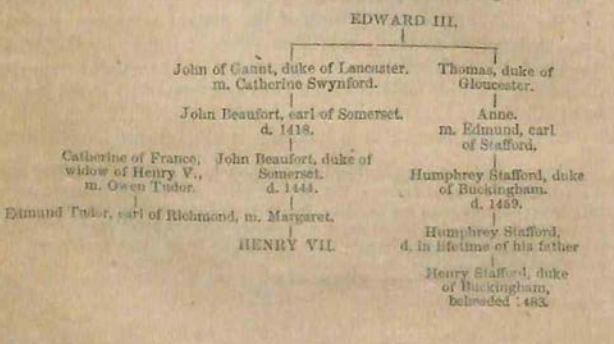
of the nation towards Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. Margaret, Richmond's mother, assented to the plan without hesitation; whilst on the part of the queen dowager, the desire of revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation, of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, who was at present detained in Brittany in a kind of honourable custody, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family. The plan was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England: and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. The duke of Buckingham took arms in Wales, and gave the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England.

Genealogy of Henry of Richmond and of the duke of Buckingham:—



heavy rains having rendered the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, impassable, the Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Banister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age (Nov. 3, 1483). The other conspirators immediately dispersed themselves. The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of 5000 men levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

The king, everywhere triumphant, ventured at last to summon a parliament, which had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown: and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence. Richard's consort, Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison. He now proposed, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse himself the princess Elizabeth, and thus to unite, in his own family, their contending titles.

§ 12. Being exhorted by his partisans to prevent this marriage by a new invasion, and having received assistance from the court of France, Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, with a small army of about 2000 men; and after a navigation of six days he arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition (Aug. 7, 1485). The earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partisans.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry at the head of 6000 men, Richard with an army of above double the number. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, who, without declaring himself, had raised an army of 7000 men, and had so posted himself as to be able to join either party, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and, descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death, or his own, would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands sir

William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and detestable enormities (Aug. 22, 1485). The body of Richard was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Grey Friars' church of that place.

The historians who lived in the subsequent reign have probably exaggerated the vices of the monarch whom their master overthrew; and some modern writers have attempted to palliate the crimes by which he procured possession of the crown. It is certain that he possessed energy, courage, and capacity; but these qualities would never have made compensation to the people for the precedent of his usurpation, and for the contagious example of vice and murder exalted upon a throne. His personal appearance has even been a subject of warm controversy; for while some writers represent him as of a small stature, humpbacked, and with a harsh disagreeable countenance, others maintain that he had a pleasing expression, and that his only defect was in having one shoulder a little higher than the other.

§ 13. The reign of the house of Plantagenet expired with Richard III on Bosworth-field. The change of a dynasty forms of itself no historical epoch; but in a limited or constitutional monarchy this change is generally accompanied by some revolution in the state, which gives it the character of a true historical era. The reigns of Henry VII., and his successors of the house of Tudor, bear a distinct character from those of the Plantagenet princes. The exhaustion of the kingdom through the protracted wars of the roses, and the almost entire annihilation of the greater English nobility, enabled the Tudors to rule with a despotism unknown to their predecessors.

The period of the Plantagenets forms on the whole one of the most important and interesting epochs of English history. In it were established all those institutions by which our liberties are secured. The leading political feature which it presents is the gradual development of the English constitution out of feudalism. The first ostensible act which marks our regenerated nationality is the Great Charter wrung from the pusillanimous and tyrannical John. "From this era," says Mr. Hallam,* "a new soul was infused into the people of England. Her liberties, at the best long in abeyance, became a tangible possession; and those indefinite aspirations for the laws of Edward the Confessor were changed into a steady regard for the Great Charter." In the subsequent struggles for our liberties

* Middle Ages, ii. p. 329

Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. From their monument in Westminster Abbey

BOOK IV.

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

A.D. 1485–1603.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY VII. A.D. 1485–1509.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of HENRY VII. His coronation, marriage, and settlement of the government. § 3. Discontents. Invasion of Lambert Simnel, and battle of Stoke. Coronation of the queen. § 4. Foreign affairs. Peace of Estaples. § 5. Perkin Warbeck. Execution of lord Stanley. § 6. Further attempts of Perkin. Cornish insurrection, and battle of Blackheath. § 7. Perkin again invades England, is captured, and executed. Execution of Warwick. § 8. Marriage and death of prince Arthur. Marriage of the princess Margaret. Oppression of Empson and Dudley. § 9. Matrimonial intrigues of Henry. Death and character of the king. § 10. Miscellaneous occurrences.

§ 1. THE accession of the Tudors to the English throne is nearly coincident with the proper era of modern history. The final important change in the European populations had been effected by the

settlement of the Turks at Constantinople in 1453. The improvement in navigation was soon to lay open a new world, as well as a new route to that ancient continent of Asia, whose almost fabulous riches had attracted the wonder and cupidity of Europeans since the days of Alexander the Great. Hence was to arise a new system of relations among the states of Europe. The commerce of the East, previously monopolised by the Venetians and Genoese, began to be diverted to the Western nations; its richest products to be rivalled by those of another hemisphere. The various European states, having consolidated their domestic institutions, were beginning to direct their attention to the affairs of their neighbours. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, in the reign of Henry VII., is justly regarded as the commencement of the political system of Europe, or of that series of wars and negociations among its different kingdoms which has continued to the present day. The house of Tudor, lifted to the throne by the civil wars, and strengthened by the very desolation which they had occasioned, was enabled to play an effective part upon the continent, and to lay the foundation of that European influence which England still commands.

Besides the advantages derived from commerce, the intercourse of nations is beneficially felt in their mutual influence upon opinion and the progress of society. Europe, first cemented into a whole by the conquests of the Romans, derived a still firmer bond of union from its common Christianity. In the darkness of the middle ages that sacred tie had been abused for the purposes of secular avarice and ambition; and Rome, by the power of superstition, ruled once more over the prostrate nations. The seeds of a reformation, choked in England by political events, were carried to the continent, whence this country received the fruits which had found their first nurture in her own bosom. The distinguishing historical feature of the reign of the Tudors is the progress and final establishment of the Reformation. That great revolution was accompanied with an astonishing progress in manners, literature, and the arts; but above all it encouraged that spirit of civil freedom, by which, under the house of Stuart, the last seal was affixed to our constitutional liberties.

§ 2. The victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive; sir William Stanley placed upon his head the crown which Richard wore in battle; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters of the field (Aug. 22, 1485). Henry was now in his 30th year. He had, as we have already seen, no real title to the crown; but he determined to put himself in immediate possession of regal authority, and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should be able to expel him. He brought to the throne all the bitter feelings of the

Lancastrians. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were the favourite objects of his pursuit; and through the whole course of his reign he never forgot these early prepossessions. His first command after the battle of Bosworth was to secure the person of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, who had been put to death by his brother Edward IV. Henry immediately afterwards set out for the capital. His journey bore the appearance of an established monarch making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The promise he had made of marrying Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., seemed to insure a union of the contending titles of the two families; but though bound by honour as well as by interest to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognised by parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster. On the 30th of October Henry was crowned at Westminster by cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury. The parliament, which assembled soon after, seemed entirely devoted to him. It was enacted "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king;" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or to give the preference to that of Lancaster. In the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of his title. The parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself and many of the nobility. Henry bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him; but the ministers whom he most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, who had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses, were called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created bishop of Exeter. The former, soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. At the beginning of the following year the king's marriage was celebrated at London (Jan. 18, 1486), and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked, with much displeasure, this general favour borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquil

during his whole reign, but bred disgust towards his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments.

In the course of this year an abortive attempt at insurrection was made by lord Lovel and some other noblemen; but though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular, the effects of which soon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest who possessed some subtlety, and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of 15 years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had escaped from the cruelty of his uncle, 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 so fondly cherished by the public; but hearing afterwards a new report, that the earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. Simon determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant. Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy of the island, and other persons of rank, gave attention to Simnel; and the people in Dublin, with one consent, proclaimed him king by the appellation of Edward VI. (May 2, 1487). The whole island followed the example of the capital, and not a sword was anywhere drawn in Henry's quarrel. The king's first act on this intelligence was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey; and he next ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., whom Richard III.

declared heir to the throne, was engaged to take part in the conspiracy; and he induced the duchess of Burgundy, another sister of Edward IV., to join it. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of 2000 veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Schwartz, a brave and experienced officer, and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. An invasion of England was resolved on; and Simnel landed in Lancashire, and advanced as far as Stoke, near Newark. Here they were defeated by Henry in a decisive battle (June 16, 1487). Lincoln and Schwartz perished in the battle, with 4000 of their followers. Lovel escaped from the field, but was never more seen or heard of.* Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody. Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.

After the king had gratified his rigour by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married nearly two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation (Nov. 25).

§ 4. The foreign transactions of this reign present little of interest or importance. The cautious and parsimonious temper of the king rendered him averse to war, and he could never be induced to take up arms when he saw the least prospect of attaining his ends by negociation. There happened about this time in France some events which compelled his interference; but it was exercised too late, and without vigour enough to be effective. Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the crown of France, was extremely desirous of annexing Brittany to his dominions; and at the invitation of some discontented Breton barons, the French invaded that province with a large army (1488). Henry entered into a league with Maximilian of Germany and Ferdinand of Arragon for the defence of Brittany; but the resources of these princes were distant, and Henry himself only despatched an army of 6000 men, which proved entirely useless (1489). An unforeseen event disconcerted the policy of the allies.

