



Henry VIII, the Reign

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Second Edition

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Introduction

Introduction

Until a few years ago I subscribed to a popular image of Henry VIII being something of a hot-blooded womanising, fornicating tyrant who broke with Roman Catholicism to divorce his first wife, Catherine. He married a second wife, Anne, only to have her head chopped off shortly afterwards so he could marry her lady in waiting, Jane, who died. He then fell in love with the portrait of a German woman, another Anne, who in the flesh he rejected as his fourth wife and so divorced her. He took a fifth, another Catherine, (Katherine if you prefer) who turned out to be a Jezebel, and her head was chopped off. Then finally for a sixth, he fell for a damsel, another Katherine (Catherine if you prefer) who nursed him kindly through his last years until he died of an excess of food drink and sex.

In the midst of all this, the raging tyrant persecuted every monk and nun in the kingdom. He threw them out of the monasteries before demolishing their sacred buildings which were sold off to the elite to make him the richest sovereign in Christendom – and anyone who disagreed with him was beheaded.

Of course, we have that clichéd assumption that Henry was a tall, handsome sportsman as a young man who turned into an overweight decrepit as he aged.

The narrative, Henry VIII, the Reign, began life those few years ago as a simple timeline of the reign. I was looking

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at the relationship between the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Gunpowder Plot merely collating the elementary detail to use as way markers to chart the course of Henry's 'rule'.

Before I became more closely acquainted with Henry, his wives and all the rest of it I spent several decades in the world of corporation and commerce, amid the egocentrics, the politics and the factions operating in and around the corridors of power – much as it must have been in and about the Tudor court. This, as now, was motivated by inherent urges; control, supremacy and of course sex.

My perception of this period of has history changed – a lot. The contemporary detail in the Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII, for example, seem to be at odds with many of the literary histories, those house brick size works, with Henry VIII at the core.

Many of these works concentrate on the man himself, the persona of Henry VIII. To adopt such a point of view however is but surely to distort the broader picture and thus Henry is construed, as master of everything. An all seeing all knowing, dictator, 'a veritable Bluebeard,' who ruled by his wants and whims, and so what has come down to us is more of a legendary than a historical figure.

Literary gloss aside, Henry VIII, from the day his father died, was buffeted along by events. Events, such as Wolsey's wars, the dissolution of the monasteries and the

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rise of the Seymours. Henry, it seemed to me didn't possess the ability to take control of anything – including all six of his marriages or even his own household.

The purpose of this short book, therefore, is to cut away the padding, get back to basics. The aim is to show, succinctly that the reign of Henry VIII was dictated by political professionals, people the like of Wolsey, Cromwell, Seymour and those who sided with their various agendas for the governance of England. (There are two volumes of notes, separate from this book, which contain supporting entries to the text, compiled from the Calendar of State Papers, of which there is more detail below.)

The people who surrounded Henry were far quicker, far more experienced, far more ruthless, far more determined and above all far more manipulative than the gluttonous royal second son, a man who was but a thrall to their motives, and who was never groomed to be king and certainly not educated to govern.

In writing Henry VIII, the Reign, it is my hope, and given the strength of the popular image of 'the tyrant', perhaps a slim hope, that some seeds might be sown, and maybe one day, a more realistic vision of the period will be fashioned.

After all, it is a disservice to history to brush aside the more influential men and women of the age, the ones who

Introduction

really shaped history, and in doing so overstate the importance of just one man.

M.H.

Introduction

The Notes Books

The supporting notes to this book are freely available from the website, Henry VIII, the Reign at. They are also available in two paperback volumes, *Henry VIII, the Reign – the notes Volumes 1 and 2*, available from Amazon. The supporting notes are listed at the end of each part.

Website: www.henryviiihereign.co.uk

For example, therefore; The Bruges Treaty conclusion November 1521 LP 1802 – is in Notes Book Volume 1, Part 9, Note 4.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 9

P9N1.Edict of Worms 1521

P9N2.Bruges Treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V
LP 1508

P9N3.Bruges Treaty between Charles V and Henry VIII
from Spanish State Papers SC 355

**P9N4.Bruges Treaty conclusion November 1521 LP
1802**

P9N5.Francis's affection for Wolsey in November 1521
LP 1803

P9N6.Efforts for Wolsey's Election to be Pope LP 1872

P9N7.Declaration of War against France LP 2292

P9N8.Backing for Bourbon LP 3123

Introduction

P9N9. Wolsey's election to be pope LP 3389

P9N10. The great victory at Ancre and Braye, the winning of the passage over

Henry VIII, the Reign

Part 1

A New King

Henry Married to Brother's Widow – Inheritance of His Father's Council – Wars Avoided – Peace and Wealth in England

Henry VIII became King of England on 21 April 1509 at the age of seventeen.

His father's army had killed King Richard III twenty-four years earlier, on the battlefield at Bosworth, and there Henry VII won the crown of England for the Tudors.

Prince Arthur, Henry's older brother by some five years, was born to be the next Tudor king. From the cradle, he had been groomed for kingship.

On 14 November 1501, Prince Arthur married Catherine of Aragon in a union arranged by Henry VII and Arthur's grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond. The alliance was agreed with Catherine's parents, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, and it was intended to strengthen an Anglo-Spanish pact against France. The houses of Tudor and Trastámara were thus allied against the French house of Valois.

Arthur had been invested as Prince of Wales in 1489, and the newly wedded prince, with his young bride, was serving his father at Ludlow, presiding over his principality, when he died there on 2 April 1502. The young prince was buried at Worcester Cathedral.

The death of the Prince of Wales, briefly mourned, created dynastic, legal and diplomatic problems over the widowed Catherine's position within the English royal family.

After Henry VII died in 1509, Lady Margaret assumed control, and to preserve the Tudor and Trastámara bond the matriarch inveigled her living grandson into

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marrying her deceased grandson's widow. Papal dispensation was required for this atypical marriage, but, for these two powerful dynasties, authorisation from an acquiescent pope, albeit contentious, was granted.

Lady Margaret, who had played no small part in Henry VII's rise to kingship, lived a little longer and so witnessed the new king and queen being crowned in a joint coronation at Westminster Abbey on 24 June 1509, but she died five days later.

In the years since the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, Henry VIII's father and grandmother had revived the fortunes of what had been war-ravaged England. The expense of conflict had for the most part been avoided: the government was efficient, the Tudors were largely respected abroad, and the king's coffers were full.

Throughout the realm, however, the financial administration that Henry VIII inherited was unpopular because of what was deemed excessive taxation. Two of the administrators responsible for this harsh fiscal regime were Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. To make way for a fresh start to the new reign, they were offered up as culprits and executed in 1510.

At that time, international treaties lapsed with the demise of the monarch unless the succeeding ruler renewed them. Young Henry's council continued with its established foreign policies and renewed all those treaties his father had left. For two years, Tudor England avoided involvement in the wars carried on by those in Christendom striving for independence or expansion of empire.

Henry VIII inherited an England that was, compared with some of the troubles of the previous century, relatively peaceful and wealthy.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 1

P1N1.Polydore Vergil on Henry VIII's first Council and his Inheritance

P1N2.Catherine's father Ferdinand's joy at arrangement of her marriage LP 39.

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P1N3.Ferdinand loves Catherine most of all his children LP 40

P1N4.Preparations for the Coronation LP 81.

P1N5.Henry will marry Catherine and fulfil old treaty LP 84.

P1N6.Wars of Roses.

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Part 2

Emergence of Wolsey

Ambitious Servant of Papacy – Bishop Fox’s Protégé Takes England to War – Turmoil in Aquitaine Pope Julius Dead – New Pope Leo X

Henry VII and his mother had been guided over many years by a council that had helped to turn England from a land of battling lords to a wealthy and peaceful realm. However, by the time the young Henry VIII acceded, these men were of an ageing, retiring and often poorly sort.

The early political influence that was exerted on behalf of the young king fell into the hands of Bishop Richard Foxe of Winchester and his secular adversary Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.

Luis Caroz de Villaragut, Spanish ambassador in England, noted, ‘The king is young, and does not care to occupy himself with anything but the pleasures of his age. All other affairs he neglects.’ Among the pleasures of his age were jousting, tennis, falconry and hunting. He enjoyed these activities and also acquired a passion for gambling.

Bishop Foxe employed an ambitious assistant, called Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey contrived a vocation that included ambitions to manipulate both of these discomfited generations. The protégé and alumnus of Bishop Foxe, this younger (but by no means inexperienced) man, affable with the king’s young friends, astute with Howard and gradually able to foster a gracious relationship with the impressionable king, emerged from the establishment and settled himself firmly between the king and council. Thus, he set about ruling both.

Whatever Wolsey was and whatever he became, however, his first loyalty as a priest was firmly to the papacy – not an individual pope, but to the office itself and the unbounded potential for that institution of supremacy to dominate all Christendom. In the summer of 1511, therefore, when Giuliano Della Rovere, Pope Julius II (the so-called warrior pope) called for a war (a Holy League)

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against France, Thomas Wolsey, who had become the youthful king’s almoner, saw this as an opportunity to announce himself as a willing and ambitious servant of the papacy.

The kings of England had, for centuries, claimed the kingdom of France. Henry II had married into part of it, King John had all of it, then lost it, and Henry IV won it back only for Henry VI to lose it again. The opportunity was perfect for Wolsey. With papal sanction, he soon persuaded the chivalrous young king to claim what was rightfully his: the French crown. With a double-edged sword, Wolsey organised a dual-purpose conflict, a holy war to impress the pope and by the same means a dynastic war to flatter his sovereign.

The war, however, began badly. In early summer 1512, Wolsey’s former pupil Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, led a disastrous attempt to invade Aquitaine. In what was planned as a joint operation with Henry’s father-in-law, Ferdinand, to invade south-west France, Ferdinand used the English as a diversion to enable him to conquer the adjacent kingdom of Navarre and to occupy that country for himself. He left the English in turmoil and his son-in-law humiliated.

In February 1513, the ‘warrior pope’ Julius II died and a new, peaceful pope, Giovanni di Lorenzo de’ Medici (Leo X) was elected in March 1513.

Supplement to Part 2 - Christendom and Maps

Christendom in 1509

Shifting dynastic power in Christendom governed the reign of Henry VIII.

It is necessary, to follow the events of the reign, to have a perception of the influence of the families and factions at home and abroad which shaped the period.

When Henry VIII became king in 1509, there were four major dynastic powers, plus the papacy, in what we now call Western Europe. Their sovereigns were of the same epoch as Henry’s father.

Henry VIII was the first of the next generation, from which would emerge three

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younger heads of state. The events of their tenure – coupled with the affairs of the papacy – are among the most renowned in history.

The affairs of England, however, were conducted in the name of a young, inexperienced and tractable king, by an evolving megalomaniac churchman, Thomas Wolsey.

The four major dynastic powers in Christendom were;

House of Tudor; England with Wales and Ireland.

House of Habsburg; Holy Roman Empire of Germanic states, the Netherlands and Burgundy with its seat of power in Austria.

House of Trastámara; Spain made up of the recently unified states of Castile and Aragon.

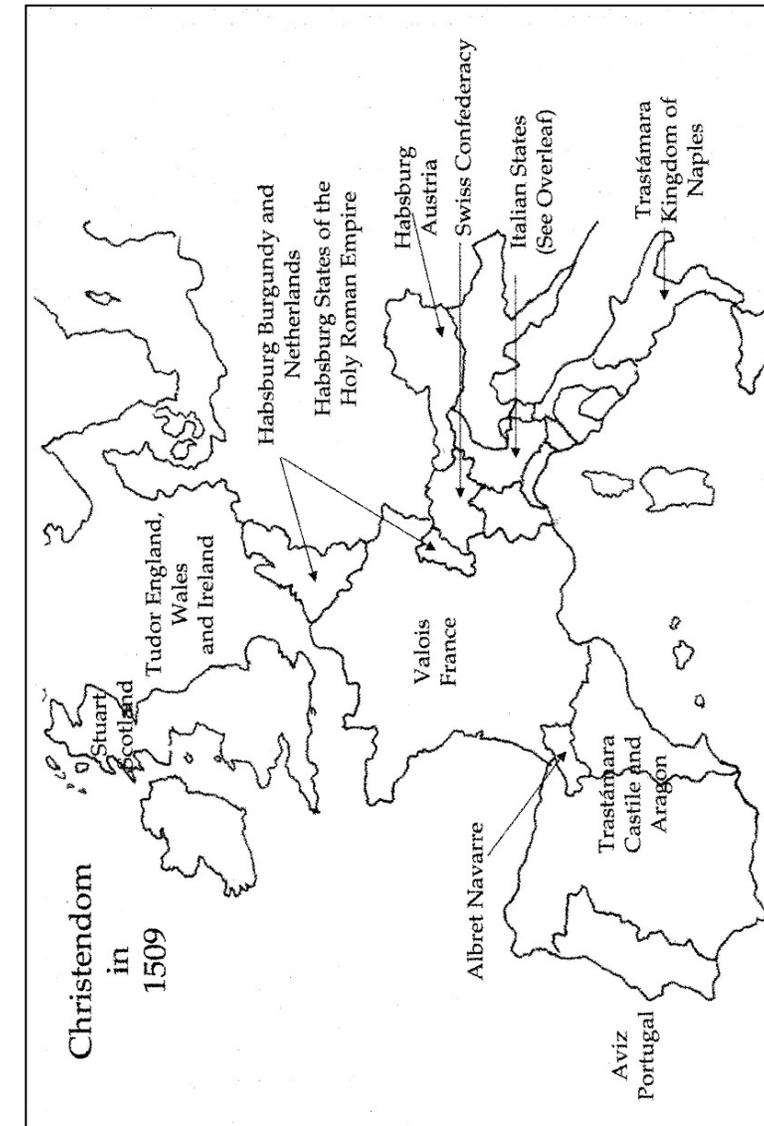
House of Valois; France.

