treafon to throw flander upon the Queen, he might otherwife have been queftioned for his temerity. In going home, he chanced to drop this important paper from his pocket; and as fome perfon of the Queen's party found it, it was immediately carried to her. She was fenfible of the extreme danger to which fhe 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 ufual vifit to the King, and found him in a more ferene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was to familiar to him, and he feemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and observed, that such profound speculations were ill fuited to the natural imbecillity of her fex. Women, fhe faid, by their first creation, were made fubject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the hufband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitely the fentiments of her hufband : And as to herfelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleft with a hufband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wife and knowing of every nation. " Not fo! by St. Mary," replied the King, " you " are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive in-" ftructions." She meekly replied, that fhe was fenfible how little fhe was intitled to these praises; that tho' she usually declined not any conversation, however fublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could ferve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that fhe found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured fometimes to feign a contrariety of fentiments, 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, fhe had obferved, by her frequent experience, that the reaped profit and inflruction. " And is it fo, " fweet-

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# HENRY VIII.

" fweet-heart ?" replied the King, " then are we perfect friends again." He Chap. VII. embraced her with great affection, and fent her away with affurances of his protection and kindnefs. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this turn, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, purfuant to the King's warrant; Henry and Catherine were converfing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the purfuivants. The King fpoke to him at fome diftance from her; and feemed to exportulate with him in the fevereft manner: She even overheard the terms of knave, fool, and beast, which he very liberally beftowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his prefence. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger : He faid to her, " Poor foul ! " you know not how little intitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth, the Queen, having narrowly escaped fo great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whole malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards recover his favour and good opinion \*.

But Henry's tyrannical difpolition, foured by ill health, burft out foon after to the deftruction of a man, who poffeffed a much fuperior rank to Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a great part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest fubjects in the kingdom, and had rendered very confiderable fervices to the crown. The duke himfelf had in his youth diffinguished himself by naval enterprizes : He had much contributed to the victory over the Scotch 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 feemed to confpire with his own industry, in raifing him to the higheft elevation. By the favours heaped on him from the crown, he had acquired an immenfe eftate : The King had fucceffively been married to two of his nieces; and the King's fon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter : Befides his descent from the antient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was defcended by a female from Edward the third: And as he was believed still to adhere fecretly to the antient religion, he was regarded, abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all these circumflances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealoufy of Henry; and he forefaw danger, during his fon's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and to the new ecclefiaftical fyftem, from the attempts of fo potent a fubject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the King's vengeance, Nn 2 than

Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58:

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Chap. VII. than the prejudices, which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, fon to that nobleman.

SURREY was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had diffinguished himfelf by every accomplishment, which became a scholar, a courtier, and a foldier. He excelled in all the military exercifes, which were then in request : He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example : He had made fome fuccessful attempts in poetry; and being fmit with the romantic gallantry of that age, he celebrated his miftrefs's praife 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 that caution and referve, which his fituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne, when that town was taken by Henry; but tho' his perional bravery was unqueflioned, he had been unfortunate in fome rencounters with the French. The King, fomewhat difpleafed with his conduct, had fent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was fo imprudent as to drop fome 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 propofal of marriage, which were made him; Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of efpoufing the lady Mary; and he was inftantly determined to reprefs, by the most fevere expedients, fo dangerous an ambition.

ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps too influenced by that old difguft, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had infpired him against all her family, he gave private orders to arreft Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the fame day confined to the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries feem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown, during this whole reign. He was accufed, that he had entertained in his family fome Italians who were *sufpetted* to be spies; a fervant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *sufpetted* of entertaining a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his foutcheon, which made him be fuspetted of afpiring to the crown, tho' both he and his anceftors had openly, during the courfe 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 this nobleman for high treafon; and their fentence was foon after executed upon him.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent Attainder of than that of his fon; as his fervices to the crown had been much greater. His dutcheis,

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Execution of the earl of Surrey.

the dake of Norfolk.

dutchefs, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been fo bafe as to carry intel- Chap. VII. ligence to his enemies of all fhe knew against him : Elizabeth Holland, a miftrefs of his, had been equally fubfervient to the defigns of the court : Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than that he had once faid, that the King was fickly, and could not hold out long, and the kingdom was likely to fall into diforders, thro' the diverfity of religious opinions. He wrote a meft pathetic letter to the King, pleading his past fervices, and protefting his innocence : Soon after he embraced a more proper expedient for appealing Henry, by making a fubmiffion and confeffion, fuch as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the King. He affembled the Parliament, as the fureft and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the houfe of peers, without examining the prifoner, without trial or evidence, paffed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, tho' engaged for many years in an oppofite party to Norfolk, and tho' he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in fo unjust a profecution, and retired to his feat at Croydon\*. The King was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing left Norfolk should escape him, he fent a meffage to the commons, by which he defired them to haften the bill, under pretence, that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was neceffary to appoint another, who might officiate at the enfuing ceremony of inftalling his fon, prince of Wales. The oblequious commons obeyed his directions, tho' founded on fo frivolous a pretence; and the King, having affixed the royal affent 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 himfelf had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred the execution of the warrant, and it was not thought advisable by the council, to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a fentence fo unjust and tyrannical.

THE King's health had been long in a very declining condition; but for feveral days all those near him plainly faw his death approaching. He was become fo froward, that no one durft inform him of his condition; and as fome perfons, during this reign, had been punished as traitors for foretelling the King's death +, every one was afraid, left, in the transports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, inflict punifhment on the author of fuch friendly intelligence. At laft, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to difelofe to him the fatal fecret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his refignation;

\* Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

+ Lanquet's Epitome of chronicles in the year 1541.

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> THE King had made his will near a month before his decease; where he confirmed the deftination of Parliament, in leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth : The two princeffes he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without the confent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor fon. After his own children, he fettled the fucceffion on Frances Brandon, marchionefs of Dorfet, eldeft daughter to his fifter, the French Queen; then on Eleonor, counters of Cumberland, the fecond daughter. In paffing over the posterity of the Queen of Scots, his eldeft fifter, he made use of the power obtained from Parliament; but as he fubjoined, that after the failure of the French Queen's pofterity, the crown fhould defcend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a queftion, whether thefe words could be applied to the Scottifh line. It was thought, that these princes were not the next heirs after the houfe of Suffolk, but before that houfe, and that Henry, by expreffing himfelf in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scotch, had irritated him extremely against that nation : and he maintained to the laft the character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been fo much diffinguished. Another circumftance of his will may fuggeft the fame reflection with regard to the ftrange contrarieties of his temper and conduct : He left money for maffes to be faid for delivering his foul from purgatory; and tho' he deftroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors, and others, for the benefit of their fouls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he published during his latter years, he was yet determined, when matters came to the laft, to take care, at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere to the fafer fide of the question +.

His character.

IT is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities : He was fo different from himfelf in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his hiftory is his beft character and defcription. The abfolute, uncontrouled authority which he maintained at home; and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumftances which entitle him to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny, and cruelty, feem to exclude him from

+ See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reafonable ground to fufpect its authenticity.

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from the character of a good one. He poffeffed, indeed, great vigour of mind, Chap. VII. which qualified him for exercifing dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility : And tho' thefe qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and folid 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 controverfy, was determined, either to ruin himfelf or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worft qualities incident to human nature : Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, prefumption, caprice: But neither was he fubject to all thefe vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he, at intervals, altogether devoid of virtues : He was fincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his times ferved to difplay 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 fuperstitious fubjects, feemed to require the most extreme feverity. But it must, at the fame time, be acknowledged, that his fituation tended to throw an additional luftre 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 fubmiffive, not to fay flavifh, difpolition of his Parliament, made it the more eafy for him to affume and maintain that entire dominion by which his reign is fo much diftinguished in the English history.

IT may feem a little extraordinary, that notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his fubjects; but never was the object of their hatred : He feems even in fome degree to have poffeffed, to the last, their love and affection 1. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude : His magnificence and perfonal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be faid, with truth, that the English in that age, were fo thoroughly subdued, that, like eaftern flaves, they were inclined to admire even those acts of violence and tyranny, which were exercifed over themfelves, and at their own expence.

WITH regard to foreign flates, Henry appears long to have fupported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more fincere and difinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealoufy of the emperor Charles, and fome refemblance in their characters, (tho' the comparison is extremely

‡ Strype, vol. I. p. 389.

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Chap. VII. extremely to the advantage of the French monarch) ferved as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is faid 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 would not long furvive his friend \*: And he died in about two months after him.

> THERE were ten Parliaments fummoned by Henry the eighth, and twentythree feffions held. The whole time in which these Parliaments fat during this long reign, exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a year during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged him afterwards to call these affemblies more frequently: But tho' these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of Parliament, their devoted attachment to Henry's will, joined to their earneft defire of returning foon to their country feats, produced a very quick difpatch of the bills, and made the feffions of fhort duration. All the King's caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was payed to the fafety or liberty of the fubject. Befides the violent profecution of whatever he was pleafed to call herefy, the laws of treafon were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the difparagement of the King, Queen, or royal iffue, were fubjected to that penalty; and fo little care was taken in framing thefe rigorous flatutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; infomuch, that, had they been flrictly executed, every man, without exception, must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute +, for inftance, it was declared treason to affert the validity of the King's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another ‡, it was treafon to fay any thing to the difparagement or flander of the princeffes, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them fpurious would, no doubt, be conftrued to their flander. Nor would even a profound filence with regard to thefe delicate points, be able to fave a perfon from fuch penalties. For by the former ftatute, 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 to propose to any one a queftion with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages : If the perfon was filent, he was a traytor by law : If he answered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no lefs a traytor. So monftrous were the inconfiftencies, which arofe from the furious paffions of the King, and the flavish obedience of his Parliaments. It is hard to fay, whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed defign of tyranny.

His laws.

IT may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to police or commerce: Nothing can better fhow

\* Le Thou. † 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 1 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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the ancient religion contributed much to the regular execution of juffice. While the catholic fuperfition fubfifted, there was no poffibility of punishing any crimes in the clergy: The church would not allow the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and the could not herfelf inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry reftrained these pernicious exemptions : The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a fubdeacon ‡. But the former fuperflition not only protected crimes in the clergy : It exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and fanctuaries. The Parliament restrained these abuses. It was first declared, that no fanctuaries were allowed in cafes of high treason || ; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason §: And it limited them in other particulars \*\*. The only expedient employed to support the military fpirit during this age, was the reviving and extending fome old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was fuppofed very much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow ++ : Buts 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 wich, for the fervice of the common people III. The use of crofs-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited §§. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts 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 fubstance were obliged to have a compleat fuit of armour or harnefs, as it was called \*. The martial fpirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, fufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the King had then an absolute power of commanding the fervice of all his fubjects, he could prefently, in cafe of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleafed. Where no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever dared to think of invading England. There is a faying of Francis the first, which shows the eftimation in which the nation was held in Europe. That magnanimous prince boafted, that, notwithstanding the combination of Charles and Henry against him, in the year 1524, he would be able to defend himfelf. Spain, fays he, has no money ; the Low Countries have no foldiers : And as to England, my frontier

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 ‡ 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.
 11 Ibid
 #] Ibid.
 §§ 3 Hen. VIII.

 c. 13.
 ¶ Herbert.
 \* Hall, fol. 234.
 Stowe, p. 515.
 Hollingfhed, p. 947.

fhow the genius of the age than fuch a review of the laws. The abolition of Chap. VII.

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Chap. VII. tier is ftrong on that fide +. The city of London alone could mufter fifteen thousand men 1. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to these troops . tho' the garrifon of Calais was a nurfery of officers; and Tournay firft ], Boulougne afterwards, ferved to increase the number. Every one, who ferved abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees +. A general permiffion was granted to difpole of land by will \*\*. The Parliament were fo little jealous of their privileges, (which indeed were fcarce worth preferving) that there is an inftance of one Strode, who, because he introduced into the lower house fome bill regarding tin, was very feverely treated by the Stannery courts of Cornwal: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in fuch a manner as brought his life in danger : Yet all the notice which the Parliament took of this enormity, even in fuch an inferior court, was to enact, that no man could be queftioned afterwards for his conduct in Parliament ++. This prohibition, however, muft only be extended to the inferior courts : For as to the King and privy council, and ftar-chamber, they were fcarce bound by any law. There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which flows what uncertain ideas the Parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the fovereign ±t. This duty had been voted to every King fince Edward the fourth, during the term of his own life: Yet Henry had already been allowed to levy it fix years without any law; and tho' there had been four Parliaments affembled, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reftrain him from levying it. At last, they refolved to give him that supply; but even in this conceffion, they flow themselves plainly at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himfelf to levy it. They fay, that the impolition was made to endure during the natural life of the late King, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid to the prefent King that duty : They observe, that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired ; yet make no fcruple to call that imposition the King's due: They affirm, that he had fuftained great and manifold loffes by those who had defrauded him of this duty : And to provide a remedy, they vote him that fupply during his life, and no longer. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding this last claufe, all his fucceffors, for more than a century, continued in the like irregular practice : If a practice may deferve that epithet, which all the world acquiefced in, and which gave no offence. But when Charles the first attempted to continue

> || Hall, ‡ Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577. + P. Daniel. \*\* 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 5. † 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15. <del>++</del> 4 fol. 68. 11 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Hen. VIII. c. 8. 8

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tinue in the fame courfe, which had now received the fanction of many genera- Chap. VII. tions, fo much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it, and hiftorians, partial or ignorant, still represent that measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

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 diftributed them into the other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of these countries on each other; and the great loss fustained by both, in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the fovereigns always avoided the coming to this extremity; and tho' the King bore a much greater friendship to Francis, the propensity of the nation always lay towards the emperor.

IN 1528, hoftilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; but were foon ftopt by mutual agreement. While the Flemish were not allowed to purchafe cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it of the cloathiers, and the cloathiers were obliged to difmifs their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appeale them, fent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as ufual: They told him, that they could not difpose of it as usual; and notwithstanding all 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.

THE foreign artificers much furpaffed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and hence the violent animofity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were fettled in England. They had the affurance to complain, that all their cuftomers went to foreign tradefmen; and in the year 1517, being moved by the feditious fermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raifed an infurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer fort, in London, began by breaking up the prifons, where fome perfons were confined for infulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the houfe of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great diforders; killed fome of his fervants, and plundered his goods; The mayor could not appeafe them; nor Sir Thomas Moore, late under sheriff, tho' extremely respected in the city. They also threatned cardinal Wolfey with fome infult; and he thought it neceffary to fortify his houfe, and put himfelf on his guard. Tired at last with these diforders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewfbury and Surrey feized fome of them. A proclamation was iffued, 002

\* Hall, folio 174.

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Chap. VII. iffued, 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 enquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and feveral others, were fent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln, and thirteen more were executed. The other perfons, 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 to pardon; he difmiffed them all without further punifhment\*.

> So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemish alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order from the 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 1. He also afferts, that the vaft multitudes of the foreigners raifed the price of grain and bread ". And to prevent the increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited to have above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealoufy arofe against the foreign merchants; and to comply with it, a law was enacted obliging all denizons to pay the duties imposed upon aliens §. The Parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom, for debts and crimes, are afferted, in an act of parliament, to be fixty thousand perfons and above \*\*.

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 former times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward the fecond, that no magiftrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep affize, fhould, during the continuance of his magiftracy, fell either in wholefale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law feemed very equitable, in order to prevent fraud or byeends in fixing the affize : Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reafon af-out figned is, that " fince the making of that flatute and ordinance, many and theols " moft part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realmost " of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants,

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+ Le Grand, vol. III. p. 232. • Stowe, 505. Hollingshed, 840. 1 21 Hen. VIII. H Ibid. § 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. \*\* 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15. ++ 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

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<sup>14</sup> and men of fuch fubftance as at the time of making that ftatute : For at this Chap. VII. <sup>1547.</sup> <sup>1547.</sup>

But if there was really a decay of commerce and industry, and population in England, the ftatutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, a circumstance of confiderable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to revive them. The fixing the wages of artificers was attempted  $\pm$ : Luxury in apparel was prohibited, by repeated ftatutes  $\pm$ ; and probably without fucces. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter  $\parallel$ . A ftatute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal  $\S$ . Beef and pork were ordered to be fold at a halfpenny a pound : Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing. The preamble of the ftatute fays, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer fort. This act was afterwards repealed \*\*.

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pafturage, ftill continued ++; as appears by the new laws which were enacted against that practice. The King was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm houses were allowed to go to decay  $\pm$ . The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock, was restrained to two thousand [1]]. Sometimes, fays the statute, one proprietor or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the Parliament as a for the increasing price of sheep and mutton, to this increase of sheep: Because, fay they, the commodity being got into few hands, the price of it is raifed at

\* 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. 11. †† Strype, vol. I. p. 392. ‡‡ 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1. ||| 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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Chap. VII. at pleasure §§. It is probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money : For it is impossible, that fuch a commodity could be monopolized. Intereft was fixed during this reign at ten per cent \*.

> Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagabonds+; one of the circumftances in government, which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which feems, at first fight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to fettle in fuch a manner, as to attain the end without deftroying induftry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the fame time tended to encourage idlenefs and beggary.

HENRY, as he poff-fied himfelf fome talents for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity college in Cambridge, and gave it very ample endowments. Wolfey founded Chrift 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 great minister, is faid to have given him the greateft anxiety and concern t. But Henry afterwards reftored the 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 the most violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The whole students divided themfelves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and fometimes fought with as great animofity as was formerly exercifed by those hoftile nations. The rife of the Greek language in Oxford, excited the emulation of Cambridge ||. Wolfey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford, with copies of all the manufcripts that were in the Vatican 3. The countenance given to letters by this King and his ministers, contributed to render learning fashionable in England; and Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry of that kingdom 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 in that age, who had the least pretention to be ranked among our claffics. Sir Thomas More, tho' he wrote in Latin, feems to come the nearest to that character.

§§ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
\* 37 Hen. VIII. c 9. † 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII.
c. 5. † Strype, vol. I. p. 117. || Wood's hift. & ant. Oxon. lib. I. p. 245. § lbid. 249.
\*\* Epift. ad Banifium Alfo epift. p. 368.

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THETROTE

#### UNDER THE

# HOUSE of TUDOR.

# EDWARD VI.

### CHAP. I.

State of the regency .---- Innovations in the regency .---- Somerfet protector. \_\_\_\_ Reformation compleated. \_\_\_\_ Gardiner's opposition. \_\_\_\_ Foreign affairs .--- Progress of the reformation in Scotland .----Affaffination of cardinal Beaton. --- Conduct of the war with Scotland. -Battle of Pinkey. A Parliament. Farther progress of the reformation. \_\_\_\_ Affairs of Scotland. \_\_\_ Young Queen of Scots fent into France. Cabals of lord Seymour. Dudly earl of Warwick. -A Parliament. Attainder of lord Seymour. His execution.---- Ecclepastical affairs.

HE late King, by the regulations, which he imposed on the government of his infant fon, as well as by the limitations of the fucceffion, State of the had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined, that his minifters, who had always been fo obfequious 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 at prefent only a few months past nine, he appointed fixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrulled the government

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vernment of the King and kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesley, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Ruffel, privy feal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; vifcount Lifle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, fecretary of flate; 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 fixteen executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were added twelve counfellors, who poffeffed no immediate power, and could only affift with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Effex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice chamberlain; Sir William Petre, fecretary of flate; 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 fomewhat in this nomination; while he appointed feveral perfons of inferior ftation among his executors, and gave only the place of counfellor to a perfon of fuch high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the King's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

But the first act of the executors and counfellors was to depart from the destination of the late King in a material article. No fooner were they met, than it was fuggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of fome head, who might reprefent the royal majefty, who might receive addreffes from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whofe name might be employed in all orders and proclamations : And as the King's will feemed to contain a defect in this particular, it was concluded neceffary to fupply it, by choosing a protector; who, tho' he should posses all the exterior fymbo's of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every exercise of power, to follow the opinion of the executors +. This propofal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesely. That magistrate, a man of an active fpirit and high ambition, found himfelf, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew, that that prelate had no talent nor 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, this propofal of choosing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the King's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in

Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

+ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

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in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the fame . Chap. I. authority, which had eftablished it. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers, who had been raifed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or rgreat dependances; and as they had been fufficiently accuftomed to fubmiffion during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretentions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiefced the more willingly in a propofal, which feemed calculated for preferving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the earl of Hartford, who, as he was the King's maternal uncle, was ftrongly interefted in Somerfet prohis fafety; and having no pretentions to inherit the crown, could never have any feparate intereft, which might engage him to endanger Edward's perfon or his authority \*. The public were 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 posseffed of any office religned their former commisfions, and took out new ones in the name of the young King. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to infert in their new commissions, that they held their office during pleasure + : And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurifdiction, as well ecclefiaftical as civil, is originally derived from the crown ‡.

THE executors showed, in their next measure, a more submissive deference to Henry's will; becaufe many of them found their own account in it. The late King had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to fupply the place of those who had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of iffue; and that he might enable the perfons to fupport their new dignity, he had refolved either to beftow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone fo far as to inform them of this refolution ; and in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promifes §. That they might afcertain 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 promifes, their teftimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling thefe engagements. Hartford was created duke of Somerfet, marfchal and lord trea- 17th of Fefurer; Wriothefely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Effex, marquels of Nor-bruary. thampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral : Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward P p

\* Heylin, Hift. Ref. Edw. VI. + Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. 
<sup>‡</sup> Strype's Memor. of Cranm. p. 141. § Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

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Chap. I. 1547. Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron \*: Several, to whom the fame dignity was offered, refufed it; becaufe the other part of the King's promife, the beftowing eftates on thefe new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, particularly Somerfet the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with fpiritual preferments, deaneries and prebendaries. For among many other invafions of ecclefiaftical privileges and properties, this irregular practice, of beftowing fpiritual benefices on laymen, began now to prevail.

THE earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerfet; and it was not likely that factions, which had fecretly prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration, which usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leifure for attending to state-affairs, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great feal in commiffion, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellafis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure feems very exceptionable; and the more fo, that two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers fuspected, that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to difcredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to depress Southampton. They confulted the judges with regard to fo unufual a cafe, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his prefumption in granting it, had juftly forfeited the feals, and was even liable to punishment. The council fummoned him to appear before them; and tho' 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 before the Parliament; that if the commission, which he had granted, was found illegal, it might be declared null and void, and all the ill confequences of it be eafily remedied; and that the depriving him of the feals for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized ; the council, notwithstanding all these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited his office; that a fine fhould be imposed upon him; and that he fhould be confined to his own houfe during pleafure +.

Tho' the removal of Southampton encreased the protector's authority, and tended to suppress factions in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage : His ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. Under pretence, that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient

\* Stow's Annals, p. 594.

+ Hollingshed, p. 979.