* "Towards the close of the 17th century, at his seat at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect."—*Lingard.*

Anne, who had succeeded to the duchy of Brittany on the death of her father, had contracted a marriage with Maximilian, but Charles invested Rennes, where the duchess resided, with a large army, and extorted a promise of marriage as the condition of her release. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Anne was conducted to Paris, which she entered amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. Thus Brittany was finally annexed to the French crown (1491).

As the king of England piqued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, it could not but give him the highest displeasure to find himself overreached by a raw youth like Charles; but he postponed the gratification of his anger and resentment to that of his ruling passion, avarice. On pretence of a French war, he illegally attempted to levy a *benevolence*,* as it was called, on his subjects; and the parliament, which met soon after, inflamed with the idea of subduing France, voted him a supply. Henry now crossed over to Calais with a large army, and proceeded to invest Boulogne, as if he had been serious in his enterprise; but notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. They met at Estaples. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. A large sum of money was paid down, and a yearly pension promised (1492). Thus the king, as remarked by his historian, made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; and the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise when he said to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itself.

§ 5. The king had now reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his inveterate and indefatigable enemies raised him an adversary who long kept him in alarm, and sometimes even brought him into danger. The report was revived that Richard, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered; and finding this rumour greedily received by the people, the enemies of Henry looked out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince. There was one Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay of respectable parents, who by the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. He was comely in his person, graceful in his air, courtly in his address, full of docility

* A *benevolence* was ostensibly a voluntary contribution, but was in reality a tax levied arbitrarily on the rich. Such contributions, having become an intolerable burden under Edward IV., had been abolished by the parliament of Richard III.

and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The war which was then ready to break out between France and England seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people (1492). The news soon reached France, and Charles sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension; assigned him magnificent lodgings; and in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person. When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the duchess of Burgundy, who is thought by many to have been the original instigator of the plot. This princess, after feigning a long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth, and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the *White Rose of England* (1493). The English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor. The whole nation was held in suspense, a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England. The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counterworking the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Of the persons employed in the murder of Richard's nephews, Tyrrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.* He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; and he induced sir Robert Clifford, one of the chief partisans of the impostor, to betray the secrets intrusted

* Respecting the subsequent discovery of the place of their burial, see note p. 229.

dom. Several of Warbeck's partisans in England were arraigned, convicted and executed for high treason. Among the other victims was sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, a man of great wealth and influence, who had said in confidence to Clifford, that, if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to king Edward, he never would bear arms against him (1495).

§ 6. The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. And as Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. After a vain attempt upon the coast of Kent he retired into Flanders (1495), and in the following year crossed over into Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings, who had been appointed deputy of Ireland in 1494,* had put the affairs of that island into so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and he therefore bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. James gave him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and made an inroad into England (1496), carrying Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties: but instead of joining the invaders, the English prepared to repel them; and James retreated into his own country. The king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it afforded him to levy impositions on his own subjects. But the people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. They took up arms, and determined to march to London, but they were defeated at Blackheath (June 22, 1497). Their leaders were taken and executed. The rest were almost all made prisoners, but were dismissed without further punishment.

* The statute of Drogheda, enacted in 1495, and known by the name of Poynings' law, formed the basis for the government of Ireland till the time of the Union. Its most important provision was that no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament unless it had previously received the approval of the English council. For details, see Hallam, Constitutional History, iii. 361, 362.

7. James now privately desired Perkin to depart the kingdom; and shortly afterwards a truce was concluded with Scotland. Perkin hid himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland, till he resolved 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 Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of 3000, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., king of England. He attempted to get possession of Exeter, but, on learning the approach of the king's forces, retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of nearly 7000, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy; a few persons of desperate fortunes were executed, some others were severely fined, and all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Perkin himself was persuaded, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands. The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. Perkin, having attempted to escape, was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and by their means opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. Perkin engaged him to embrace a project for his escape by the murder of the lieutenant, and offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance: and as Perkin, by this new attempt, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy, he was arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn. The earl of Warwick was beheaded on Tower hill a few days afterwards (1499). This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, which he vainly endeavoured to alleviate by alleging that his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to his son prince Arthur while any male descendant of the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

§ 8. Two years later (Nov. 14, 1501) the king had the satisfaction of completing a marriage which had been projected and negociated during the course of seven years; Arthur being now near 16 years of age, Catherine 18. But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months

a... sickened and died, much regretted by the nation (April 2, 1503). Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was 200,000 ducats, obliged his second son Henry, a boy of 11 years of age, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta: an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events: the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James king of Scotland. But amidst these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in childbed (1503), and the infant did not long survive her.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, being now in every respect very fortunate, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law these men, whom the king made barons of the Exchequer, were qualified to pervert the forms of justice, to the oppression of the innocent: and the most iniquitous extortions were practised under legal pretences. The chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men: spies, informers, and inquisitors were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom: and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority. The parliament was so overawed, that at this very time, during the greatest rage of Henry's oppressions, the Commons chose Dudley their speaker, the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities (1504). By these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expense, the king so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds: a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

§ 9. The remaining years of Henry's reign present little that is memorable. The archduke Philip, on the death of his mother-

law, Isabella, proceeded by sea, with his wife Joanna, to take possession of Castile, but was driven by a violent tempest into Weymouth (1506). The king availed himself of this event to detain Philip in a species of captivity, and to extort from him a promise of the hand of his sister Margaret, with a large dowry. Nor was this the only concession which Henry wrung from Philip as the price of his liberty. He made him promise that his son Charles should espouse his daughter Mary, though that prince was already affianced to a daughter of the king of France. He also negociated a new treaty of commerce with the Flemings, much to the advantage of the English. But perhaps the most ungenerous part of the king's conduct on this occasion was his obliging Philip to surrender Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward IV., and younger brother of the earl of Lincoln, who had perished at the battle of Stoke. The earl of Suffolk, having incurred the king's resentment, had taken refuge in the Low Countries. Philip stipulated indeed that Suffolk's life should be spared; but Henry committed him to the Tower, and, regarding his promise as only personal, recommended his successor to put him to death.* Shortly afterwards Henry's health declined; and he began to cast his eye towards that future existence which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by distributing alms and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. He ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond (April 25, 1509), after a reign of 23 years and 8 months, and in the 52nd year of his age. He was buried in the chapel he had built for himself at Westminster.

The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. The services which he rendered the people were derived, indeed, from his views of private advantage, rather than the motives of public spirit. Bacon compares him with Louis XI. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, and describes the three as "the *tres magi* of kings of those ages,"—the great masters of king-craft. Avarice was, on the whole, Henry's ruling passion; and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a high station, and possessed of high

* Henry VIII. put him to death after the lapse of a few years (1513), without alleging any new offence against him.

talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition.

§ 10. The Star-chamber, so called from the room in which it met, is usually said to have been founded in the reign of Henry VII.; but this is not strictly correct.* In 1495 the parliament enacted that no person who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being should ever after be attainted for such an instance of obedience. Such a statute could not of course bind future parliaments; but, as Mr. Hallam observes (*Constitutional Hist.*, chap. i.), it remains an unquestionable authority for the constitutional maxim, "that possession of the throne gives a sufficient title to the subject's allegiance, and justifies his resistance of those who may pretend to a better right." It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol, and sent him westwards (in 1498) in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the mainland of America, Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement.

* See Notes and Illustrations at the end of this book.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1486. Henry VII. marries Elizabeth of York, and unites the claims of York and Lancaster.
1487. Lambert Simnel personates Edward earl of Warwick, and pretends to the throne.
1492. Perkin Warbeck appears in Ireland as Richard duke of York, younger son of Edward IV.
1496. The impostor, Perkin, accompanies James IV. of Scotland in an invasion of England.
1497. Perkin makes a descent on Cornwall, but is captured.
1499. Perkin and the earl of Warwick executed.
1501. Marriage of prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon. Arthur dies the following year, and Catherine is contracted to Henry prince of Wales.
1509. Death of Henry VII. and accession of Henry VIII.

Silver Medal of Henry VIII.

HENRICVS . VIII . DEI . GRA REX ANGL . FRANC . DOM . HYB +

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY VIII. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF WOLSEY. A.D. 1509–1530.

§ 1. Accession of HENRY VIII. Empson and Dudley punished. § 2. The king's marriage. War with France. Wolsey minister. § 3. Battle of Guinegate. Battle of Flodden. § 4. Peace with France. Louis XII. marries the princess Mary. § 5. Greatness of Wolsey. He induces Henry to cede Tournay to France. Wolsey legate. § 6. Election of the emperor Charles V. Interview between Henry and Francis. Charles visits England. Field of the Cloth of Gold. § 7. Henry mediates between Charles and Francis. Execution of Buckingham. § 8. Henry styled "Defender of the Faith." Charles again in England: War with France. Scotch affairs. Defeat of Albany. § 9. Supplies illegally levied. League of Henry, the emperor, and the duke of Bourbon. § 10. Battle of Pavia. Treaty between England and France. § 11. Discontent of the English. Francis recovers his freedom. Sack of Rome. League with France. § 12. Henry's scruples about his marriage with Catherine. Anne Boleyn. Proceedings for a divorce. § 13. Wolsey's fall. § 14. Rise of Cranmer. Death of Wolsey.

§ 1. THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession of his son, Henry VIII., spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Henry was now in his 19th year. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was further adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanour. Even the vices of vehemence, ardour,

and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults, incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity; and as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince obnoxious to no party that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England. The chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey,* treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. Surrey knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which began to prevail under the young monarch. One party of pleasure succeeded to another; tilts, tournaments, and carousals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. The frank and careless humour of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. The informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation, were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were committed to the Tower; and in order to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them: that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended on the death of the late king to have seized by force the administration of government. Their conviction by a jury was confirmed by a bill of attainder, and they were executed on Tower hill.