Plus **House of Della Rovere;** Papal Office.

Throughout the reign of Henry VIII, all five powers were periodically involved in the so-called Italian Wars for control of northern Italy and in particular the Duchy of Milan.

Although English troops were rarely involved directly in that area of Christendom, much funding often came from England. The conflict dictated the strength of England's various allegiances for or against the dynasties involved, spilling over, and leading to battles, from time to time, on home soil and in neighbouring France and Scotland.

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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 2

P2N1. Wolsey Appointed Almoner LP 1509, for some insight into Wolsey's relationship with Fox(e), see *Letters of Richard Fox*.

P2N2. All other affairs he neglects. Spanish Ambassador to Ferdinand 29 May 1510 LP 44.

P2N3. Lengthy account of the state of English affairs on French - Spanish border by John Stiles, ambassador in Spain LP 1326, P2N4. Succinct account of the affairs on the border by William Knight LP 1327.

P2N5. "Wolsey is the author of the war" LP 1422.

Part 3

New Papal Policy

Victory over French and Scots – New Pope Calls for Peace – Marriage Arrangements for Mary and Charles – Wolsey's French Friendship

Without Ferdinand but with the support of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, and his daughter Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy and regent of the Netherlands, Henry's army invaded France from the north. The English were victorious at the Battle of the Spurs at Guinegate in August 1513 and then took Tournai from the French. Meanwhile, back at home with England under the regency of Catherine of Aragon, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, won an even more spectacular victory against the Scots at Flodden in September 1513.

Henry and his troops returned home to prepare, hopefully, for another invasion the following year.

While the English had been battling with the French and the Scots, Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Leo X, established himself in the papal office. The new pope was set on a different path. His was one of harmony and accord. He reversed the policy against France of his predecessor and called for peace among Christian nations.

In France, King Louis XII was old, he was and weary of schism and war, and in October 1513 he gratefully submitted to the new pope's initiative.

Wolsey was forced to consider an about-turn. While Henry was still bent on the conquest of France, the pope's holy war had been called off and the new clerical policy necessitated befriending France.

The double-dealing of Ferdinand complicated the English position once again. In an agreement back in 1507 between Henry VII and Maximilian, Henry VIII's younger sister, Mary, had been pledged by treaty to marry the future Charles V,

grandson of Maximilian. The terms of the treaty determined that the marriage must take place by May 1514, but now Charles's paternal grandfather, Ferdinand, declined his consent for the union.

Mary was eighteen years of age and Charles was fourteen. Charles protested that he wanted a wife not a mother. Unaware of these developments, however, Henry VIII and his sister continued to make lavish wedding arrangements.

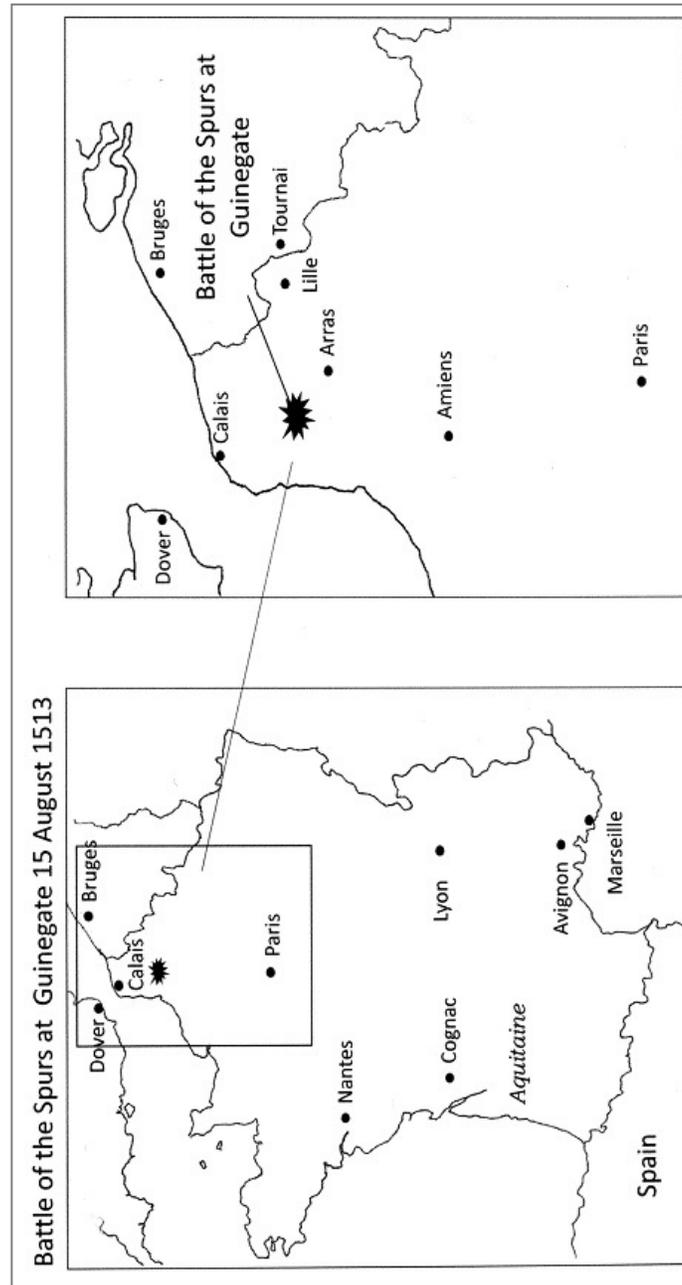
Meanwhile, Leo X pursued his quest for unity among all Christian nations and the treacherous Ferdinand slapped Henry down again by opening negotiations with Louis of France.

Wolsey, in the meantime, was elevated to Bishop of Lincoln as a reward for his impressive work during Pope Julius's war.

He too, despite Henry's continued preparations for war, was adopting the papal strategy and preparing to negotiate with France.

England's man in Rome, however, was Cardinal and Archbishop of York Christopher Bainbridge. He was staunchly anti-French and an obstinate obstacle to Wolsey's policy.

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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 3

P3N1. Battle of the Spurs.

P3N2. Battle of Flodden.

P3N3. Proposals from France to Spain for an alliance LP 144, P3N4. Ferdinand's assessment of matters concerning Christendom in December 1513 LP 146.

P3N5. Treaty between Henry VIII King, Maximilian and King Ferdinand for war against France LP 148, P3N6. Mary's wedding preparations LP 2656.

Part 4

Cardinal Archbishop of York Murdered

Archbishop of York Bainbridge is an Obstacle – Bainbridge Murdered –
Wolsey Becomes Archbishop of York – Mary's Marriage to Charles Is
Off – Mary Married to French King Instead – Heretic Hunne Hanged

Henry was engrossed in the details of Mary's wedding, which would have been a marriage to the Habsburgs – the dynastic arch-enemy of the French Valois.

Wolsey, on a path heading in the opposite direction, circumvented the anti-French Bainbridge, who, increasingly isolated, was highly sceptical of what Wolsey was doing with foreign policy behind the king's back, negotiating peace with France.

As important to Wolsey as implementing a pro-French policy was that he wanted to oust Bainbridge. He wanted to take over for himself not just the Archbishopric of York but Bainbridge's cardinalate as well, and so he employed his own man, Silvestro de' Gigli, absentee Bishop of Worcester, to secure his wants in Italy.

In July 1514 Bainbridge was murdered.

With spectacular momentum, Wolsey then became Archbishop of York, and, by the time the news of Bainbridge's death had travelled the twelve hundred potted miles from Rome to London, he had the archbishop's milliner at work on a hat for his own head.

It is probable that Thomas Cromwell was working for the Archdiocese of York at the time.

It seemed Wolsey's fortune had no bounds and his efforts with the French and the pope succeeded, at least for him. He brought England in line with papal

policy. Mary's long-standing marriage contract to Charles remained unfulfilled; the contractual stipulation that it should take place by 15 May 1514 had been breached long since. With his sister jilted so near, and yet so far, from the altar, young Henry Tudor was on the brink of dynastic humiliation at the hands of the Habsburgs and the Trastámaras. Wolsey, naturally, had everything in hand, and rescued him with a spectacular face-saving act of retribution: Mary overtly repudiated Charles and then contracted to marry the fifty-two-year-old King Louis XII of France and create a union with the Valois dynasty instead.

She was crowned Queen of France on 5 November 1514.

The pope demanded credit for Mary's marriage, effectively a marriage of England to France, but was worried that his plan was not sufficiently appreciated. To remedy this, Wolsey arranged to have the papal influence mentioned, with honour, in the marriage contract, which he thought would bind the pope to grant the cardinalate Wolsey so desperately wanted.

Now Henry gave Wolsey his support, and in doing so bowed to the power of the cleric. On 12 August 1514, Henry wrote to the pope requesting him to make Wolsey a cardinal, with all the honours held by the late Cardinal of York. Henry said that Wolsey's merits were such that he esteemed him above all his other dearest friends and could do nothing of the least importance without him – true words indeed.

The Mary–Louis marriage was a short one. The king died on 1 January 1515. Whether a compliment to the king's efforts or lamentation for his poor health is not entirely clear, but some jibed that it was either the consummation or an inability to realise the consummation act that killed him. Whichever it was, Mary was not unattended for long, because her brother's jousting compatriot, Charles Brandon, who had gone to collect her from France, married her on the way home to England. One of her attendants, however, remained in France for some time and she has become known over the centuries as Anne Boleyn.

With a cleric running the kingdom, a certain Richard Hunne was found hanging in his cell on 4 December 1514. He was being held on charges of heresy but had disputed the legality of clerical authority in a secular court. The circumstances

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were suspicious, and ever since murder, not suicide, has been suspected. The Hunne affair is often cited as the first event of the Reformation in England; be that as it may, other anti-clericalists were beginning to stir.

Supplement to Part 4 – Dynasty

Dynastic machinations are exemplified in the matrimonial union of Henry VIII's younger sister, eighteen-year-old Mary, to the widowed fifty-two-year-old King of France, Louis XII in 1514.

Henry VII, Mary's father, years before, in 1507, had negotiated a marriage contract with Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian for Mary – eleven years old at the time – to his six-year-old grandson Charles, the future King Charles V of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor.

Charles' father Philip died in 1506 at the age of twenty-eight. Maximilian was his paternal grandfather; his maternal grandfather was Ferdinand of Aragon, Catherine of Aragon's father. His grandparents assumed responsibility for the boy's future.

Henry VII had died in 1509, and by 1513 Thomas Wolsey was ruling England. Wolsey, consistent with the papal policy dictated by Giuliano Della Rovere, Pope Julius II, known as the Warrior Pope, was making war on France. He was allied on the battlefield with Maximilian. Thus far Charles and Mary had not met, the administrative duties of the marriage had been performed by proxy, but now a new treaty was made which stipulated that the union should be completed, in person, in Calais, not later than 15 May 1514.

As Wolsey and Maximilian were hammering out terms the Warrior Pope, in Rome, died. A new pope was elected, and the de Medici family, in the form of Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici as Pope Leo X, moved into the Papal Palace, and in an about turn, he pursued a policy of peace in Christendom.

Taking his lead from the new regime in Rome, Ferdinand of Aragon made peace with France. With a new order in Christendom, he had other plans for the future of his grandson. Henry VIII was in the thick of the marriage arrangements for his young sister, oblivious to the political intrigues until it became obvious that

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Maximilian was about to renege on the 15 May deadline.

Charles would be married elsewhere to another person at some other time.

Humiliation loomed, King Henry VIII sister all but jilted at the altar, but the scheming Wolsey had plans afoot.

The Cardinal, with no small ballyhoo, had Mary repudiate the marriage contract to Charles and with no less commotion and ceremony pledged her in marriage to the king of France. Mary was shipped off to Abbeville to be married. She took with her a large retinue of ladies from the English court – most of whom, after the ceremony, Louis packed off back to England. The marriage was short-lived, Louis died less than three months later.

The Foreshadow of Anne Boleyn

There was a 'Boleyn girl' that remained with Mary's diminished retinue. It is not clear however whether the 'Madamoyselle Boleyne' in the records of those who remained was Anne or her sister Mary.

It is known that in 1513 Anne's father, a senior diplomat was on good terms with the Regent of the Netherlands Margaret of Austria. Margaret ruled on behalf of her thirteen-year-old nephew Charles – later Charles V – and her court was at Mechelen, fifteen miles north of Brussels. Eric Ives describes it as 'Europe's premier finishing school...'