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cient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young King, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry the eighth, produced a 1547. total revolution in the government, and may feem even to have fubverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himfelf protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, confifting of all the former counfellors, and all the executors except Southampton : He referved a power of naming any other counfellors at pleafure : And he was bound to confult with fuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewife empowered to act at difcretion, and to execute whatever they thought ferviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatfoever \*. Even had this patent been lefs exorbitant in its conceffions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; fince it feems effential to a trust of this nature to be exercifed by the perfons entrusted, nor can it be delegated to others : But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not fo much as mentioned, appears to have been furreptitiously obtained from a minor King, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to juftify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their prefent acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young King difcovered 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 fense, likewise, as they faw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite fects, thought it the more neceffary to entrust the government to one perfon, who might check the exorbitancies of party, and enfure the public tranquillity. And tho' fome claufes of the patent feemed to imply a formal fubverfion of all liberty or limited government, fo little jealoufy was then ufually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person, posfeffed of fovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many and great and flagrant and unpopular inftances, was able fometimes to give fome umbrage to the nation.

THE extensive authority and imperious character of Henry, had retained the par-Reformation tizans of both religions in fubjection; but upon his decease, the hopes of the protef. compleated. tants and the fears of the catholics began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where difputes and animofities, the ufual preludes of more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as the fecret partizan of the reformers; and being now freed from reftraint, he fcrupled not to express his intention of

\* Burnet, vol. ii. Records, No. 6.

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correcting all the abufes of the antient religion, and of adopting ftill more of the protestant innovations. He took care, that all the perfons, to whom he entrusted the King's education, fhould be attached to the fame principles; and as the young Prince difcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, efpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men forefaw, in the courfe of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith; and they early began to declare themfelves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council feemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even fanguine 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 eftablishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable \*. Their rapacity alfo, the chief fource of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the fecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew, that, while any fhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclefiaftics, they never could hope to fucceed in their pretenfions.

THE numerous and burthenfome fuperftitions, with which the Romifh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the fpirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances were zealously abolished by them, as hindrances of their spiritual contemplation, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to enflame this daring spirit; the novelty itfelf of their doctrines, the triumph of making profelytes, the furious perfecutions to which they were exposed, their animofity against the antient tenets and practices, and the neceffity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depreffing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclefiaftics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with confequences, which, tho' less durable, were, for some time, no less dangerous than those which were connected with the antient fuperflition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the antient religion was still preferved; and a reafonable degree of fubordination was retained in difcipline, as well as fome pomp, order, and ceremony in public worfhip.

THE protector, in his fchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the councils of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and pru-

\* Goodwin's Annals, Heylin;

dence,

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dence, was averfe to all violent changes, and was determined to bring over the people, by intenfible innovations, to that fyftem of doctrine and difcipline, which he efteemed the moft pure and perfect. He probably alfo forefaw, that a fyftem, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be moft lafting; and that a devotion, merely fpiritual, was fitted only for the firft fervours of a new fect, and upon the relaxation of thefe naturally gave place to the inroads of fuperfition. He feems therefore to have intended the eftablifhment of a hierarchy, which, being fuited to a great and fettled government, might fland as a perpetual barrier againft Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthufiaftic zeal was diminifhed or entirely evaporated.

THE perfon, who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, tho' he had not obtained a place in the counfel of regency, on account of fome late difgufts, which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, 'to the higheft truft and confidence of his party. This prelate continued ftill to Gardiner's magnify the great wildom and learning of the late King, which were generally opposition, and fincerely admired by the nation; and he infifted on the prudence of perfevering, at least till the young King's majority, in the ecclesiaftical model, eftablished by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now very openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as ferviceable in maintaining a fense of religion among the illiterate multitude\*. He even deigned to write an apology for boly water, which bishop Ridley had decried in a fermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inftrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of our Saviour's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind +. Above all, he infifted, that the laws ought to be observed, that the conflitution ought to be preferved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the fovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament \$.

But they there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a conflitution, fufficient at leaft to furnifh a topic of argument to fuch as were difcontented with the prefent exercife of authority; this plea could fearcely, in the prefent cafe, be maintained with any plaufibility by Gardiner: An act of parliament had invefted the crown with a legiflative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force and authority of laws. The protector, finding himfelf fupported by this flatute, was determined to employ his influence in favour of the reformers; and having fufpended, during the interval, the authority of the bifhops, he appointed a general vifitation to be made

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made in all the diocefes of England\*. The vifitors confifted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had fix circuits affigned them. The chief purpole of their inftructions was, befides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolifh the antient fuperfititons, and to bring the difcipline and worfhip fomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerfet and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The vifitors were enjoined to retain for the prefent all images which had not been abufed to idolatry; and to inftruct the people not to d fpife fuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of fome particular fuperfititons, fuch as the fprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or using of bleffed candles, in order to drive away the devil  $\dagger$ .

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority, than the abufe of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the antient practices and fuperfitions. The court of augmentations, in order to eafe the King of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and thefe men were led by intereft, as well as inclination, to fupport those principles, which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to reftrain the topics of their fermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people : And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, to preach any where but in their parish churches. The defign of this injunction was to throw a reftraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made fome opposition to these measures; but foon after retracted and acquiefced. Gardiner was more high-fpirited and more fteddy. He reprefented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the neceffity of adhering to fome fystem. "'Tis a dangerous thing," faid he, "to use too much freedom, in "refearches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run fur-"ther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you "cannot put a ftop to people's demands, nor govern their indiferetions at plea-"fure. For my part," faid he, on another occasion, "my fole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a hand-"fome exit off the stage. Provided this point is fecured, I am not fol icitous about the reft. I am already by nature condemned to death: No man can give me a pardon from this fentence; nor fo much as procure me a reprieve. "To speak my mind, and to act as my confeience directs, are two branches of "liberty, which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in " action,

\* Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c.

+ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

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" action, are entertaining qualities: They will flick by a man, when every thing " elfe takes its leave; and I muft not refign them upon any confideration. The " beft on it is, if I do not throw them away myfelf, no man can force them " from me: But if I give them up, then am I ruined by myfelf, and deferve to " lofe all my preferments \*. This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was fent to the Fleet, where he was used with fome harfhnefs and feverity.

ONE of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner against the new homilies, was that they defined with the most metaphysical precision the doctrine of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly exceeded much the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, " an infensible afs, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of " justification  $\pm$ ." The meanest protestant imagined at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines, and he heartily defpised the most learned and knowing person of the antient religion. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to promise on 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 ourfelves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of felf-abasement, which generally have place in religion.

TONSTAL, bifhop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made fome oppolition to the new regulations, was difmiffed the council-board; but no farther feverity was, for the prefent, exercifed against him. He was a man of perfect moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

THE fame religious zeal which engaged Somerfet to promote the reformation Foreign afat home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interefts of fairs. the proteftants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance and after long delays, had at last fummoned a general council, which was affembled at Trent, and was employed in correcting the abuses of the church, and in afcertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who defired to reprefs the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the proteftants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness fo deeply interefted, defired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave

\* Collier, vol. II. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliothica Brittanica, article Gardiner. + Fox, vol. II. Chap. I. 1547.

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Chap. I. gave inftructions to his legates, who prefided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in altercations, and arguments, and difputes concerning the nice points of faith, canvaffed before them : A policy, which was fo eafy to be executed, that the legates found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appeale the animolity of the divines, and bring them at last to fome decifion t. The more difficult task for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to reprefs the ambition of the prelates, who defired to exalt the epifcopal authority on the ruins of the fovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become intractable, the legates, under pretence that the plague had broke out at Trent, transferred of a fudden the council to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under the direction of his holinefs.

> THE emperor, no lefs than the pope, had learned to make religion fubfervient to his ambition and policy. He was refolved to employ the imputation of herefy as a pretence for fubduing the proteftant princes, and oppreffing the liberties of Germany; but found it requifite to cover his intentions under a deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adverfaries. He feparated the Palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heffe : By the fortune of war he made the former prifoner : He employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a fafe-conduct which he had granted him. He feemed to have reached the fummit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aftonished with his fuccess, were farther difcouraged by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death first of Henry the eighth, then of Francis the first, their usual refources in every calamity \*.

> HENRY the fecond, who fucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and ability; but less prompt in his resolutions than Francis, and less enflamed with rivalship and animolity against the emperor, Charles. Tho' he fent ambaffadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promifed them his protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war against fo great a power as that of the emperor, and he thought that the alliance of these princes was a fure-resource, which he could at any time lay hold of +. He was much governed by the duke of Guife and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the Queen dowager of Scotland, and he hearkened to their counfel, in chufing rather to give immediate affiftance to that antient ally, which, even before the death of Henry the eighth, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

> > † Father Paul, lib. z.

\* Sleidan.

+ Pere Daniel.

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THE hatred between the two factions, the partizans of the antient and those Chap. I. of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the refolution, which the cardinal primate had taken to employ the most rigorous punish- Progress of ments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one the Reforma-tion in Scot-Wifhart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himfelf with great zeal in preach-land, ing against the antient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were juftly terrified with the danger of fome fatal revolution in religion. This man was much 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, feverity of manners ftood in place of many virtues ; and the age was in general fo ignorant, that most of the priefts in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and afferted that the Old alone was the word of God\*. But however the cafe may have been with regard to those eftimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with a defire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents, which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for feizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progrefs; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themfelves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with difmiffing him the bounds of their jurifdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the antient prophets, with fome imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the weft country, where he daily increased the number of his profelytes. 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 peftilence would never ceafe till they had made him attonement for their offence Qq

\* Spotfwood, p. 75. The fame author, p. 92, tells us a flory, which confirms this character of the popish clergy in Scotland. It became a great dispute in the university of St. Andrews, whether the pater should be faid to God or the faints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the faints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obffinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the pater was faid to God formaliter, and to faints materialiter ; others, to God principaliter, and to faints minus principaliter ; others would have it ultimate and non ultimate : But the majority feemed to hold, that the pater was faid to God capiendo firiste, and to faints capiendo large. A fimple fellow, who ferved the fub-prior, thinking there was fome great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold fo many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was; the fub-prior anfwering, Tom, that was the fellow's name, we cannot agree to whom the pater-noster should be faid. He fuddenly replied, To whom, Sir, should it be faid, but unto God? Then faid the fub-prior, what shall we do with the faints? He answered, Give them Awes and Creeds enous in the devil's name ; for that may fuffice them. The answer going abroad, many faid, that he had given a wifer decision than all the doctors had done with all their distinctions.

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offence against him. No fooner did Wishart hear of this change in their difposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine : But left 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 affiduity and fuccefs of Wifhart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he refolved, by the punifhment of fo celebrated a preacher, to ftrike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arreft him in his retirement; and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promife given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: And being poffeffed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for herefy. Arran, the regent, was very irrefolute in his temper; and the cardinal, tho' he had gained him to his party, found, that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wifhart. He was therefore determined, without the affiftance of the fecular arm, to bring that heretic to punifhment; and he himfelf beheld from his windows the difmal fpectacle... Wifhart fuffered with the ufual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his infulting enemy. He foretold, that in a few days he would in the very fame place lie as low, as now he was exalted aloft, in oppofition to true piety and religion ‡.

THIS prophely was probably the immediate caufe of the event which it foretold. The difciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a confpiracy against the cardinal; and having affociated to them Norman Lefly, who was difgusted on account of fome private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great fecrecy and fuccefs. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had ftrongly fortified; and though they were not above fixteen perfons, they thrust out an hundred tradefmen and fifty fervants, whom they feized feparately, before any fuspicion arofe of their intentions; and having fhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpofe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noife which he heard in the caftle; and had barricadoe'd 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 assafins rushed upon him with drawn fwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more confiderate in villany,

+ Knox's Hift. of Ref. p. 44. Spotfwood.

‡ Spotfwood, Buchanan.

Affaffination of cardinal Beaton. E D W A R DO WI. H

villany, ftopped their carreer, and reminded them, that this facrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with the utmost reflection and gravity. Then turning the point of his fword towards Beaton, he called to him, " Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy fins and iniquities, but " especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the con-" verfion of thefe lands : It is his death, which now cries vengeance upon thee : "We are fent by God to inflict the deferved punifhment. For here, before the <sup>46</sup> Almighty, I proteft, that it is neither hatred of thy perfon, nor love of thy " riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to feek thy death : But only " becaufe thou haft been, and ftill remaineft, an obftinate enemy to Chrift Jefus, " and his holy gofpel." Having fpoke thefe words, without giving him leifure to finish that repentance, to which he exhorted him, he thrust him thro' the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet \*. This murther was executed on the 28th of May 1546. The affaffins being reinforced by their friends to the number of an hundred and forty perfons, prepared themfelves for the defence of the cattle, and fent a meffenger to London, craving affiftance from Henry. That prince, tho' Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not reject this opportunity of diffurbing the government of that kingdom; and he agreed to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five fhort reigns had been fucceffively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of juffice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animofities of the great. But befides thefe inveterate and antient evils, a new fource of diforder had arifen, the difputes and contentions of theology, which were fufficient to difturb the moft fettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was poffeffed of ability and vigour, feemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the Queen dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtues; and fhe did as much to fupport the government, and fupply the weaknefs of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her fituation. A flipulation was made with the garrifon of St. Andrews, that they fhould furrender the caftle upon receiving a pardon, together with an abfolution from the pope; and that they fhould never afterwards Q q 2 be

\* 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 fame time fomewhat aniazing, to confider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian discovers in his narration of this affafination: 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 assafilies, and affisted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's Hift. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 13.

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Chap. I. 1547. be called in queftion for Beaton's affaffination. Meanwhile, till the pope's abfolution fhould arrive, fhe applied to France for fuccours; and Henry fent her fome gallies, with a train of artillery, commanded by Strozzi, prior of Capua. Before the fiege of St. Andrews was opened, the abfolution was fent to the garrifon, and they were required to furrender; but becaufe the pope, among other exaggerations of the cardinal's murder, had faid, that he pardoned an unpardonable crime, the garrifon, fearing that this expreffion was employed in order to enfnare them, refufed to open their gates  $\ddagger$ . They were, however, foon obliged to depart from their obftinacy: A great breach was made in the walls: The plague broke out among them: And feeing no hopes of fuccour from England, they furrendered to the French upon conditions, which were not very fcrupuloufly obferved to them.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

THE protector of England, fo foon as the government was brought to fome compofure, made preparations for the attack of Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if poffible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late King had been fo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He raifed an army of 18000 men, and equipped a fleet of fixty fail, one half of which were fhips of war, the other loaded with provifions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton : He himfelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. Thefe hoftile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging fome depredations committed by the borderers; but befides, that the protector revived the antient claim of the fuperiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other conditions than the marriage of the young Queen with Edward.

The protector published a manifesto, in which he inforced all the arguments for that measure. He faid, 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 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 jealous either of honour or of interess, to which rival nations are naturally for much exposed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved to a female; that of England to a male; and happily the two fovereigns, as of a rank, for were they also of an age, the most fuitable

to

+ Knox, p. 75. Spotfwood, Buchanan.

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to each other: That the hoftile difposition, which prevailed between the nations, and which arole from past injuries, would foon be extinguished, after a long and fecure peace had eftablished confidence between them : That the memory of former miferies, which at prefent enflamed their mutual animofity, would then ferve only to make them cherifh, with more paffion, a flate of happinels and tranquillity, fo long unknown to their anceftors: That when hoftilities had ceafed between the kingdoms, the Scotch nobility, who were at prefent obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike pofture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would foften their minds to a love of domeftic order and obedience : That as this fituation was defirable to both kingdoms, fo particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and faw herfelf every moment in danger of lofing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That tho' England had claims of fuperiority, fhe was willing to refign every pretention for the fake of future peace, and defired an union, which would be the more fecure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that befides all thefe motives, politive engagements had been taken for the compleating this alliance, and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and fafety fo loudly demanded \*.

SOMERSET foon found, that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the Queen dowager's attachments to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found himfelf therefore obliged to try the force of arms, and to conftrain the Scotch by neceffity to fubmit to a measure, for which they feemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwic, and advanced to. 2dSeptember. wards Edinburgh, without meeting any refiftance for fome days, except from fome fmall caftles, which were conftrained to furrender at differentian. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrifon of one of those caftles for their temerity in refifting fuch unequal force: But they eluded his anger by afking only a few hours refpite till they fhould prepare themfelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy +.

THE governor of Scotland had furmoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double the number of the English, had taken post on very advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Efke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within fight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scotch were worsted, and lord Hume dangeroufly wounded, Somerfet prepared himfelf for a more decifive action. But having

\* Sir John Hayward in Kenneth, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

+ Hayward, Patten.

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Chap. I. having taken a view of the Scotch camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make any attempt upon it with a probability of fuccefs. He wrote therefore another letter to Arran; and offered to retire out of the kingdom, as well as to repair all damages which he had committed, provided that the Scotch would flipulate not to contract the Queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, till she reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. Such moderate terms were rejected by the Scotch merely on account of their moderation; and begot an opinion, that the protector must either be reduced to great diffress or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate fo much of his former pretenfions. Actuated alfo by their priefts, 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 fuccefs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they faw the protector change his ground, and move towards the fea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended to embark his army, and make his efcape 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 paffing the toth Septem-river Efke, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies : Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry confifted only of light horfe, which were placed on their left flank, ftrengthened by fome Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this fervice.

> SOMERSET was pleafed when he faw this movement of the Scotch army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of fuccess. He arranged his van on his left, farthest from the fea; 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 Gray at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scotch van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

WHILE the Scotch were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships : The master of Graham was killed : The Irish archers were thrown into diforder : and even the other troops began to ftagger : When the lord Gray, perceiving their fituation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horfe made an attack on the Scotch infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found

\* Hollingshed, p. 985.

The battle of Pinkey.

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found a flough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the Scotch infantry armed with fpears, and the field, on which they flood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay crofs their front, and difordered the movements of the Englifh cavalry. From all thefe accidents, the flock of this body of horfe was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottifh fpears, which were longer than the lances of the Englifh horfemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and difcomfited. Gray himfelf was dangeroufly wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, fon to the protector, loft his horfe: The ftandard was near being taken: And had the Scotch poffeffed any good body of cavalry, who 'might have purfued the advantage, the whole Englifh army had been expofed to great danger \*.

THE protector mean-while, affisted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himfelf with diligence and fuccess, in rallying the cavalry. Warwic showed great prefence 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 hackbutters, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of fome Italian and Spanish hackbutters, on horfeback; and ordered them to ply the Scotch infantry with their fhot. They marched to the flough, and difcharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy : The fhips galled them from the flank : The artillery, planted on a height, infefted them from the front: The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced, leifurely and orderly, towards them. Difmayed with all thefe circumflances, the Scotch van began to retreat : The retreat foon changed into a flight ; which was begun by the Irifh archers. The panic of the van communicated itfelf to the main body, and paffing 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 Scotch, and began the purfuit with loud fhouts and acclamations, which added ftill more to the difmay of the vanquished. The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront, which they had received in the beginning of the day, committed the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the fpace of five miles, the whole ground was frowed with dead bodies. The priefts above all, and the monks received no quarter ; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animofity, had engaged in an enterprize fo ill fuited to their profession. Few victories have been more decifive, or gained with fmaller lofs to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and according to the most moderate computation, there perifhed:

\* Patten, Hollingshed, p. 986.

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Chap. I. perished above ten thousand of the Scotch. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the Battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's feat of that name in the neighbourhood.

THE Queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were fcarce able to collect fuch a body of forces as could check the incurfions of fmall parties of the English. About the fame time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the Weft Marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they fpread devastation over all the neighbouring counties \*. Had Somerfet profecuted his advantage, he might have imposed what terms he pleafed on the Scotch nation : But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard, fome counfellors, 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 fubmiffion of fome counties on the borders, he retired out of Scotland. The fleet, befides deftroying all the fhips along the coaft, took Broughty in the Firth of Tay, and having fortified it, they left there a garrifon. Arran defired leave to fend commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwic for the place of meeting, left Warwic with full powers to negociate : But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scotch was an artifice, to gain time, till fuccours fhould arrive from France.

4 Novemb.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, fummoned a Parliament : And being fomewhat elated with his fuccefs against the Scotch, he procured a patent, appointing him to fit on the throne, upon a ftool or bench at the right hand of the King, and to enjoy the fame honours and privileges which had ufually been poffeffed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the Kings of England. In this patent, the King difpenfed with the flatute of precedency, enacted during the former reign +. A Parliament. But if Somerfet gave offence by affuming too much ftate, he deferves the higheft praife on account of the laws paffed this fiftion, by which the rigour of former ftatutes was much mitigated, and fome fecurity given to the freedom of the conflitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treafon beyond the statute of the twenty eighth of Edward the third 1; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardies or herefy, together with the ftatute of the fix articles. None were to be accufed of words but within a month after they were fpoken. By thefe repeals feveral of the most rigorous laws that ever were passed in England, were annulled, and fome dawnings, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to

> t 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. \* Hollingshed, p. 992. + Rymer, vol. XV. p. 164.

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to the people. Herefy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. There only remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or determined: A circumstance which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public fecurity, according to the disposition of the judges.

A REPEAL also passed of that law, the deftruction of all laws, by which the King's proclamation was made of equal force with a flatute ||. That other law was likewife mitigated, by which the King was empowered to annul all laws passed before the four and twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recall any pass effects, which had ensued from them §.

Some ftatutes too were paffed which were of the utmost importance, because they promoted the principles and practices of the reformers, tho' they may not, all of them, appear to be attended with any material confequences to civil fociety. The cup was reftored to the laity; private masses were abolished; the King was empowered to create bishops by letters patent, without any sham election of the chapter; the bishops were ordered to issue their writs, and hold their courts in the King's name \*; vagabonds were adjudged to be flaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron  $\ddagger$ ; an act commonly supposed to be levelled against the strong priefts and friars.

THE chantries and free chappels had been given by act of parliament to the late King; and he had appointed commiffioners to take pofferfion of the revenues; but as they had not proceeded far in the execution of their office, it was found neceffary to make a renewal of the grant. The preamble to the flatute promifes, that there funds should be employed to good and godly uses, in erecting grammar schools, in farther augmenting the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy +. But the rapacious courtiers had already devoured the prey in their imaginations; and it was not long before it was shared out among them.

It was also enacted, that all who denied the King's supremacy, or afferted 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 pain of pramunire; and for the third offence be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March next, 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 usure upon another, or endeavour to break the R r

H 1 Edw. VI. c. 2. § Ibid. \* Ibid. ‡ 1 Edw. VI. c. 3. + 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

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Chap I. order of fuccession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abetters. These were the most confiderable acts passed during this session. The membersdifcovered a very paffive difpofition with regard to religion : Some few appeared zealous for the reformation : Others harboured fecretly a ftrong inclination to the catholic faith : But the greatest part appeared willing to take any impression which they flould receive from intereft, authority, or the reigning fashion t.

THE convocation met at the fame time with the Parliament; and as it appeared, that their debates were at first cramped by the rigour of the statute of the fix articles, the King granted them a difpenfation from that law, before it was repealed by Parliament ||. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of fitting with the commons in Parliament; or if this privilege was refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they defired that no law regarding religion, might pass in Parliament without their confent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed, were more advantageous to the civil than the ecclefiaftical power; and tho' there is reafon to think, that the lower clergy fent, during fome time, reprefentatives to the house of commons \*; yet that practice had been abolished for above two centuries; and the prefent juncture was very little favourable for attempting to revive it.

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Farther progress of the reformation.