§ 2. Soon after his accession, Henry, by the advice of his council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, celebrated his marriage with the infanta Catherine (June 7); and the king and queen were crowned at Westminster on the 24th of June.

The first two or three years of Henry's reign were spent in profound peace; but impatient of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidst the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join the alliance which, after the league of Cambray, the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the

* The earl of Surrey had been attainted on the accession of Henry VII. (1485), but was restored to the earldom in 1489. He was created duke of Norfolk in 1514.

French monarch, and into which he was in a considerable degree entitled by the hopes held out to him by the pontiff, Julius II., that the title of *Most Christian King*, hitherto annexed to the crown of France, should be transferred to that of England. War was declared against France (1511); and a parliament, being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation. But Henry suffered himself to be completely deceived by the artifices of his father-in-law, Ferdinand. That selfish and treacherous prince advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army; and so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But he made use of their presence merely to overrun and annex the kingdom of Navarre; and the marquis of Dorset, the English commander, observing that his further stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his men were daily perishing by want and sickness, returned to England with his army. Notwithstanding his disappointments in this campaign, Henry was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Louis, especially as Leo X., who had succeeded Julius on the papal throne, had detached the emperor Maximilian from the French interest. He determined to invade France; and, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by the prospect of a war with the Scots, who had formed an alliance with France. And he had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln and almoner to the king, surpassed in favour all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was reputed to be the son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron. He was afterwards employed by Henry VII. in a secret negociation which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, and acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction. Being introduced to Henry VIII., by Fox, bishop of Winchester, he was admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination

of the young monarch. Henry soon advanced his favourite from being the companion of his pleasures to be a member of his council, and from being a member of his council to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanness, of his *fortune*.

§ 3. The war commenced in 1513 with a desperate naval action. Sir Edward Howard, the English admiral, was slain in attempting to cut six French galleys out of the port of Conquet with only two vessels; and the whole fleet were so discouraged by the loss of their commander that they retired from before Brest. The French navy came out of harbour, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex, but were repulsed. On the 30th of June the king landed at Calais with a considerable army, and was joined by Maximilian with some German and Flemish soldiers. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, Maximilian enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received 100 crowns a-day as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army. Henry, having received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, ordered some troops to pass the Lis in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic that they immediately took to flight and were pursued by the English, and many officers of distinction were made prisoners. The action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French that day made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons (Aug. 16). But Henry, though at the head of 50,000 men, derived little advantage from his victory. Instead of marching to Paris, he engaged in the siege of the inconsiderable town of Terouenne, which had been

already invested by the earl of Shrewsbury (Aug. 22). After the fall of that place the king laid siege to Tournay, which soon surrendered (Sept. 9). The bishop of Tournay was lately dead, and the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable. Then observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

The success which during this summer had attended Henry's arms in the north was much more decisive. James, king of Scotland, had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a brave though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, marched to the defence of the country. The two armies met at Flodden, near the Cheviot hills. The action was desperate, and protracted till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men; but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could nowhere be found. In searching the field the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. But the fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, Henry readily granted it, and took compassion upon the helpless condition of his sister and nephew.

§ 4. In the following year (1514) Henry discovered that both the emperor and the king of Spain had deserted his alliance for that of Louis; and that they had listened to a proposition for the marriage of their common grandson, the archduke Charles, to a daughter of the French king's, although that young prince was already affianced to Henry's sister Mary. Under these circumstances, Henry readily listened to the suggestion of his prisoner, the duke of Longueville, for a peace with France, to be confirmed by Mary's marriage with Louis, who was now a widower. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs; but Louis died in less than three months after the marriage (Jan. 1, 1515), to the extreme regret of the French nation. Francis, duke of Angoulême, a youth of 21, who had married Louis's eldest daughter, succeeded him on the throne. Charles

Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was at that time in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite, and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk whether he had now the courage, without further reflection, to espouse her? And she told him that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer, and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Wolsey, as well as Francis, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

§ 5. The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence, who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or the discontents of the court. That artful prelate, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. He had now been promoted to the see of York, with which he was allowed to unite, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester, and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. The pope created him a cardinal (1515). No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of 800 servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen; some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal, and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. On the resignation of Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administra-

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.

In 1518 Francis, being desirous of recovering Tournay, succeeded, by means of flatteries and attentions, in gaining Wolsey's favour. By the cardinal's advice a treaty was entered into for the ceding of that town; and in order to give the measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, the king's daughter, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Francis also agreed to pay 600,000 crowns in twelve annual payments; and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, he promised him a yearly pension of 12,000 livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The pride of Wolsey was about this time further increased by his being invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries in England, and even of suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: not only had he bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. But he carried the matter much further than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office which he called the legatine court, and conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers, even over the laity. He even pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments, and the right of disposing of every ecclesiastical preferment.

§ 6. While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, the death of the emperor Maximilian left vacant the first station among Christian princes, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe (1519). The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already preengaged either on one side or the other. Charles ultimately prevailed; and thus fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up of a sudden so great a power as that which centred in him. He reaped

the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands; he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada, election entitled him to the empire; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. Francis, disgusted with his ill success, now applied himself, by way of counterpoise to the power of Charles, to cultivate the friendship of Henry, who possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers. He solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence; and as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries. Meanwhile the emperor, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and took the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the English king a still higher compliment by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Henry and the queen hastened to meet him at Hythe. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which Charles gave to Henry, he gained the cardinal to his interests by holding out to him the hope of attaining the papacy. The views of Henry himself, indeed, after being disappointed of the imperial crown, were directed towards France as his ancient inheritance; and no power was more fitted than the emperor to assist him in such a design.

The day of Charles's departure (May 30, 1520), Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met for the first time in the fields at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold*. The two monarchs, who were the most comely personages of the age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise, passed the time till their departure in tournaments and other entertainments, more than in any serious business. Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression which he

begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and secured the cardinal still further in his interests by very important services and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy, and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Valencia in Castile.

§ 7. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities (1521); but while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace, and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace, under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators, and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. Francis rejected the terms; the congress of Calais broke up; and Wolsey soon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor, and concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with him and the pope against France. He stipulated that England should next summer invade that kingdom with 40,000 men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. The duke of Buckingham was soon after tried and executed for high treason, having unguardedly let fall some expressions as if he thought himself entitled to succeed, in case the king should die without issue. His death has been attributed to the resentment of Wolsey, and at all events the grounds alleged for his condemnation seem frivolous and inadequate (1521).*

§ 8. Europe was now in a ferment with the progress of Luther and the Reformation. Henry, who had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther, and sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard, and conferred on him the title of Defender of the Faith (1521). This was one of the last acts of Leo X., who died before the close of the year, in the flower of his age. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian VI., a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded

* This duke of Buckingham was the son of the duke of Buckingham executed by Richard III., and was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. (See genealogical table, p. 230.) The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England (1522); and, besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises, which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. The king declared war against France while the emperor was in England. The English army, which landed at Calais under the command of Surrey, did not accomplish anything of importance; but in Scotland the regent Albany, though at the head of 45,000 men, was frightened into a disgraceful truce with lord Dacre; and in the following year he retreated still more disgracefully before the English army under Surrey. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

§ 9. The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England was the want of money. In 1522 Henry had illegally raised a large sum of money under the name of a loan or "benevolence;" and in the parliament held in the following year he issued privy seals to wealthy persons, demanding loans of particular sums, and published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, under the name of a loan. Wolsey, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the House of Commons, and demanded a grant of 800,000*l.* So large a grant was unusual from the Commons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded by sir Thomas More, the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the House could not be prevailed with to vote more than the moiety of the sum demanded. The cardinal, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the House, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the House never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected, though they enlarged a little their former grant. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the Commons, that, as he had not called a parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another; and, on pretence of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth 40*l.*, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years: a new invasion of national privileges.

Wolsey received this year (1523) a new disappointment in his

aspiring views. The pope, Adrian VI., died; and Clement VII., of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for a union between his master and the French king. Yet the confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign; and the country was exposed to still greater peril by a domestic conspiracy which had been formed by Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, who, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. A league was formed among Henry, Charles, and Bourbon, for the conquest and partition of France. Provence, Dauphiné, Auvergne, and the Bourbonnais, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon; Burgundy, Languedoc, Champagne and Picardy, were to be given to the emperor; and the king of England was to have the rest of France (1525). The duke of Suffolk led an English army into France, and, though he advanced within sight of Paris, he returned to Calais without effecting anything of more importance than the earl of Surrey in the preceding year.

§ 10. The year 1525 was marked by a memorable event in the war. Francis had been expelled from Italy in the preceding year; and the imperialists had invaded the south of France and laid siege to Marseilles. But upon the approach of the French king with a numerous army they found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy. Francis, notwithstanding the advanced season, pursued them into that country, and penetrated to Pavia, to which he laid siege; but after it had been invested several months the imperial generals came to its relief. Francis's forces were put to the rout, and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner (Feb. 24, 1525). Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river.