At the time of Mary's repudiation of Charles and pledge to marry, instead, Louis XII, Thomas Boleyn asked for Anne's release back into the care of the escort who had brought her from England, and from there for a while, she is hidden in the shadows of history.

Following the death of King Louis, Francis I became king of France. Francis was married to Queen Claude, and at sometime, Anne Boleyn entered Claude's household – quite how is a mystery.

There are a number of theories as to how this happened. However, the most plausible is that Anne left Mechelen and joined Mary's retinue and on the king's death took up with the new queen's cortege where she stayed for several years.

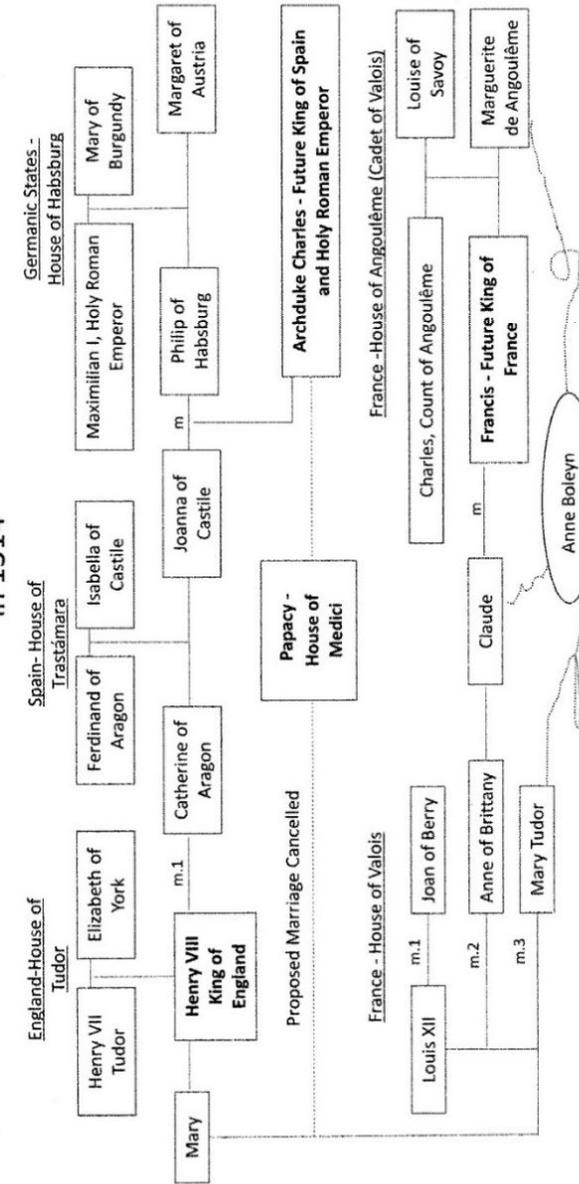
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In the Upper Loire at Amboise and at Blois it seems inevitable that there would have been a coalescence of the households of Claude, Francis's mother Louise and his sister Margaret of Angoulême.

The details are shadowy, but it is certain that Anne Boleyn spent quite some years at the two of the finest courts in Christendom, and in doing so became a wholly French, erudite, politically astute and voraciously ambitious woman who would later drive herself to become Queen of England, claiming a French royal pedigree.

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The Dynasties of Christendom at the Time of Mary Tudors Marriage to the King of France in 1514



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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 4

P4N1.Collapse of the Intended Wedding of Princess Mary Tudor to Charles of Castile - List of LPs.

P4N2.Of how Henry laments all his preparation at Calais LP 3041, P4N3.Henry VIII requests Wolsey be made a cardinal LP 3140, P4N4. Pope credit for marriage LP 3232, P5N5. Richard Hunne

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Part 5

New Sovereigns in Christendom

Francis I Is New King of France – Charles V Is New King of Spain –
Martin Luther's Thesis – Wolsey de facto Ruler of England

Upon coming of age on 5 January 1515, the future Charles V became Duke of Burgundy, and Margaret Habsburg, for now, stepped aside as ruler of the Netherlands.

Francis I was crowned King of France in the Cathedral of Reims on 25 January 1515, with Claude as his queen consort. He was twenty years old, a similar age to Henry VIII.

In England, Thomas Wolsey received news that on 10 September 1515 he had been elected as a cardinal.

Within months, Francis marched his army to Milan, defeated the Swiss army at the Battle of Marignano during 13 and 14 September 1515, and reclaimed Milan. The conquest strengthened his influence over the pope, and he renegotiated the extent of papal authority allowed in France, which was later sealed as the Concordat of Bologna on 18 August 1516.

In a crucial strategic move in 1515, Charles sent Adrian Florensz (Adrian of Utrecht, who later became Pope Adrian VI) to Spain to persuade Charles's grandfather, Ferdinand, that his Spanish lands should be inherited by Charles and fall under his rule and not that of Charles's Spanish-born younger brother, Ferdinand, whom his grandfather seemed to prefer. Adrian was sufficiently persuasive and succeeded on Charles's behalf, an act for which in forthcoming years he gained high reward.

Catherine of Aragon gave birth to a daughter, the future Queen Mary I of England, on 18 February 1516. Sadly for her, she must have received the news

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that her father – Charles’s grandfather, Ferdinand – had died only shortly before the birth, on 23 January 1516.

Charles was now King of Spain, but he was of course still in the Netherlands, and so Adrian ruled in his absence.

Relations between the Habsburg, Trastámara and Valois dynasties were for the most part volatile, but the Treaty of Noyon, signed on 13 August 1516, allowed Charles to make the journey between the Netherlands and Spain without interference from France (which separates, geographically, these two countries). He set sail for his new kingdom, escorted by forty ships, on 8 September 1517.

Margaret Habsburg again assumed the governorship of the Netherlands and Charles arrived in Spain at an inlet near the village of Villaviciosa on 18 September 1517.

On 31 October 1517 in Saxony-Anhalt, Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses – against clerical abuses including nepotism, simony, usury, pluralism and the sale of indulgences – to the door of Wittenberg church.

The Christian faith was under attack from within – again.

Notwithstanding, at this crucial time Pope Leo X called for a crusade against the Turks.

Appealing to the new young princes, Leo’s plan was for a truce to be declared throughout Christendom, and he was to be the arbiter of disputes. Emperor Maximilian and the King of France were to lead the army; England, Spain and Portugal were to furnish the fleet; and the combined forces were to be directed against the enemy of the church at Constantinople. So, on 6 March 1518 in Rome, Leo X declared a five-year truce.

To promote the declaration, he dispatched four legates to the corners of Christendom. On 15 April 1518, one of them, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, set out for England as a *legate a latere*. As a legate, he was of a higher rank than Wolsey. Henry had been appealing to the pope since 1514 to promote Wolsey to that status, but, in fear of upsetting the French, Leo had avoided doing so.

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As *de facto* ruler of England, Wolsey seized his chance to become the pope’s alter ego. He had previously harried Henry to affirm that no higher-ranking foreign officer of the papacy would be admitted into England. As a result, Campeggio would have to wait at Calais – wait and wait for as long it took – for Wolsey to be promoted by Leo.

Thus, Campeggio waited and waited at Calais, until eventually, Wolsey did receive his promotion from Rome.

Campeggio, now having crossed the English Channel, revealed Leo’s papal plan.

Wolsey didn’t like it.

After all, it was not Wolsey’s idea, and anyway, he had devised a better strategy for Christendom to follow.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 5

P5N1. Concordat of Bologna.

P5N2. Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, Definition: Cardinalate (plural cardinalates): -The dignity and ecclesiastical office of Roman Catholic cardinal, the cardinalate ranks equal to a secular prince of the blood.

P5N3. Wolsey's election to cardinalate LP 892 and 893, P5N4. Wolsey thanks Silvester, Bishop of Worcester LP 894, Silvestro de' Gigli Bishop of Worcester, resident in Rome, was the second of three Italian absentees to hold the see before the Reformation.

P5N5. Begs Worcester [de Gigli] to remember his other suits and desires LP 895.

Part 6

Wolsey's Rise to Chief Arbiter of Christendom

Wolsey Usurps the Pope's Plans – Cardinal Arranges Treaty of London in 1518 – Wolsey Appoints Himself Christendom's Papa

While Campeggio waited at Calais, Wolsey had been conducting clandestine negotiations in London with Étienne de Poncher, Bishop of Paris, in a process initiated from Paris back on 8 April 1518.

As a result of their deliberations, on 2 October 1518 England and France bilaterally agreed Wolsey's new plan for perpetual peace in Christendom, which turned Tournai over to France at a price of six hundred thousand crowns. Subsequently, more than twenty other powers followed in making a peace agreement, and by March 1519 both Spain and Venice had also ratified the treaty, which was known as the Treaty of London.

Wolsey had usurped the papal initiative and become the self-appointed arbiter and steward of Christendom. He had succeeded in self-aggrandisement in a fashion that His Holiness had set out to achieve for his own glorification.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 6

P6N1.Nothing pleases him [Wolsey] more than to be styled the arbitrator of the affairs of Christendom LP 125.

P6N2.Wolsey hosts a banquet, 'the like of which was never given either by Cleopatra or Caligula' LP 1085 (Venice)

P6N3.Arrival of an ambassador from France to ratify the league LP 1178 (Venice)

Part 7

Jeunesse Dorée

Henry's Hoorahs Humbled and Expelled from Court – Young Tudor King Chastised – Maximilian Dies – Henry VIII Becomes Father to a Son

In the autumn of 1518, Henry fashioned some ostentatious new posts in the royal household: Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. He bestowed this title upon some of his young jousting, falconry and gambling friends: Francis Bryan, Nicholas Carew, William Coffin, Edward Neville, Henry Norris, and Arthur Pole.

In his Chronicle, Edward Hall explains they were a rabble-rousing bunch who upset the French:

'During time at the French court Nicholas Carew, Francis Bryan and divers others of the young gentlemen of England, they with the French king rode daily disguised through Paris throwing eggs stones and other foolish trifles at the people which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and jested at. When these young gentlemen came again to England, they were all French in eating, drinking and apparel, yea, and in French vices and brags so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at.'

Nine months after the formation of his club for gilded youths, the twenty-eight-year-old king was hauled before his councillors and upbraided over the poor behaviour of those 'young men in his privy chamber', of whom it was said, 'not regarding his estate nor degree, were so familiar and homely with him, and played such light touches with him that they forget themselves. Which things although the king of his gentle nature suffered and not rebuked nor reprovved the kings counsel thought it not mete to be suffered for the king's honour.'

The councillors demanded that Henry redress these enormities and lightness, and 'the king answered that he had chosen those of his counsel, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defence of all things that might blemish

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the same: wherefore if they saw any about him misuse themselves he committed it to their reformation’.

Most of his associates, however, were dismissed from court, which ‘sorely grieved the hearts of these young men’.

Wolsey exercised control over king and country, but even he, now, needed Henry to at least look like a sovereign, because the last of the three most powerful of Christendom’s rulers – the last of the medieval stalwarts – had died by 1519. All three of them were gone in the space of four years: King Louis of France in January 1515, King Ferdinand in January 1516 and now, in January 1519, Maximilian, Henry now had rival rulers of his own age in Francis of France and Charles of Spain, and somehow, sometime he would need to hold his own with them.

On 15 June 1519, Henry’s mistress Elizabeth (Bessie) Blount gave birth to a boy named Henry Fitzroy. He was probably born at the priory of St Laurence, Blackmore, near Ingatestone in Essex. His godfather was Thomas Wolsey.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 7

P7N7. Extract from Edward Hall’s, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, usually called *Hall’s Chronicle*, published in 1548. *Henry’s Minions* Pages 175 to 178

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Part 8

Election of a New Holy Roman Emperor

Charles is Elected Holy Roman Emperor – Expanded Habsburg Empire
Encloses France – Strategic Importance of the English Channel – Field of the Cloth of Gold

Following the death of Maximilian, elections were arranged for a new emperor. Henry VIII was a late entrant but notwithstanding the two favourites were Charles and Francis. Bribes and promises were made to the electors, and on 28 June 1519, Charles won and replaced his grandfather as Holy Roman Emperor.

Charles was already in possession of Spain, but his election brought him vast additional territories that all but surrounded France.

Protocol and tradition demanded a German coronation ceremony was required to be performed at the Palatine Chapel in the Imperial free city of Aachen. Charles, of course, was in Spain, and safe passage between the two countries, as when he had arrived in 1517, required peace.

For this peace, Charles relied on Wolsey’s Treaty of London and its guarantees, which had held since 1518. The treaty obliged the contracting parties not to attack one another and, accordingly, it committed all to come to the aid of any that suffered an attack. Wolsey invited Charles to visit England on his journey by ship to the Low Countries. It was an ostentatious invitation and was heralded as an honour to England to be the first country to host the new emperor. Wolsey’s original proposal was for Charles to land at Southampton.

At the same time, the cardinal organised a spectacular meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I at a venue just outside Calais between Guînes and Ardres; the meeting is known to history as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Wolsey readied to posture as papa over the three young monarchs: Charles,

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Francis and Henry.