THE protector had permitted the repeal of that law, which gave to the King's. proclamations the authority of flatutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or diferetionary exercise of power, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to diffinguish exactly from the power of making laws. He even continued to exert this authority in fome particulars, which were regarded as the most momentuous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, palmes on Palm-funday +. These were ancient religious practices, now denominated fuperstitions; tho' it is very fortunate for mankind, when fuperstition happens to take a direction fo innocent and inoffenfive. The fevere difpolition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewife the council to abolifh fome gay and fhowy ceremonies, which belonged to the ancient religion 1.

An order was also iffued by the council for the removal of all images from the churches : An innovation which was much defired by all 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

\* See Atterbury's Rights, &c. of an || Antiq. Britan. p. 339. 1 Heylin, p 48. + Burnet, vol. II. p. 59. Collier, vol. II. p. 241. Heylin, English convocation, p. 73. || Burnet, vol. II. p. 60. Collier, vol. II. p. 241. t Burnet, vol. II. P. 55. Heylin, p. 55.

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from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this defign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private maffes were abolifhed by law, it became neceffary to frame a new communion-office; and the council went fo far, in the preface which they had 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 fpiritual guides an entire afcendant over them. And it may juftly be faid, that tho' the prieft's abfolution, which attends confession, ferves somewhat to eafe weak minds from the immediate agonies of fuperflitious terror, it operates only by flrongly enforcing fuperflition itfelf, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the fame diforders.

THE people were at that time extremely diffracted, by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable to judge of the reafons advanced on either fide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church, as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation refulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remedy that inconvenience, by laying fome reftraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total filence on the preachers, and thus put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit \*. By the nature of things, this reftraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worfhip, its fhows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a ftronger attachment to fermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of knowing : Sermons were only delivered in the principal churches, and at fome particular fafts and feftivals : And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abufed, is fo powerful anincitement to faction and fedition, had much lefs fcope and influence during those ages.

THE greater progrefs was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himfelf from all profpect of compleating the union with Affairs of Scotland; and the Queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more Scotland. averfe to all alliance with a nation which had departed fo far from all ancient principles. Somerfet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ftrongly garrifoned and fortified, by lord Gray : He also erected some fortifica-Rr 2

6 Burnet, vol. II.

\* Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

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tions at Lauder: And he hoped, that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller forcesses, which were in the hands of the English, would serve as a curb to Scotland; and would give him access into the heart of the country.

ARRAN, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the fuccours expected from France, for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Firth, to the number of fix thousand men; one half of whom were Germans. They were commanded by Deffé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, count Rhingrave. The Scotch were at that time fo funk. by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without refiftance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital +: But on the appearance of the French fuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Deffé with a confiderable reinforcement, they laid fiege to Haddington ‡. This was an undertaking for which they were themfelves totally unfit; being only practifed in a kind of defultory war, where they ferved without pay, and with a few weeks provisions, which they brought along with them. Even with the affiftance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of fuccefs in flarving the garrifon; and after fome vain attempts to take the place by a. regular fiege, the blockade of Haddington was formed. The garrifon were repulfed with lofs in feveral fallies which they made upon the befiegers.

THE hoftile attempts which the late King and the protector had made against Scotland, not being fteddy, regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had ferved. only to irritate the nation, and to infpire them with the ftrongeft averfion to that confederacy which was courted in fo 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, faid pleafantly, that he difliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing |. The Queendowager, finding thefe fentiments to prevail, called a Parliament, in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young Queen, for her greater fecurity, should be fent to France, and be committed to the protection of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate, allowed no resource in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scotch 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 defift when they found that their views

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of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, Chap. J. being engaged by fo high a mark of confidence, would take their fovereign un-1548. der his guardianship, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully diffributed among the nobles. The governor had a penfion conferred on him of twelve thoufand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his fon the command of an hundred men at arms\*. And as all the clergy dreaded the confequences of the Englifh alliance, they feconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principles or interest could inspire. It was accordingly Young Queen determined to fend the Queen to France; and what was underftood to be the ne- of Scots fent into France: ceffary confequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Firth of Forth, fet fail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open fea, he turned northwards, paffed by the Orkneys, and came in on the weft coaft at Dunbarton: A very extraordinary voyage for thips of that fabric +. The young Queen was there committed to him; and being attended with the lords Arefkine and Livingstone, she put to fea, and after meeting with fome tempeftuous weather, arrived fafely at Breft, whence the was conducted to Paris, and foon after the was betrothed to the dauphin.

SOMERSET, preffed by many difficulties at home, and defpairing of fuccefs in his enterprize against Scotland, was defirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scotch a ten years truce; but as they infifted on his reftoring all the places which he had taken, the propofal came to nothing. The Scotch took the fortreffes of Hume and Faft-caftle, by furprize, and pur the garrifon to the fword: They repulfed, with lofs, the English, who, underthe command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, and then at Montrofe : In the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to the Queen, acquired great honour; in the fecond action; Arefkine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a confiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but thefe troops falling. into an ambufcade, were almost wholly cut in pieces t. And tho' a finall body. of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived fafely in . Haddington, with fome ammunition and provisions, the garrifon was reduced to fuch difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raifed an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, who, on the diffolution of the protestant alliance, had offered theirr

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 83, Buchan. lib. XV. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. V. c. 15. † Thuanus, li'. V. c. 15. ‡ Stowe, p. 595. Hollingfhed, p. 994.

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their fervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewfbury ||. D' Effé raifed the fiege on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himfelf advantageously. Shrewfbury, who had lost the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his prefent fituation; and contenting himfelf with the advantage already gained of supplying Haddington, he retired into England.

DURING the abode of the French troops many complaints had arifen between them and the Scotch; and a fmall accident\* having excited a tumult in Edinburgh, the provost and his fon were unfortunately killed by the French foldiers. This event increased the animofity between the two nations: But D' Effe, in order to make atonement for that act of violence, led his troops hastily to Haddington, and in the night-time attempted to surprize the town. He found the garrifon unprepared to refift him; and had already entered the outer court: But a French deferter firing a cannon, which pointed towards the gates, the shot fell among the thickest of the enemy, and made such havoc as threw the whole into confusion, and enabled the English to repulse them. It is pretended, that no lefs than a hundred perfons fell by this fingle shot.

THE French general was a man of ability and experience; but as he had not the good fortune to be acceptable to the Scotch nation, it was thought proper to recall him, and to fend over De Thermes in his place. D' Effé, before his departure, fortified Leith, which, from a fmall village, foon became a confiderable town, by the concourfe of inhabitants, who found there a fecurity, which they could no where elfe enjoy in Scotland. He alfo attacked an Englifh garrifon in Inch-keith, an ifland oppofite to that harbour, and made them prifoners. After thefe exploits, he refigned his command to De Thermes, who brought over with him Monluc, bifhop of Valence, a man celebrated for wifdom and capacity. This prelate was named chancellor of the kingdom; and it was probably intended, by his means, to infpire the nation with fome greater attachment to the principles of law and equity: But the Scotch, impatient of reftraint, and jealous of a foreigner, expreffed fuch difcontent, that it was thought more prudent foon after to recall him  $\dagger$ .

THO' the protection of France was of great confequence to the Scotch, in fupporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions which had crept into the councils of that latter kingdom.

|| Hayward, p. 291. \* Beagué, p. 68. Knox, p. 81. + Burnet, vol. II. p. 85. Thuanus, lib. V. c. 15.

kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not contented with Chap. T. the high flations which they feverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had rifen, had entertained the most violent jealoufy of each other's authority; Cabals of lord Seymour. and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their oppofite cabals and pretenfions. Lord Seymour was a man of infatiable ambition, arrogant, affuming, implacable; and tho' effected of fuperior capacity to the protector, he poffeffed not to the fame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addrefs, he had to infinuated himfelf into the good graces of the Queendowager, that, forgetting her ufual prudence and decency, the married him immediately upon the decease of the late King : Infomuch, that, had the foonproved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance fupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutchefs of Somerfet, who, uneafy that the younger brother's wife fhould have the precedency, employed all her intereft with her hufband, which was too great, first to create, and then to widen a breach between the two brothers t.

THE first fymptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. The fecretary, Paget, a man entirely devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counfellors; was corrupting, by prefents, the King's fervants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget reprefented to him the danger of this conduct; defired him to reflect on the numerous enemies whom the fudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him that any diffenfion between him and the protector, would be greedily laid hold of, to draw on the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprize against Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the enfuing Parliament, the admiral's projects appeared ftill more hazardous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partizans and retainers, 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 had been kept feparate from that of governor of the king's perfon; and that the prefent union of thefe two important trufts, conferred on Somerfet an authority which could not fafely be lodged in any fubject ||. He even prevailed on the young King, to write a letter to the Parliament,

‡ Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. VI. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69, || Haynes, p. 82, 90.

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ment, defiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and he had formed a party in the two houfes, by which he hoped to have effected his purpofe. The defign was difcovered before its execution; and fome common friends were fent to remonstrate with him, but had fo little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that, if he was thwarted in his attempt, he would make this Parliament the blackess that ever was in England \*. The council fent 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 purpose, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprize, and be construed a design to disturb the government, by forming a feparate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall fome menaces of fending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral finding himself prevented in his defign, was obliged to submit, and to defire a reconcilement with his brother.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerfet made him willing to forget thefe enterprizes 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 fo far from regarding this event as a check to his afpiring views, he founded on it the fcheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addreffes to the lady Elizabeth, then in the fixteenth year of her age; and that princefs, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, difengage entirely from the tender paffions, feems to have liftened to the infinuations of a man who poffeffed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair +. But as Henry the eighth had excluded his daughters from all hopes of fucceffion, if they married without the confent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded, that he proposed to effectuate his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this fufpicion. He continued to attack, by prefents, the fidelity of all those who had more immediate accels to the King's perfon : He endeavoured to feduce that young prince into his interefts : He found means of holding a private correspondence with him : He publicly decried his brother's administration ; and afferted, that by enlifting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which endangered the King's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promifes and perfuafion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had distributed his interest all over England: He neglected not even the most popular

\* Haynes, p. 75. + Ibid. 95, 96

+ Ibid. 95, 96, 102, 108.

popular perfons of inferior rank; and had computed, that he could, on occafion, command the fervice of ten thousand men, among his fervants, tenants, and retainers ‡: He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sharington, a very corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well informed of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon him, to make him depart from his precipitant councils: But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more fevere remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raife his own fortune on both their ruins.

DUDLEY, earl of Warwic, was the fon of that Dudley, minister to Henry the Dudley, earl reventh, who having, by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred of Warwic. the hatred of the public, had been facrificed to popular animofity, in the beginning of the fubsequent reign. The late King, fenfible of the iniquity, at leaft illegality of the fentence, had afterwards reftored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with ability, industry, and enterprize, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him fuccefsful in all his undertakings. He raifed him to the dignity of vifcount Lifle, 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 Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the first rank among the protector's counfellors. The victory, gained at Pinkey, was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was univerfally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an infatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: And as he found, that lord Seymour, whose ability and enterprize he chiefly dreaded, was involving himfelf in ruin, by his rash councils, he was determined to push him to the precipice; and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

WHEN Somerfet found that the public peace was exposed by his brother's feditious, if not rebellious, fchemes, he was the more eafily perfuaded, by Warwic, to employ the extent of royal authority againft him; and after depriving him of the office of admiral; he figned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were alfo taken into cuftody; and three privy counfellors, being fent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full Ss and

‡ Haynes, p. 105, 106.

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and important difcoveries. Yet still the protector fufpended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to depart from the profecution, if Seymour would promife him a cordial reconcilement; and relinquishing 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 defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, confisting of thirtythree articles ||; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was fo incontestibly proved, both by witneffes 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 prifoner. He was not daunted by the appearance; but boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witneffes; defired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be confidered; and refused to answer any interrogatories, by which he might enfnare himfelf.

IT is apparent, that notwithftanding what is pretended, there must have been fome deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when fuch 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 fcarce capable of any proof; many of them, if true, fufceptible of a more favourable interpretation ; and that, tho' on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a very dangerous fubject, yet he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his guilt feems to have confifted in fome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pyrates were protected, and illegal impofitions laid upon the merchants.

But the administration had, at that time, an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the Parliament; and needed not give themfelves any concern with regard A Parliament. either to the guilt of the perfons whom they profecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A feffion of Parliament being held, it was proposed to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and much perfuasion being employed to engage the young King to confent to it, a confiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and feveral peers, rifing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. Thefe narratives were received for undoubted evidence; and tho' the prifoner had for-Attainder of merly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had either lord Seymour. the courage or equity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, that the teftimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should

|| Burnet, vol. II. Coll. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

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should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the Chap. I. house of commons : There were even some members who objected against the whole 1549. method of proceeding by bills of attainder, paffed in absence; and required, 20th March. that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But His execuupon receiving a meffage from the King, requiring them to proceed, and tion. offering that the fame narratives should be laid before them which had fatisfied the peers, they were eafily prevailed on to acquiesce\*. The bill passed in a very full house. Near four hundred voted for it; and not above nine or ten against it +. The fentence was foon after executed, and the prifoner was beheaded on Towerhill. The warrant was figned by Somerfet, who was exposed to much blame, on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiraj feemed chiefly to be levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and tho' his ambitious, enterprizing character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have proved dangerous to public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing dangers at such a distance, was esteemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be faid, that this bill of attainder was fomewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been accustomed. For here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

ALL the other confiderable business transacted this session, besides the attainder Ecclesiastical of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical matters; which were now the chief affairs. concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council, to frame a liturgy for the fervice of the church; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with great 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 fpirit of contradiction, which fo naturally takes place in all great innovations : And they flattered themfelves, that they had framed a fervice, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had been always celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been efteemed 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 fome 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 fect; and this innovation, with the retrenchment of prayers to faints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief differ-

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\* 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

+ Burnet, vol. II, p. 99.

Ch<sup>-</sup>p. I. 1549. ence between the old mass and the new liturgy. The Parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordered an uniformity to be obferved in all the rites and ceremonies +.

THERE was another very material act, which paffed this feffion. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice be ufually afcribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought, that the ecclefiaftics would be more devoted to their fpiritual head, and lefs dependant on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powerful tyes of wives and children; yet was this inftitution much forwarded by the principles of fuperflition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics of an inviolate chastity fo frequent among the antient fathers, long before the eftablishment of celibacy. And even the English parliament, though they framed a law, permitting the marriages of priefts, yet confess, in the preamble, " that it were better for priefts " and the ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage, and it " were much to be wifhed they would of themfelves abstain." The inconveniences, which had arifen from compelling chaftity and prohibiting marriage, are the reason affigned for indulging a liberty in this particular 1. The ideas of pennance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paffed, prohibiting the use of flesh, during Lent and the other times of abstinence \*.

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A very grievous tax was imposed this fession upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every perfon worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizons. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two pence yearly; every ewe three pence. The woolen manufacturers were to pay eight pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof, that few people lived on the money lent out at interest: For this tax amounts to the half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be born, if many perfons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this fession. The profits of merchandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the law feems to be the tax upon the woolen manufacture. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent Parliament repealed

THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolifhed, and the reformation, fuch as we enjoy it at prefent, was almost entirely compleated. in England. But the doctrine of the real prefence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-fervice and by the prohibition of many antient rites, ftill retained fome hold of the minds of men; and it was the laft doctrine of popery, which was wholly abandoned by the people +. The extreme attachment of the late King to that tenet might be fome ground for this obftinacy; but the chief caufe was really the extreme abfurdity of the principle itfelf, and the profound veneration, which of courfe it impreffed on the underftanding. The priefts likewife were much inclined to favour an opinion, which attributed to them fo miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce fo extraordinary, and as they imagined, fo falutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was fo 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 reftrained in every other particular, could not forbear, on every occafion, from inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his fee, and had been committed to cuftody. Gardiner alfo, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority, which eftablished the late innovations; and he feemed 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 giving full fatiffaction on this head, he was fent to the Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

THESE feverities, being exercifed against men, possefield of office and authority, feemed a neceffary policy, in order to inforce an uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of perfecution, which were derived from no other origin than the bigotry of theologians; a malady, which feems almost incurable. They' the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during fo many centuries, they regarded, in their turn, the new fystem as fo certain, that they could bear no contradiction with

repealed the tax on fheep and woolen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themfelves at fix fhillings in the pound to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in Parliament, which had been the common practice fince the reformation, as if the clergy had no legislative power, even over themfelves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

+ Burnet, vol. II. cap. 104.

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with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the fame flames, from which they themfelves had fo narrowly efcaped, every one who had the affurance to oppose them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and fearch after all anabaptifts, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer \*. They were enjoined to reclaim them, if poffible; to impose pennance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the fecular arm : And in the execution of this charge, the commissioners were not bound to obferve the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were difpenfed with, and if any flatutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradefmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not fin, and that though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure and were difmiffed. But there was a woman accufed of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was fo extremely obstinate, that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. Her doctrine was, " that Chrift " was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whole flefh, being the outward man, was " finfully begotten and born in fin; and confequently, he could take none of " it : But the word, by the confent of the inward man of the virgin, was made " flefh +." This opinion, it would feem, is not orthodox; and there was a neceffity for delivering the woman to the fames for maintaining it. But the young King, tho' in fuch tender years, had more fenfe than all his counfellors and preceptors; and he long refufed to fign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perfwade him to compliance; and he faid, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly contradictory to the Apostles creed : These latter were impieties againft God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to reprefs; in like manner, as the King's deputies were bound to punish offences against the King's perfon. Edward, overcome by importunity more than reafon, at last fubmitted, tho' with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong was 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, accufed of the herefy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He fuffered

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. III. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 18. † Burnet, vol. II. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranın. p. 181.

fuffered with fo much fatisfaction, that he hugged and carefied the faggots, which were confuming him; a fpecies of frenzy of which there is more than one inftance among the martyrs of this age \*.

THESE rigorous methods of proceeding foon brought the whole nation to a conformity with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mafs, and refufed to admit the eftablished modes of worship. When preffed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor ; who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobbey, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council +.

## CHAP. II.

Discontents of the people. \_\_\_\_ Infurrections. \_\_\_\_ Conduct of the war with Scotland-----with France.----Factions in the council.----- Confpiracy against Somerset. \_\_\_\_ Somerset resigns the protectorship. \_\_\_\_ A Parliament. Peace with France and Scotland. Boulogne furrendered .---- Persecution of Gardiner .---- Warwic created duke of Northumberland.-----His ambition.---Trial of Somerfet.----His execution .---- A Parliament .---- A new Parliament .----- Succession changed.\_\_\_\_ The King's fickness\_\_\_\_ and death.

HERE is no abuse fo great, in civil fociety, as not to be attended with a great variety of beneficial confequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the lofs of thefe advantages is always felt very fenfibly, while the Difcontents of benefit, refulting from the change, is the flow effect of time, and is feldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any inflitution can be imagined lefs favourable, in the main, to the interefts of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceafed by the suppreffion of monafteries, were very much regreted by the people of England. The monks, refiding always in their convents, in the heart of their eftates, fpent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a fure refource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idlenes, and prevented the encrease of public riches, yet did it provide to many a remedy against the

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181. + Heylin, p. 102.

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Chap. II. the extreme preffures of want and neceffity. It is also observable, that, as the friars were limited by the rules of their inflitution, to a certain train of life, they had not equal motives for avarice with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the beft and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were allowed to give leafes at an under-value, and to receive, in return, a large prefent from the tenant; in the fame manner as is still practifed by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were diffributed among the great nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management : The rents of farms were raifed, while the tenants found not the fame facility in difpofing of the produce; the money was spent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to all the oppreffions of their new mafters, or to the ftill greater rapacity of the stewards.

> THESE complaints 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 thefe arts had made greater progrefs 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 found more profitable than unskilful tillage : Whole estates were laid waste by inclosures : The tenants, regarded as a useles burthen, were expelled their habitations : Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they fed their cattle, were reduced to mifery : And a great decay of people, as well as 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 rapacious animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

> THE general encrease also of gold and filver 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 eafily be transported thither ; but in England, the labour of men, who could not fo eafily change their habitation, ftill remained nearly at the antient rates; and the poor people complained that they could no longer gain a subfissence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to provide a maintenance; and tho' this encrease of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect very

> > \* Strype, vol. II. Repofitory Q.

very beneficial to fociety, yet was it difficult for the people to fhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceffity could compel them to that exertion of their faculties.

IT must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry the eighth, had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to fuch 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 fame abuse. The usual confequences enfued : The good coin was hoarded or exported; bafe 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; an universal diffidence and flagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

THE protector, who loved popularity, and compaffionated the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to remedy them. He appointed a commission for making enquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day affigned. The populace, meeting with fuch countenance from the government, began to rife in feveral places, and to commit diforders; but were quieted by remonstrances and perfuafion. In order to give them greater fatisfaction, Somerfet appointed new commiffioners, whom he fent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, high-ways, and cottages \*. As the object of this commiffion was very difagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called the commission arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redrefs, could no longer contain their fury, but fought for a remedy by force of arms. The rifing began at once Infurrections. in feveral parts of England, as if an universal confpiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The infurgents in Wiltshire were disperfed by Sir William Herbert : Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Glocester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field : Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Suffex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler methods; but the diforders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened the most fatal confequences.

THE commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual pretence of inclosures and of oppreffions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay, had the address to give their discontents a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of this fubject, in the prefent emergence, made the infurrection immediately Tt

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 115. Strype, vol. II. p. 171.

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diately appear dangerous. In other counties, the gentry had kept closely united with the government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The ricters were brought to the form of a regular army, and amounted to the number of 10,000 men. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himfelf too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a diftance, and began to treat and negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of difperfing them by the difficulty of their fublifling together. Their demands were, that the mafs should be reftored, half of the abbey-lands refumed, the law of the fix articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redreffed \*. The council, to whom Ruffel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; exhorted the rebels to difperfe; and promifed them pardon upon their immediate fubmiffion. Enraged at this difappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them croffes, banners, holy water, candlefticks, and other implements of the antient fuperflition; together with the hofte, which they covered with a canopy +. The inhabitants of Exeter shut their gates; and the infurgents, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulfed in all their attempts. Ruffel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert, and lord Gray, with fome German horfe, and fome Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then refolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their pofts, committed great flaughter upon them both in the action and pursuit t, and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were fent 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 tower, arrayed in his popifh weeds, with his beads at his girdle |.

THE infurrection in Norfolk role still to a greater height, and was attended with greater violences. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by the complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thoufand men, they grew infolent on their force, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing new counfellors about the King, and the re-establishment of the antient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government of them; and he exercised his authority with

\* Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. II. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. + Heylin, p. 76. † Stow's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295. § Hayward, p. 295, 296. Heylin, p. 76. Hollingshed, p. 1026.

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with the utmost infolence and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-Hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and fummoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave fuch decrees as might be expected from his character and fituation. 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 perfon against the infurgents : He therefore fent next the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of augmenting his reputation and character. Warwic, having tried fome fkirmifhes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and purfuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich caftle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the infurrection was entirely fuppreffed. Some rebels in Yorkfhire, hearing of the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was foon after published by the protector +.