Henry was at first inclined to take advantage of the French monarch's misfortune. He pressed the emperor to invade France next summer from the south, whilst he himself entered it on the north: he anticipated that they might meet at Paris, when, after being crowned king of France, he would assist Charles to recover Burgundy, and accompany him to Rome for his coronation. And if the emperor fulfilled his contract to marry the princess Mary, he held out the prospect that he or his posterity might eventually suc-

to the crown of France, and even of England itself. But Charles was in no humour to let Henry reap the chief benefit from his success, or to seek, by an invasion of France, advantages which the captivity of Francis afforded an opportunity to extort. He therefore refused to invade France, or to put Francis in Henry's hands in return for Mary: and Henry consequently determined to abandon his alliance for that of France. He therefore concluded a treaty with the mother of Francis, the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions: the regent acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for 1,800,000 crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of 50,000 crowns: after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of 100,000. A large present of 100,000 crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

§ 11. Meanwhile Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. The people, displeased with the amount of the exaction, and further disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs and complaints; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. But as they were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty.

Early in 1526 the French king recovered his liberty in accordance with a treaty concluded at Madrid; the principal condition of which was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated that in six weeks' time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. But at the very moment of signing the treaty Francis entered a secret protest against it, and declared that he would not observe it; and when he returned to France, he openly showed his resolution to evade its performance, in which he was encouraged by the English court. War was therefore renewed between Francis and Charles. In the following year (1527), Bourbon, who commanded

the imperialists in Italy, finding it difficult to support his army, determined to lead it to Rome, which was taken by storm: but the duke himself was slain in the assault. Pope Clement was taken captive, and the city was exposed to all the violence and brutality of a licentious soldiery.

The sack of Rome and the captivity of the pope caused general indignation among all the catholics of Europe. A new treaty was concluded between Henry and Francis, with a view of expelling the imperialists from Italy, and restoring the pope to liberty. Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever 50,000 crowns a-year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it.

§ 12. About this time Henry began to entertain some doubts respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, though he had been united to her 17 years. There were several causes which tended to render his conscience more scrupulous. The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The king was thus impelled, both by his private passions and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful, marriage with Catherine. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples, with a view to marry him to a French princess. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite. Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his

ambitions. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, and through her mother, granddaughter of the duke of Norfolk. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Louis XII. of France; and she remained several years at the French court. Henry, finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, even entertained the design of raising her to the throne. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. The pope, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles, had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy obliged the imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty, and he retired to Orvieto.

Clement, having now recovered his liberty, and unwilling to offend either the emperor or the English king, adopted a temporising policy. At length, after much negociation, he granted a commission in 1528 to cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the validity of the marriage. Charles, meanwhile, promised Catherine, his aunt, his utmost protection; and in all his negociations with the pope he made the recall of the commission which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article.

The two legates opened their court at London, May 31, 1529, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves, and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. And she concluded by declaring that she would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependence on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it. The trial was spun out till the 23rd of July, and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. The king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden,

without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court till the 1st of October. A few days afterwards the king and queen received a citation from the pope to appear either in person or by proxy at Rome. This measure, which the emperor had extorted from the timidity of Clement, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.

§ 13. Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. He had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue: he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes. The high opinion itself which Henry entertained of the cardinal's capacity tended to hasten his downfall; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. On the 18th of October the great seal was taken from him, and delivered by the king to sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity. Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The cardinal was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton Court. The world, that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes.

Upon the meeting of parliament, which had not been summoned for seven years, the House of Lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of 44 articles, and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment and his removal from all authority. The articles were sent down to the House of Commons, where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king. Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him, that, contrary to a statute of Richard II., commonly called the statute of provisors, or præmunire,* he had procured bulls from

* See p. 198.

laws, particularly one investing him with the legatine power. Sentence was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no further. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences, left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester, restored him part of his plate and furniture, and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

§ 14. The general peace established this summer in Europe by the treaty of Cambray (Aug. 5, 1529) left Henry full leisure to prosecute his divorce. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome. He found his prerogative firmly established at home; and he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: he dreaded the reproach of heresy: he abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: he sent for that divine, engaged him to write in defence of the divorce, and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. Several of these gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, which might be

posed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; those also of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, made some difficulty. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained, though not without the use of threats.

Meanwhile the enemies of Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn in particular, had persuaded Henry to renew the prosecution against his ancient favourite. The cardinal had, by the king's command, removed to his see of York, and had taken up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality. Here he was arrested on a charge of high treason by the earl of Northumberland, who had received orders to conduct him to London in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired he said, among other things, to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody,—"Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Let me advise you," he added, "if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head: for you can never put it out again." Thus died this famous cardinal (Nov. 29, 1530), whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. "Haughty beyond comparison," says Mr. Hallam (*Constitutional History*, i. 22), "negligent of the duties and decorums of his station, profuse as well as rapacious, obnoxious alike to his own order and to the laity, his fall had long been secretly desired by the nation and contrived by his adversaries. His generosity and magnificence seem rather to have dazzled succeeding ages than his own. But in fact his best apology is the disposition of his master. The latter years of Henry's reign were far more tyrannical than those during which he listened to the counsel of Wolsey; and though this was principally owing to the peculiar circumstances of the latter period, it is but equitable to allow some praise to a minister for the mischief which he may be presumed to have averted."

Gold medal of Henry VIII.

Obverse: HENRICVS . OCTA . ANGLIÆ . FRANCI . ET . HIB . REX . FIDEI . DEFENSOR . ET IN . TERR . ECCLE . ANGLI . ET . HIBE . SVB . CHRIST . CAPVT . SVPREMVM. For Reverse, see next page.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY VIII.—CONTINUED. FROM THE DEATH OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1530–1547.

§ 1. Proceedings against the clergy and the court of Rome. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn. Catherine divorced. § 2. The Reformation. Establishment of the succession and committal of Fisher and More. The king declared supreme head of the church. § 3. State of parties. Tyndale's Bible. Persecutions. The Holy Maid of Kent. § 4. Execution of Fisher and More. Henry excommunicated. Death of queen Catherine. § 5. Suppression of the lesser monasteries. Trial and execution of queen Anne. Henry marries Jane Seymour. Settlement of the succession. § 6. Discontents and insurrections. Pilgrimage of Grace. Birth of prince Edward and death of queen Jane. Suppression of the greater monasteries. § 7. The pope publishes his bull of excommunication. Cardinal Pole. § 8 Law of the Six Articles. Servility of the parliament and tyranny of the king. § 9. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. § 10. Fall and execution of Cromwell. Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves and marriage with Catherine Howard. Religious persecutions. Execution of the countess of Salisbury. § 11. Marriage, trial, and execution of queen Catherine Howard. § 12. War with Scotland and death of James V. Henry's marriage with Catherine Parr. War with France. Peace concluded. § 13. Scotch affairs. Theological dogmatism of Henry. His queen in danger. § 14. Attainder of the duke of Norfolk and execution of the earl of Surrey. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. In 1531 a new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive

Reverse of gold medal of Henry VIII. Inscription in Hebrew and Greek of the same purport as on the obverse.

authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. The same law under which Wolsey had been prosecuted was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legatine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors, and been guilty of the offence of præmunire, and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will. They therefore threw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840*l.* for a pardon. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms: *in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ.* By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome, was cut off; and the connexions between the Pope and the English clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first fruits.* The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome, on account of that law,

* These were a year's income of their sees, given by all bishops and archbishops to the pope, upon presentation to their preferments. They were one of the main sources of the papal revenue.

should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued. After the prorogation, sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to sir Thomas Audley (1532).

During these transactions in England the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England. Yet the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry declined to plead his cause before this court: and in order to add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn (Jan. 25, 1533), whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. In the next parliament an act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts. Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Warham, opened his court at Dunstable for examining the validity of Catherine's marriage. Catherine, who resided at Ampthill, six miles distant, refused to appear either in person or by proxy. Cranmer pronounced sentence, by which he annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid from the beginning (May 23). By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon afterwards was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter (Sep. 7, 1533), who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. The pope, on the other hand, formally pronounced the judgment of Cranmer to be illegal, and declared Henry to be excommunicated if he adhered to it.

§ 2. The quarrel between Henry and the pope was now irreconcilable, and the year 1534 may be considered as the era of the separation of the English church from Rome. By several acts

parliament passed in this year the papal authority in England was annulled; and persons paying any regard to it incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'élire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission was exacted from the clergy, by which they acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only. The ecclesiastical courts however were allowed to subsist. Another act regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared invalid: the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed: and the crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage. All persons were liable, at the king's pleasure, to be called upon to swear to this act; and whoever refused to do so was held to be guilty of misprision of treason.*

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality: and both were committed prisoners to the Tower. The parliament, being again assembled at the close of the year, declared the king "the only supreme *head* in earth of the church of England;" which title had been conferred on him by convocation three years previously. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." This act was followed by another declaring all persons to be guilty of treason who refused to give this title to the king.

§ 3. Though Henry had disowned the authority of the pope, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his tenets. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient

* "Misprisions a term derived from the old French *mespris*, a neglect or contempt) are, in the acceptation of our law, generally understood to be all such high offences as are under the degree of capital, but nearly bordering thereon . . . . The punishment of misprision of treason is loss of the profits of land during life, forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment during life." —Kerr's Blackstone, iv. 121, 122.

and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, had embraced the same views; and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith: and by his high rank, as well as by his talents, both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party. All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to one another, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. The duke of Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects. The books composed by Tyndale and other reformers, who had fled to Antwerp, having been secretly brought over to England, began to make converts everywhere; but it was a translation of the New Testament published by Tyndale at Antwerp in 1526 that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The bishops gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp, and burned them publicly in Cheapside. But by this silly measure they supplied Tyndale with money, and enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work.