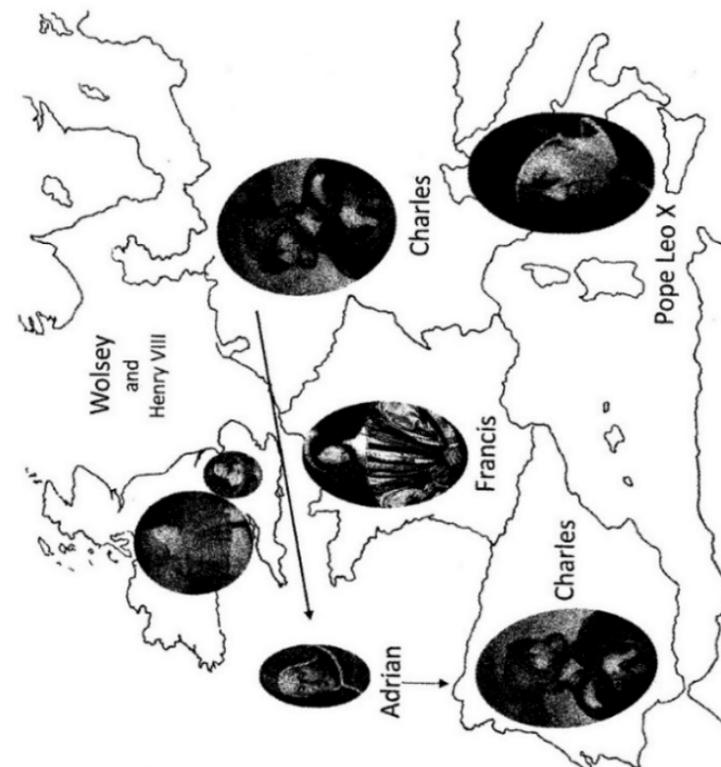
Charles reappointed Adrian, the future Pope Adrian VI, as regent in Spain. The weather, however, delayed Charles's sea journey. He was stuck at Corunna for nearly a month. Eventually, late on 26 May 1520, he neared the English coast. He was met offshore by Wolsey, not at Southampton but at Dover.

Charles witnessed the vast and busy English fleet in a Channel, shuttle back and forth from Calais ferrying thousands of dignitaries, their servants and any amount of equipment in preparation for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. This was a demonstration of English naval prowess staged to impress Charles as much as it was Francis.

Henry met Charles at Dover Castle that night. The emperor stayed for three days with Henry and Catherine at Canterbury; he then sailed to Flushing, and Henry crossed to Calais on 31 May 1520 to meet Francis.

After the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Wolsey and Henry reunited for another interview with Charles on the border between Calais and Gravelines.

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The Changing Face of Christendom – France Surrounded

After Maximilian's death, Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor.

When Charles was elsewhere in the empire, his aunt Archduchess Margaret of Austria ruled as regent of the Netherlands.

To rule Spain while he was elsewhere in the empire, Charles appointed his former tutor, Cardinal Bishop, Adrian of Utrecht in the Netherlands as regent in Spain.

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Supplement to Part 8 – The Importance of the Sea

The Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets was a term applied originally, not to the British Empire but the territories of Charles V, King of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor and various other titles.

From the fruits of medieval matrimonial unions, his empire was conceived.

Charles, born in the Netherlands to a Habsburg father and a Trastámara mother was educated there by Adrian of Utrecht, his future emissary, regent in Spain and later Pope Adrian VI.

When he came of age in 1515, Charles took up responsibilities from his aunt, Margaret, as Regent of the Netherlands on behalf of his paternal grandfather, Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian.

In 1516 his paternal grandfather Ferdinand II died and because his mother was infirmed Charles became King of Spain. He departed the Netherlands to live in his new kingdom, at Toledo, arriving in September 1517.

In early 1519 the last of the 'old guard', Maximilian died following which Charles became King of the Germans and later he was elected Holy Roman Emperor, vastly increasing his domains.

Because of Charles' ascendancy King Francis of France, Charles' bitter rival and enemy, found himself all but encircled by Habsburg lands to the north, south, east and the sea to the west. This new order presented a geographical concern for Francis, but it also posed Charles with problems.

France separated the Holy Roman Emperor's new domains, and therefore a journey from Spain to Germany was hazardous. There were two routes; The first by sea, with a threat from both France and Islamic forces in the Mediterranean to northern Italy and then by land over the Alps followed by a long trip overland to Aachen.

The second by sea, under the protection of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's 1518 Treaty of London, sailing east along the English Channel and through Strait of

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Dover to Flushing in the Netherlands followed by a relatively short overland journey.

The cardinal exploited the second.

The Strait of Dover, the English Channel and the Papacy

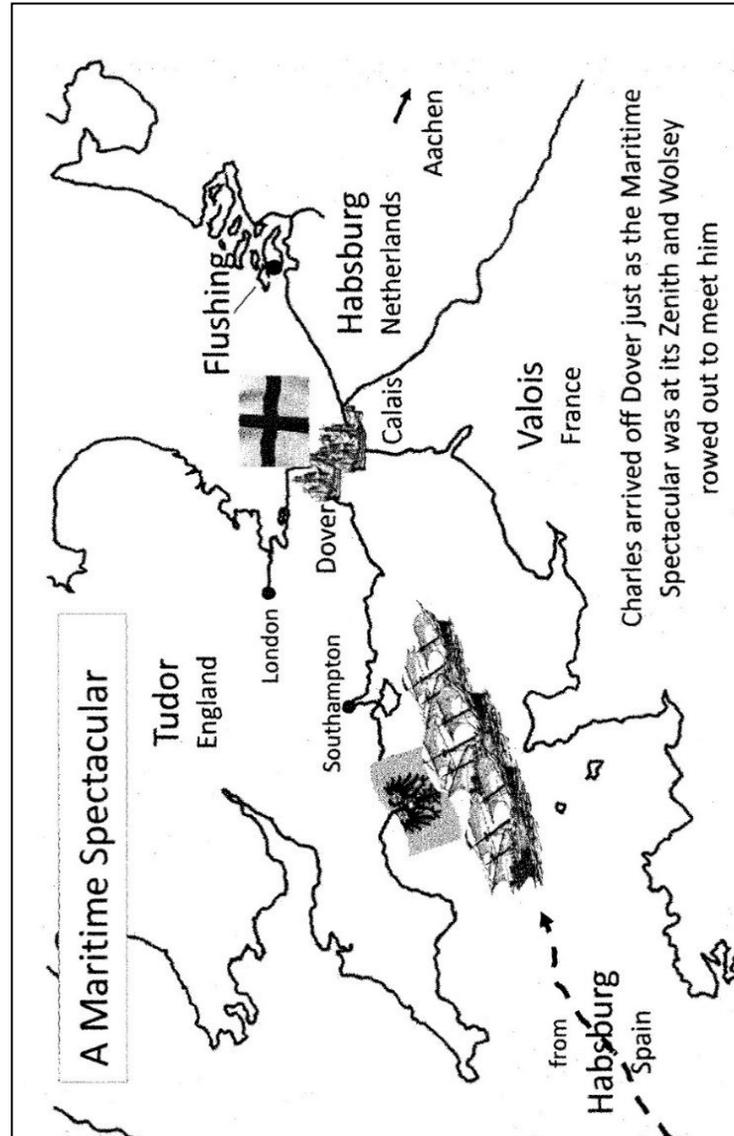
The history of England and latterly the United Kingdom has been influenced beyond measure by a narrow, eighteen nautical miles wide, stretch of water.

The 'narrow sea' between England and France, known by various names throughout history but in modern times called the Strait of Dover is the narrowest point of the English Channel which links the Atlantic Ocean to the North Sea and the numerous ports of the Netherlands, Germany and beyond.

From the Roman conquest to the Battle of Britain, the Channel Tunnel, Vaseline coated swimmers and all, its relevance is world renowned. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey well knew its importance during the reign of Henry VIII, and he used that to drive a bargain.

The bargain was quite a straightforward arrangement:

The deal was that if Wolsey secured Charles' safe passage home, under the protection of the English navy, through the Strait of Dover, the English Channel and on to Spain then, in return, Charles would make Wolsey, the next pope.



Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 8

P8N1.Preparations for journey to Netherlands via England LP 728

P8N2.Francis I Arrangements made for his meeting with Henry VIII -Field of Cloth of Gold. LP No 702

P8N3.List of Noblemen and Others - Field of Cloth of Gold LP No 703

P8N4.A memorial of things necessary for the transporting of the King - Field of Cloth of Gold. LP No 704

P8N5.Embarkation at Dover Painting.

Part 9

Wolsey's Aspirations to the Papacy

War Breaks Out in Northern and Southern Christendom – Henry's Book against Luther Is Published – Wolsey Arbitrates – Double-Dealing in Bruges – Pope Leo X Dies – the Duke of Suffolk Invades France – Another New Pope

Wolsey reigned supreme in England, and his orchestration of the 1518 peace treaty is laudable, but, while Charles was in northern Europe, news came that trouble had broken out and that Francis was funding an invasion of Luxemburg by the Frenchman Robert de la Marck. Meanwhile, Charles II and the Duke of Guelders were assisting Henry d'Albert to take Spanish-held Navarre.

Charles and Francis, each blamed the other. It was a perfect situation for Wolsey to make another grand appearance as steward and arbitrator, and thus the de facto ruler of England now made his move to become the *de jure* ruler of Christendom.

Wolsey, as the architect of the 1518 treaty, settled into mediating between Francis and Charles. He convened a conference for which he landed at Calais on 2 August 1521 and with him brought the great seal of England and a clutch of privy councillors.

However, on 12 August 1521, the cardinal broke from his mediation and travelled, with great pomp, to meet Charles at Bruges, taking almost three days to complete the sixty-mile journey.

While all of this was going on, Henry printed his *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, better known as the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, a much-publicised but ineffective attack on Martin Luther for which the pope awarded Henry the title of *Fidei Defensor*, which translates as *Defender of the Faith*. The work was written in support of the Edict of Worms, a decree issued against Luther on 25 May 1521

by Emperor Charles V, which declared that:

We forbid anyone from this time forward to dare, either by words or by deeds, to receive, defend, sustain, or favour the said, Martin Luther. On the contrary, we want him to be apprehended and punished as a notorious heretic, as he deserves, to be brought personally before us, or to be securely guarded until those who have captured him inform us, whereupon we will order the appropriate manner of proceeding against the said, Luther. Those who will help in his capture will be rewarded generously for their good work.

In Flanders, Wolsey manoeuvred in his own interest, for his own prestige and his own purse, and thus double-crossed Francis and agreed on the Treaty of Bruges. The principal points of the treaty were that Charles would marry Princess Mary by proxy when she reached twelve years of age (she was six at that time and still betrothed to Francis's son) and that England would aid the emperor if he were attacked, and vice versa. In addition, the English navy was to provide substantial safe cover for Charles to return to Spain via England in 1522, and when he arrived in England, both parties were to declare war on France.

In return, Charles, Holy Roman Emperor, promised to make Wolsey the next pope.

The double-dealing done, Wolsey and his entourage made their way, in regal style, to the French, who were clicking their heels and still waiting in the late summer sun at Calais. The French were suspicious, and it fell to Thomas More and Sir Thomas Boleyn to placate them and convince Francis that there had been no duplicity in Bruges. Later, Wolsey lied to them that, on the contrary, he would prefer to lose his head than see the destruction of the friendship with France he had built up. He then admitted that the real reason for the recent execution of the Duke of Buckingham was that Buckingham had opposed his pro-French policy.

Hoodwinked, Francis responded by instructing his ambassadors to notify the cardinal of his affection for him.

As he received the pleasantries of Francis's diplomats, Wolsey was dotting and crossing the i's, and t's in the treaty against France with Charles's ambassadors.

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Then, his work done, he sailed for Dover on 28 November 1521. He had no sooner set foot in England when Pope Leo X dropped down dead.

On 1 December 1521, only a week after Wolsey had signed an agreement for the pope's protection. Leo died so suddenly that there was no time even to administer the last sacraments; remarkable timing indeed.

Efforts were made to have Wolsey elected pope, but the Italian factions stood toe to toe with each other, which had the effect of creating a stand-off. Charles exploited the indecision to his own advantage and, in spite of his pledge to Wolsey, he had Adrian, currently serving as his regent in Spain, elected as pope. At the time of his appointment, Adrian was sixty-three years old and unlikely to live long. Wolsey, the emperor, calculated, could be persuaded that this aged regent of Spain from the Low Countries was merely a subservient stand-in.

The following spring, Charles prepared to make his return to Spain. He reappointed Margaret as his regent in the Netherlands on 15 April 1522, left Brussels on 23 May, arrived at Calais on the 26th and crossed to Dover on the 27th. There he was met by Wolsey and, in accordance with the treaty, on 29 May war was declared on France.

Lavish entertainment followed Charles's arrival at Greenwich and Windsor, including the inevitable banquets, hunting tournaments and pageants.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was made commander of both the English and the Spanish fleets, and at the end of June, he sailed from Southampton west towards Dartmouth in his flagship the *Mary Rose*. He waited at Dartmouth, and by 1 July 1522 had sailed across the Channel with his task force, on the lookout for any maritime threat to Charles's route home. He attacked the French port of Morlaix. He then sailed west to Saint-Pol-de-Léon and burned it down, and next sailed on to the most westerly port in France, Le Conquet, and burned that down too.