But tho' the infurrections were thus quickly fupprefied in England, and no traces of them feemed to remain, they were attended with very bad confequences Conduct of with regard to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of the war with Warwic, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and De Thermes had leizure to reduce that country to fome fettlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrifon to the fword. He ftraitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres found means to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrifon, it was found very expensive, and even impracticable to keep possellion of that fortrefs. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid wafte by the inroads both of the Scotch and English, and could afford no supply to the garrifon : The place lay above thirty miles from the borders ; fo that a regular army was neceffary to efcort thither any provisions : And as the plague had broke out among the troops, they perifhed daily, and were reduced to a flate of great weaknefs. For these reasons, orders were given to difinantle Haddington, and to convoy the artillery and garrifon 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 diffractions of the English, in order to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry the eighth had con-With France, quered from France. Under other pretences, he affembled an army; and falling fuddenly Tt 2

\* Stowe, p. 597. Hollingthed, 1030-34. Strype, Vol. II. p. 174. + Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

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Chap. II. 1549. fuddenly upon the Boullonois, took the caftles of Sellacque, Blacknefs, and Ambleteufe, tho' well fupplied with garrifons, ammunition, and provifions \*. He attempted to furprize Boulenberg, and was repulfed; but the garrifon, not thinking the place tenable after the lofs of the other fortreffes, deftroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a peftilential diftemper, which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of fuccefs againft Boulogne itfelf; and he retired to Paris +. He left the command of the army to Gafpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, fo famous afterwards under the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the fiege early in the fpring. The active difpofition of this general engaged him to make during the winter feveral attempts againft the place; but they proved all unfuccefsful.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a defcent on Jerfey; but meeting there with an English fleet, an action ensued, which feems not to have been decisive, fince the historians of the two nations differ fo widely in their accounts of the event  $\ddagger$ .

As foon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himfelf with the alliance of the emperor; and he fent over fecretary Paget to Bruffels, where Charles then refided, in order to affift Sir Philip Hobby, the ordinary ambaffador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a defign of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion to the catholic religion; and tho' extremely defirous of fortifying himfelf by the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unfuitable to his other pretenfions to enter into ftrict confederacy with a nation, which had broke off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined all advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambaffadors. An exact account is preferved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, afferted, that the prerogatives of a King of England were more extensive than those of a King of France §. Burnet, who preferves this letter, fubjoins, as a parallel inftance, that one objection which the Scotch made to marrying their Queen with Edward, was that all their privileges would be fwallowed up by the great prerogative of the Kings of England ||.

SOMERSET, finding no affiftance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and befides that he was not in a condition to maintain fuch ruinous wars, he thought, that there no longer remained any obiect

Thuanus, lib. vi c. 6. † Hayward, p. 300. ‡ Le Thou, King Edward's Journal, Stow, p. 597.
Burnet, vol. II. p. 132, 175. || Id. p. 133.

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ject of hostilities. The Scotch had fent away their Queen ; and could not, if Chap. II. ever fo much inclined, compleat the marriage contracted with Edward : And as Henry the eighth had flipulated to reftore Boulogne in 1554, it feemed a matter of small confequence to anticipate a few years, the term of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who, feeing him unable to fupport the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran very high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an iffue, fatal to the authority of the protector.

AFTER Somerfet obtained the patent, invefting him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other counfellors; and being Factions in elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought, the council. that every one ought, in every thing, to yield to his fentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him, were fure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt \*; and while he showed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not, in any respect, proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more subtle and artificial, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having affociated himfelf with Southampton, who had been readmitted into the council, he formed a ftrong party, who were determined to free themselves from the flavery, imposed on them by the protector.

THE malecontent counfellors found the difposition of the nation very favourable to their defigns. The nobility and gentry were in general difpleafed with the preference, which Somerfet feemed to have given the people; and as they afcribed all the infults to which they had been lately exposed, to his procrastination, and to the encouragement given the multitude, fo they apprehended a renewal of the fame diforders from his prefent 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 denominated illegal, if any exertion of prerogative, at that time, could with certainty deferve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a ftretch of power, feemed the more unpolitic, that it difgusted the nobility, the furest support of monarchical authority.

But the' Somerfet courted the people, the intereft, which he had formed with them, was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the multitude, were his declared enemies; and took adwantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious afpect : The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom,

> † Ib. p. 183. \* Strype, vol. II. p. 181:

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Chap. H. kingdom, was reprefented in very invidious colours: The great effate which he had fuddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious : And the palace which he was building in the Strand, ferved, by its magnificence, and fill more by other circumftances which attended it, to expose him to the centures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for this flructure : Not contented with that facrilege, an attempt was made to demolifh St. Margaret's, Weltminster, and to employ the stones to the fame purpose ; but the parishioners rose in a tumult, and chaced away the protector's tradefmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloifter, and charnel-houfe belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. To render the matter more odious to the people, the tombs, and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones carried away, and buried in unconfecrated ground t.

6th October. Confpiracy against Somerfet.

All these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who refolved to take advantage of them. The lord St. John, prefident of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counfellors more, met at Ely-house; and affuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, whom they reprefented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the prefent measures, and requiring their affistance : They fent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they should receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the fame 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 Shrewfoury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juffice Montague, joined the malecontent counfellors; and every thing bore a bad afpect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had fent to treat with the council, chose rather to remain with them; and the common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their refolution of supporting them II.

THE protector had no fooner heard of the defection of the counfellors, than he removed the King from Hampton court, where he then refided, to the caffle

+ Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303. || Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollinshed, 1057.

of Windfor; and, arming his friends and fervants, feemed refolute to defend Chap. II. himfelf against all his enemies. But finding, that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rife at his fummons, that the City and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends and confidents had deferted him, he loft all hopes of fuccefs, and began to appy to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No fooner was this defpondency known, than lord Ruffel, Sir John Baker, fpeaker of the house of commons, and three counfellors more, who had hitherto femained neuters, joined Warwie's party, whom every body now regarded as mafters. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princeffes Mary and Elizabeth, to the fame purpose; they made addresses to the King, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and obedience, 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 Somerfet. protector, with the express condition that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority to himself, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed, their advice; that he had proceeded to that height of prefumption, as to levy forces against them, and place thefe forces about his majefty's perfon: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal prefence, that he would be pleafed to reftore them to his confidence, and that Somerfet's fervants might be difmiffed. Their requeft was complied with : Somerfet capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was pro- somerfet remifed him. He was, however, fent to the Tower\*, with fome of his friends figns the proand partizans, among whom was Cecil, who was afterwards fo much diffinguish- tectorship, ed. Articles of charge were exhibited again thim +; of which the chief, at leaft the beft founded, is his ulurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with abfolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him ; plainly, becaufe, according to the fentiments of those times, that power was, infome degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

THE catholics were extremely elevated with this revolution; and as they had afcribed all the late innovations to Somerfet's councils, they hoped, that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief fway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding, that the principles of the reformation had

+ Burnet, vol. II. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. \* Stowe, p. 600. Hollingshed, p. 1059.

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had funk deeper into the young prince's mind than to be eafily eradicated, he was determined to comply with his inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any hazardous councils. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who ftood at the head of the Romanifts, and whom he confidered as a dangerous rival, that the high-fpirited nobleman retired from the council, and foon after died of vexation and difappointment. The other counfellors, who had concurred in bringing about 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 houfhold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torne from the fee of London t. 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 lawful one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerfet, and who derived their feats from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But fuch niceties were, during that age, little underftood, and still lefs regarded, in England.

A SESSION of Parliament was held; and as it was the usual maxim of that

4 November.

A Parliament. affembly to acquiefce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had reason rather to look for a 23 December. corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed with to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these mildemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indifcretion, not to any malignity of his intention ||. He even fubscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to the Parliament, who, after fending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowlege it to be authentic, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him in two thousand pounds a year of land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwic earl marshal. The profecution against 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 fon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerfet \*.

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† Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 226. H Heylin, p. 84. Heyward, p. 309. Stowe, \* Heyward, p. 309. p. 603.

DURING this feffion a fevere act was paffed against riots +; that if any, to the number of twelve perfons, fhould meet together for any matter of ftate, and being required by any lawful magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be treafon; 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 made an application, complaining, that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the prefent fufpenfion of the canon law; that they could fummon no offenders before them, punish no vice, nor exert the difcipline of the church : From which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The defign of fome was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church : But others thought, that fuch an authority committed to the bifhops, would prove more oppreffive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the ancient superstition. The Parliament, for the present, contented themselves with empowering the King to appoint thirty-two commissioners to frame a body of canon laws, which were to be valid tho' never ratified by Parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown, tho' all their liberties and properties might be affected by thefe canons t. The King died before the canons received the royal fanction. Sir John Sharington, whofe crimes and malversations had appeared fo egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained a reverfal of his attainder []. This man fought favour with the moft zealous of the reformers; and bishop Latimer afferted, that tho' formerly he was a most notorious knave, he was now fo penitent, that he had become a very honeft man.

WHEN Warwic and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themfelves involved in the fame difficulties which had embarraffed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be fupported by an Peace with exhaufted exchequer, feemed dangerous to a divided nation, and were now ac France and knowleged not to have any object, which even the greatest and most uninterrupted Scotland. fuccefs could attain. The project of peace which Somerfet entertained, had ferved them as a pretence of clamour against his administration ; yet after fending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themfelves obliged to liften to the advances which Henry made them, by means of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The Uu

+ 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5. 1 Ibid. cap. 2. || Ibid. c. 13.

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Boulogne furrendered.

24 March.

Gardiner.

The earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were fent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French King absolutely refufed to pay the two millions of crowns which his predeceffor had acknowleged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of penfions; and faid, that he never would confent to render himfelf tributary to any prince: But he offered a fum for the immediate reftitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hoftages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty : The English stipulated to reftore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demolifh the fortreffes of Roxburgh and Eymouth \*. No fooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a clofe union with that kingdom; and Henry very willingly embraced a propofal fo fuitable both to his interest and inclination. An agreement, fometime after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully fettled +: But this project never took effect.

THE intention of marrying the King to a daughter of Henry, who was a violent perfecutor of the protestants, was no wife acceptable to that party in England: But, in all other respects, the council was very steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Many of the prelates were still addicted to that communion; and tho' they made fome compliances, in order to fave their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they fafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to fuch as were negligent or refractory. A refolution was therefore taken to feek pretences for depriving them; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, that they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their fees only during the King's pleafure. It was thought proper to Profecution of begin with Gardiner, in order to ftrike a terror into the reft. The method of proceeding against him was extremely violent, and had scarce any colour of law or justice. It had been prescribed him, to inculcate in a fermon, the duty of obedience to a King even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prifon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerfet, fecretary Petre, and fome others of the council, were now fent, in order to try his temper, and endeavour to find fome ground

> \* Burnet, vol. II. p. 148. Heyward, 310, 311, 112. Rymer, vol. XV. p. 211. + Heyward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 293.

ground for depriving him: He profefied to them his intention of conforming to the government, of fupporting the King's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the difpofition which they expected or defired  $\parallel$ : A new deputation was therefore fent, who carried him feveral articles to fubfcribe. He was to acknowlege his former mifbehaviour, and confefs the juffice of his confinement: He was likewife to own, that the King was fupreme head of the church; that the power of making and difpenfing with holidays, was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer book was a godly and commendable form; that the King was a compleat fovereign in his minority; that the act of the fix articles was juftly repealed; and that the King had full authority to correct and reform what was amifs in ecclefiaftical difcipline, government, or doctrine. The bifhop was willing to put his hand to all the articles except the firft : He maintained his conduct to have been inoffenfive; and declared, that he would not own himfelf guilty of faults which he had never committed \*.

THE council, finding that he had gone fuch lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and fending him new articles to fubfcribe. A lift was felected of fuch points as they thought would be most hard of digestion; and not content with these, they infifted still on his fubmission, and an acknowlegement of past errors. To make this fubfcription more mortifying, they required a promife, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit : But Gardiner, who faw, that they intended either to ruin or diffionour him, or perhaps both, was determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliances : He still infisted on his innocence; defired a fair trial; and refufed to fubferibe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under fequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than at first, 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, fecretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and fome other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any flatute 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 bifhopric: And committed to close cuftody: His books and papers were feized : All company was denied him; and it was not allowed him either to fend or receive any letters or meffages +.

#### GARDINER,

1551.

Heylin, p. 99. \* Collier, vol. II. p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99. † Fox, vol. II. p. 734, & feq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.

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GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the King's pleafure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been to illegally and arbitrarily exacted, chose rather to employ fome forms of juffice; a resolution, which led them to commit still greater iniquities and feverities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop there. Day, bistop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bission of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, tho' they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial or hearty in their obedience, were obliged to feek protection, by facrificing the most considerable revenues of their fee, to the rapacious courtiers\*.

THESE plunderers of the church neglected not even fmaller profits. An order was iffued by council, for purging the library of Weftminfter of all miffals, legends, and other fuperfittious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher +. Many of thefe books were plaited with gold and filver, and curioufly emboffed; and this finery was probably the fuperfittion that deftroyed them. Great havoc was likewife made on the libraries of Oxford. Books and manufcripts were deftroyed without diffinction: The volumes of divinity fuffered for their rich binding: Thofe of literature were condemned as ufelefs: Thofe of geometry and aftronomy were fuppofed to contain nothing but necromancy II. The univerfity had not power to oppofe thefe barbarous violences: They were in danger of lofing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be fwallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his affociates.

Tho' every thing yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and fhe ftill continued to adhere to the mafs, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during fome time, connived at; but, at laft, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkeley, were thrown into prifon §; and the princefs was remonftrated with for her difobedience. The council wrote her a letter, where they endeavoured to make her change her fentiments, and to perfuade her, that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They afked her, what warrant there was in fcripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the ufe of images, or offering up the facrament for the dead; and they defired her to perufe St. Auftin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romifh fuperfitition, and prove that it was founded merely on falfe miracles and lying ftories ‡. The lady Mary remained obftinate againft all

\* Goodwin de præful. Angl. Heylin, p. 100. † Collier, vol. II. p. 307. from the council books. || Wood Hift. & Antiq Oxon. lib. 1. p. 271, 272. § Strype, vol. II. p. 249. ‡ Fox, vol. II. Collier, Burnet.

all this advice, and protefted herfelf willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion : She only feared, she faid, that she was not worthy to fuffer in fo holy a caufe : And as for protestant books, she thanked God, that, as she never had, fo she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, fhe endeavoured to make her efcape to her kinfman Charles; but her defign was difcovered and prevented \*. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatned hoftilities, if liberty of confcience was refused her : But tho' the council, fenfible that the kingdom was in no condition to fupport, with honour, fuch a war, was defirous to comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the fcruples of the young King. He had been educated in fuch a violent abhorrence of the mass, and other popifh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the fin, if he allowed its commission : And when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed fomewhat over his opposition, he burft into tears, lamenting his fifter's obstinacy, and bewailing his own fate, that he must fuffer her to continue in fuch an abominable mode of worship.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant fects, was popery, or, more properly fpeaking, the papifts. Thefe they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and deftroy its partizans by fire and fword : They had not as yet had leifure to attend to the other minute divisions among themfelves, which afterwards became the object of fuch furious quarrels and animofities, and threw the whole kingdom into confusion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were engaged to take fhelter in England, from the perfecutions which the emperor exercifed in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-lasco, a nobleman, uncle to the King of Poland+, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, fettled, during fome time, at Embden in East-Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Forefeeing the perfecutions which enfued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious, ufeful people, and defired to invite over others of the fame character, not only gave them Augustine friars church for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were crected into a corporation, confifting of a fuper-intendant and four affifting ministers. This ecclefiaftical establishment was quite independant of the church of England, and differed from it in fome rites and ceremonies ||.

THESE

\* Heyward, p. 315. + Fox, vol. III. p. 40. || Mem. Cranm. p. 234.

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THESE differences among the proteftants were matter of triumph to the catholics, who infifted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they loft all criterion of truth and falfehood in matters of religion, and muft be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every fect of proteftants, afforded them the fame topic of reafoning. The book of common prayer fuffered in England a new revifal, and fome rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted \*. The fpeculative doctrines, or the metaphyfics of the religion, were alfo fixed in forty two articles. Thefe articles were intended to obviate further divifions and variations; and the framing them had been poftponed till the eftablifhment of the liturgy, which was regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is afferted in the articles; and care is alfo taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can efcape an endlefs ftate of the moft exquifite mifery, but alfo that every one who prefumes to maintain, that any pagan can poffibly be faved, is himfelf exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition †.

THE theological zeal of the council, tho' feemingly fervent, went not fo far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which feem to have been ever uppermost in their thoughts : They even found leifure to attend to the public intereft; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was, at that time, very little the object of general fludy or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanfe-towns, or Eafterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage thefe merchants to fettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry the third, had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from feveral heavy duties paid by aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, commonly denominated the merchants of the Steel-yard, engrofied almost the who'e foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the fhipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to find pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englifhmen in the duties which they paid; and as fuch patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the King, men were the lefs furprized to find them recalled by the fame authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanfe towns; but the council perfevered in their refolution, and the good effects of it became foon vifib'e to the nation. The English, by their very fituation as natives, had advantages above

\* Mem. Cranm. p. 289.

+ Article xviii.

above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; tho' Chap. II. these advantages had not been fufficient to rouze their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens duty was alfo impofed upon all foreigners indifcriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce, and a fpirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom \*.

About the fame time a treaty was made with Guftavus Ericíon, King of Sweden, by which it was flipulated, that if he fent bullion into England, he might carry away English commodities without paying custom, that he should carry bullion to no other prince, that if he fent ozimus, fleel, copper, &c. he flould pay cuftom for English commodities as an Englishman, and that if he fent other merchandize, he fhould have free intercourfe, paying cuftom as a ftranger +. The bullion fent over by Sweden fet the mint to work : Good fpecie was coined : And much of the bafe metal, formerly iffued, was recalled : A circumftance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

BUT all thefe fchemes for the improvement of industry were like to prove abor- Warwic cretive, by the fear of domeftic convultions, ariting from the exorbitant ambition ated duke of Northumberof Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the flation which he had at-land, tained, carried farther his pretenfions, and had gained to himfelf partizans who were difposed to fecond him in every enterprize. The last earl of Northumberland died without iffue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the fhare which he had in the Yorkshire infurrection during the late reign, the title was at prefent extinct, and the effate was vefted in the crown. Warwic now procured to himfelf 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 marques of Winchefter: Sir William Herbert was made earl of Pembroke.

BUT the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of pof-His ambition. feffions and titles, either to himfelf or partizans, as fteps only to further acquifitions. Finding that Somerfet, tho' degraded from his dignity, and even leffened in the public opinion by his fpiritlefs conduct, ftill enjoyed a confiderable fhare of popularity, he was determined to ruin a man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been formed between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He fecretly gained many of the friends and fervants of that unhappy nobleman : He

\* Heyward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Memorials, vol. II. p. 295. + Heylin, p. 109.

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Chap. II. He fometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger : Sometimes provoked him by ill ulage. The unguarded Somerfet often broke out into menacing expreffions against Northumberland : At other times, he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned : His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paffionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the fchemes, which they themfelves had first suggested \*: And Northumberland, thinking that the proper feafon was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

16th October.

In one night, the duke of Somerfet, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's fervants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer were arrefted and committed to cuftody. Next day, the dutchefs of Somerfet, 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 the part of a fpy upon Somerfet, accufed him of having formed a defign to raife an infurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to fecure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London : But what was the only probable accusation, he afferted, 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 teftimony with regard to this last defign ; and it appears that fome rafh fcheme of that nature had been mentioned; tho' no regular confpiracy had been formed, nor means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeffed, that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houfe at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerfet.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchefter, who acted as high fleward. Twenty-feven peers fat as the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man, who appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerfet was accufed of high treason on account of the projected infurrections, and of felony in forming a defign to murder privy counfellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all flate trials during that age, which is a fenfible defect in our history: But it appears, that fome more regularity was observed in the management of this profecution than had been usually employed in like cafes. The witneffes were at leaft examined by the privy council; and tho' they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the aftDecember. prisoner (circumftances required by the ftrict principles of equity) their depofitions were given in to the jury. The proof feems to have been very lame with regard

\* Heylin, p. 112.

regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was fo fatiffactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour : The intention alone of affaulting the privy counfellors was supported by any tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prifoner himfelf confeffed, that he had mentioned the defign of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any refolution on that head : And when he received fentence, he afked pardon of those peers for the designs which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerfet was beloved, hearing the first part of his fentence, by which he was abfolved from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations : But their fatisfaction was fuddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony \*.

CARE had been taken by Northumberland's emiffaries, to prepoffes the young 1552. King against his uncle; and left he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerfet's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued feries of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold His execuon Tower-hill, amidst great crouds of spectators, who bore him such fincere tion. kindnefs, that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his par- 22d January. don +. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preferved as a precious relict; and fome of them foon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and difplayed to him these fymbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, tho' many actions of his life were very exceptionable, feems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults, which he committed, were owing to weaknefs, not to any bad intentions. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmnefs, he was ill-fitted to extricate himfelf from those cabals and violences to which that age was fo much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed : Great injustice feems to have been used in their profecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on fome 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 fhare that honour ‡. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to refign his office, on the discovery of some friendship, which he had shewn to Somerset.

Chap. II. 1551.

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\* Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingshed, p. 1067. + Hayward, p. 324, 325. ‡ Stowe, p. 608.

Xx

Cnap. II. 1552. 23d January. A Parliament.

The day after the execution of Somerfet, a feffion of Parliament was held, where farther advances were made for the eftablishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorifed; and penalties were enacted against all fuch as absented themfelves from public worship\*. To use the mass had already been prohibited under very severe penalties; fo that the reformers, it appears, whatever fcope they had given to their own private judgment, in disputing the tenets of the antient religion, were resolved not to allow the fame privilege to others; and the practices nay the very doctrine of toleration, was, at that time, equally unknown to all fects and parties. To diffent from the religion of the magisfrate was univerfally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A LAW was enacted againft ufury; that is, againft taking any intereft for money  $\ddagger$ . This act was the effect of antient fuperflitions; but being found extremely iniquitous in itfelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereft, notwithftanding the law, was at that time 14 per cent  $\ddagger$ .

A BILL was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous flatutes of treasons, which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and tho' the peers, by their high flation, flood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public authority, or even to their own true interefts, that they paffed the bill with only one diffenting voice §. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paffed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever fhould 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 imprifoned during pleafure; for the fecond, should be in a premunire; for the third; should be attainted of treason. But if any should unadvisedly advance such a flander 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 profeffedly of different religions; and religions, which threw on each other the imputation of herefy, schifm, idolatry, prophaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets, that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke on these subjects at all, not to fall into the crime, fo feverely punished by this statute; and the jealousy of the commons

\* 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. † Ib. c. 20. ‡ Hayward, p. 318. § Paliamentary Hift. vol. 111. p. 258. Burnet, vol. 11. p. 190. || 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

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for liberty, tho' it led them to diffent from the lords, appears not to have been Chap. II. very active, vigilant or clear-fighted.

THE commons annexed to this bill a claufe which was of much more importance than the bill itfelf, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason, unlefs the crime was proved by the oaths of two witneffes, who were confronted with the prifoner. The lords fcrupled to pass this clause, tho' required by the most obvious principles of equity, and tho' their own interest was fully as much concerned as that of the commons. But the members of that house trufted for protection to their prefent perfonal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent fecurity, that of the laws.