Though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Several were detected in a dangerous conspiracy. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which silly people in the neighbourhood imagined to be supernatural. Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, having associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury, resolved to take advantage of this delusion. They taught their penitent

declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. Many monks throughout England entered into the scheme; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favourable to the party which he had espoused. The Maid of Kent had been allowed for some years to continue her course; but after the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn she predicted his death, and pronounced him to be in the condition of Saul after his rejection. Henry at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, and others, suffered for their crime (1534.)

§ 4. Fisher had lain in prison above a twelvemonth, when Paul III., who had now succeeded to the papal throne, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king. Fisher was indicted for high treason, because he refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded (June 22, 1535.) More was condemned for the same offence, and was executed on July 6. He had long expected this fate, and needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up: when I come down again, I can shift for myself." The executioner asked him forgiveness: he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause.

The execution of Fisher, a cardinal, was regarded by the pope as so capital an injury, that he immediately drew up his celebrated bull of interdict and deposition. The bull was suspended for a time through the interference of the French king, and was not issued till three years afterwards. Meantime an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: she died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the 50th year of her age (Jan. 7, 1536). A little before she expired she wrote a very tender letter to the king. She told him that, as the hour of her death was

w approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that she forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: and that she had no other request to make than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit. After this event the emperor did indeed send proposals to Henry for a return to their ancient amity. Charles was now engaged in a desperate war with France; but an invasion which he made in person into Provence, and another on the side of the Netherlands, were repulsed: and Henry, finding that his own tranquillity was fully insured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent, was the more indifferent to the advances of the emperor.

§ 5. Immediately after the execution of More the king proceeded to execute a design he had formed to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues, a practice of which Wolsey had first set the example by suppressing some religious houses, in order to found with the money so obtained Cardinal College, Oxford, now Christ Church. Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the church, was delegated to him: and he employed commissioners, who carried on, everywhere, a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of the friars and nuns. They made a report, charging the religious houses with all kinds of immorality; and this report, commonly called the *Black Book*, was laid upon the table of the House of Commons in 1536. The larger monasteries, which had not been guilty of such gross immorality, were allowed to remain; but the parliament passed an act suppressing the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below 200*l.* a-year. By this act 376 monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to 32,000*l.* a-year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at 100,000*l.* more.

This parliament completed the union of Wales with England: the separate jurisdiction of several great lords, or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, was abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended everywhere (1536). This parliament,

which had sat from 1529—the first parliament of the Reformation—was now dissolved.

The same year was marked by the tragic fate of the new queen. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her was his jealousy; and the viscountess of Rochfort, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions in the king's mind. Henry's love, too, was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice everything to the gratification of this new appetite. The queen was sent to the Tower on May 2, and four of her alleged paramours, Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, gentlemen about the court, were tried and executed, though no legal evidence was produced against them. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession, for they never dared to confront him with her. Her own brother, the viscount Rochfort, was accused of a criminal connexion with her. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, over which their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown, but judgment was given against both. Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate. And on the ground that before the marriage of the king she had been contracted to lord Percy, then the earl of Northumberland, Cranmer pronounced the marriage null and invalid. The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him in his uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is

slander:" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. She was executed May 17. The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question.* But the king made the most effectual apology for her by marrying Jane Seymour on the third day after her execution. The trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, rendered it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament, by which his divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will, or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour.

In the same year (1536) the first complete copy of the ENGLISH BIBLE was printed, dedicated to Henry VIII., by whom it was ordered to be placed in every parish church in England. It was based upon Tyndale's translation, and was executed by Miles Coverdale.

§ 6. The late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and was put down without much difficulty. A subsequent insurrection in the northern counties was more formidable, and was joined by about 40,000 men. One Aske, a gentleman of Doncaster, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*; some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ. They all took an oath that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their desire of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. The rebels prevailed in taking both Hull and York, as well as Pomfret Castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels. They were however at length dispersed, partly by the negociations of the duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against them, and partly by the swelling of a small river,

* Lingard, Sharon Turner, and more recently Mr. Froude, have maintained the guilt of Anne Boleyn; but Mr. Hallam's authority (*Constit. Hist.* i. 31) may be quoted on the other side. Mr. Froude seems to think that the verdicts of the juries and the decision of the peers settle the question; but we have too much evidence of their subserviency to the court during the reigns of the Tudors to attach much weight to their authority.

which prevented them from attacking the king's forces. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, several noblemen and gentlemen were thrown into prison, and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower Hill (1537). Soon after this prosperous success an event happened which crowned Henry's joy—the birth of a son, who was baptised by the name of Edward (Oct. 12). Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died a few days after (Oct. 24).

Henry's success in putting down the great rebellion in the north strengthened him in his determination of suppressing the larger monasteries. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed, and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and on the whole the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues. The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. Of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henry not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas; he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the air. On the whole, the king at different times suppressed 645 monasteries, of which 28 had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament; 90 colleges were demolished in several counties, 2374 chantries and free chapels, 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to 161,100*l*. Henry settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; he erected six new bishoprics—Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester—of which five subsist at this day; and he made a gift of the revenues of some of the convents to his courtiers and favourites, or sold them at low prices. Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England,

of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen.

§ 7. It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against the king; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader (1538). Henry's kinsman, cardinal Reginald Pole,* published a treatise of *the Unity of the Church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family and to the catholic cause. Henry seized all the members of Pole's family in England, together with other persons of high rank. They were accused of treason; and several were executed, among whom was lord Montague, the cardinal's brother, and the marquis of Exeter, the grandson of Edward IV.† (1539). Others were attainted without trial, which was the fate of the countess of Salisbury, the aged mother of the cardinal.

§ 8. Although Henry had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. He attached particular importance to the doctrine of the real presence; and he informed the parliament, summoned in 1539, that he was anxious to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion on matters of religion. The parliament, subservient as usual to the wishes of the king, passed an act for this purpose, usually called *The Statute of the Six Articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it. In this law the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. Whoever denied these articles of faith was subject to be burned, or to other severe and cruel punishments. This law was a great blow to Cranmer and the protestant party. Cranmer had had the courage to oppose the bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of

* Reginald Pole was the second son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence executed by Edward IV. Her only brother, the earl of Warwick, was put to death by Henry VII. (See p. 247.) She was made countess of Salisbury in her own right, a title which descended to her from her grandfather the earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the celebrated king-maker. After her brother's death she married sir Richard Pole, a relation of Henry VII.

† He was the son of the earl of Devon, and of Catherine, a daughter of Edward IV.

compliance. He was however now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favour. The parliament, having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority.

As soon as the act of the Six Articles had passed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than 500 persons were in a little time thrown into prison. Latimer and Shaxton, the protestant bishops, were also imprisoned and compelled to resign their bishoprics. But Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family—a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

§ 9. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, Henry began to think of a new marriage. Cromwell, who was anxious to connect Henry with the protestant princes on the continent, proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutherans, and whose sister Sibylla was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negociation the marriage was concluded, and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester and got a sight of her. He found her utterly destitute both of beauty and grace, very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received, and he swore he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country;

was a cordial union had taken place between the emperor and the [illegible] of France, and as their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England, an alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for Henry's interest and safety; and he knew that, if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke (Jan. 6, 1540). He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell, who received soon after the title of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the garter; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

§ 10. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown. The people were averse to him as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries, establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour, and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. The duke of Norfolk, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, obtained a commission from the king to arrest him at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed against him, and passed by both houses. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous. He endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications, but all to no purpose; and he was executed on July 28, 1540. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities, worthy of a better master and of a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The convocation soon afterwards solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen, chiefly on the futile ground of a precontract between Anne and the marquis of Lorraine, when both were children; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess. Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, and willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation. When the king offered to adopt her as his

sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of 3000*l.* a-year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce.*

§ 11. Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, followed soon afterwards (July 28, 1540), and was regarded by the catholics as a favourable incident to their party. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigour. While Henry was exerting his violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection; and catholics and protestants were carried on the same hurdles to execution. In the following year an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but was soon suppressed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who had been attainted two years previously, suffer for her son's offences. This venerable matron, the descendant of a long race of monarchs, was executed on the green within the Tower on May 27, 1541.

The king thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections, and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her; but he discovered shortly afterwards that she had led a dissolute life before her marriage, and he strongly suspected that she had been guilty of incontinence since. Two of her paramours were tried and executed; and a bill of attainder for treason was forthwith passed against the queen and the viscountess of Rochfort, who had conducted her secret amours. They were both beheaded on Tower Hill, Feb. 12, 1542. As lady Rochfort was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied. The guilt of queen Catherine both before and after her marriage cannot admit of doubt.

§ 12. Towards the close of this year (1542) a war broke out between England and Scotland. James V., king of Scots, was under the influence of the catholic party, and encouraged his subjects to make depredations upon the English border. Henry proclaimed war against James, and appointed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to the command. It was too late in the season to make more than a foray; and the duke of Norfolk,

* Anne of Cleves continued to live in England, and died at Chelsea in 1557

er laying waste the Scottish border, returned to Berwick. James sent an army of 10,000 men into Cumberland to revenge this insult; but they were without organization, and being suddenly attacked by a small body of English, not exceeding 500 men, near the Solway (Nov. 25, 1542), a panic seized them, and they immediately took to flight. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action, but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility. The king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, he abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind: he had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child. Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one." A few days after he expired (Dec. 14, 1542) in the flower of his age.