Howard and the *Mary Rose* had made the way safe, and Charles left England from Southampton for Spain on 7 July.

Escorted by the English navy and Spanish ships under English command, the

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Holy Roman Emperor was soon back in Spain, safe and sound, and it was all thanks to Wolsey's arrangements and hard work. Now Wolsey waited for the demise of Pope Adrian and for Charles V to reward him with that call to Rome to take Adrian's place as pontiff.

Although the new pope was expected to remain in Spain until Charles returned, he actually left for Rome on 7 July, arriving on 29 July 1522 and, rather than acting as a stand-in, he turned out to be something of a renegade.

Then came a twist of fate. The year before, 1521, the wife of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, had died. King Francis and his mother, Louise, claimed the extensive lands that Bourbon's wife had held and a dispute raged. By the end of 1522, the animosity between them had driven Bourbon to the edge of rebellion against mother and son, and he turned to the enemies of France for aid.

With a noble and rebellious French military commander available and willing to side with them against Francis, Henry VIII and Wolsey moved swiftly. Soon, Bourbon's fighting skills were recruited by Wolsey and Charles and set against France. Wolsey, however, suspected that Bourbon's allegiance to Charles exceeded his loyalty to England.

A war plan was devised, and it was decided that Charles's army would invade France from the south. Bourbon would come from the east and the English from the north-west. At the end of August 1523, led by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, England invaded from Calais.

In the midst of the invasion, the news that Wolsey had been waiting for arrived. On 14 September 1523 in Rome, Adrian Florensz, Pope Adrian VI, had died. Surely now Wolsey's time had come.

All had gone well with the invasion for Charles Brandon during the first weeks; he advanced over seventy miles into France, crossed the Somme and by 2 November 1523 was less than sixty miles from Paris.

However, although the emperor's army had crossed the Pyrenees, it was camped, in poor spirits, on the Spanish side of the border, contained there by the

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French commander Lautrec. Bourbon's rebellious plans had been uncovered, and he had fled to Genoa; there was to be no attack by him from the east.

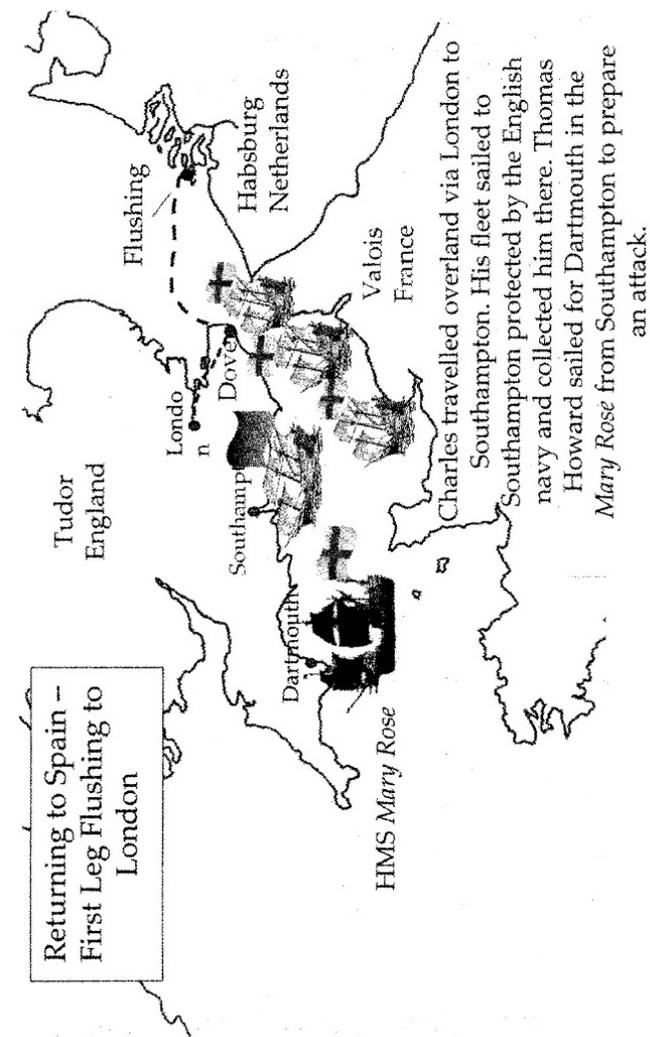
In England, Wolsey waited, day after day. Then days became weeks. Then slowly, painfully and finally angrily, he realised his time had not come after all. Neither Charles nor the cardinals called Wolsey to Rome. Instead, on 19 November 1523, another Medici became pope. Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici was Pope Clement VII.

Furious, Wolsey realised he would gain nothing from the Habsburgs. Despite all his efforts, Charles V and his principal adviser, Gattinara, had humiliated him. The cardinal's papal ambitions were shattered. For now, he must congratulate the new pope – frothing through gritted teeth and cursing under his breath – feigning loyalty to the English policy of Imperialist friendship.

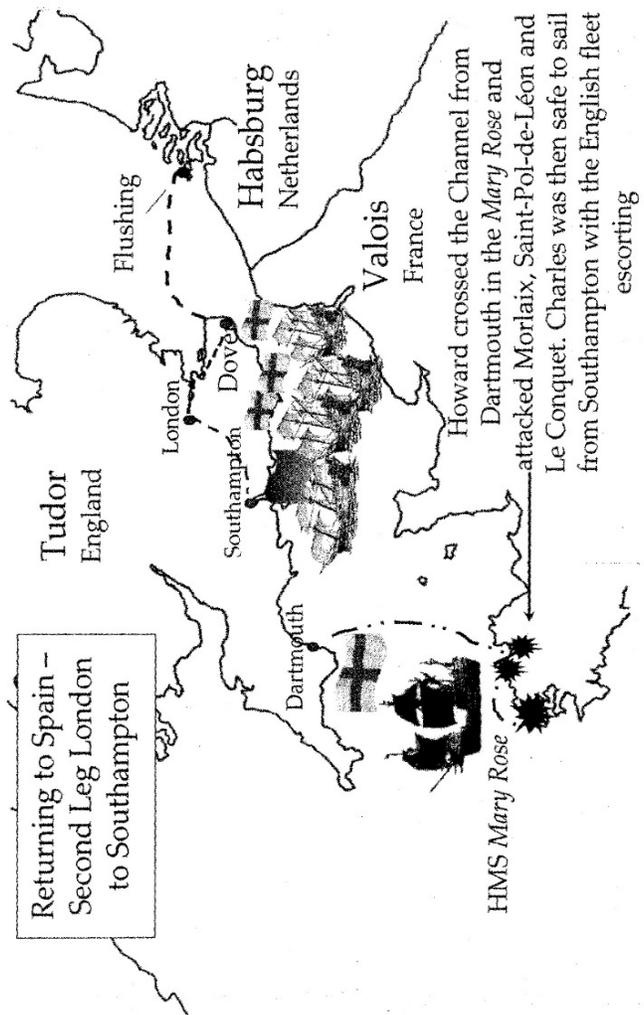
Brandon was at Montdidier and ready to take Paris, but Wolsey cut off supplies and money. The duke was left stranded on the banks of the River Somme, and the invasion of France collapsed.

Holy Roman Emperor Charles was now the cardinal's enemy. Wolsey switched sides and 'turned French'.

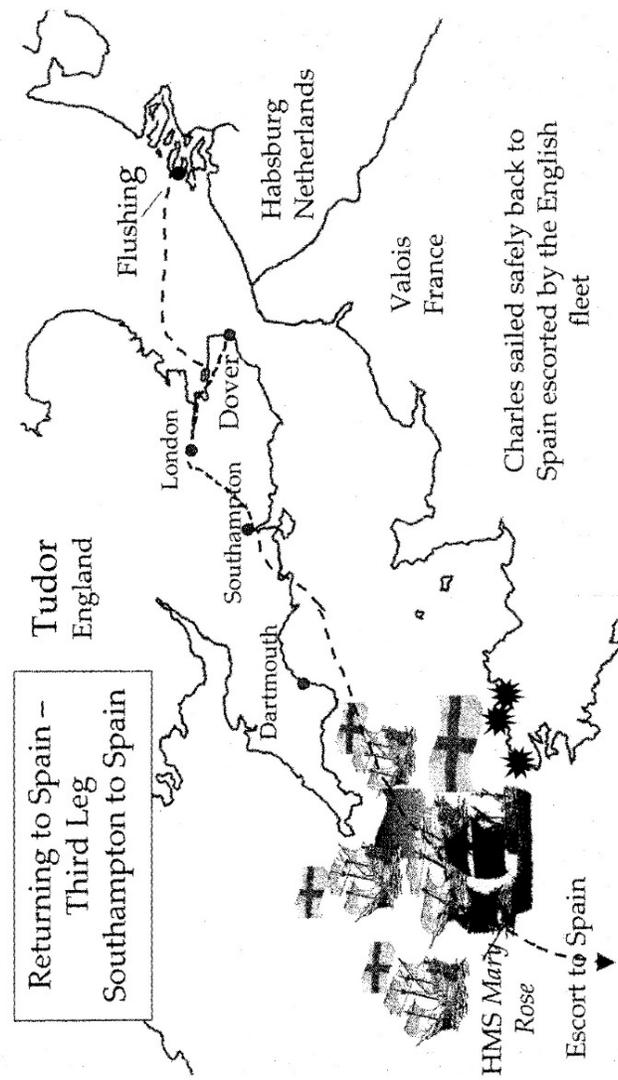
Henry VIII, the Reign



Henry VIII, the Reign



Henry VIII, the Reign



Supplement to Part 9 – Invasion of France 1523

The invasion of France began in early autumn 1523, and the Duke of Suffolk Charles Brandon left Calais with his troops on 19 September. Within a few days, news arrived that Pope Adrian had died on 14 September. The timing of this for Wolsey couldn't have been more spectacular if he had designed it himself.

Now, to honour their deal in Bruges, Charles must make Wolsey pope.

The cardinal waited for the outcome of this latest papal election. Brandon pushed on into France and made impressive progress south towards Paris. He called for battering rams to be brought up to the war front, ready to knock down the walls of the capital. Wolsey had expected to hear quickly from Rome. He anticipated his election would be a formality and exchanged correspondence with Pace and Hannibal in Rome about it. On 3 November, brimming with confidence, he was telling Henry that there would never be a better chance of enforcing his entitlement to the French crown, but then the election news came.

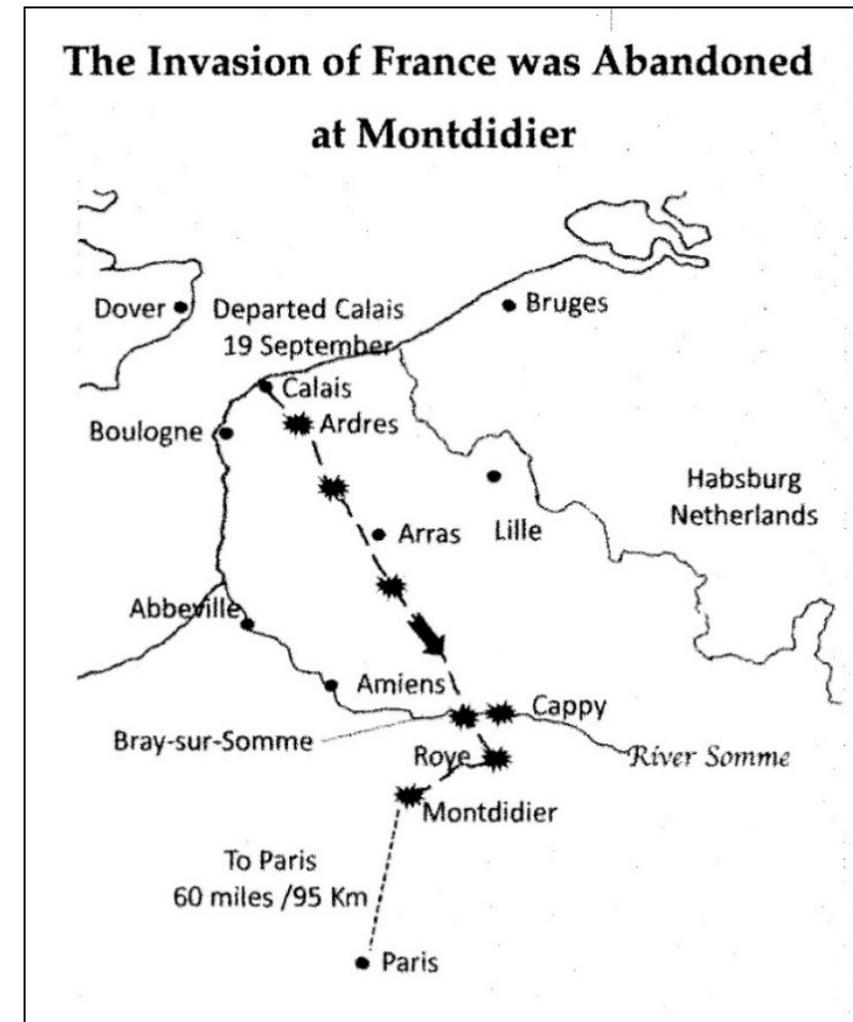
The Medici family had taken the papacy – Charles had snubbed Wolsey – again.