A BILL was introduced into the house of peers for making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chufing that a money-bill fhould begin in the upperhouse, framed a new bill to the fame purpose. By this bill, the church-wardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions for the poor, and if any refused to contribute, or diffwaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocefe was empowered to proceed against them. Such a large difcretionary power, entrusted to the prelates, feems as proper an object of jealoufy as the authority affumed by the peers \*.

THERE was another occasion in which the Parliament reposed an unufual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holydays +. But thefe were unguarded conceffions granted to the church: The general humour of the times led men to bereave the ecclefiaftics of all their power, and even to pillage them of all their property : Many clergymen were obliged for a fubfiftance to turn carpenters or taylors, and fome kept alchoufes ‡. The bifhops themfelves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and fpiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

TONSTAL, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his fee, than for his own personal merit, his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all the innovations in religion; but fo foon as they were enacted, he had always fubmitted, and had paid conformity to each fystem of religion, which was established. The known probity of his mind 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 opinions ought to be facrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity. That general regard which Xx 2 was

\* 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. + Ib. cap. 3. ‡ Burnet, vol. II. p. 202. 339

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was paid his character, had preferved him from any fevere treatment during the protectorfhip of Somerfet; but when Northumberland gained the afcendant, he was thrown into prifon; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a defign of appropriating the revenues of the fee of Durham, and of forming to himfelf a principality in the northern counties, he was refolved, in order to effectuate his purpofe, to deprive Tonftal of his bifhopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, under pretence of mifprifion of treaton, was introduced into the houfe of peers against that prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and fincere friendship to the bifhop of Durham. But when the bill was fent down to the commons, they required that witneffes should be examined, that Tonftal should be allowed to defend himfelf, and that he should be confronted with his accufers: And when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

THIS equity, fo unufual in the Parliament during that age, was afcribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and juffice, but to the prevalence of Somerfet's faction in a houfe of commons, which, being chofen 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 confirming the attainder of Somerfet and his complices was alfo rejected by the commons, tho' it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to diffolve the Parliament, which had fat during this whole reign; and foon after to fummon a new one.

15tn April.

A new Parliament.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to enfure to himfelf a houfe of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient which could not have been practifed, or even thought of, in an age, when there was any idea or comprehenfion of liberty. He engaged the King to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders and voters, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their reprefentatives. After this general exhortation, the King continued in these words. " And yet, neverthelefs, our pleafure is, that where our privy council, or any of " them shall, in our behalf, recommend, within their jurisdiction, men of learn-" ing and wildom; in fuch cafes, their directions shall be regarded and followed. " as tending to the fame end which we defire, that is, to have this affembly " composed of the perfons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good " council "." Several letters were fent from the King, recommending members. to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton for Hampshire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Neville for Berkshire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield

\* Strype's Ecclef. Memorials, vol. II. p. 394.

# EDWARD VI.

Benningfield for Suffolk, &c. But the' fome counties only received this fpecies of conge d'elire from the King; the recommendations from the privy council and the councellors, we may fairly prefume, would extend to the greatest part, if not to the whole, of the kingdom.

It is remarkable, that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor King, when the royal authority is ufually weakeft; that it was patiently fubmitted to; and that it gave fo little umbrage as fcarce to be taken notice of by any hiftorian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matters, is the only perfon, 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 after a very arbitrary manner, by the ift March. fentence 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 affigned them. The regalities of the fee, which included the jurifdiction of a count palatine, were given by the King to Northumberland; and it was not to be doubted but that nobleman had also proposed to make rich plunder, of the revenue, as was then the ufual practice of the courtiers, whenever a bishopric fell vacant.

THE commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most fincere, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained : They granted a fupply of two fubfidies and two fifteenths. To render this prefent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accufation of Somerfet, " for involving the King in wars, wasting his treasure, ingaging " him in much debt, embafing the coin, and giving occafion for a most terrible " rebellion \*."

THE debts of the crown were at this time very confiderable. The King had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profits from the fale of fome chantry lands; the churches had been defpoiled 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 ufe +: Yet fuch had. been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown was indebted about 300,000 pounds 1; and great depredations were, at the fame time, made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would foon have retrieved these loss: But as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a fenfible

1 Strype's Ecclef. Mem. vol. II. p. 344-+ Heylin, p. 95, 132. • 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12.

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Succeffion changed.

fenfible 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 flate of health made fusceptible of every impression, that his two fisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both been declared illegitimate by act of Parliament, and tho' Henry by his will had reftored them to a place in the fucceffion, the nation would never bear to fee the throne of England filled by a baftard : That they were only the King's fifters by the half-blood; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and fucceffors : That the Queen of Scots flood excluded by the king's will; and being an alien, loft all right of inheriting by the law; not to mention, that, as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would, by her fucceffion, render England, as the had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain confequence of his fifter Mary's fucceffion, or that of the Queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, the repeal of those laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the ufurpations and idolatry of the church of Rome: That fortunately for England, the fame order of fucceffion, which juffice required, was also the most conformable to public intereft; and there was not on any fide any just ground for doubt or deliberation : That when these three princesses were excluded by such folid reasons, the fucceffion devolved to the marchioness of Dorfet, eldest daughter to the French Queen and the duke of Suffolk : That the next heir of the marchionefs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable virtue, accomplished by the beft education, both for literature and for religion ; and every way worthy of a throne : And that even, if her title by blood fhould be doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the King was possefield of the fame power, which 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 affection for the protestant religion made him apprehend the confequences, if fo bigotted a catholic as his fifter Mary fhould fucceed to the throne. And tho' he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no fuch objection, means were found to perfwade him, that he could not exclude the one fifter, on account of illegitimacy, without alfo giving an exclusion to the other.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the King, began to prepare the other parts of that political fabric, which he intended to raife. Two fons of the duke of Suffolk by a fecond venter having died, this feafon, of the fweating ficknefs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the King to beftow it on the marquis of Dorfet. By means of this

## EDWARD VI.

this favour and of others, which he conferred upon him, he perfuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutchefs, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth fon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himfelf by farther alliances, he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, fecond daughter to Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeft fon to the earl of Pembroke. He alfo married his own daughter to lord Haftings, eldeft fon to the earl of Huntingdon \*. Thefe marriages were folemnized with great pomp and feftivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreffing their indignation at feeing thefe public demonstrations of joy, during the languishing ftate of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been feized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the fmall pox; but having perfectly recovered both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only ferve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progrefs thro' fome parts of the kingdom. It was fufpected, that he had there over-heated himfelf in exercifes : He was feized with a cough, The King's which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines : Seve- fickness. ral fatal fymptoms of a confumption appeared; and tho' it was hoped, that, as the feafon of the year advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men faw with great concern his bloom and vigour infenfibly 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 the quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

THE languishing flate of Edward's health made Northumberland the more in. tent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emiffaries, from about the King: He himfelf attended him with the greatest affiduity : He pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all thefe artifices, he prevailed on him to give his final confent to the fettlement projected, Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and follicitor general were fent for 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 hefitated in obeying this order; and defired time to confider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The fettlement of the crown by Henry the eighth had been made in confequence of an act of Parliament; and by another act, paffed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right

\* Heylin, p. 109. Stowe, 609.

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Chap. II. right of another, or change the order of fucceffion. The judges pleaded thefe reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would fubject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counfellor who figned it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both to give force to the new fettlement, and free its partizans from danger, was to fummon a Parliament, and obtain the confent and fanction of that affembly. The King faid, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a Parliament, in which he proposed to have his fettlement 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 refufal would fubject them all to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and faid that he would fight in his fhirt with any man in fo just a quarrel as that of the lady Jane's fucceffion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers of the law, and those arifing from the violence of prefent power and authority \*.

> THE arguments were canvaffed in feveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no folution could be found of the prefent difficulties. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counfellors. He defired, that a special commission should be passed by the King and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new fettlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have committed by their compliance. When the patent was drawn and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to pass the great feal, that prelate required, that all the judges should fign it. Gofnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty, that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conflancy of Sir James Hales, who, tho' 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 fecurity, that all the privy councellors fhould fet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland or the fears of his violence were fo prevalent, that the counfellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hefitated during fome time, but yielded at laft to the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the King +. Cecil, at that time fecretary of flate, pretended afterwards that he only figned as a witnefs to the King's fubfcription. And thus, by the King's letters patent, the two princeffes, Mary and Elizabeth, were fet afide; and the crown was fettled on the heirs of the dutchefs of Suffolk : For the dutchefs herfelf was content to be postponed to her daughters.

21st June.

AFTER

\* Fuller, book VIII. p. 2. † Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

#### DWARD VI. E

AFTER this fettlement was made, with fo many inaufpicious circumftances, Edward declined visibly every day in his health; and fmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make the matter worfe, his phyficians were difmiffed 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 reftore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad fymptoms encreased to the most violent degree : He felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs fwelled, his colour became livid; and many other fymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in 6th July. the fixteenth year of his age, and the feventh of his reign.

ALL the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellencies of this young prince; whom the flattering promifes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of the most tender affections of the public. He possessed mildnefs of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juffice. He feems only to have contracted from his education and from the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoffeffion in matters of religion, which made him incline fomewhat to bigotry and perfecution: But as the bigotry of protestants, lefs governed by priefts, lies under more reftraints 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.

Yy-

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And death.

## THE REPAIR OF BEEN

Arres this followed a faile made, which fo romay insufficients circumfuncts. C'an 'I i dward fieldined a fably every day in his built has not finch hopes were evaluated of his nerovery. To make the matter word, has whichtight were establied by Northursbertand statice and by an arter of columbia and has mapped in a the immeter face of health. After the ordereds, in a faile thirs, to release that to his accore is a interval. Which there the of her medicines, all the mapped is the bind former face of health. After the ordereds, in a faile thirs, to release that to some encreased to the ability which there the of her medicines, all the bad here, a sever encreased to the mode violent degree : I's feir a difficulty of fpeech and the theoring; his pull failed, his legs (welled, has colour breams invide; and many the subing; his pull failed, his approaching call. He explored as Greenwich in the subing with yeur of his approaching call. He explored as Greenwich in the subing with yeur of his approaching call. He explored as Greenwich in the subing with yeur of his approaching calls the provide as Greenwich in the subing with yeur of his approaching calls the provide as Greenwich in the subing with yeur of his approaching calls is the subic of the sector of his provides.

Ait vies lagith bilorians duel use pleature on the evolution of the young prince; whom the flatering promite of here, joured to many use written, had mede an object of the work tertier all fluors of the public. He policified mildindee at object of the work tertier all fluors of the public. He policified mildindee, and an attributers to fluory and juffice. He forms only to have contransed from his concation and from the respired by the hore, too much of a more proposition in statements to reprint and juffice. He forms only to have conmarked from his concation and from the rege in veloci he hyper, too much of a more proposition in statements of religion, which made him include frome the what to bigory and perfection in states of teligion, which made him include formewhat the bigory and perfection is flat as the bigotry of proteframs, heir governed by prants, her under more reference that the of catholes, the effects of this malignment quality were the left to be appreciseded, if a longer life had been granted

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#### LAN N F G

#### UNDER THE

# HOUSE of TUDOR.

# MARY.

#### CHAP. I. dans anassau

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed Queen. Deferted by the people. The Queen proclaimed and acknowledged. ---- Northumberland executed. Catholic religion restored. — A Parliament. — Deliberations with regard to the Queen's marriage. Queen's marriage with Philip. -----Wyat's infurrection, Suppreffed. Execution of lady Jane Gray.—\_\_\_A Parliament.\_\_\_\_Philip's arrival in England.

HE title of the princes Mary to the crown, after the decease of her brother, was not liable to any confiderable difficulty; and the objections ftarted by the lady Jane's partizans, were new and unheard-of by the nation. Tho' all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and feemed founded on those principles of law and religion, which then prevailed, very few imagined, that their iffue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from the Parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to reftore his daughter to the right of fucceffion, her Yy 2 title

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title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever effected juft and natural. The public had been long familiarized to these sentiments : During all the reign of Edward, the princefs was confidered as his lawful fucceffor : And tho' the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred, univerfally entertained against the Dudleys \*, who, men forefaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real fovereigns, was more than fufficient to counterballance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt, to violate the order of fucceffion, had difplayed Northumberland's ambition and injuffice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity and cruelty, by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princefies, had been facrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themfelves in opposition to fuch criminal enterprizes. The general veneration alfo, paid to the memory of Henry the eighth, prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miferies of the antient civil wars were not fo entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of the like bloodshed and confusion.

NORTHUMBERLAND, fenfible of the opposition he must expect, had carefully concealed the defiination made by the King; and in order to bring the two princeffes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, defiring their attendance, under pretext, that his infirm flate of health required the affiftance of their counfel and the confolation of their company +. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princeffes fall into the fnare, kept the King's death still fecret ; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddefden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the confpiracy formed against her 1 : She immediately made haste to retire ; and arrived by quick journeys, first at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where the proposed to embark and retire to Flanders, in cafe the should find it impossible to defend her right of fuccession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most confiderable gentry in every county of England; commanding them to affift her in the defence of her crown and perfon. And fhe difpatched a meffage to the council; by which fhe notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a fecret to her, promifed them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her title in London §.

NORTHUM-

\* Sleidan, lib. 25. † Heylin, p. 154. ‡ Burnet, vol. II. p. 233. § Fox, vol. III. p. 14.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther diffimulation was vain : He went to Chap. I. Sion-houfe\*, accompanied with the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, 1553. and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who refided there, with all the respect usually paid to the fovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, Lady Jane Gray proignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and furprize, that claimed fhe received intelligence of them +. She was a lady of the most amiable perfon, Queen. the most engaging disposition, the most accomplished parts; and being of an equal age with the late King, fhe had received all her education with him, and feemed even to poffefs a greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a knowlege of the Roman and Greek languages, befide modern tongues; had paffed moft of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements usual with her fex and flation. Roger Afcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having at one time paid her a vifit, found her employed in the reading of Plato, while the reft of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and upon his admiring the fingularity of her choice, fhe told him, that fhe received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaity. Her heart, full of this paffion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deferving of her affection, had never opened it/elf to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the information of her advancement to the throne was by no means agreeable to her. She even refused to accept the prefent; pleaded the preferable right of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the confequences attending an enterprize fo dangerous, not to fay fo criminal; and defired to remain in that private flation in which the was born. Overcome at last with the entreaties, rather than reasons, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her hufband, fhe fubmitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the Kings of England, after their acceffion, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new fovereign 1: All the counfellors were obliged to attend her to that fortrefs; and by this means became, in some measure, prisoners in the hands of Northumberland, whose will they were neceffitated to obey. Orders were given by the council, to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London, and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued : The people heard the proclamation with filence and concern: Some even expressed their fcorn and contempt: And one Pot, a vintner's prentice, was feverely punished for this offence ||. The

\* Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. z. + Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. II. p. 234. ‡ Heylin, p. 159. || Ibid. p. 160.

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The protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless \*; and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a fermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience  $\pm$ .

THE people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidft their tenders of duty, to express their apprehension for the protestant religion; but when the affured them, that the never meant to change the laws of Edward ‡, they enlitted themfelves in her caufe with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry flocked to her daily, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suffex, the eldeft fons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Henry Jerningham, perfons whose interests lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers . Sir Edward Hastings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commisfion from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamsthire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and joined Queen Mary. Even a fleet, which had been fent by Northumberland to lie off the coaft of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, were engaged to declare for that princes.

NORTHUMBERLAND, who had hitherto been blinded by ambition, faw at laft the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himfelf. He had levied forces, which were affembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counfellors, whofe compliance, he knew, had been entirely the refult of fear or artifice, he was refolved to keep near the perfon of the lady Jane, and fend Suffolk to command the army. But the counfellors, who wished to remove him §, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed, and represented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by fuppreffing formerly a rebellion in those parts, was much more proper to command in that enterprize. The Duke himfelf, who knew the flender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himfelf was able to encounter the prefent danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counfellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy \*\*. As he went along, he remarked the difaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iffue to his ambitious hopes. " Many," faid he to lord Grey, who

\* Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 162. Burnet, vol. II. p. 236, 238. Hollingfued, p. 1087. Strype's Mem. vol. III. p. 3. Speed, p. 816. Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. II. p. 237. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. II. p. 239. Fox, vol. III. p. 15. \*\* Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Hollingfued, p. 1086. MAJOMANNYOTZIH

who attended him, " come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, God " speed you t."

THE duke had no fooner reached St. Edmond's-bury, than he found his army, which never exceeded fix thousand men, too weak to encounter the Queen's which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, defiring them to fend him a reinforcement; and the counfellors immediately laid hold of this pretence to free themfelves from their confinement. They left the Tower, as if Lady Jane dethey meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being affembled in ferted by the Baynard's-caftle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning people. the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injuffice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he afferted, that the only method of making atonement for their paft offence, was by a prompt return to the duty which they owed their lawful fovereign §. This motion was feconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his fword, fwore he was ready to fight any man who expressed himfelf of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately fent for, who difcovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding refistance vain, opened the gates, and declared for the Queen. The lady Jane, after wearing the vain pageantry of a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with much more fatisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her \* : And the meffengers who were fent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had defpaired of fuccefs, was deferted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the Queen, with exterior marks of joy and fatisfaction +. The Queen The people every where, on the Queen's approach to London, gave fenfible ex- proclaimed preffions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the and acknow-head of a thousand horse which that princes had levied in order to furner their leged. head of a thoufand horfe, which that princefs had levied, in order to support their joint title against the usurper \*\*.

THE Queen gave orders for taking into cuftody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrefted him, and abjectly begged his life ++. At the fame time were committed, the earl of Warwic, his eldeft fon, Ambrofe and Henry Dudley, two of his younger fons, Sir Andrew Dudley his

§ Ibid. p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. || Godwin, p. 331. 1 Speed, p. 816. \*\* Burnet, vol. II. + Stowe, p. 612. \* Godwin, p. 332. Thuan. lib. xiii. c. 2. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613. + Burnet, vol. II. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingshed, p. 1088.

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his brother, the marquefs of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The Queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, the lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was defirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and becaufe the counfellors pleaded conftraint, as an excufe for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reafonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only defired permiffion to afk two queftions of the peers who were appointed to fit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treafon who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great feal? and whether those who were involved in the fame guilt with himfelf, could act as his judges? Being told, that the great feal of an ufurper was no authority, and that perfons who lay not under any fentence of attainder, were ftill innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury §; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors : Whether that fuch were his real fentiments, which he had formerly concealed, from interest and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the Queen more favourable to his family \*. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, fuffered with him; and this was all the blood fpilt on account of fo dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the fovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any prefent intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the perfons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded fufficiently in their favour.

WHEN Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prifoner during all the last reign; Courtney, fon to the marquess of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the fame punishment ever fince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection  $\dagger$ . They were all of them reftored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's

§ Burnet, vol. II. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 1089. \* Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. III. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614. † Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Holingshed, p. 1088.

22 August. Northumberland executed.

Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in Parliament, was reprefented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his ancestors, without giving any offence, had always made use of in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney received the title of earl of Devonshire; and tho' educated in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accomplishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a confiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, tho' they only regarded individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the Queen endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by granting a general pardon, tho' with some exceptions, and by remitting the fubsidy voted to her brother in the last Parliament and the second se

THE joy arifing from the fucceffion of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanour of the fovereign, hindered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the flate of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, apprehensions were generally entertained of the principles and prejudices of the new Queen. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be fomewhat connected with the papal authority; and as that princefs was educated with her mother, fhe had imbibed the ftrongeft attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheft averfion to those new tenets, whence, fhe believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally fprung. The difcouragements which she lay under from her father, tho' at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended ftill more to increase her difgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a four and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradictions and misfortunes, she posseffed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reafon to dread, not only the abolition, but the perfecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before the difcovered her intentions.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, Vesey, were reinstated in their Catholic relifees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the fame, by the sen-gion restored. tence of commissioners, who were appointed to review their process and condem-Zz nation.

|| Stowe, p. 616.

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Tho' the bishopric of Durham had been diffolved by authority of Parnation. liament, the Queen erected it anew by letters-patent, and replaced Tonftal in his regalities as well as in his revenue. Under pretence of discouraging controversy, she filenced, by her prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except fuch as should obtain a particular licence \*; and it was easy to forse that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Audley of London, and Hooper of Glocefter, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was fent soon after +. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, tho' contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered fuch conftancy in defending the Queen's title, loft all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with fuch feverity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himfelf ‡. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, when they prefumed to plead the promife which the Queen, when they inlifted themfelves in her fervice, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion : One, in particular, was fet in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which the had taken on that occafion. And tho' the Queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her ||, men forefaw, that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble fecurity, when fet in opposition to religious prejudices.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the Queen, during the reign of Henry, had been confiderable; and he had fuccefsfully employed his good offices in mitigating the fevere prejudices which that monarch had entertained againft her \*\*. But the active part which he bore in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and tho' Gardiner had been equally forward in folliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made fufficient atonement by his fufferings in defence of the catholic caufe. The primate, therefore, had reafon to expect little favour during the prefent reign; but it was by his own indifcreet zeal, that he brought on himfelf the firft violence and perfecution. A report being fpread, that Cranmer, in order to make his court to the Queen, had promifed to officiate in the Latin fervice, the archbifhop, to wipe off this afperfion, drew up a manifefto in his own defence. Among other exprefions, he there faid, that as the devil was a lyar from

\* Heylin, p. 23. Fox, vol. III. p. 16. Strype's Mem. vol. III. p. 26.
\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 247. Fox, vol. III. p. 15, 19. Baker, p. 317.
\*\* Ibid. p. 240, 241. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336.

from the beginning, and the father of lies, fo he had at this time flirred up his fervants to perfecute Chrift and his true religion : That that infernal fpirit now endeavoured to reftore the Latin fatisfactory maffes, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effectuate his purpose, had falfely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the scriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but likewife discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the infpired writings, and is befides replete with many horrid blasphemies \*. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prifon, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppofing the Queen's acceffion. Sentence of high treafon was pronounced against him; and tho' his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of most of the others, this fentence, however fevere, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow ; and Cranmer was referved for a more cruel punishment.

PETER Martyr, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, defired leave to withdraw +; and while fome zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded, that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generoufly furnished him with supplies for his journey : But as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public order, and buried in a dung-hill ‡. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the fame time committed to the flames at Cambridge ||. John A-lasco was first filenced, and then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts, and every thing bore a difinal aspect for the reformation.

DURING this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by the protestants from the Parliament, which was fummoned to affemble. A zealous re- 5 October. former + pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections : A Parliament but befides that the authority of this writer is inconfiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government feldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained fuch numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to ZZ2

\* Fox, vol. III. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. II. Coll. Nº 8. Cranm. + Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. || Saunders de Schism. Anglic. 4 Beale. ‡ Heylin, p. 26. Mem. p. 317. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, fays nothing of the matter. See vol. III. p. 16.

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Chap. I. to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give fuch candidates the prevalence in most elections; and all those who fcrupled compliance with the court religion, rather declined taking a feat in the house, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the Queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It foon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons would be oblequious to Mary's defigns; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectation, little opposition was expected from that quarter.