Henry was no sooner informed of the death of his nephew than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions by marrying his son Edward to James's infant daughter, the heiress of that kingdom, afterwards celebrated as Mary queen of Scots. A treaty was nearly concluded with the regent, the earl of Arran, to this effect; but shortly afterwards the cardinal Beaton, the head of the catholic party in Scotland, caused Henry's offer to be rejected, and entered into a close alliance with France. This confirmed Henry in the resolution which he had already taken of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. A league was formed by which the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of 25,000 men (Feb. 11, 1543). This league seemed favourable to the Roman catholic party; but on the other hand, Henry soon afterwards (July 12) married Catherine Parr, widow of lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine: and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions. But this confederacy between Henry and Charles led to no important results. The share taken by the English in the campaign of 1543 was quite inconsiderable. In the following year the two princes agreed to invade France with large armaments, and to join their forces at Paris. Accordingly Henry landed at Calais with 30,000 men, who were joined by 14,000 Flemings, whilst the emperor invaded the north-eastern frontiers of France with an army of 60,000 men; but nothing important was effected. Henry, instead of marching to Paris, wasted his time in besieging Boulogne and Montreuil, whilst Charles, who had employed himself in capturing some towns on the Meuse and the Marne, subsequently advanced towards Paris. The season was thus wasted; both princes reproached each other with a breach of engagement; the emperor concluded a separate peace with Francis at Crépy, in which

the name of his ally was not even mentioned; and Henry was obliged to retire into England, with the small success of having captured Boulogne. The war was prolonged two years between England and France. In 1545 the French made great preparations for the invasion of England. A French fleet appeared off St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, but returned to their own coasts without effecting anything of importance. In 1546 Henry sent over a body of troops to Calais, and some skirmishes of small moment ensued. But both parties were now weary of a war from which neither could entertain much hope of advantage; and on the 7th of June a peace was concluded. The chief conditions were that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the debt due by Francis should be paid: thus all that he obtained was a bad and chargeable security for a debt that did not amount to a third part of the expenses of the war.

§ 13. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. In that country the indolent and unambitious Arran had gone over to Beaton's party, and even reconciled himself to the Romish communion. The cardinal had thus acquired a complete ascendant; the opposition was now led by the earl of Lenox, who was regarded by the protestants as the head of their party, and who, after an ineffectual attempt to employ force, was obliged to lay down his arms and await the arrival of English succours. In 1543 Henry despatched a fleet and army to Scotland. Edinburgh was taken and burned, and the eastern parts of the country devastated. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England. In 1544 and 1545 the war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various success; and was signalised on both sides rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy than by any considerable advantage gained by either party. Thus Henry was by no means indisposed to conclude a peace with that country also.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs, particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but in 1544 he ordered that the litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and in the following year he added a collection of English prayers for morning and evening service, to be used in the place of the Breviary. By these innovations he excited anew the hopes of the reformers; but the pride and peevishness of the king, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the

al presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, accused of dogmatising on that delicate article, was condemned to be burned alive; and others were sentenced for the same crime to the same punishment. The queen herself, being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, and having unwarily betrayed too much of her mind in her conversations with Henry, fell into great danger. At the instigation of bishop Gardiner, seconded by the religious bigotry of the chancellor Wriothesley, articles of impeachment were actually drawn up against her; but Catherine, having by some means learned this proceeding, averted the peril by her address. Henry having renewed his theological arguments, the queen gently declined the conversation, and remarked that such profound speculations were ill suited to the imbecility of her sex; that the wife's duty was in all cases to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blessed with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; and declared that she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments merely in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. When the chancellor came the next day to convey her to the Tower, the king dismissed him with the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*.*

§ 14. Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, vented itself soon afterwards on the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surrey, chiefly through the prejudices which he entertained against the latter, on the pretext that they were meditating to seize the crown. Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct as governor of Boulogne, had sent over the earl of Hertford† to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers on account of this affront which was put upon

* It should be observed, however, that this well-known tale rests on the authority of Fox, and is not mentioned by any contemporary authority.

† Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was the brother of Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife.

him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waived every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition. Private orders were given to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, and they were on the same day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; he was condemned for high treason, and the sentence was soon after executed upon him (Jan. 19, 1547). The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son, and his services to the crown had been greater; yet the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill; and having affixed the royal assent by commission, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of January 28, 1547. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought 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 sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

Shortly before his death the king desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of 37 years and 9 months, and in the 56th year of his age. In January, 1544, the king had caused the parliament to pass a law declaring the prince of Wales, or any of his male issue, first and immediate heirs of the crown, and restoring the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession; and he left a will confirming this destination. The act of parliament had made no arrangement in case of the failure of issue by Henry's children; but the king, by his will, provided that the next heirs to the crown were the descendants of his sister Mary, the late duchess of Suffolk, passing over entirely the Scottish line.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. He possessed great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility; and though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied

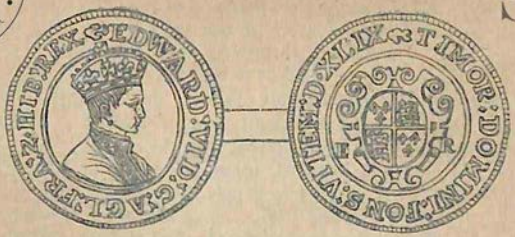
good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice; but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtue: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. It may seem a little extraordinary, that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred: he seems even, in some degree, to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude, while his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College; but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues, which however he afterwards restored, and only changed the name of the college. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.

1513. Battle of Flodden Field.
1515. Wolsey cardinal and chancellor.
1520. Interview between Henry and Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1521. The king receives the title of "Defender of the Faith."
1529. Trial of Henry's suit for a divorce from Catherine of Arragon.
1530. Death of cardinal Wolsey.
1533. Henry marries Anne Boleyn. Cranmer pronounces the king's divorce from Catherine of Arragon. Birth of queen Elizabeth.
1534. The papal power abrogated in England.
1535. Execution of bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More.
1536. Wales incorporated with England and subjected to the English laws. Anne Boleyn executed. Henry marries Jane Seymour.
1537. Birth of Edward VI.
1539. Law of the Six Articles passed.
1540. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. Attainder and execution of Cromwell. Divorce of Anne of Cleves. Henry marries Catherine Howard.
1542. Catherine Howard executed.
1543. The king marries Catherine Parr.
1544. Capture of Boulogne.
1547. Execution of Surrey. Death of the king.



Shilling of Edward VI.

Obv.: EDWARD . VI. D. G. AGL . FRA . Z . HIB . REX . Bust to right.
Rev.: TIMOR : DOMINI : FONS : VITE [sic] M : D . XLIX. Arms of England. In field E. I.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDWARD VI. A.D. 1547-1553.

§ 1. State of the regency. Hertford protector. § 2. Reformation established. Gardiner's opposition. § 3. War with Scotland. Battle of Pinkie. § 4. Proceedings in Parliament. Progress of the Reformation. Affairs of Scotland. § 5. Cabals of lord Seymour. His execution. § 6. Ecclesiastical affairs. Protestant persecutions. Joan Bocher. § 7. Discontents of the people. Insurrections in Devonshire and Norfolk. War with Scotland and France. § 8. Factions in the council. Somerset resigns the protectorship. § 9. Peace with France and Scotland. Ecclesiastical affairs. § 10. Ambition of Northumberland. Trial and execution of Somerset. § 11. Northumberland changes the succession. Death of the king.

§ 1. THE late king had fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his 18th year; and as Edward was then only in his 10th year, he appointed 16 executors, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the king and kingdom. Among them were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, lord Wriothesley, chancellor, and the earl of Hertford, chamberlain. With these executors, to whom was intrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed 12 counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king, by appointing a protector. The choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate

interest which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions that they held their offices during pleasure; and it is there expressly affirmed that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown.

The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and accordingly, among other promotions, Hertford was now created duke of Somerset, marshal, and lord treasurer; and Wriothesley earl of Southampton. The latter was the head of the catholic party, and had always been opposed to Somerset. One of the first acts of the protector was to procure the removal of Southampton, on the ground that he had, on his own private authority, put the great seal in commission: a fine was also imposed upon him, and he was confined to his own house during pleasure. Somerset was not contented with this advantage. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton. He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure, and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. This was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify; but no objections were made to his power and title.

§ 2. The protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care that all persons intrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles. After Southampton's fall few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the Reformation. The riches which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. The protector, in his schemes for advancing the Reformation, had always recourse to the

counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect.

The protector, having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. In order to check the abuse of preaching, orders were given to the clergy, and especially to the monks, to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: and all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching anywhere but in their parish churches. The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any further advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. But this opposition drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

§ 3. The protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. The reformation had now made considerable progress in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton had been assassinated (May 28, 1546) in revenge for the burning of Wishart, a zealous protestant preacher: and Henry had promised to take the perpetrators under his protection. Somerset levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of 60 sail, with which he invaded Scotland. A well-contested battle was fought at Pinkie, near Musselburgh (Sept. 10, 1547), in which the Scots were defeated with immense slaughter. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard that some counsellors, and even his own brother, lord Seymour, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Shortly after his return the infant queen of Scotland was sent to France, and betrothed to the dauphin.

§ 4. The protector deserves great praise on account of the laws

passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much moderated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the 25th of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the Six Articles. A repeal also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. Acts were also passed to secure the king's supremacy. In the following year (1548) further reformations were made in religion. Orders were issued by council that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday; and that all images should be removed from the churches. As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-service: and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent.