The all-conquering Brandon meanwhile was waiting for his battering rams for the assault on Paris; the city was there for the taking.

Wolsey was devastated. He was furious with Charles. He and the Habsburgs had used him; they had used the protection of his navy and had used him to secure his journey to Germany and back home safely to Spain, but he had got nothing in return. The cardinal began to plot revenge.

Montdidier was the furthest point of Brandon's advance. While he was there, he did not receive pay for his troops, reinforcements, or his battering rams for the walls of Paris, and the 1523 campaign collapsed around him.

By the end of the year, Brandon's army had descended into a dispersed ragtag mob desperate to get back to England.



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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 9

P9N1. Edict of Worms 1521

P9N2. Bruges Treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V LP 1508

P9N3. Bruges Treaty between Charles V and Henry VIII from Spanish State Papers SC 355

P9N4. Bruges Treaty conclusion November 1521 LP 1802

P9N5. Francis's affection for Wolsey in November 1521 LP 1803

P9N6. Efforts for Wolsey's Election to be Pope LP 1872

P9N7. Declaration of War against France LP 2292

P9N8. Backing for Bourbon LP 3123

P9N9. Wolsey's election to be pope LP 3389

P9N10. The great victory at Ancre and Braye, the winning of the passage over the Somme LP 3485.

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Part 10

Wolsey's Failed Aspirations

Charles Thwarts the Cardinal's Papal Aspirations, so Wolsey Switches Sides – Wolsey's Secret Revenge – the Habsburgs Repudiated – Clandestine Courtship of the Valois – No English Invasion of France

Christmas came and went, and the cardinal decided that, with the turn of events, Henry now needed an agréable royal French wife, not that Spanish Habsburg proxy, Charles's aunt Catherine of Aragon; Wolsey intended to find him a mademoiselle.

By the spring of 1524, the French initiative was underway and soon John Joachim, maître d'hôtel of Louise, the King of France's mother, arrived in London to begin secret negotiations with Wolsey about an Anglo-French alliance.

So far, Henry had at very best, but a hint of this strategy and probably knew nothing of it at all. While negotiating with Joachim, Wolsey overtly maintained an anti-French stance. Funded by English money and with Henry hankering to invade France himself from Calais, Charles de Bourbon had now succeeded in raising an army to fight the French. He crossed the Alps into Provence with eleven thousand men.

Bourbon's English-funded Spanish–Imperial forces captured and sacked most of the smaller towns there, and he entered the provincial capital, Aix-en-Provence, on 9 August 1524, taking the title of Count of Provence.

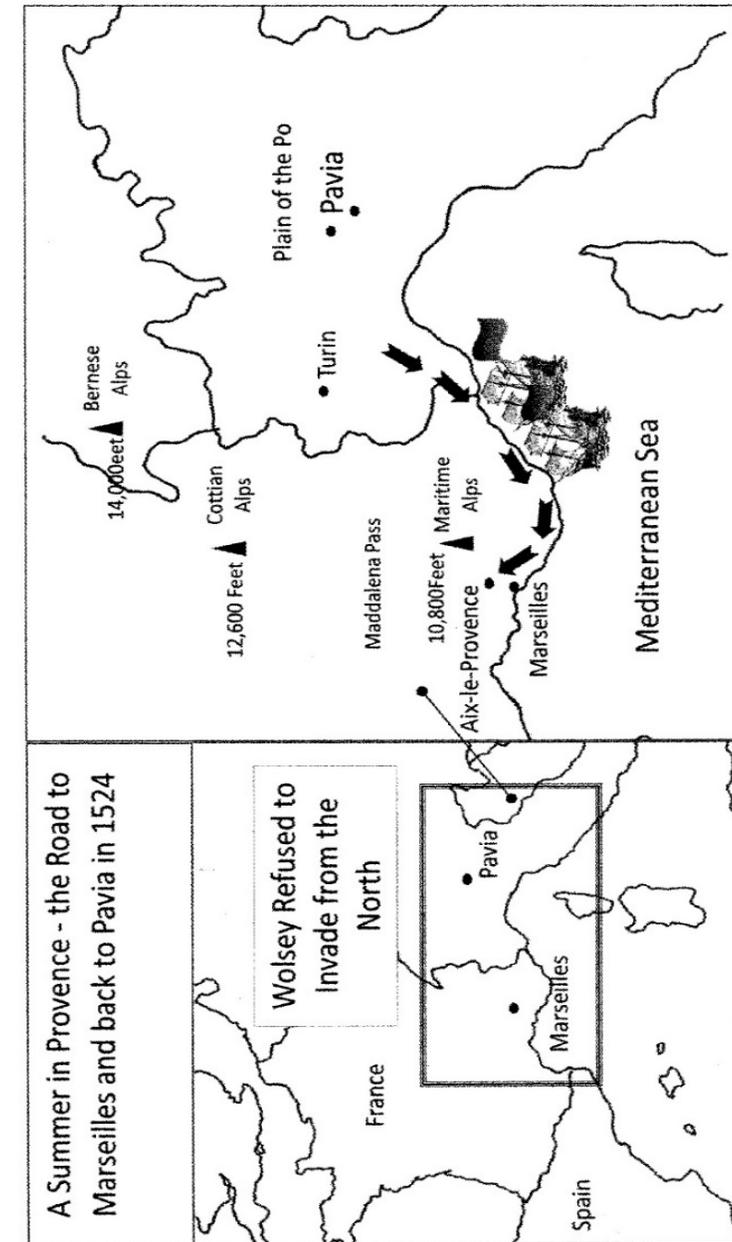
Wolsey's man in southern France, marching with Bourbon, was Richard Pace. Bourbon and Pace travelled all the way to Marseilles and laid siege to the city. Pace wrote to Wolsey pleading with him to invade from the north because he and Bourbon were desperate for money to pay the troops. Indeed, he went further and threatened the cardinal: 'If you do not see to these matters, I shall

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impute to your Grace the loss [for Henry VIII] of the crown of France.' An English invasion from the north was essential to the Imperialist plans. England had failed him, and so, lacking money and denied support, Bourbon abandoned his siege of Marseilles.

The duplicitous clergyman had furtively assured the French that there would be no northern invasion. Confident of Wolsey's newfound pro-French intentions, Francis, with confidence, gathered a substantial army in the south and then launched a counter-attack.

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All around the Alps – Marseilles and Back

“If the King [Francis] and Madame [Louise of Savoy] think this advisable, they will have withdrawn a faithful servant from the gates of hell. But he begs above everything that this King [Henry VIII] be not informed that they have been asked to do it; for his enemies insinuate that he has always had, both in peace and war, secret intelligence with Madame, from whom during the war he received large presents, and that this was the reason why, when Suffolk was at Montdidier, he did not help him with money, which would have enabled him to take Paris.”

So, as Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was falling from grace in October 1529, interceding on Wolsey's behalf, reported the French Ambassador in England, back to the Marshall of France.

The collapse of the 1523 invasion was the product of Charles V of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor's breach of promise to have Wolsey elected pope, as Charles had done with the previous pontiff, the emperor's former tutor, regent and emissary, Adrian. Wolsey now repudiated Charles and brokered an alliance with the French turning to the Valois family instead to secure the papacy for him.

In the autumn of 1523, Henry VIII was oblivious to Wolsey's political shift. The cardinal's change of allegiance also meant that Henry VIII must change his wife. Catherine of Aragon was, of course, Charles' aunt and an alliance with France would be impossible while Henry had an Imperialist wife.

In anticipation of a new offensive, the following year Bourbon raised money from the Imperial coffers and put together a force of ten thousand Spaniards eight hundred Landsknechts and twenty-six guns. The army crossed the border from Italy into France at Menton, supported by Spanish ships in the Mediterranean and during July of 1524 swept along the southern coast of France taking towns and cities as it went.

By mid-August the only stronghold left in Provence was Marseilles, and a siege of the city began. A furious exchange of demands for help and its refusal had

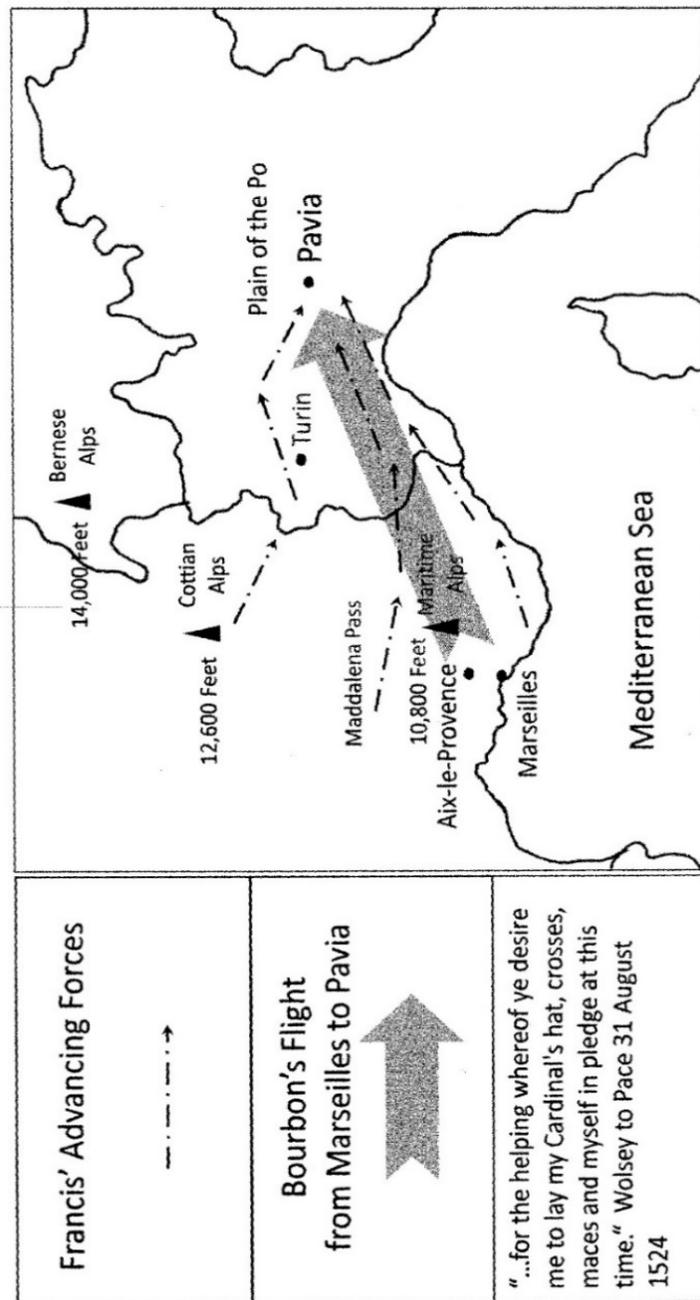
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been going on with Wolsey in England and his man, Richard Pace, who was with Bourbon. Bourbon's forces were now logistically stretched they needed help from England in the form of both money and a diversionary attack from the north.

There was never going to be any money or an English invasion from the north, the duplicitous Wolsey had assured Francis and his mother of that, and so by the end of August, Francis was at Avignon with a far superior army. With that coming towards them Bourbon's lot fled, back to Italy and Pavia, the French at their heels.

For a man who desired the papacy for himself the prospect of France conquering northern Italy including Milan would have put both the cardinal and the Valois family in a position of great strength against the Habsburgs. Victory over the remnants of Bourbon's army was surely a formality – but autumn was turning to winter, and the conflict was far from over.

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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 10

P10N1. French initiative was underway LP 271

P10N2. Pace needs money for the war on France LP 422

P10N3. Pace calls for urgent English invasion of France LP 441 P10N4. Bourbon is as popular as the French king is hated LP 442

P10N5. Bourbon calls on Henry VIII to invade France LP 444, P10N6. Bourbon calls on Wolsey to hasten Henry VIII's invasion of France LP 445

P10N7. Wolsey desires Pace to continue with the Duke's army in its passage into France LP 456

P10N8. Pace is troubled at hearing nothing from Russell [Russell has the money] LP 471

P10N9. Wolsey rebukes Pace - there will be no invasion of France LP 510

P10N10. Pace's argument to Wolsey LP 589

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Part 11

Calamity at Pavia

Wolsey's French Plans in Chaos – King Francis Captured and Sent to Spain – Henry VIII's Excitement at Invading France with Charles

Wolsey halted the pay to Bourbon's Imperial army, which scurried back over the Alps chased by Francis's fresh forces. The Imperialists fell back to Pavia, twenty-five miles south of Milan. By halting the supply of wages, Wolsey had adroitly left them stranded. They were surrounded by Francis's army and should have been overwhelmed in what was expected to be a glorious military victory for the French.

But Francis did not attack and instead lay siege. The delay allowed Bourbon to leave Milan and raise money elsewhere and so fund reinforcements. In Austria, he recruited the experienced commander Georg von Frundsberg.