In opening the Parliament, the court flowed a very fignal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, tho' abolifhed by act of parliament \*. Taylor, bifhop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this fervice, was very feverely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house +. The Queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to reftore religion to the fame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were chiefly grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

THE first bill passed by the Parliament, was of a very popular nature, and abolished every species of treason which was not contained in the statute of Edward the third, and every fpecies of felony which did not fublift before the first of Henry the eighth t. The Parliament next declared the Queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer ||, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. The flatutes of King Edward with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote §; and thereby the national religion was replaced on the fame footing on which it ftood at the death of Henry. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reverfed; and this act of justice was much more reafonable than the declaring that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Most of the claufes of the riot act, paffed in the late reign, were revived: A flep which eluded, in a great measure, the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of the Parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houses with the Queen's will, they had still a referve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband was, in particular,

\* Fox, vol. III. p. 19. + Burnet, vol. II. p. 252. † Mariæ, feff. 1. c. 1. By this repeal, tho' it was in general popular, the claufe of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was loft, which recuired the confronting two witness, in order to prove any treason. || Mariæ, fest. 2. c. 1. § 1 Mariæ, feff. 2. C. 12.

particular, of fuch importance to national interest, that they were determined not to fubmit tamely, in that respect, to her will and inclination. There were three marriages\*, concerning which it was supposed that Mary deliberated after her acceffion to the crown. The first perfon proposed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who, being an Englishman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail to be acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging perfor and address, he had gained visibly on the Queen's affections, and hints were dropt him of her favourable difpositions towards him +. But that nobleman neglected these overtures; and feemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whofe youth, and agreeable conversation, he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her fifter. This choice occasioned a great coldness of Mary towards Devonshire; and made her break out in a declared animofity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had funk deep into the malignant heart of the Queen; and after the declaration made by Parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, fhe wanted not a pretence for reprefenting the birth of her fifter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princefs had made fome difficulty of difguifing her fentiments, very violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance. But when the Queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point, which, perhaps, touched her ftill more nearly, her refentment, excited by pride, knew no longer any bounds; and the princefs was vifibly exposed to the greatest danger :.

CARDINAL Pole, who had never taken any but deacon's orders, was another party proposed to the Queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and generofity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul the third II; the Queen's affection for the counters of Salifbury, his mother, who had once been her governefs; the violent animofity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these confiderations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented as unqualified for the buftle of a court, and the hurry of bufiness. The Queen, therefore, dropt all views of that alliance: But as the entertained a great regard for Pole's wifdom and virtue, the full proposed to reap the benefit of his advice in

Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3: † Godwin, p. 339. ‡ Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. II:
p. 255. || Father Paul, book iii. § Heylin, p. 31.

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Chap. I. in the administration of her government. She fecretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Bruffels; she fent affurances to the pope, then Julius the third, of her earnest defire to reconcile herfelf and her kingdoms to the holy fee; and fhe defired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office \*.

THESE two marriages being rejected, the Queen caft her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was defcended, and which, during her greatest diftresses, had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles the fifth, who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercifed his power in fuch an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme difguft to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties and privileges from the encroachments of that monarch +. Religion had ferved him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the fame principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur, and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Heffe, who, by his advice, and on his affurances, had put himfelf into the emperor's hands, should be unjuftly detained prifoner, formed a fecret confpiracy among the protestant princes : and covering his intentions with the moft artificial difguifes, he fuddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his perfon. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their infurrection, aided by an invation from France, reduced the emperor to fuch extremity, that he was obliged to fubmit to articles of peace, which enfured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour, he made an attack on France; and laying fiege to Metz, with an army of an hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprize in perfon, and feemed determined, at all hazards, to fucceed in an undertaking which had attracted the attention of all Europe. But the duke of Guife, who defended Metz, with a garrifon composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted fuch vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the fiege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to perfevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army, into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune which, in his declining years, had fo fatally overtaken him.

No fooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinfwoman, Mary, to the crown of England, than he formed the fcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to compenfate all the loffes which he had fuffered in Germany. His fon, Philip, who was

> \* Burnet, vol. II. p. 2;8. † Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

was a widower, had but one fon by his former marriage; and tho' he was only twenty-feven years of age, eleven years younger than the Queen, this objection, it was thought, might eafily be overlooked, and there was no reafon to defpair of her having still a numerous iffue. The emperor, therefore, immediately fent over an agent to fignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleafed with the fupport of fo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herfelf more clofely with her mother's family, to which the was ever ftrongly attached, readily embraced the propofal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, feconded the project of the Spanish alliance; and represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of ftopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed, that the Parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident fymptoms of jealoufy, and feemed at prefent determined, to grant no further conceffions in favour of the catholic religion : That tho' they might make a facrifice to their fovereign of fome speculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of fome rites, which feemed not of any immediate importance, they had imbibed fuch ftrong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to fubmit to its authority : That the danger of making a refumption of the abbey lands, would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepoffeffions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church : That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point was urged, at the fame time with further changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and infurrection : That the marriage, being once compleated, would give authority to the Queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward that pious work, in which fhe was engaged : And that it was even neceffary previoufly to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and fuch as would feem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire poffession of their ancient laws and privileges \*.

THE emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, affented to all thefe reafons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by reprefenting the neceffity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more fincere in his religious opinions, and lefs guided by the maxims of civil policy, after having fent oppofite

\* Burnet, vol. 11. p. 261.

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fite advice to the Queen, had fet out on his journey to England, where he was to exercife his legantine commiffion; he thought proper to ftop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's confent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage mean-while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions to efpouse Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the Queen by the conceffions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear, that fhe was refolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they feat a committee to remonstrate against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the fame kind, the thought proper to diffolve them.

A CONVOCATION had been fummoned at the fame time with the Parliament ; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanifts, to difpute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubftantiation was the article which. of all others, they efteemed the cleareft, and founded on the most irrefiftible argument, they chose to try their ftrength by defending it. The protestants pufied the difpute as far as the clamour and noife of their antagonifts would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained fome advantage, when, in the courfe of the debate, they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Chrift had, in his laft fupper, held himfelf in his hand, and had fwallowed and eat himfelf\*. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party : The Romanifts maintained, that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adverfaries were blind and obftinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to difpute fuch felf-evident principles; and that the feverest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favorite point, that they foon after renewed the difpute at Oxford; and to show, that they feared no force of learning or capacity, where reafon was fo evidently on their fide, they fent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controvershalifts could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles +. The iffue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the fame place during the reign of Edward.

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AFTER the Parliament and convocation were broke up, the new laws with regard to religion, they had been anticipated, in most places, by the zeal of the

\* Collier, vol. II. p. 356. Fox, vol. III. p. 22. 
† Mem. of Cranm. p. 334. Heylin, p. 50.

the catholics, countenanced by the government, were still more openly put in execution: The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any fpiritual office. It has been afferted by fome writers, that three fourths of the c'ergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; tho' other hiftorians, more accurate +, have efteemed the number of fufferers far short of this proportion. Could any principles of law, justice or reason be attended to, where fuperstition predominates; the priests would never have been expelled for their paft marriages, which at that time were permitted by the laws of the kingdom. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the antient rites. Among other articles the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of fupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice 1. It is to be obferved, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry the eighth, which were still in force.

THIS violent and fudden change of religion infpired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships, to which fo many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Queen's mar-Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal ap-riage with probables for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviete all the Philip. prehenfions for the liberty and independance of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poffible for the intereft and fecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that tho' Philip should have the title of King, the administration should be entirely in the Queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation fhould be made in the English laws, customs and privileges; that Philip should not carry the Queen abroad without her confent, nor any of her children without the confent of the nobility; that fixty thousand pounds a year should be fettled on her as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's fon by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the Queen's iffue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip \*. Such was the treaty of 15th January. marriage figned by count Egmont, and four other ambassadors sent over to England by the emperor.

THESE articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation : It was univerfally faid, that the emperor, in order to get poffeffion of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the a between of 3 A catendates and should be conditions

‡ Collier, vol. II. p. 364. Fox, vol. III. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35-+ Harmer, p. 138. \* Rymer, XV. p. 377. Sleidan, lib. 25.

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Chap. I. conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no ferious intention of obferving them: That the ufual fraud and ambition of that monarch might affure the nation of fuch a conduct; and his fon Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, fullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which ufually exercifed the most violent authority over all her dependant dominions : That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquefts in America there had been difplayed fcenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the hiftory of mankind : That the inquifition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and inftitutions, be introduced into England : And that the divided fentiments of the people with regard to religion would fubject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude \*.

THESE complaints, being diffused thro' the whole people, prepared the nation for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them; the confequences might have proved fatal to the Queen's authority. But the King of France, tho' engaged in hoftilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any propofal for an infurrection; left he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a diftance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some perfons, however, more turbulent than the reft, believed, that it would be fafer to prevent than to redrefs grievances; and they framed a confpiracy to rife in arms, and declare against the Queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat's infur-Wiat propofed to raife Kent, Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raifing the midland counties +. Carew's impatience or apprehentions engaged him to break the concert, and to rife in arms before the day appointed : He was foon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and obliged to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arreft, fuddenly left the town, with his brothers, the lord Thomas, and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raife the people in the counties of Warwic and Leicester; where his interest lay: But he was fo closely followed by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to difperfe his retainers, and being difcovered in his retreat, he was led

· Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. II. p. 268. Godwin, p. 339. + Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340.

led prifoner to London t. Wiat was at first more fuccefsful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the Queen's evil counfellors and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to gather under his ftandard. The duke of Norfolk with Sir Henry Jernegan was fent against him, at the head of the guards and fome other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret : And he came within fight of the rebels at Rochefter, where they had fixed their head quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to defert from them; but having fecretly gained Bret, these two perfons so wrought on the Londoners, that that whole body deferted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enflave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of this example, immediately retreated with his troops and took fhelter in London \*.

AFTER this proof of the difpolitions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed; and he led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the Queen, that she should put the Tower into his hands, should deliver four counfellors as hostages, and in order to enfure the liberty of the nation, immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was fecured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently wasted fo much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical feafon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loft; and tho' he entered Westminster without refiftance, his followers, finding that no perfon of note joined him, infenfibly fell off, and he was at last feized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkley +. Above feventy perfons fuffered for this rebellion : Four hundred were 6th February. conducted before the Queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were difmiffed. Wiat was condemned and exe- Infurrection cuted ; and as it had been reported, that, at his examination, he had accufed the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any fhare in the rebellion.

THE lady Elizabeth had been, during fome time, treated with great harfhnefs by her fifter; and many fludied inftances of difcouragement and difrespect had been practifed against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the counters of Lenox and the dutchefs of Suffolk, as if the were not legitimate, of the roval 3 A 2

\* Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. + Fox, vol. III. p. 30. + Fox, vol. III. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. II. p. 270. Stowe, Holingshed, p. 1094. p. 621.

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royal blood : Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion : And while her virtues, which were now become very eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the Queen still difcovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princefs to retire into the country. Mary feized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her fifter in fome appearance of guilt, fent for her under a ftrong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be very frictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence, which might have offered; and the princefs made fo good a defence, that the Queen found herfelf under a neceffity of difmiffing her \*. In order to fend her out of the kingdom, a marriage was proposed to her with the duke of Savoy; and when the declined giving her confent, the was committed to cuftody, under a very ftrong guard, at Wodeftoke. The earl of Devonshire, tho' equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay caftle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband : The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and tho' the infurgents and malecontents feemed chiefly to reft their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the Queen, incapable of generofity or clemency, was determined to remove every perfon, from whom the leaft danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which fhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which the had been expoled, rendered no unwelcome news to her. The Queen's bigotted zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prifoner's foul, induced her to fend divines, who molefted her with perpetual difputation; and even a reprieve of three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be perfuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had prefence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but alfo to write a letter to her fifter + in the Greek language; in which, befides fending her a copy of the fcriptures in that tongue, the exhorted her to maintain, in every 12th February fortune, a like steddy perfeverance. On the day of her execution, her husband,

the lord Guilford, defired permiffion to fee her; but fhe refufed her confent, and fent him word, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conftancy, which their approaching end required of them: Their feparation, fhe faid, would be only

\* Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. II. p. 273. Fox, vol. III. p. 99, 105. Strype's Mem. vol. III. p. 85. + Fox, vol. III. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166. 8

only for a moment; and they would foon rejoin each other in a fcene, where Chap. I. their affections would be for ever united, and where death, difappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have access to them, or difturb their eternal felicity ‡.

IT had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the fame fcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaffion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that the fhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. Execution of She faw her hufband led to execution; and having given him from the window lady Jane. fome token of her remembrance, fhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even faw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herfelf more confirmed by the reports, which fhe heard of the conftancy of his end, than shaken by fo tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, defired her to beftow on him fome small prefent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her table-book, where she had just wrote three fentences on feeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English \*. The purport of them was, that human juffice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his foul; and that if her fault deferved punifhment, her youth at least, and her imprudence were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the fcaffold, she made a speech to the bye-standers, where the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame entirely on herfelf, without uttering one complaint against the feverity, with which she had been treated. She faid, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with fufficient conftancy : That fhe had lefs erred thro' ambition than thro' reverence to her parents, whom fhe had been taught to refpect and obey: That fhe willingly received death, as the only fatisfaction which fhe could now make to the injured flate; and tho' her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would show, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that fhe was defirous to attone for that difobedience, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That she had justly deferved this punishment for being made the inftrument, tho' the unwilling inftrument, of the ambition of others : And that the ftory of her life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by proving that innocence excufes not great mifdeeds, if they tend any way to the deftruction of the commonwealth. After uttering these words, she caused herself to be difrobed by her women; and with a steddy serene countenance submitted herfelf to the executioner +.

t Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. \* Heylin, p. 167. + Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. III. p. 36, 37. Holingshed, p. 1099.

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THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed foon after; and would have met with more compassion, had not his temerity been the caufe of his daughter's untimely death. The lord Thomas Gray loft his life for the fame crime. Sir Nicholas Throcmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no fatisfactory evidence against him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The Queen was fo enraged at this difappointment, that, inftead of releafing him as the law required, the recommitted him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during fome years. But her refentment ftopped not here : The jury, being fummoned before the council, were all of them fent to prifon, and afterwards fined, fome of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece \*. This illegal violence proved fatal to feveral, among others to Sir John Throcmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had been formerly rejected. The Oueen filled the Tower and all the prifons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her fuspicion. And finding, that the was become extremely odious to the nation, fhe was refolved to difable them from refiftance, by ordering general mufters, and directing the commissioners to feize their arms, and lay them up in forts and caftles.

5th April.

THO' the government laboured under fo general an odium, the Queen's authority had received fuch an increase from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a very compliant disposition in the new Parliament, A Parliament, which was fummoned to affemble. The emperor alfo, in order to facilitate the fame end, had borrowed no lefs a fum than 400,000 pounds which he had fent over to England, to be diffributed in bribes and penfions among the members : A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any inftance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the Queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, refumed her legal title of fupreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the feffion by a fpeech; in which he afferted the Oueen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right to choofe a hufband for herfelf; he observed how proper an use she had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, defcended from the houfe of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry the eighth's posterity, of whom there now remained none but the Queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order to obviate the inconveniences,

> \* Fox, vol. III, p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingfhed, p. 1104, 1121. Strype, vol. III. p. 120.

conveniences, which might arife from different pretenders, it was neceffary to inveft the Queen, by law, with a power of difpoling of the crown, and of appointing her fucceffor: A power, he faid, which was not to be regarded as a new thing in England, fince it had formerly been conferred on Henry the eighth  $\dagger$ .

THE Parliament were much difpofed to gratify the Queen in all her defires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were brought into fuch vifible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which fhe bore the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the houfe of Auftria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to poftpone all confiderations of juffice or national intereft to the effablifhment of the catholic religion: They remarked, that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his fpeech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the Queen's fifter; and they thence concluded, that a defign was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected, that Mary, if invefted with fuch a power as fhe required, would make a will in her hufband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province of the Spanifh monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with thefe projects, when they heard, that Philip's defcent from the houfe of Lancafter was carefully infifted on, and that he was publickly reprefented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

THE Parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a diffance from the precipice, which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage \*, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined paffing any fuch law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not fo much as declare it treafon to imagine or attempt the death of the Queen's hufband, while fhe was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpofe was laid afide after the firft reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of exerting any authority in England, they paffed a law, where they declared, " that her majefty as their only Queen, fhould folely and as a " fole Queen, enjoy the crown and fovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-" eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a " manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the " prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtefy of the realm, or by any other " means ‡."

A LAW paffed in this Parliament for re-erecting the bifhopric of Durham, which had been diffolved by the last Parliament of Edward §. The Queen had already,

+ Carte, vol. III. p. 310, from Ambass. de Noailles. \* 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2. ‡ Ib. cap. 5. § Ib. cap. 3.

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already, by an exertion of her abfolute power, put Tonftal in poffeffion of that fee: But tho' it was ufual at that time for the crown to affume authority which might feem entirely legiflative, it was always effecemed more fafe and fatisfactory to procure the fanction of Parliament. Bills were introduced for fuppreffing erroneous opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the fix articles, together with those against the Lollards, against herefy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws could pass the two houses. A proof, that the Parliament had referves even in their concessions with regard to religion; about which they feem to have been less forupulous. The Queen, therefore, finding that they would not ferve all her purposes, finished the fession by disfolving them.

5th May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whofe arrival fhe hourly expected. This princefs, who had lived fo many years in a very referved and private manner, without any profpect or hopes of a hufband, was fo fmit with affection for her young fpoule, whom fhe had never feen, that fhe waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a fource of anxiety and discontent\*. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and fhe could not conceal her vexation, that, tho' fhe brought him a kingdom for a dowry, he treated her with fuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a fingle letter. Her fondnefs was but the more encreafed by this fupercilious treatment; and when fhe found that her fubjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event, to which she directed her fondeft wifnes, fhe made the whole English nation the object of her refentment. A fquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then refided; but the admiral informing her, that the difcontents ran very high among the feamen, and that it was not fafe for Philip to entruft himfelf into their hands, the gave orders to difmifs them. She then dreaded, that the French fleet, being mafters of the fea, might intercept her hufband; and every rumour of danger, every blaft of wind, threw her into panics and convultions. Her health, and even her underftanding, were visibly impaired by this extreme impatience; and she was ftruck with a new apprehenfion, left her perfon, impaired by time, and blafted by ficknefs, fhould render her lefs acceptable to her future spouse. Her glass discovered to her how hagard fhe was become, and when fhe remarked the decay of her perfon, fhe knew not whether fhe ought more to defire or apprehend the arrival of Philip.

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\* Strype, vol. III. p. 125.

AT laft came the moment fo impatiently expected; and news were brought Chap I. 1554. the Queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton \*. A few days after, they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where 19th July. Philip difplayed his wealth with great oftentation, fhe carried him to Wind-Philip's arfor, the palace in which they afterwards refided. The prince's behaviour livel in Engwas ill calculated to cure the prejudices, which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and referved in his address; took no notice of the falutes even of the most confiderable noblemen; and fo entrenched himself in forms and ceremonies, that he was in a manner inacceffible +: But this circumftance rendered him the more acceptable to the Queen, who defired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondnefs. The fhortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

THE Queen foon found, that Philip's ruling paffion was ambition ; and that the only method of gratifying him and fecuring his affections was to render him mafter of England. The interest and liberty of her people were confiderations of fmall moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She fummoned a new Parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that fhe might acquire the greater authority over them, fhe imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters directing a proper choice of members ‡. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the 12th Novempowers of prerogative, the difcouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons which was, in a great measure, to her fatisfaction ; and it was thought, from the difpolition of the nation, that fhe might now fafely omit, in her fummons of the Parliament, the title of fupreme bead of the church, tho' infeparably annexed by law to the crown of England §. Cardinal Pole was arrived in Flanders, invefted with legantine power from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the Parliament paffed an act, reverling his attainder, and reftoring his blood; and the Queen difpenfing with the old flatute of provifors, granted him permiffion to act as legate. The cardinal 3 B

\* Fox, vol III. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. III. p. 392. Godwin, p 345. We are told by Sir William Monfon, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board ; becaufe they had not lowered their topfails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow feas. A very fpirited behaviour, and very unlike those times.

1 Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. III. p. 154, 155. + Baker, p. 320. § Burnet, vol. II. p. 291. Strype, vol. III. p. 155.

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cardinal came over to London; and after being introduced to the King and Queen, he invited the Parliament to reconcile themfelves and the kingdom to the apoftolic fee, from which they had been fo long and fo unhappily feparated. This meffage was taken in good part; and both houfes voted an addrefs to Philip and Mary, acknowleging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a fincere repentance for their past transgreffions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majefties, that fince they were happily uninfected with that criminal fchifm, they would intercede with the holy father for their absolution and forgiveness ||. Their request was easily granted. The legate, in name of his holinefs, gave the Parliament and kingdom abfolution, freed them from all cenfures, and received them again into the bofom of the church. The pope, then Julius the third, being informed of these transactions, faid, that it was an unexampled inftance of his felicity, to receive thanks from the English, for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing §.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of those times, for and against popery, the object always uppermoft with the nobility and gentry, was the care of their money and eftates; and they were not brought to make these concessions in fayour of Rome, till they had received repeated affurances, from the pope as well as the Queen, that the plunder which they had made of the ecclefiaftics, fhould never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands fhould remain with the prefent poffeffors \*. But not trufting altogether to these promises, the Parliament took care, in the law itfelf+, by which they repealed the former flatutes enacted against the pope's authority, to infert a claufe, in which, befides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the fchifm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave fecurity to the poffeffors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclefiaftical cenfures. The convocation alfo, in order to remove all apprehensions on that head, were induced to prefent a petition to the fame purpose ‡; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the Queen and King, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For the' the jurifdiction of the ecclefiastics was, for the present, restored, their property, on which their power much depended,

 || Fox, vol. III. p. iii. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. II. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247. § Father Paul, lib. iv. \* Heylin, p. 41. † 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. ‡ Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. III. p. 159.

depended, was irrecoverably loft, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even thefe arbitrary, powerful, and bigotted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possefilients for lately loft; and no expedients were left the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practifed, and which had required ages of ignorance, barbarisin, and superstition to operate their effect on mankind ||.

THE Parliament having fecured their own poffessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow citizens; and they revived the old fanguinary laws against heretics \*, which had been rejected in the former Parliament. They also enacted feveral laws against feditious words and rumours +; and they made it treafon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the Queen ‡. Each Parliament hitherto had been induced to go a ftep farther than their predeceffors; but none of them had entirely loft all regard to national interefts. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their fufpicion of Philip's pretenfions, still prevailed; and tho' the Queen attempted to get her hufband declared prefumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands; she failed in all her hopes, and could not fo much as procure the Parliament's confent to his coronation §. All attempts likewife to procure fubfidies from the commons, in order to fupport the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitlefs; and the usual animofity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom, seemed to have given place, for the present, to like paffions against Spain. Philip, fensible of the prepoffessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity, by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction ; the lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the fufpicions or refentment 2B 2

I The pope at first gave cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a refumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's power, and granted him authority to ensure the future possible of the church lands to the prefent proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possible of the whole church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleyan Miscellany, vol. VII. p. 264, 266. It is true, some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration.

+ Ibid. c. 3, 9.