§ 5. The protector's attention was now wholly engrossed by the cabals of his brother, lord Seymour, the admiral of England. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king. Upon her death in childbirth he made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the 16th year of her age. He openly decried his brother's administration, and by promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility. The earl of Warwick* was an ill instrument between the brothers, and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both. The duke of Somerset, finding his own power in serious peril, committed his brother to the Tower; the parliament passed a bill of attainder against him, and he was executed on Tower Hill (March 20, 1549).

§ 6. All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs. The mass, which had always been celebrated in Latin, was translated into English; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The doctrine of the real presence was tacitly condemned by the new communion service, but still retained some hold in the minds of men. The

* The earl of Warwick was the son of Dudley, the minister of Henry VII., who had been attainted and beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII. He was restored to his honours, and created lord Lisle by Henry VIII., and had been made earl of Warwick at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.

Parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and proclaimed a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies. They also enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests. Thus the principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the Reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England.

But though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they were ready to burn, in the same flames from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission, by act of council, was granted to the primate, and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. Some tradesmen in London were brought before the commissioners, were prevailed on to abjure their opinions, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her, and it was resolved to commit her to the flames.* Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment.

§ 7. These reforms excited considerable discontent, which was aggravated by other causes. The new proprietors of the confiscated abbey lands demanded exorbitant rents, and often spent the money in London. The cottagers were reduced to misery by the enclosure of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle. The general increase of gold and silver in Europe after the discovery of the West Indies had raised the price of commodities; and the debasement of the coin by Henry VIII., and afterwards by the protector, had occasioned a universal distrust and stagnation of commerce. A rising began at once in several parts of England, as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. In most parts the rioters were put down, but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences (1549). In Devonshire the rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of 10,000. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the Six Articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. Lord

* The common story that the young king long refused to sign the warrant for the execution of Joan Bocher, and was only prevailed upon to do so by Cranmer's importunity, is shown by Mr. Bruce, in the Preface to Roger Hutchinson's works (Parker Society, 1842), to be apocryphal. Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* i. 96) is also of opinion that the tale ought to vanish from history.

Russell,* who had been despatched against them, drove them from all their posts, and took many prisoners. The leaders were sent to London, tried, and executed; and many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law.

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government of the insurgents, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. The earl of Warwick, at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland, at last made a general attack upon the rebels, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. To guard against such disturbances in future, lords-lieutenant were appointed in all the counties. These insurrections were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne; but nothing decisive took place. As soon as the French war broke out the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor, who, however, eluded the applications of the ambassadors. Somerset, despairing of his assistance, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but he met with strong opposition from his enemies in the Council, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification.

§ 8. The factions ran high in the court of England, and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector. After obtaining the patent investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and while he showed a resolution to govern everything, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. He had disgusted the nobility by courting the people; yet the interest which he had formed with the latter was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies: the attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, to expose him to the censure of the public, especially as he

* Lord Russell had been created a peer in 1539, and received large grants of church lands. He was made earl of Bedford in 1550, and was the ancestor of the present duke of Bedford. The title of duke was first created in 1694, in the reign of William III.

was the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the Church of Rome: that, though the lady Elizabeth was liable to no such objection, her exclusion must follow that of her elder sister; that, when these princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady every way worthy of a crown: and that, even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. The dukedom of Suffolk being extinct, the marquis of Dorset was raised to this title; and the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess were persuaded by Northumberland to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. The languishing state of Edward's health, who was now in a confirmed consumption, made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king; and prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. The judges hesitated to draw up the necessary deed; but were at length brought to do so by the menaces of Northumberland, and the promise that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance.

After this settlement was made Edward visibly declined every day. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: and he expired at Greenwich (July 6, 1553), in the 16th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. All the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.

1547. Hertford (afterwards duke of Somerset) protector. Battle of Pinkie.

1548. Proclamation for the removal of images, &c.

1549. The liturgy reformed. Lord Seymour, the protector's brother, beheaded. The protector deposed.

1550. Earl of Warwick (afterwards duke of Northumberland) protector.

1552. Somerset beheaded.

1553. Death of Edward VI.

Medal of Philip and Mary.
Obv.: PHILIP . D . G . HISP . REX . Z. Bust of Philip to right. Rev.: MARIA I REG ANGL . FRANC . ET . HIB . Z. Bust of Mary to left.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARY. A.D. 1553–1558.

§ 1. Lady Jane Gray proclaimed. Mary acknowledged queen. § 2. Northumberland executed. Roman catholic religion restored. § 3. The Spanish match. Wyatt's insurrection. § 4. Imprisonment of the princess Elizabeth. Execution of lady Jane Gray. § 5. Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain. England reconciled with the see of Rome. § 6. Persecutions. Execution of Cranmer. § 7. War with France. Loss of Calais. § 8. Death and character of the queen.

§ 1. NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the princess Mary into his power, desired her to attend on her dying brother. Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court, when the earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her. She immediately retired to Suffolk, and despatched a message to the council, requiring them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London. Northumberland found that further dissimulation was fruitless: he went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engag-

desecrated several churches in order to complete it. All these rudenesses were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. Somerset, finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Somerset was prevailed on to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and the parliament passed a vote by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him 2000*l.* a-year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no further. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Lisle, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset. The Roman catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the Reformation. And in the following year (1550) bishop Gardiner, who had already lain two years in prison, was deprived of his bishopric on the most arbitrary charges.

§ 9. When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. Although the project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration, yet they found themselves obliged to negociate a treaty with the king of France. Henry offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, and 400,000 crowns were at last agreed on, one-half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article, and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts. Several catholic bishops were deprived, and some were obliged to seek protection by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers. Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. It was with difficulty that the young king, who had deeply imbibed the principles of the Reformation, could be prevailed upon to connive at his sister's obstinacy. The Book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted. The doctrines of religion were also reduced to 42 articles. These were intended to obviate further divisions and variations.

§ 10. Warwick, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried further his pretensions, and had gained partisans who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland (1551). But these new possessions and titles he regarded as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to his ambition. Somerset was therefore accused of high treason and felony: he was acquitted on the former charge, but condemned on the latter. He was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill (Jan. 22, 1552), amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted.* Several of Somerset's friends were also brought to trial, condemned, and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution.

§ 11. The declining state of the young king's health opened out to Northumberland a vaster prospect of ambition. He endeavoured to persuade Edward to deprive his two sisters of the succession, on the ground of illegitimacy. He represented that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots,

* He was the ancestor of the present duke. The title, forfeited by his attainder, was restored to his great-grandson on the accession of Charles II. (1660).

dence and favour, was reversed. The queen also sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III., of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see.

§ 3. No sooner did the emperor Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he sent over an agent to propose his son Philip to her as a husband. Philip was a widower; and though he was only 27 years of age, 11 years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having issue. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget gave their advice for the match; but Gardiner, who was become prime minister and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, opposed it. The Commons, alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure: and to prevent further applications of the same kind, the queen thought proper to dissolve the parliament. A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. After the parliament and convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion were still more openly put in execution: the mass was everywhere re-established; marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office; and a large proportion of the clergy were deprived of their livings. This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; whilst the Spanish match diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England: and, in particular, it was agreed that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; and that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom. But these articles gave no satisfaction to the nation, and some persons determined to resist the marriage by arms. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise 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 raising the midland counties. The attempts of the last two were speedily disconcerted, but Wyatt was at first more successful. Having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. He forced his way into London, but his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-bar by sir Maurice Berkeley. Sixty or seventy persons suffered for this rebellion: four hundred more were conducted before the queen

were roped about their necks, and, falling on their knees, received a pardon and were dismissed. Wyatt was condemned and executed.

§ 4. The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister, though she had found it prudent to conform, outwardly at least, to the Roman catholic worship. Mary, seizing the opportunity of this rebellion, and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock. But this rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: the duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her, and both she and her husband were beheaded (Feb. 12, 1554). On the scaffold she made a speech to the by-standers, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She then caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady serene countenance submitted herself to the executioner. The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed soon after. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion.

§ 5. Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton on July 20, 1554, and a few days after he was married to Mary at Winchester (July 25). Having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, they proceeded to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants—all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had at length procured a House of Commons which was in a great measure to the queen's satisfaction. Cardinal Pole, whose attainder had been reversed, came over to England as legate (Nov. 14); and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both Houses voted an address

ing disposition, and accomplished parts. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern languages; had passed most of her time in an application to learning, and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements, usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park. The intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowise agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present, pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses, but overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. 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 silence and concern, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt. The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary, and the nobility and gentry daily flocked to her and brought her reinforcement. Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. At length he determined to march into Suffolk; but he found his army too weak to encounter the queen's. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; but the counsellors agreed upon a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen; and even Northumberland, being deserted by all his followers, was obliged to proclaim Mary. The people everywhere, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

§ 2. The duke of Northumberland was taken into custody: at the same time were committed the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, lord Guilford Dudley, and several of the nobility. As the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, Mary extended her pardon to most of them. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial he attempted no defence, but pleaded guilty. At his execution

made a 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 such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised 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 suffered with him (Aug. 23, 1553); and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any present intention of putting it in execution.

All Mary's acts showed that she was determined to restore the Roman catholic religion. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, and others, who had been deprived in the preceding reign, were reinstated in their sees. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. The primate had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that in order to pay court to the queen he had promised to officiate in the Latin service, Cranmer, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence, in which he attributed some of the popish rites to the invention of the devil, and characterised the mass as replete with horrid blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him, but the execution of it did not follow; and the primate was reserved for a more cruel punishment. In opening the parliament the court showed a 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. The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. 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. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who had been previously liberated from the Tower, and admitted to Mary's con-

to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church, and declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome. The legate, in the name of his Holiness, then gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. But though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it.