Audacity struck. On hearing the news that Francis was bringing up even more troops the snared, Imperial army, with nothing to lose, broke from the siege in the middle of the night and, in the small hours of 24 February 1525, took the sleeping French forces by surprise. Thousands of French soldiers were killed, including many of their finest captains.

The humiliation was completed with the capture of King Francis, who was later shipped to Spain and held prisoner there. For all the cardinal's scheming, surely he could not have foreseen this turn of events. His new strategy had begun with a calamity.

The news resounded over Christendom, and when it reached Henry VIII, who of course believed his country was still on the Imperial side, he was cock-a-hoop at the capture of the French king. 'And Richard de la Pole?' he asked the messenger. 'The White Rose [de la Pole] is dead ... I saw him dead with the others', the messenger replied. Henry was ecstatic. 'All the enemies of England

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are gone', he declared, and for the messenger: 'Give him more wine!' He had not a clue that Wolsey had been negotiating for an alliance with the French for a year.

Gallant and chivalrous, Henry could, in his mind's eye, see himself leading the charge of his heroic English army in joint invasion with Charles coming from the south and Bourbon from the east. Between them, victorious, they would divide up the kingdom and he would be the rightful King of France.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 11

P11N1 Battle of Pavia.

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Part 12

Mythical Amicable Grant

Charles is Savvy to Wolsey's Duplicity – Wat a Riot Charles and
Wolsey Trade Insults – Time to Turn Henry French

Henry's vision of a gallant, chivalrous expedition required finance. Whoever's idea it was to raise the levy known as the Amicable Grant, must have known such a demand for money would fail. After all, the subsidy of 1523 was still being collected. A war now for which Henry VIII's subjects must dig into their coffers and pockets, Wolsey must have known, was sure to generate vehement opposition.

For good measure, the cardinal made sure it did.

The most violent of the ensuing protests were in Suffolk in villages surrounding that of Wolsey's gentleman usher George Cavendish, whose great-grandfather had put down the uprising of Wat Tyler and the peasants' poll tax revolt of 1381. Cavendish's, and indeed Wolsey's, fellow Suffolk men were pardoned by the king in May, in London, and consequently were supplied with more than enough cash and a piece of silver to cover their time in gaol.

In an outcome reminiscent of the poll tax riots, the initiative to raise funds failed for Henry, but it was successful in buying the cardinal time to rethink his designs. There would be no more invasions of France while Wolsey was alive.

It was soon established that Charles, in Spain, was to have no share in Henry's dream to divide France.

Charles knew about John Joachim and his secret negotiations on behalf of the French king's mother. Charles knew about Wolsey's interceptions of the Imperial ambassador Louis de Prate's diplomatic bags and arrest. He knew about Wolsey's vulgar tirades, in which he had called the emperor a liar, Lady

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Margaret a ribald, Archduke Ferdinand a child and Bourbon a traitor. Charles was already preparing to shun Princess Mary and take a Portuguese wife.

In return, Charles said of the cardinal, 'Wolsey was a selfish and avaricious man, on whom no reliance could be placed.' Disappointed in his ambition, and ungrateful for the many favours received, he fancied that his failure at Rome was entirely owing to Charles's ambassadors, whereas nothing had been omitted to promote his election to the Pontificate.

The time had come for Wolsey to tell Henry VIII that England had long since changed sides. Those whom Henry understood to be his friends were his enemies, and his enemies were now his friends.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 12

P12N1.De Praets Bags, Wolsey's Explanation LP 1083

P12N2.Russell's' account of Pavia and Bourbon urges Henry to invade France LP 1175

P12N3.Emperor is less bound to Wolsey for three reasons LP 1190

P12N4. Charles' lack of enthusiasm to invade France LP 1378

P12N5.Liar, Ribald, Child, Traitor, the king had other things to do with his money LP 1379

P12N6.Wolsey's negotiations with France are perfectly known in Spain LP 1380

P12N7.Negotiations with France, Francis's mother Louise updated LP 1525

P12N8.Invasion of France,1523

Part 13

Henry VIII Grooms His Male Heir

Henry VIII's Son Begins Preparation for Kingship

In June 1525, Henry VIII celebrated his thirty-fourth birthday, and Catherine of Aragon began her forty-first year. There was probably no prospect of her bearing another child, which meant there would be no male heir.

Abetted by Wolsey, John Longland, Henry's confessor and Bishop of Lincoln, consoled the king.

Catherine's inability to produce a male heir, Longland sympathised, was not Henry's fault. Longland referred him to the Old Testament, Leviticus, chapter twenty verse sixteen, which reads, 'If there is a man who takes his brother's wife, it is abhorrent; he has uncovered his brother's nakedness. They will be childless.'

Longland reminded Henry that of course, he did already have a son, who was English and was of Henry VIII's own blood – of that there was no doubt. The king, whose mind until now had been undisturbed by notions of divorce, made the decision that Henry Fitzroy would be the next King of England. Fitz (son) roy (of the king) would become King Henry IX.

At about the time of his sixth birthday, on 7 June 1525, Henry Fitzroy was elected Knight of the Garter; he was subsequently installed on the 25th. On 18 June, he was created Earl of Nottingham, and later on the same day, he received a previously-unheard-of double dukedom: Richmond and Somerset. From those two titles, he was endowed with lands from which revenues amounted to £4,845 in the first year alone. Next, on 22 June, he was appointed as Warden General of the Marches towards Scotland. Then, on 16 July 1525, he became Lord Admiral of England.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 13

P13N1.Fitzroy created Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Richmond & Somerset -
Lord Bulleyne created Viscount Rochford LP 1431 P13N2. Fitzroy Admiral of
England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine LP 1500
P13N3.Fitzroy Warden general of the Marches of Scotland LP 1510

Part 14

Wolsey Allies Henry to the French

Treaty of the More – No Place for Catherine of Aragon in the New Order

With doubt sown and then propagated in the king's mind about the validity of his marriage, and his conscience eased about his lack of virility, the summer of 1525 passed. Wolsey succeeded in his task of turning Henry from a friend of the Habsburg dynasty into a friend of the Valois dynasty.

The cardinal persuaded the king that the union Henry's father had arranged with Catherine of Aragon's parents was illegal and that their failure to produce a male heir was a consequence; the marriage must be annulled. After all, Henry only had to look to the perfidy of his wife's father, Ferdinand, as an example of how even the pious, cautious Henry VII and Henry VIII's grandmother Margaret had been tricked in dastardly fashion into a Spanish marriage. He became persuaded that Ferdinand's grandson Charles was an inherent double-dealer and that England's chances of prosperity would be better served by an alignment with the French than with that Germanic-come-Spaniard emperor.

With Francis still incarcerated in Spain, on 30 August 1525 England and France signed the Treaty of the More at Wolsey's ostentatious palace at More Park near Rickmansworth. The agreement incorporated terms for some territorial claims on France to be given up and in return, Wolsey would receive a pension from France of twenty thousand pounds a year. Also, the French would settle what was owed to Henry VIII's sister Mary from her marriage to Louis XII. Finally, England agreed to work to secure the release of Francis.

Shakespeare presumed that Wolsey intended to seal the new concord with the marriage of Francis's sister and Henry VIII, but she shrewdly married elsewhere: to Henry II of Navarre.

In her stead, Wolsey and the French engineered a device of enticement for the king in the form of an ersatz French noblewoman known as Anne Boleyn, whose father, Thomas, was probably involved in the negotiations.

Anne grew up in the Loire Valley in service to Francis's wife, Queen Claude, and was something of a protégé of Francis's sister Marguerite and a companion of Diane de Poitiers. She spent much time at Amboise and Blois, from whence had hailed Stephen of Blois, who became King of England in the twelfth century. King Stephen and his queen consort, Matilda de Boulogne, wrested the kingdom of England from Henry I's daughter, also named Matilda.

In the Loire Valley, Joan of Arc was, and still is, revered for her rout of the English in 1429, a few miles upriver from Amboise and Blois at Orleans.

Though born of English parents, Anne was wholly French, and so, with some creative genealogy and Wolsey's persuasive promises for her future as Gloriana, she would become Good Queen Anne, England's saviour from Habsburg hegemony. So sugared with *amour courtois*, Anne Boleyn was nominated by the cardinal and the French king's mother Louise and his sister Marguerite to secure the Valois – Tudor alliance Her dual agency should, so the cardinal contrived, secure the English head of state's acceptance of affaires de Valois while Wolsey continued to develop his own ambitions for Christendom.

Henry VIII was in thrall to all the cardinal undertook. His lack of organisational and leadership abilities are succinctly alluded to in the preamble of the Eltham Ordinances of January 1526, the intention of which was to reduce the number of hangers-on and scroungers the king allowed into his presence. It is little wonder then that Sir Nicholas Carew was again at the head of a list of Henry's jousting and pastime companions expelled from court to be replaced by professional administrators.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 14

B14N1. Treaty of the More

B14N2. Includes Wolsey scheming to bring about the Queen's divorce SC 69.

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Part 15

Francis Is Released from Captivity and Returns to
France

Negotiations for King Francis's Release from Prison in Spain – His Sons
Are Exchanged as Prisoners – Francis Breaches Release Contract – New
Military Alliance Formed against Charles – League of Cognac

To secure his release from captivity in Spain, King Francis entered into the Treaty of Madrid on 14 January 1526. In the treaty, he ceded his lands in Italy, Flanders, Artois and Tournai as well as parts of France to Charles V. In addition, he contracted the marriage of his sister to Charles.

As security to perform the contract, his two sons were exchanged for him, to be held captive in his place.

Francis was released on 6 March 1526 and, escorted by one of the emperor's senior commanders, Charles de Lannoy journeyed north to Fuenterrabia. On 18 March 1526, he crossed the River Bidasoa and entered France. The dauphin and his brother had been brought to Bayonne by Louise and Lautrec and crossed into Spain to become prisoners.

Safely in back France, Francis cocked an archer's salute at Charles and, to follow that, on 22 March 1526, with the blessing of the pope, he claimed that the treaty had been signed under duress and that he would not abide by it. The treaty was ripped up.

Pope Clement VII was alarmed at Charles's increasing power and saw, correctly as it turned out, his dominance as a threat to his own well-being in Italy. He sent envoys to Francis and Henry proposing an alliance against the emperor.

By May 1526, England had been instrumental in the formation of an alliance against the emperor, composed of France, the Papacy, Venice, Milan and

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Florence which became known as the League of Cognac.

Wolsey, however, kept England out of the treaty. He was upset that it was signed in Cognac, not London as he had wished. Nevertheless, aloof, he was the arbiter again, an honest broker and Steward of Christendom.

Meanwhile, in Speyer, an Imperial city on the Rhine, following the formation of the League of Torgau (an alliance of Lutheran princes including Philip of Hesse and John Fredrick Elector of Saxony), an Imperial Diet was opened on 25 June 1526. Charles was unable to attend, and it was hosted, in his name, by his younger brother, Archduke Ferdinand I of Austria. Ferdinand's task was to unite the Habsburg Empire. The animosity between the Habsburgs and the pope – indeed, between the Habsburgs and much of Christendom – and the threat of the Turks weakened Charles and Ferdinand's position. They stepped back from the anti-Lutheran Edict of Worms and for the time being allowed the establishment of separate state churches in the German states of the Holy Roman Empire, according to the maxim 'the ruler of the territory is the ruler of religion within its bounds' (*cuius regio, eius religio*).

With an overbearing cleric with papal ambitions ruling the kingdom, this was an adage that also found much resonance in Henry VIII's England.

But then the unthinkable happened.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 15

P15N1.Treaty of Madrid League of Cognac 1526

P15N2.Diet of Speyer 1526

Part 16

Rome Sacked

Pope Captured and Imprisoned – ‘Catherine, I Want a Divorce’, says
Henry – Habsburgs Blamed for Rout in Rome

The new League of Cognac assembled its forces in northern Italy. Pope Clement VII and the Venetians collected their troops under the command of Lodovico de' Medici (also known as Giovanni Delle Bande Nere, or Giovanni of the Black Bands), Guidi Rangone and the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria I Della Rovere.

The Imperial army was led by the Duke of Bourbon and Georg von Frundsberg. There were raids, sieges and skirmishes, but, in the months before one of Christendom's most infamous catastrophes, tens of thousands of these armed men were living rough miles from home – freezing cold and with few places to sleep, little food, poor clothing and no pay. There was no sign of an improvement in their conditions. Morale inevitably broke and, in a desperate state, some thirty thousand or more rebelled against their leaders. To pacify them, in 1527 Bourbon led them to Rome, against their enemy Medici, Pope Clement, under the auspices of the King of Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. They pillaged the city, raped the inhabitants (men, women and children) and seized everything they could lay their hands on from the city's wealth in settlement of their outstanding pay. This ruination is known to history as the Sack of Rome.

Bourbon himself – leading his men and wearing his renowned white coat – was easily picked out as a target by the enemy and shot. He was one of the first to be killed in the opening assault. His rampant troops, leaderless, overran the city. They looted and destroyed monasteries, churches and palaces of the clergy. Many of those who tried to defend the city suffered gruesome execution. The pope himself was destined for the same fate, but he escaped along the Passetto di Borgo, an elevated passage that linked (indeed still does link) Vatican City to

Castel Sant'Angelo. There he made himself safe with a few of his aides.