\* 1 & 2 Phil & Mar. c. 6. § Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322. -

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‡ 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 10.

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Chap. I. 1554. refentment of the court #: But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protection of the lady Elizabeth, from the fpite and malice of the Queen, and the reftoring her to her liberty. This meafure was not the effect of any generofity in Philip, a fentiment of which he was wholly incapable; but of a refined policy, which made him forefee, that, if that princefs were put to death, the next lawful heir was the Queen of Scots, whofe fucceffion would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonfhire alfo reaped fome benefit from the affected popularity of Philip, and recovered his liberty : But that nobleman finding himfelf expofed to fufpicion, begged permifiion to travel \*; and he foon after died in Padua, from poifon, as is pretended, given him by the imperialifts. He was the eleventh and laft earl of Devonfhire of that noble family, allied to the royal family of France.

THE Queen's extreme defire of having ifiue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of her pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, fhe fancied, that she felt the embryo ftir in her womb. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptift, who leaped in his mother's belly at the falutation of the virgin +. Difpatches were immediately fent to inform foreign courts of this event : Orders were isfued to give public thanks : Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already fettled ±; for the catholics held themfelves affured that the child was to be a male : And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be faid, that Heaven would pleafe to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation remained still fomewhat incredulous; and men were perfuaded, that the Queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropfy, which the difordered flate of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was still maintained with all possible care; and was one artifice, by which Ph'lip endeavoured to fupport his authority in the kingdom. The Parliament passed a law, which, in cafe of the Queen's death, appointed him protector during the minority; and the King and Queen, finding they could obtain no further conceffions, came unexpectedly to Weftminster Hall, and diffolved them.

16 January.

1555.

THERE happened a remarkable affair this feffion, which must not be passed over in filence. Several members of the lower house, diffatisfied with the meafures of the Parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a

feceffion.

|| Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. II. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. p. 349. + Burnet, vol. II, p. 292. Godwin, p. 348.

\* Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, ‡ Heylin, p. 46.

fecefiion, in order to fhow their difapprobation, and refufed any longer to attend the houfe  $\parallel$ . For this inftance of contumacy they were indicted in the King'sbench after the diffolution of the Parliament : Six of them fubmitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines : The reft trave fed; and the Queen died before the affair was brought to an iffue. Judging of the matter by the fubfequent pretensions of the house of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of a free government, this attempt of the Queen's ministers must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at that time, and was never called in queftion by any future house of commons which fat during this reign.

#### CHAP. II.

THE fuccess which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the Parliament, and engaging them both to approve of the Spanish alliance, and the re-establishment of the ancient religion, two points, to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme averfion, had fo raifed his character for wifdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the Queen's councils; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer fuffered any opposition or controul. Cardinal Pole himfelf, tho' more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and tho' fuperior in birth and flation, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated, before the Queen and council, by thefe two ecclefiaftics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to reftrain, by terror, the bold attempts of these zealots. Pole was very fincere in his religious principles; and tho' his moderation had made him

1 Coke's Inftitutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. III. p. 165.

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him be fufpected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism; he was feriously perfuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no confideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with fuch important interefts. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion fubfervient to his fchemes of fifety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaifance to Henry, he had shown, that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was fufficiently difposed to make a facrifice of his principles to the eftablished theology. This was the well-known character of these two great counsellors; yet fuch is the prevalence of temper above fystem, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advife a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the fevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to fupport, by perfecution, that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference \*. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it foon became the fubject of difcourfe throughout the nation. We shall represent, in a few words, the topics by which each fide supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall difplay the oppofite reafons which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be fo much canvaffed.

Reafons for and against toleration.

THE practice of perfecution, faid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the fcandal of all religion; and the theological animofity, fo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite tenets, is a certain proof, that they have never reached any ferious perfuation with regard to thefe remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowlege and experience give him a perfect affurance of his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the oppofition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith, by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural refult of fo disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then embrace eafily any pretence for representing opponents as impious and prophane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interefts of civil government, they can no longer be reftrained from giving uncontrouled fcope to vengeance and refentment. But furely never enterprize was more unfortunate than that of founding perfecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the fake of peace, to fettle an entire uni'ormity of opinion, in questions which, of all others, are least subjected to the

\* Heylin, p. 47.

the criterion of human reafon. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of Chap. II. one opinion in religious fubjects, can only be owing at first to the stupid ignorance and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or enquiry; and there is no other expedient for maintaining that uniformity, fo fondly fought after, but by banishing for ever all curiofity and all improvement in fcience and cultivation. It may, not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a fteddy feverity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superflition, and the magiftrate to the endless encroachments of ecc'efiaftics, it also renders men so delicate, that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will fometime pay dearly for that falle tranquility in which they have been fo long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too hice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine, that their principles could be contefted, fly out into the moft outrageous violence when any event (and fuch events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rife to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be faid in favour of suppressing, by perfecution, the first beginnings of herefy, no folid argument can be alledged for extending feverity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital punifhments, to extirpate an opinion, which has diffused itself thro' men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of fuch an attempt, it proves commonly ineffectual to the purpofe intended; and ferves only to make men more obstinate in their perfuasion, and to encrease the number of their profelytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and perfecution infpires the fectaries, is the proper difpofition for fostering religious zeal : The profpect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishment : The glory of martyrdom flimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers : Where a violent animofity is excited by oppreffion, men pafs naturally from hating the perfons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrine : And the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are naturally feduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, the mutual hatred relaxes among the fectaries; their attachment to their particular religion decays; the common occupations and pleafures of life fucceed to the acrimony of difputation; and the fame man, who, in other circumstances, would have braved flames and tortures, is engaged to change his religion from the fmalleft prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim

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Chap. II. maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, no way connected with the ancient religion of the flate, is imported from foreign countries, and may eafily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the feeds of future innovations. But as this inftance would involve fome apology for the ancient pagan perfecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought furely, on account of this detefted confequence, to be rather buried in eternal filence and oblivion.

> THO' thefe arguments appear entirely fatisfactory, yet fuch is the fubtility of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to filence, and they still found topics on which to support the controversy. The doctrine, faid they, of liberty of confcience is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and fuppofes fuch an indifference among all religions, fuch an obfcurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magiftrate incapable of diffinguifhing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will furely give a criterion by which they may be afcertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows thefe principles to be perverted, or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poilon, under the shape of bread, to all his fubjects. Perfecution may, indeed, feem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrify often turn into reality; and the children at leaft, ignorant of their parents diffimulation, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is abfurd, in oppolition to confiderations of fuch unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil fociety; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear fo certain and universal in favour of toleration as by fome it is reprefented. Where fects arife, whole fundamental principle on all fides, is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magistrate left but to take party, and by rendering one fect entirely prevalent, reflore, at leaft for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here fickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of found health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ferve only to encourage the hopes of all the fects, and keep alive their animofity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and deteftable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely masters, enacted very severe, tho' not capital, punishments against all exercife of the catholic worship, and even against fuch as barely abstained from their profane rites and facraments. Nor are inftances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned

burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptifts to the Chap. II. flake: And if perfecution of any kind is to be admitted, the most bloody and violent will furely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprifonments, fines, confifcations, whippings, ferve only to irritate the fects, without difabling them from refiftance : But the ftake, the wheel, or the gibbet, muft foon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics, who are inclined to give diffurbance, and in the entire filence and fubmiffion of the reft.

THE arguments of Gardiner being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and tho' Pole pleaded, as is affirmed \*, the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to practife violence against the protestants, and defired her to confider his own example, who, after endeavouring thro' his whole life to extirpate herefy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loofe the laws in their full rigour against the reformed religion; and England was foon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever fince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteftation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion.

THE perfecutors began with Rogers, who was prebendary of St. Paul's, and Violent pera man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was fecution in first to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror wou'd bend to fub-England. miffion, and whole example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude : But he found a perfeverance and courage in Rogers, which it may feem ftrange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all fects, do notwithstanding furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own prefervation, lay under other very powerful temptations to compliance : He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children ; yet fuch was his ferenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is faid, waked him from a found fleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had defired to fee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a prieft; he could not poffibly have a wife: Thus joining infult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield +.

HOOPER, bishop of Glocester, had been tried at the fame time with Rogers; but was fent to his own diocefe to be executed. This circumflance was contrived to firike

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\* Burnet, vol. II. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any fuch advice : For he himfelf was at this very time proceeding with great violence in perfecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. 1. h Strypes vol. Ill. P. abr. and Call He .

+ Fox, vol. III. p. 119. Burnet, vol. II. p. 302.

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Chap. II. Arike a greater terror into his flock; but it was a fource of fatisfaction to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony, by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly taught them. When he was tied to the flake, a flool was fet before him, and the Queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ftill in his power to accept by his recantation : But he ordered it to be removed ; and chearfully prepared himfelf for that dreadful punifhment to which he was condemned. He fuffered it in its full feverity: The wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle eafily: All his lower parts were confumed before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropt off: With the other he continued to beat his breaft : He was heard to pray and exhort the people, till his tongue, fwoln with the violence of the agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conftancy ‡.

SANDERS was burned at Coventry: A pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ftake, faying, " Welcome the crofs of Chrift; " welcome everlasting life." Taylor, parfon of Hadley, was confumed by flames in that place, amidst his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he repeated a pfalm in English : One of his guards struck him on the mouth, and bid him fpeak Latin : Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, possessed of fuch zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engiged in a difpute with an Arian, he fpit in his adversary's face, to show the great detestation which he had entertained against that herefy. He afterwards wrote a treatife to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal; and he faid, that he was led to it, in order to relieve the forrow conceived from fuch horrid blasphemy, and to fignify how unworthy fuch a miscreant was of being admitted into the company of any christian ||. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himfelf, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and fuffered at Smithfield.

THE article upon which almost all the protestants were condemned, was, their refufal to acknowlege the real prefence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would firike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who feemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy fufferers \*. He fometimes whipped the prifoners

1 Fox, vol. III. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. II. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349. 1 Strype, vol. 111. p. 261. and Coll. Nº 58. \* Heylin, p. 47, 48.

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foners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercife: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refufed to refinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the finews and veins shrunk and burst +.

It is needlefs to be particular in enumerating all the horrid cruelties practifed in England during the courfe of three years that thefe perfecutions lafted: The favage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conftancy on the other, are fo fimilar in all thefe martyrdoms, that the narration, very little agreeable in itfelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occafion, fo deteftable, and at the fame time fo abfurd, as in thefe religious perfecutions, which fink men below infernal fpirits in wickednefs, and below the beafts in folly. A few inftances only may be worth preferving, in order, if poffible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid fuch odious and fuch fruitlefs barbarity.

FERRAR, bifhop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocefe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to ‡. Ridley, bifhop of London, and Latimer, formerly bifhop of Worcefter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perifhed together in the fame flames at Oxford, and fupported each other's conftancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the flake, called to his companion, " Be of good comfort, brother, we fhall this day kindle fuch 'a torch in England, as, I truft in God, fhall never be extinguifhed." The executioners had been fo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be afcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tye bags of gunpowder about thefe prelates, in order to put a fpeedy period to their tortures: The explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in an extreme old age: Ridley continued alive during fome time in the midft of the flames **1**.

ONE Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been feduced by a prieft into a difpute, had unwarily denied the real prefence. Senfible of his danger, he immediately concealed himfelf; and Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateft feverities, if he did not produce the young man to ftand his tryal. Hunter, hearing the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily delivered himfelf to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

THOMAS Haukes, when conducted to the flake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a fignal to that purpofe in the midft of the flames. His zeal for the caufe in which he fuffered, fo fupported him, that he ftretched out his arms, the fignal agreed on; and in that pofture  $_{3}C_{2}$  he

+ Fox, vol. III. p. 187. 1 Ibid. p. 216. || Burnet, vol. II. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

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Chap. II. he expired \*. This example, with many others of like conftancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to fuffer, but even to afpire to martyrdom.

> THE tender fex itfelf, as they have commonly a greater propenfity to religion, produced many inftances of the most inflexible courage in fupporting the profeffion of it, against all the fury of the perfecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited aftonishment, by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the flake, was thrown into fuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burft, and fhe was delivered in the midft of the flames. One of the guards immediately fnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to fave it : But a magistrate who flood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he faid, that nothing fhould furvive which fprung from fuch an obstinate and heretical parent +.

> THE perfons condemned to these punishments were not convicted for teaching. or dogmatizing, contrary to the established religion: They were feized merely on fufpicion; and articles being offered them to fubfcribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames t. Those instances of barbarity, fo unufual in the nation, excited horror; the conftancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to fee perfons of probity, of honour, of pious difpolitions, expoled to punishments more fevere than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians, for crimes subverfive of civil fociety. To exterminate the whole protestant party, was known to be imposfible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture, the most confcientious and courageous among them; and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred fermons against popery; and men either avoided fuch horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, tho' fecret, indignation against the perfecutors. Repeated orders were fent from the council, to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching after heretics; and, in some places, the gentry were obliged to countenance, by their prefence, these barbarous executions. The violences tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, fenfible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himfelf by a very grofs artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a fermon in favour of toleration: a doctrine iomewhat

\* Fox, vol. III. p. 265. t Ibid. p. 306.

+ Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. II. p. 337-

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fomewhat extraordinary in a Spanish friar ||. But the court, finding that Bonner, Chap. II. however thamelels and favage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, foon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the Queen, as well as of the King, appeared without controul. A bold ftep was even taken towards the introduction of the inquifition into England. As the bifhops' courts, tho' extremely arbitrary, and not bound by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invefted with fufficient power, a commiffion was appointed by authority of the Queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate herefy. Twenty-one perfons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commiffion runs in these terms; " That fince many falfe rumours were published " among the fubjects, and many heretical opinions were also fpread among them, " therefore they were to enquire into those, either by prefentments by witneffes, " or any other political way they could devife, and to fearch after all herefies; " the bringers in, the fellers, the readers of all heretical books: They were to " examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences, in any church or chap-" pel; and to try all priefts that did not preach the facrament of the altar; all " perfons that did not hear mafs, or come to their parifh church to fervice, that " would not go in proceffions, or did not take holy bread or holy water : And " if they found any that did obstinately perfist in fuch herefies, they were to put " them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiri-" tual laws : Giving the commiffioners full power to proceed, as their difcre-" tions and confciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they " would invent for the fearching of the premifes; empowering them alfo to call, " before them fuch witneffes as they pleafed, and to force them to make oath of " fuch things as might difcover what they fought after "." Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England nearer the practice of the inquifition, letters were written to the lord North, and others, enjoining them, " To put to the torture fuch obstinate perfons as would not confess, and there to " order them at their difcretion +." Secret spies also, and informers, were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Inftructions were given to the juffices of peace, " That they fhould call fecretly before them one " or two honeft perfons within their limits, or more, at their difcretion, and " command them by oath, or otherwife, that they shall fecretly learn and fearch " out fuch perfons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall " defpife openly by words, the King's or Queen's proceedings, or go about to " make

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\* Burnet, vol. II. Coll. 32.

+ Burnet, vol. III. p. 243.

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|| Heylin, p. 56.

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Chap II. " make any commotion, or tell any feditious tales or news. And alfo, that the " fame perfons fo to be appointed, shall declare to the fame justices of peace, " the ill behaviour of lewd difordered perfons, whether it shall be for using un-" lawful games, and fuch other light behaviour of fuch fulpected perfons: And " that the fame information shall be given fecretly to the justices; and the fame " juffices shall call fuch accused perfons before them, and examine them, with-" out declaring by whom they were accufed. And that the fame juffices shall, " upon their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall " appear, upon the acculiment and examination, by their difcretion, either by " open punifhment or by good abearing ‡." In fome refpects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppreffion of the inquifition; by introducing into every part of government, the fame iniquities which that tribunal practifes only for the extirpation of herefy, and which are, in fome meafure, neceffary, wherever that end is earneftly purfued.

But the court had devifed a more expeditious and fummary method of fuppreffing herefy than even the inquifition itfelf. They iffued a proclamation against books of herefy, treafon, and fedition; and declared, " That whofoever had " any of these books, and did not prefently burn them, without reading them, " or fhewing them to any other perfon, fhould be efteemed rebels; and without " any farther delay, be executed by martial law "." From the flate of the Englifh government, during that period, it is not fo much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

WE have thrown together almost the whole transactions against heretics, tho' carried on during a courfe of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as poffible, to return to fuch fhocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and feventy-feven perfons fuffered by fire; befides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who fuffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradefmen, one hundred husbandmen, fervants, and labourers, fiftyfive women, and four chidren. This perfevering cruelty appears aftonishing; vet is it much inferior to what has been practifed in other countries. A great author \* computes, that in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles the fifth was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand perfons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion;

‡ Furnet, vol. III. p. 246, 247. # Burnet, vol. II. p. 363. He, lin, p. 79. \* Father Paul, lib. 5.

gion; and that in France the number had also been confiderable. Yet in both countries, as the fame author fubjoins, the progress of the new opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these perfecutions.

The burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the church of Rome, and little follicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the ftrayed flock, from which he reaped fuch profit : Yet was there a folemn embaffy fent to Rome, confifting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the fubmiffion of England, and beg to be readmitted into the bofom of the catholic church \*. Paul the fourth, after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff, that during feveral ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended, that Mary still retained among her titles, that of Queen of Ireland; and he affirmed that it belonged to him alone, as he faw proper, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old : But to avoid all difpute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and then admitted the title, as if it had been his own conceffion. This was an usual artifice of the popes to give allowance to what they could not prevent +, and then pretend, that perfons, while they exercised their own power, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And tho' Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title, before he would beflow it upon her; he found it wifer to preceed in a more political, and lefs haughty manner 1.

THE other point of difcuffion between the pope and the English ambaffadors was not fo easily terminated. Paul infifted, that the property and posseficitions of the church should be reftored even to the uttermost farthing : That whatever belonged to God, could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every perfon who detained such posseficitions was in a state of eternal damnation : That he would willingly, in confideration of the humble submissions of England, make them a present of these ecclessifical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blass all their future felicity : That if they would truly show their filial piety, they must reftore all the privileges and emoluments of the Roman church, and Peter's pence among the reft; nor could they expect, that that apostle would open to them the gates of Paradife, while they detained from them his possession on earth §. These

\* Heylin, p. 45. + Heylin, p. 45. Father Paul, lib. 5. ‡ Father Paul, lib. 5. & Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45.

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Chap. II. These earnest remonstrances being transmitted to England, tho' they had little 1535. influence on the nation. operated powerfully on the Queen ; and fhe was determined, in order to eafe her confeience, to reftore all the church lands which were fill in the pofferfion of the crown; and the more to express her zeal, the crected anew fome convents and monafteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the public revenues. When this measure was debated in council, fome members objected, that if fuch a confiderable part of the revenue was difmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay : But the Queen replied, that the preferred the falvation of her foul to ten fuch kingdoms as England +. These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place to eafily, had it not been for the death of Cardiner, which happened about this time: The feals were given to Heathe, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiaftic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the perfecutions against the reformed.

THESE perfecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the zift October. effects of the public cifcontents appeared in the new Parliament, which was A Parliament. fummoned to meet at Westminster ‡. A bill was passed \* reftoring to the church the tenths and first fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but tho' this matter directly concerned none but the Queen herfelf, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a fubfidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members faid, that while the crown was thus defpoiling itfelf of its revenues, there was no end of beftowing riches upon it. The Parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating fuch as were remifs in the profecution of herefy from being juffices of peace. The Queen finding the intractable humou of the commons, thought proper to diffolve the Paroth Decemliament.

> THE spirit of opposition, which began to prevail in Parliament, was likely to be the more vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwife in very bad humour on account of her hufband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last fummer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of her husband, added to the disappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep melancholy; and she gave

> + Heylin, p. 53, 65. Hellingsched, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826. 1 Burnet, vol. II. p. 322. \* 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap 4.

gave vent to her fpleen by enforcing daily the perfecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects, by whom she knew her\_ felf to be hated, and whole oppolition, in refuling an entire compliance with Philip, was the caufe, fhe believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her fo little of his company. The lefs return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her paffion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiftles to Philip, who feldom returned her any answer, and scarce deigned to counterfeit any sentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government, to The Queen's which the attended, was the extorting money from her people, in order to extortions. fatisfy his demands; and as the Parliament had granted her but a fmall fupply, she had recourse to expedients the most violent and most irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand perfons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best affured : But that fum not fufficing, fhe exacted a general loan of an hundred pounds apiece on every one who poffeffed twenty pounds a year. This grievous impofition lay very heavy on the gentry, who were obliged, many of them, to retrench their expences, and difmifs their fervants, in order to enable them to comply with her commands : And as these fervants, accustomed to idleness, and having no means of fubfiltance, betook themfelves very commonly to theft and robbery, the Queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their fervice. She levied 60,000 marks from 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan ; and fhe exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage fome Londoners to comply the more willingly with her multiplied extortions, fhe paffed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting any English cloths or kerfeys for Flanders; an expedient which procured a good market for fuch as had already fent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of 40,000 pounds, she diffembled her refentment, till fhe found, that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the fhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to fubmit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after, the was informed, that the Italian merchants had thipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay a crown a piece, the usual imposition: She ftruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in Lon-

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Chap. II. don; prohibited entirely the foreigners to make any exportation; and received, from the English merchants, in confideration of this iniquity, the fum of 50,000 pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great fums abroad ; but her credit ran fo low, that, tho' fhe offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 20,000 pounds, the could not obtain it, till the conftrained the city of London to be furety for her \*. All these violent expedients were employed while she herfelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no other occafion for money but to fupply the demands of a hufband, who attended only to his own convenience, and fhowed himfelf entirely indifferent about her interefts.

refigns his crown.

PHILIP was now become mafter of all the wealth of the Indies, and of the richeft and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary refignation of The emperor the emperor, Charles the fifth, who, tho' flill in the vigour of his age, had taken a difgust to the world, and was determined to feek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happinefs, which he had in vain purfued, amidft the tumults of war, 25th October, and the reftless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and feating himfelf on the throne for the last time, explained to his fubjects the reasons of his refignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen which he imposed upon him +. He inculcated to him the great and only duty of a prince, the fludy of his people's happines; and represented how much preferable it was to govern, by affection rather than fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now difcovered to him the emptinels of his former purfuits; and he found, that the vain fchemes of extending his empire had been the fource of endless opposition and disappointment, had kept himself, his neighbours, and his fubjects in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the fole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care ; an object which meets with no oppofition, and which, if fteddily purfued, can alone convey a lafting and folid fatisfaction.

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A FEW months after, he refigned to Philip his other dominions; and embarking on board a fleet, failed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Juft, a monaftery in Estramedura, which, being fituated in a happy climate, and amidft the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When

\* Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. II. p. 359. Carte, p. 330, 333, 337, 341. Strype's Memor. vol. III. p. 428, 558. Annals, vol. I. p. 15. + Thuan. lib.XVI. c. 20.