The parliament revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction: but nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute, but of a refined policy, which made him foresee that, if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

§ 6. The benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference. The advice of Gardiner was in accordance with the cruel bigotry of Philip and Mary, and it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion. England was soon filled with scenes of horror which have ever since rendered the Roman catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; Taylor, parson of Hadleigh; and others were condemned to the flames (1555). The crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned was their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, and whose religious principles were too easy to render him a violent

bigots, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, bishop of London, a man of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. It is needless to be particular in enumerating the cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. It is computed that in that time 277 persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonments, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, servants, and labourers, 55 women, and 4 children. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching or dogmatizing contrary to the established religion; they were seized merely on suspicion, and, articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy 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 see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors.

The court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission of 21 persons was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. The commissioners were armed with extraordinary powers, and were enjoined to torture such obstinate persons as would not confess. Secret spies also and

informers were employed, according to the practice of the inquisition. These persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the execution of Cranmer rendered the government still more unpopular. The primate had long been detained in prison. The queen bore a personal hatred to him on account of the part he had taken in dissolving her mother's marriage; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she now resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason; and also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to tamper with him in his prison at Oxford, by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented—the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him; 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 stake, amidst the insults of the Roman catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. His martyrdom took place at Oxford, March 18, 1556. After Cranmer's death cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury, and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England.

The temper of Mary was soured by ill-health, by disappointment in not having offspring, and by the absence of her husband, 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 to the emperor in Flanders. But her affection for Philip was not cooled by his indifference; and she showed the greatest anxiety to consult his wishes and promote his views. Philip, who had become master of the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the abdication of the emperor Charles V., was anxious to engage England in the war which was kindled between Spain and France. His views were warmly seconded by Mary, but cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, openly and zealously opposed this measure. Mary's importunities and artifices at length succeeded; forced loans and subsidies were extorted; and by these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of 10,000 men, which she sent over to the Low Countries under the command of the earl of Pembroke (1557). The king of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above 60,000 men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. Little interest would attend the narration of a campaign in which the English played only a subordinate part, and which resulted in their loss and disgrace. By Philibert's victory at St. Quentin the whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; and had the Spaniards marched to the capital, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip's caution was unequal to so bold a step, and the opportunity was neglected. In the following winter the duke of Guise succeeded in surprising and taking Calais, deemed in that age an impregnable fortress (Jan. 7, 1558). Calais was surrounded with marshes which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge; and the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. It was this circumstance that insured the success of the French; and thus the duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Crecy. The English had held it above 200 years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. They murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war for the sake of

foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace.

8. The queen had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, 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, preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of 5 years (Nov. 17, 1558). The nation were thus delivered from their fears respecting the succession, for there can be little doubt that a plot had been formed to transfer the kingdom to Philip. It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable, and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. Amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; to which we may add that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind, a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole died the same day with the queen. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him universally beloved.

A passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign, and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to Mary, which seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1553. Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen. Queen Mary's title acknowledged. Northumberland executed. The Roman catholic religion re-established.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion. Execution of Lady Jane Gray.
1555. The Marian persecution. Burning of Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer.
1556. Cranmer burnt.
1558. Calais lost. Death of queen Mary

Queen Elizabeth.

Ornament formed of bust of queen Elizabeth, cut from a medal and enclosed in a border of goldsmith's work representing Lancaster, York, and Tudor roses.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ELIZABETH. FROM HER ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. A.D. 1558-1587.

§ 1. Accession of the queen. Re-establishment of protestantism. § 2. Peace with France. The reformation in Scotland. Supported by Elizabeth. § 3. French affairs. Arrival of Mary in Scotland. Her administration. § 4. Wise government of Elizabeth. Proposals of marriage. § 5. Civil wars of France. Elizabeth assists the Huguenots. § 6. The Thirty-nine Articles. Scotch affairs. The queen of Scots marries Darnley. Hostility and duplicity of Elizabeth. § 7. Murder of Rizzio. Murder of Darnley. Bothwell marries the queen of Scots. Battle of Carberry hill. § 8. Mary confined in Lochleven castle. Murray regent. James VI. proclaimed. Mary's escape and flight to England. § 9. Proceedings of the English court. § 10. Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy. Elizabeth excommunicated by the pope. § 11. Rise of the Puritans. Their proceedings in parliament. § 12. Foreign affairs. France and the Netherlands. § 13. New conspiracy and execution of the duke of Norfolk. § 14. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Civil war in France. Affairs of the Netherlands. § 15. Elizabeth's prudent government. Naval enterprises of Drake. § 16. Negociations of

marriage with the duke of Anjou. § 17. Conspiracies in England. The High Commission Court. Parry's conspiracy. § 18. Affairs of the Low Countries. Hostilities with Spain. Battle of Zutphen and death of Sidney. § 19. Babington's conspiracy. § 20. Trial and condemnation of the queen of Scots. § 21. Her execution. § 22. Elizabeth's affected sorrow. She apologizes to James.

§ 1. ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days she went thence to London, through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

Philip, who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain dominion over England, immediately made proposals of marriage to the queen, and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose; but Elizabeth saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was in effect declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. She therefore gave him an obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success that he sent a messenger to Rome with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added others who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion, among whom were sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. She resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, but at the same time to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special licence; and she also suspended the laws, so far as to order a great part of the service—the litany, the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the

gospels—to be read in English; and, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence.

The bishops, foreseeing with certainty a revolution in religion, refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony (Jan. 13, 1559). The parliament, which met soon after, began the session by a unanimous declaration of the validity of the queen's title to the throne. They then passed a bill for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen; and another for restoring to the crown the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was founded the Court of High Commission, which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary, powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Whoever refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy was incapacitated from holding any office: whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a præmunire; but the third offence was declared treason. Lastly, an act was passed re-enacting all the laws of king Edward concerning religion, and prohibiting any minister, whether beneficed or not, to use any but the established liturgy, under pain for the first offence of forfeiting goods and chattels, for the second of a year's imprisonment, and for the third of imprisonment during life. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered. The laws enacted with regard to religion met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The bishops had taken such an active part in the restoration of popery under Mary, that, with the exception of the bishop of Llandaff, they all felt themselves bound to refuse the oath, and were accordingly degraded from their sees by the court of high commission; but of the inferior clergy through all England, amounting to nearly 10,000, only about 100 dignitaries and 80 parochial priests sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. The archbishopric of Canterbury, which was vacant by the death of cardinal Pole, was conferred upon Parker.

The two statutes above mentioned, usually called the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were the great instruments of oppressing the catholics during this and many subsequent reigns. The house of commons, at the conclusion of the session, made the queen an

portunate but respectful address that she should fix her choice of husband. She told the speaker that she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her; but that further interposition on their part would ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess; that she was resolved to live and die a virgin; and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character, or fairer remembrance of her, should be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tombstone: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

§ 2. The negociations for a peace with France, which were in progress at the time of Mary's death, were concluded in the first year of Elizabeth. Calais remained in the hands of the French monarch, who promised to restore it at the end of eight years—a stipulation, however, which was never intended nor expected to be executed. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France. But notwithstanding this peace there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The next heir to the English throne was Mary queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the king of France, at the persuasion of the duke of Guise and his brothers, ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of king and queen of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; and Elizabeth plainly saw that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor Francis II., the husband of Mary, still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury and providing for her own safety.

Since the murder of cardinal Beaton the reformation had been proceeding with rapid steps in Scotland. Some of the leading reformers, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately, in 1557, into a bond or association; and called themselves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the Congregation of Satan. The zeal and fury of this

lence was further stimulated by the arrival of John Knox from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the sternness of his sect. Many acts of violence were committed upon the clergy, as well as upon the monasteries and churches, which produced an open civil war. At length the leaders of the Congregation, encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II., passed an act, from their own authority, depriving the queen dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom. They collected forces to put their edict in execution against them, and solicited succours from Elizabeth. The wise council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request; and though the Scotch presbyterians, and especially their leader Knox, were hateful to the queen, Cecil at length persuaded her to support, by arms and money, the affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with them, and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Firth of Forth (Jan. 15, 1560) disconcerted the French army, who shut themselves up in Leith; whilst the English army, reinforced by 5000 Scots, sat down before the place. The French were obliged to capitulate; and plenipotentiaries from France signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom (July 6, 1560). The subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no further ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. Laws were passed abolishing the mass and the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics whom they called superintendents.

§ 3. Elizabeth soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title and subverting her authority. But the progress of the reformation in France, as well as the sudden death of the king, Francis II., interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise. Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, was appointed regent to her son, Charles IX., now in his minority; and the king of Navarre, who was favourable to the protestants, was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Catherine de Medicis, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the queen of Scots, finding

abode in France disagreeable, resolved to return to Scotland, and landed at Leith, Aug. 19, 1561. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. It is said that after she had embarked at Calais she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that, if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country in which all her affections were centred. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time; and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and, still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell, France, farewell! I shall never see thee more!" The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked towards the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. She had now reached her 19th year; and the bloom of her youth and the amiable beauty of her person were further recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. The first measures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favour: she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the people, and who she found were alone able to support her government. But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances. She was still a papist; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel: she was soon exposed to every kind of contumely. The clergy and the preachers in particular took a pride in vilifying her, even to her face. The ringleader in these insults on the queen was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and though she endeavoured, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favour, all her insinuations could make no impression on his obdurate heart. Mary, whose age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these re-