When he arrived at Burgos, he found, by the thinnefs of his court, and the ne- Chap. IL gligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and tho' this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily defpife what he had renounced, he fighed to find that all the former adulation and obeifance had been paid to his fortune, not to his perfon. With better reafon, was he ftruck with the ingratitude of his fon Philip, who allowed him to wait a long time for the payment of the fmall pension which he had referved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a very fenfible concern. He purfued however his refolution with inflexible conftancy; and fhutting himfelf up in his retreat, he exerted fuch felfcommand, that he reftrained even his curiofity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities under which he laboured, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leifure either in examining the controverfies of theology, with which his age had been fo much agitated, and which he had hitherto confidered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artifts, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is faid to have here difcovered a propenfity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his fentiments. Having amused himself with the conftruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was, in which he had fo much employed himfelf during his grandeur; and how impoffible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the fame belief and opinion. He furvived his retreat two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing fuch diftant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be elected King of the Romans; with a view of his fucceeding to the imperial dignity, as well as to his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his views, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regreted, that he must difmember fuch confiderable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest follicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitlefs, he had refigned the imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that, tho', on the death of an emperor, he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in the cafe of a refignation, the right devolved to the holy fee, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. 3 D 2 Hanith to Smalles Protein Joy

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Chap. II. emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretenfions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambaffadors, that he food in no need of the affiftance of any prince, that he was above all potentates of the earth, that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him, that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms, that he was fucceffor of those who had deposed kings and emperors, and that, rather than fubmit to any thing below his dignity, he would fet fire to the four corners of the world. He went fo far, that at table, in the prefence of many perfons, and even openly, in a public confiftory, he faid, that he would not admit any Kings for his companions; they were all his fubjects, and he would hold them under these feet : So faying, he flamped the ground with his old and infirm limbs : For he was now past fourscore years of age \*.

THE world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles the fifth, a prince, who, tho' educated amidst wars and intrigues of flate, had prevented the decline of age, and had defcended from the throne, in order to fet apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a prieft, who in the extremity of old age exulted in his dominion, and from reftlefs ambition and revenge was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animofity against the house of Austria; and tho' a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by his follicitations to break it, and promifed to affift him in recovering Naples and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved fatal to his predeceffors. He himfelf engaged in hoftilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and the duke of Guife being fent with forces to fupport him, the renewal of war between the two crowns feemed almost inevitable. Philip, tho' lefs warlike than his father, was no lefs ambitious; and he trufted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his caution and fecrecy and prudence gave him the fuperiority, he fhould be able to fubdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the defire of settling his new empire, he was defirous to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without facrificing his honour, it was impoffible for him to overlook the hoftile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himfelf the more advantage, he was defirous to embark England in the quarrel; and tho' the Queen was of herfelf extremely averfe to that defign, he hoped, that the devoted fondness, which, notwithstanding repeated inftances of his indifference, fhe still bore him, would effectually fecond his applications. Had the matter indeed depended folely on her, fhe was incapable of re-T fifting

\* Father Paul, lib. 5.

fifting her hufband's commands; but fhe had little weight with her council, ftill Chap. II. lefs with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, feemed unable to fupport itfelf even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war was kindled with France, and what feemed an inevitable confequence, with Scotland, fupported by that powerful kingdom.

An act of barbarity was this year exercifed in England, which, added to many other inftances of the fame kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained a prifoner; but the Queen was now Execution of determined to bring him to punifiment; and in order the more fully to fatiate Cranmer. her vengeance, fhe refolved to punish him for herefy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to ftand his trial at Rome ; and tho' he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent down to Oxford to degrade him; and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation, which fuited his favage nature \*. The revenge of the Queen, not fatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which the believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful fentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to feek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perfons were employed to attack him, not in the way of difputation, against which he was fufficiently armed; but by flattery, infinuation and addrefs; by reprefenting the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity +. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the profpect of those tortures which awaited him ; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the fentiments of nature to prevail over his refolution, and he agreed to fign a paper, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal fupremacy and of the real prefence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation fhould avail him nothing; and they fent orders, that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately led to execution. Cranmer, whether, that he had received a fecret intimation of their defign, or had repented 21st March. of his weaknefs, furprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He faid, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed his fovereign and the laws, but this duty extended no farther than to fubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear without refiftance whatever hardfhips they fhould impose upon him : That a fuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to fpeak truth

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\* Mem. of Cranm. p. 375.

+ Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

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truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the fupreme being had revealed to mankind : That there was one mifcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he feverely repented; the infincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to confent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him : That he took this opportunity of attoning for his error, by a fincere and open recantation; and was willing to feal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: And that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the ftake amidft the infults of the catholics ; and having now fummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their fcorn as well as the torture of his punishment with fingular fortitude. He ftretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least fign of weakness or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely confumed. His thoughts feemed entirely occupied with reflections on his former fault; and he called aloud feveral tim. s, This hand has offended. Satisfied with that attonement, he then difcovered a ferenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he feemed to be wholly infenfible of his outward fufferings, and by the force of hope and refolution to have collected his mind altogether within itfelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was confumed, his heart was found entire and untouched among the ashes; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his conftancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; poffeffed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, fincerity and beneficence, and all those virtues, which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal refpect; and the courage of his martyrdom, tho' he fell fhort of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party \*.

AFTER Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken prieft's orders, was inftalled in the fee of Canterbury; and was thus by this office, as well as his commiffion of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But tho' he was averfe to all the fanguinary methods of converting heretics, and effeemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpofe<sup>+</sup>; he found his authority too weak to oppofe the barbarous and bigotted difpofition of the Queen and of her counfellors. He himfelf, he knew, had been fufpected of Lutheranifm; and as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious perfecutor and his perfonal enemy, he was prompted, by the modefty of his difpofition,

\* Burnet, vol. II. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352. + Burnet, vol. 1I. 324, 325.

fition, to referve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater proba- Chap. II. bility of fuccels \*.

THE great object of the Queen was to engage the nation in the war, which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counfellors, very openly and zealoufly opposed this measure. Befides infifting on the marriage articles, which provided against fuch an attempt, they reprefented the violence of the domettic factions in England, and the difordered flate of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependance on Spanish councils. Philip had come to London in order to support his partizans; and he told the Queen, that, if he was not gratified in fo reafonable a requeft, he never more would fet foot in England. This declaration heightened extremely her zeal for promoting his interefts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, the threatened to difmifs them all from the board, and to appoint counfellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At last, one Stafford and fome other confpirators were detected in a defign of furprizing Scarborow +; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in that attempt, the Queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoftility, with others of a like fecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War war with was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where France. made for attacking that kingdom.

THE revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds 1. Any confiderable supplies could scarce be expected from Parliament, confidering the present disposition of the nation; and as the war would fensibly diminish the branch of the cuftoms, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of the government; much more, prove unequal to the vast expences of war. But tho' the Queen owed great arrears to all her fervants, besides the loans extorted from her subjects; these confiderations had no influence on her, and fhe continued to levy money in the fame arbitrary and violent manner, which fhe had formerly practifed. She obliged the city of London to fupply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; fhe levied before the legal time the fecond year's fubfidy voted by Parliament; fhe iffued anew many privy feals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equiped a fieet.

+ Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. II. p. 351. \* Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. 11. p. 327. ‡ Roffo, Succeffi d'Inghilterra. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

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Chap. II. a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she feized all the corn fhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, affisted by the power of preffing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she fent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diffurbance at home, many of the most confiderable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and left they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed : They were either carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them ||.

THE King of Spain had affembled together an army, which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above fixty thousand strong, commanded by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppofe him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourg and Rocroy, fat down fuddenly before St.'Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided of a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But the admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to fave fo important a fortrefs, threw himfelf into St. Quintin, with fome troops of French and Scotch genfdarmes; and by his exhortation and example animated the foldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle, the constable, defiring a fupply of men; and that general approached the place with his 10th August. whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these fuccours. But the duke of Savoy falling on the reinforcement, committed fuch flaughter upon them, that Battle of St. not above five hundred men got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to a total rout, killing four thousand men, and difperfing the reft. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either flain or taken prifoners: Among the latter was the old conftable himfelf, who fighting valiantly, and refolute to die rather than furvive his defeat, was furrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into confternation : Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards prefently marched thither, it could not fail to have fallen into their hands. But Philip was very little enterprizing in his character; and he was determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to fecure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny still pro-

> Some treops

Il Strype's Ecclef. Memorials, vol. III. p. 377.

longed the fiege feventeen days, which proved the fafety of France.

troops were levied and affembled. Couriers were fent to call the duke of Guife and his army from Italy: And the French having recovered from their first alarm, put themfelves in a pofture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Caftelet, found the feason fo far advanced, that he could attempt no farther enterprize, and he broke up his camp and retired to winter quarters.

But the vigilant activity of Guife, not fatisfied with fecuring the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to attempt an enterprize which France, during her greateft fucceffes, had always regarded as impofible, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, efteemed an impregnable fortrefs; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could eafily be fuccoured, the recovery of that place by France, was confidered as totally defperate. But Coligny had remarked, that, as the town of Calais was furrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except buthe French by the French. over a dyke guarded by two caftles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the Englifh were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to difmifs a great part of the garrifon at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the fpring, at which time alone they judged their attendance neceffary. On this circumflance he had founded his defign of making a fudden attack on the place; he had caufed it to be fecretly furveyed by fome engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it ferved, tho' he himfelf was made prifoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to fuggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the conduct of the duke of Guife.

SEVERAL bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers under various pretences; and the whole being fuddenly affembled, formed an army with which the duke of Guife made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the fame time a great number of French ships, being ordered, into the channel, under colour of cruizing on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French affaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebufiers; and tho' the garrifon made a vigorous defence, they were foon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat towards Newnam bridge. The fiege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the fame time the fleet battered the rifbank, which guarded the entry of the harbour; and both these cafles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer, but finding that the greater part of his weak garrifon was enclosed in Newnam or the rifbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their affiftance, he was utterly unable to defend. The garrifon of Newnam bridge were fo happy as to effectuate this purpole; but that of the rifbank

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Chap II. bank could not obtain fuch favourable conditions, and were obliged to furrender themfelves prifoners. Door and donorda out back swin

> THE duke of Guile, now holding the place blockaded by fea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize; but in order to prevent all accidents, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He pointed his batteries towards the caftle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the foffee, he commanded an affault, which fucceeded, and the French made a lodgment in the caftle. On the night following Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it \*, he found his garrifon fo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham, and Guifnes fell foon after; and thus the duke of Guife, in eight days, during the depth of winter, recovered this important place, that had coft Edward the third a fiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very campaign been victorious in the battle of Creffy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them, whenever they pleafed, an entry into France, it was regarded as the most important poffeffion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by the duke of Guife, who, at the time that all Europe imagined France to be funk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in oppofition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former King of France, even during the diffractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the imprudence of the Queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitlefs war, for the fake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to fo fevere a difgrace. A treafury exhausted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a fovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumftances which, notwithftanding the fair offers made by Philip, gave them fmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scotch, inftigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conqueits.

Affairs of Scotland.

AFTER the peace, which, in confequence of King Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the Queen-dowager, under pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and the carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marifchal, and many of the principal nobility. Her fecret defign was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to refign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers,

\* Thuan. lib. xx. c. 2.

brothers, the duke of Guife, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke d' Aumale, Chap. II., had uncontrouled authority in the court of France, fhe eafily perfuaded Henry, and by his means the Scotch nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained over Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, the perfuaded him, by their means, to confent to this refignation +; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpofe, she took her journey to Scotland, and passed thro' England in her way thither. Edward received her with great refpect and civility; tho' he could not forbear attempting a renewal of the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he faid, fo happily calculated for the tranquillity, intereft, and fecurity of both kingdoms, and the only means of enfuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other hufband whom she should choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the fame time that he difappointed fo natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earlieft infancy, had been entirely engaged. The Queen eluded these applications, by telling him, that if any measures had been taken difagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerfet, who, inftead of employing courtefy,

careffes, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princefs, had had recourfe to arms and violence, and had confirained the Scotch nobility to fend their fovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independance 1.

WHEN the Queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be perfuaded to refign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princefs was approaching, and that the Queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to fubmit; and having flipulated, that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and fhould be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in poffession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent ||. It was an usual faying of this princefs, that provided she could render her friends happy, and could enfure to herfelf a good reputation, the was entirely indifferent what befel her; and tho' this fentiment is greatly cenfured by the zealous reformers\*, as being founded wholly on fecular motives, it difcovers a mind well calculated for the administration of kingdoms. D' Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaffador from Henry, but in reality 3E 2

+ Buchannan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotfwood, p. 92. 1 12 April 1554. \* Knox, p. 83. ‡ Keit's, p. 59-

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Chap. II. reality to affift her with his counfels in fo delicate an undertaking as the government of Scotland; and this man had formed a fcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repulse the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scotch nobility. But tho' fome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general difcontent to the nation; and the Queen-regent, after ingenuoufly confeffing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to defift from it, and to truft entirely for her fecurity to the goodwill and affections of her fubjects +.

THIS laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was the fometimes drawn from it by her connections with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary declared war against that kingdom, Henry required the Queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scotch nobles, who were as jealous of French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their affent; and the Queen was obliged to have recourfe to artifice, in order to effectuate her purpose. She ordered d' Oifel to begin some fortifications at Eymouth, a place which had been difmantled by the laft treaty with Edward; and when the garrifon of Berwic, as the forefaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, the effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scotch nation, and to engage them in hoftilities against England 1. The enterprize, however, of the Scotch proceeded no farther than fome inroads on the borders; and when d'Oifel, of himfelf, conducted artillery and troops to befiege the caftle of Werke, he was recalled, and very fharply rebuked by the council ||.

Marriage of the dauphin of Scots.

In order to connect Scotland more clofely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to compleat the and the Queen marriage between the young Queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was fent by the Scotch Parliament, 10 affift at this ceremony, and to fettle the terms of the contract. This deputation confifted of the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Ross and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes, and Cassilis, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, natural brother to the Queen, and Erskine of Dun. The principal conditions recommended to these commissioners, was to obtain a folemn engagement from the Queen and dauphin, that they would preferve the laws and privileges of Scotland, and to procure a renewal of the French King's promife, to fupport, in cale of the Queen's death, the

> + Keith, p. 70. Buchan. lib xvi. || Knox, p. 93.

‡ Buchan. lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.

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the fucceffion of the earl of Arran, now created duke of Chatelraut. Both these Chap. IR conditions were eafily obtained; but the court of France took a very perfidious 15580 ftep, directly contrary to thefe ftipulations: They fecretly engaged the young Queen to fign three papers; by one of which fhe made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the King of France, in cafe of her deceafe without children ; by another fhe mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or fuch greater fum as he fhould have expended for her maintenance and fupport; and by a third fhe declared, that whatever deed she had been obliged, or should hereafter be obliged to perform, relative to the fucceffion of the crown, it should be entirely invalid, and that her real fenfe and intention was contained in the first paper. The marriage was fo- 24 April. lemnized at Paris: The commiffioners, in the name of the flates of Scotland, fwore allegiance to the Queen, and, during the continuance of the marriage, to the King-dauphin, fo he was called: And every thing feemed to proceed with great unanimity and concord. But the commissioners being required to deliver up the crown, and other enfigns of royalty, made answer, that they had received no authority for that purpose; and they soon after set out on their journey for Scotland. It is remarkable, that before they embarked, four of the commissioners died, within a few days of each other; and a violent, tho' abfurd fuspicion prevailed, that they had been poifoned by orders from the family of Guife, on account of this refufal\*. It was not confidered, that that accident, however rare, might have happened by the course of nature; and that the present feason, tho' not attended with any pesti ential disorder, was, to a fingular degree, unhealthy all over Europe.

THE clofe alliance between France and Scotland threatned very nearly the repofe and fecurity of England; and it was forefeen, that, tho' the factions and diforders which might naturally be expected in the Scotch government during the abfence of their fovereign, made its power lefs formidable, that kingdom would at leaft afford to the French a means of invading England. The Queen, therefore, found it <sub>2</sub>oth Januaryneceffary to fummon a Parliament, and to demand of them fome fupplies to her ex- A Parliamenthaufled exchequer. As fuch an emergency ufually gives great advantage to the people, and as the Parliaments, during this reign, had fhewn, that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom were menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we fhall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money fhould, at leaft, be cenfured, and, perhaps, fome remedy be for the future provided againft them. But fuch an exorbitant prerogative was at this time acknowleged to belong to the crown, that, tho' menmight complain of its prefent abufes, all attempts to retrench it would have been regarded

Buchan. lib. xvi. Keith, p. 75. Spotfwood, p. 95,

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Chap. II. regarded as the most criminal enterprize; and as that prerogative involved. a large diferentionary power, any parliamentary enquiry into its exercife, would have paffed for infolent and prefumptuous. The commons, therefore, without making any reflections on the past, voted, befides a fifteenth, a subfidy of four fhillings in the pound on land, and two fhillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable in four years by equal portions.

THE Parliament alfo paffed an act, confirming all the fales and grants of crown lands, which were either made already by the Queen, or fhould be made during the feven enfuing years. It was easy to foresee, that, in the Queen's present difpolition and lituation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the crown lands; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than a prince armed with very extensive authority, and yet reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the Queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alienate the crown from the lawful heir : But his words were thought irreverent to her majefty: He was committed to the cuftody of the ferjeant at arms; and tho? he expressed forrow for his offence, he was not released till the Queen was applied to for his forgiveness.

THE English nation, during this whole reign, were in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the fucceffion, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the Queen bore her, broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princefs retired into the country ; and knowing that fhe was furrounded with fpies, fhe paft her time wholly in reading and fludy, intermeddled in no bufiness, and faw very little company. While the remained in this fituation, which was for the prefent very melancholy, but which prepared her mind for those great actions by which her life was afterwards fo much diffinguished; propofals of marriage were made her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name. As her first question was, whether the Queen had been informed of this propofal; the ambaffador told her, that his mafter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herfelf; and having obtained her confent, he would next, as a King, apply to her fifter. But the princefs would allow him to proceed no further; and the Queen, after thanking her for this inftance of duty, defired to know how the flood affected to the Swedish propofal. Elizabeth, tho' exposed to many prefent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to referve herfelf to better fortune; and the covered her refufal with professions of a passionate attachment to a fingle life, which, she faid, she infinitely 8

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infinitely preferred before any other \*. The princefs showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the prefent modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject +.

THE money granted by Parliament, enabled the Queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty fail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying fix thousand land forces on board, was fent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was fo dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the defign, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Breft too well guarded to make an attempt on that place; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town with fome adjoining villages, and were proceeding to commit greater diforders, when Kerfimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of fome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their fhips with confiderable lofs. But a fmall fquadron of ten English ships, had an opportunity of amply revenging this difgrace upon the French. The Mareschal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a paffage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport. But count Egmont coming fuddenly upon him, with fuperior forces, he was obliged to retire; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, he chofe very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions poffible; and poffed his right along the river Aa, which, he reafonably thought, gave him a full fecurity from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noife of the firing, failed up the river, and flanking the French, did

\* Burnet, vol. II. Collect. Nº 37.

+ The common net at that time, fays Sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real prefence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being asked one time what the thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, whether the thought it the true body of Christ that was in the facrament; it is faid, that, after fome pausing, the thus answered:

Chrift was the word that fpake it ; He took the bread and brake it ; And what the word did make it, That I believe and take it.

Which, tho' it may feem but a flight expression, yet hath it more folidness than at first fight appears; at least it ferved her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

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Chap. II. did fuch execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a compleat victory 1.

> MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guife, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached very near each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two Kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected that fome great and important event would follow, from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, tho' actuated by the ambition, poffeffed not the enterprize, of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by a treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were fomewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the reftitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England : But in the midft of these negociations and debates, news arrived of the death of Queen Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his inftances on that capital article. This was the only circumftance which could have made the death of that princefs a lofs to the kingdom.

MARY had been long in a very declining flate of health; and having miftaken her dropfy for a pregnancy, the had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her : The confcioufnefs of being hated by her fubjects, the profpect of Elizabeth's fucceffion. apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais , concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who, she knew, intended soon to depart for Spain, and to fettle there during the reft of his life: All these melancholy circumftances preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of Death of the which fhe died, after a fhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, 17 November. and eleven days.

> IT is not neceffary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princefs. She poffeffed few qualities, either estimable or amiable; and her perfon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addrefs. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumftance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underftanding. And

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#### 1 Holingshed, p. 1150.

|| The lofs of Calais fo much affected her, that the faid to her attendants, that when the was dead, they would find Calais at her heart.

amidft that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall fcarce find any virtue but fincerity; a quality, which she feems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceffity of her affairs obliged her to make fome promises to the protestants, which she certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigotted woman, under the government of priest, easily finds casuality fufficient to justify to herfelf the violation of an engagement. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been sufceptible of fome attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were for remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that, in many circumstances of her life, she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality, which feems to have been inherent in her family.

CARDINAL Pole had been long in a declining flate of health from an intermiting fever; and he died the fame day with the Queen, about fixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modefty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerfally beloved; infomuch that in a nation, where the moft furious perfecution was carried on, and the moft violent religious factions prevailed, entire juffice, even by moft of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul the fourth, had entertained fome prejudices againft him; and when England declared war againft Henry, the ally of that pope, he feized the opportunity of revenge, and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar and confessor to the Queen-But Mary would never permit the new legate to exercise his power; and Paul was afterwards obliged to reftore cardinal Pole to his authority.

THERE occur few general remarks, befides what have been taken notice of in the courfe of our narration, with regard to the general flate of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then fo inconfiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet by the treasurer and admiral, both for repairing and victualling it, they computed, that, when that money was expended, ten thousand pounds a year would afterwards answer all neceffary charges \*. The arbitrary proceedings of the Queen, abovementioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princes, as well as by her father, checked very much the growth of trade; and fo much the more, that all other princes in Europe either were not permitted or did not find it neceffary to act in fo tyrannical a manner. Acts of Parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the prefent, had laid the fame impositions on the merchants of the fill-yard as on other aliens: Yet the Queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the  $_3 F$ 

\* Burnet, vol. III. p. 259.

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Chap. II. follicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, fufpended thefe acts of Parliament +. No body in that age pretended to queffion this exercife of the Prerogative. The historians are entirely filent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

> An abfurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unlefs he had ferved an apprenticefhip for feven years. This law was repealed in the first year of the Queen's reign; and this plain reafon given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woolen manufactory, and had ruined feveral towns 1. It is ftrange that Edward's law fhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ftill more ftrange, that it fhould ftill fubfift.

> A PASSAGE to Archangel, by the north of Nova Zembla, had been difcovered by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been eftablished. A solenn embassy was sent by the Czar to Queen Mary. The ambaffadors were fhipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received at London with great pomp and folemnity \*. This feems to have been the first intercourse, which that empire had with any of the weftern potentates of Europe.

> A LAW was paffed in this reign ||, by which the number of horfes, arms, and furniture, was established, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided of for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charges. fix horfes fit for demi-lances, of which three at leaft to be furnished with fufficient harneffes, steel faddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten light horfes fit for light horfemen, with furniture and weapons requilite for them : He was also obliged to have forty corflets furnished ; fifty almain rivets, or inftead of them, forty coats of plate, corflets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty fheafs of arrows, thirty fteel caps or fkulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions or fallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand merks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a year : A proof that few or none at that time lived on their flock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the courfe of their trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a year.

> + Rymer, vol. XV. p. 364. 1 1 Mar. Parl. 2, cap. 7. \* Hollingsched, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71. 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.

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