Pope Clement was trapped, a prisoner of Charles V, in the Castel Sant'Angelo. He whom Wolsey needed to annul the marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Henry was now held imprisoned under threat of death in the name of Catherine's nephew. Charles endeavoured to sidestep Habsburg responsibility, but the pope was his enemy and he who wills the end wills the means.

However, it is reputed that on 22 June 1527, Henry told Catherine of Aragon that their marriage was not valid.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 16

P16N1.Sack of Rome Painting

P15N2.Castel Sant'Angelo Painting.

Part 17

Wolsey Bids Anew for Papal Power

The Mighty Cleric Leaves England with the Pomp of a Viceroy – Wolsey Calls on the Cardinals to Come to Him in Avignon – Charles Blames Wolsey for Henry's Marital State

The capture of Pope Clement VII presented another opportunity for Wolsey to further his ambitions for control of the papacy. He set off to France with 'title of the king's lieutenant, the powers of a plenipotentiary [full power] and the pomp of viceroy', ostensibly to ratify the treaties of the previous April.

George Cavendish, who was with Wolsey, describes their departure from London:

Then marched he forward out of his own house at Westminster, passing through all London, over London Bridge, having before him of gentlemen a great number, three in a rank, in black velvet livery coats, and the most part of them with great chains of gold about their necks, and all his yeomen, with noblemen's and gentlemen's servants following him in French tawny livery coats; having embroidered upon the backs and breasts of the said coats these letters: T. and C., under the cardinal's hat. His sumpter mules, which were twenty in number and more, with his carts and other carriages of his train, were passed on before, conducted and guarded with a great number of bows and spears. He rode like a cardinal, very sumptuously, on a mule trapped with crimson velvet upon velvet, and his stirrups of copper and gilt; and his spare mule following him with like apparel. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, two great pillars of silver, the great seal of England, his cardinal's hat, and a gentleman that carried his valaunce, otherwise called a cloakbag; which was made altogether of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered over and over with cloth of gold very richly, having in it a cloak of fine scarlet. Thus passed he through London, and all the way of his

journey, having his harbingers passing before to provide lodgings for his train.

By 4 August 1527, he was at Amiens, where Francis had come to meet him. Wolsey had devised a plan. While the pope was held captive, he would take control of the papacy himself and preside from Avignon. He explained to Henry that this device was also for the 'advancement of your particular affair', the affair being the divorce.

Within the detail of this plan was the assembly of all the Cardinals. Those who had not been taken prisoner would go to Wolsey in Avignon to prevent the government of the church becoming subservient to Charles. Wolsey intended to assume the full authority of the pope during Clement's captivity. He would use this mission to ratify the treaties with the French and, in the name of the papacy, pronounce the king's marriage invalid.

But Charles was prepared for him. He blamed the over-mighty Wolsey for Christendom's woes and accused him of contriving the divorce to gratify his own ambitions. He entreated the pope to revoke the legatine power conferred on the cardinal of England. At the same time he exonerated Henry because, he said, 'It is not to be presumed that his Serenity the King would consent to have her [Princess Mary] and her mother [Catherine] dishonoured, a thing in itself so unreasonable that there is no example of it in ancient or modern history.' Which was a pretty fair assessment of the situation.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 17

P17N1. George Cavendish Profile

P17N2. Wolsey "I propose to repair [to Avignon] to devise with them for the government of the Church during the Pope's captivity" LP 3311

P17N3. Charles calls for revocation of Wolsey's authority, the cardinal bears ill will towards his aunt LP 3312

P17N4. The Papal Palace at Avignon.

Part 18

Anne de Boulogne

The King Will Play while Wolsey Is Away – Henry Clandestinely Sends His Secretary to the Pope

Back in England and with Wolsey away, Henry was spreading his wings, cajoled by his prospective queen. Unbeknown to Wolsey, on 23 July 1527 the king arrived at the Palace of Beaulieu, near Chelmsford in Essex (now New Hall School), which he had bought from Thomas Boleyn in 1516. He was joined there by Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; Henry Courtenay, first Marquis of Exeter; John De Vere, Earl of Oxford; Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex; Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland; Robert Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter; and Thomas Boleyn, Earl Rochford.

These visitors, no great friends of Wolsey, had sown some seeds of doubt about the cardinal's motives for being abroad.

While Wolsey was in France, the rumours found their way into print in England, and the reports also claimed that Princess Mary would marry Francis's second son, Henry. Anne had detected the first hints of Wolsey's duplicity; he had been using her. Years on from his sugar-coated promises, where was Gloriana? She was not Good Queen Anne – she was not even married to the king – and, worse, he was not even divorced from the queen. She later riled at the cardinal 'that I have put much confidence in your professions and promises, in which I find myself deceived'.

Some of Henry's guests who envisaged advancement for themselves probably also coaxed the king to take matters into his own hands; he dispatched his secretary, William Knight, to seek a dispensation for him to marry again without an annulment of his first marriage.

Knight was instructed to meet with Wolsey at Compiègne. However, when the

cardinal discovered what was afoot, he dashed off a letter to the king urging Henry to halt this ruse. He said that Cardinal Ghinucci (Absentee Bishop of Worcester) was better qualified to serve Henry in this his Great Matter than Knight, that Ghinucci had more experience of affairs in Italy and that the Italian was better placed to approach the pontiff.

Wolsey stopped Knight from travelling on. He awaited Henry's response, confident that with his urgent advice taken Henry would call off the mission and that Wolsey could then dispatch Knight back home to England.

His confidence was misplaced.

Henry and Anne instead issued further orders, kept secret from Wolsey, for Knight to continue on to Rome. He now had a new purpose: to obtain a dispensation for Henry to marry any woman, even one related in the first degree of affinity through either licit or illicit intercourse. This was a reference to Anne and her sister Mary. Henry had an affair with the wanton sister some years earlier, and according to the law of the day, was thus related to her.

Wolsey, however, could not find a ploy to delay Knight any longer and he continued on his journey towards Rome.

For a decade and more, the cardinal had ruled England. He alone had made and enforced policy – the autocrat extraordinaire – it was he who had negotiated with the papacy. It was he, so he thought, who would decide when, where and to whom Henry would be remarried.

Wolsey was worried now and must have sensed that all was not well for him back in England. Despite all his aspirations for Christendom, he returned apace across the Channel to reassert his authority. However, when he arrived, the welcome was cool-cold, almost. He found that Henry was now in Anne's thrall. She wanted this divorce infinitely more than its originator, the cardinal; though he had promised it to her, Wolsey, as things stood, did not want this divorce at all. This woman and her French sponsors were usurping his power. He had underestimated the Lady de Boulogne; she would circumvent him especially in all things French, and the French controlled his route to the papal tiara.

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Anne seduced politics into the bedchamber -- and continued with it between the sheets, a ploy that Wolsey could not match.

The cardinal schemed to scupper the divorce proceedings until he could reorganise his sovereign's mind and be rid of this second Boleyn girl as he had the first, her sister, the wanton Mary.

But for the clergyman, the reality was dawning. The Boleyns had filched his mastery of Henry and were prising possession of the royal sanction from him.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 18

P1N1.Affinity (In Canon Law)

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Part 19

Chaos Reigns in Christendom

Wolsey Seeks Powers to Try Divorce – Pope Escapes to Orvieto –
Wolsey Declares War – Charles's Attack on Wolsey – Uproar in
England against the War

At first, Wolsey put a brave face on it all. On the first day of Michaelmas term, he made a speech to the Lords Temporal and Spiritual in the Star Chamber about his achievements in France. He said, 'I have knit the realms of England and France together in such a perfite knot that it shall never fayle.' Certainly, the merchants in England were not happy when they were warned to restrict trade to Calais only and not to export goods to Charles's dominions; the consequences of this would be financially crippling.

In the meantime, William Knight had not succeeded in Rome with Henry's plan for a divorce.

Wolsey's device to assume the papacy for himself also proving a failure, he sent instructions to his Italian agent, Gregory Casale. He must take over the Great Matter from Knight or, if absolutely necessary, work with Knight and obtain a commission from Pope Clement for Wolsey to hold a trial in England, with no appeal to Rome and dispensation for Henry to marry Anne.

Knight did manage to make written contact with the incarcerated Clement, but soon after that received news that the pontiff had escaped from Rome and taken refuge in relative safety seventy miles north at Orvieto, in Umbria. Orvieto is a city in a spectacular location on a hill with steep and mostly vertical sides and a flat top. Thus began a mission, a sham to bluff Henry that the cardinal was doing his utmost to serve his wishes, that went back and forth to get Wolsey the authority that he considered necessary to annul Henry's marriage.

However, before this pretence began, on 13 January 1528 Clement and his advisers detailed what they considered to be the obvious procedure for addressing Henry's grievance. They said that Wolsey should use his legatine

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authority, or the general commission, to test the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine. If Wolsey judged in Henry's favour, then Henry would be free to marry Anne Boleyn. In that scenario, they said, only if the second marriage were challenged need the matter be referred to Rome.

Using that method, Anne and Henry could have been married in early 1528 instead of late 1532. Henry was either ignorant of the advice or lacked the chivalrous courage of true love; whatever the case, Wolsey continued to play for time to rid his sovereign of the Boleyn woman. As it turned out, of course, Wolsey never did make a judgement on the marriage. That responsibility fell to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer almost five and a half years later.

To complicate matters further, Wolsey, during his three months in Amiens and Compiègne, had sent instructions to the English ambassadors in Spain, Edward Lee and Cardinal Ghinucci, without the details being known to Henry.

At Burgos, the French envoys were to declare war on Charles, and their English colleagues were instructed to cooperate with them without knowing what they were going to do.

Charles rebuffed the declaration with a scathing attack on Wolsey.

There was an uproar in England. The announcement of war created havoc in the lucrative trading relations with Imperial Flanders. The merchants were shocked, and trade with a newly declared enemy became impossible, creating great swathes of unemployment across the country.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 19

P19N1.Hill Top Refuge - Orvieto – Illustration

P19N2.Charles's Response to War Declaration and Attack on Wolsey LP 3844

P19N3.Trade Embargo

P19N4.Truce June 1528 LP 4376

P19N5.Truce June 1528 LP 4377

P19N6.Truce Extension 1529 LP 5260.

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Part 20

Calm before a Storm

Decretal Commission – Pope Rumoured Dead Cardinal Campeggio Arrives – Spanish Brief

Stephen Gardiner was included in the series of delegations to Pope Clement VII at Orvieto, and eventually, on 8 June 1528, Gardiner and Casale obtained the decretal commission to allow the trial of Henry's divorce in England with Campeggio and Wolsey presiding.

The angry merchants had their way, and on 15 June 1528 a truce was signed with the Netherlands, but it did not extend to the war in Italy, which continued.

On 27 October 1528, Cardinal Campeggio arrived, ostensibly to prepare for the trial. He found Henry determined to end his marriage to Catherine and reported that 'an angel descending from Heaven would be unable to convince him otherwise'.

No sooner had he arrived, however, than Catherine produced a copy of what was claimed to be a brief from Julius II, remedying all the defects in his bull of dispensation permitting Henry to marry her even if her marriage with Arthur had been consummated, which she claimed it had not.

The original of this brief, it was claimed, was in Spain. If it were genuine, because Henry's case relied on the defects of the original bull of dispensation, his cause was lost.

At the end of November, Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes were sent to Rome to make a case for the document being a forgery. They were soon followed by William Knight and William Benet and then, on 22 January 1529, Stephen Gardiner was again sent to remonstrate with the pope.

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In the midst of these events, news arrived that the pope had died. Wolsey reacted with all haste, prompting Henry to issue royal instructions to advocate, yet again, the English cardinal as Medici's successor.

The news was wrong. The pope was ill, but not terminally so; however, he was not yet well enough to give proper consideration to the problems arising from the sudden production of the brief.

On 21 April 1529 in Rome, Gardiner wrote a personal letter to the king saying that all that could be realistically expected from Clement was prevarication and delay over the brief, and indeed anything else to do with the divorce. The pontiff was in poor health, and Gardiner's advice was to let Campeggio and Wolsey proceed with the trial in London.

It was on the same day that the pope himself wrote to Henry regretting that he could not pronounce the brief a forgery without hearing both sides.

Gardiner, by instructions dated 7 May 1529, was called home; his services were required by the king in England.

Gardiner had gleaned information about the handling of matters that he wanted to be kept, as he asked the king to do, from Wolsey and Campeggio. At the same time, Wolsey instructed Gardiner to forge a document for the pope to sign and seal; however, Clement was not fooled by that ruse.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 20

P20N1.Catherine of Aragon and the brief LP 5211

P20N2.King has heard with great grief of the death of Pope Clement LP 5269

P10N3.Instructions to ambassadors for obtaining Wolsey's election to be the new pope LP 5270

P10N4.Wolsey's personal letter to Gardiner concerning his advancement to the Papacy LP 5272

P10N5.The pope is not dead LP 5274

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P10N6.Pope regrets that, in consequence of his illness, he could not give the King's ambassadors an audience LP 5474

P10N7.Gardiner's appraisal LP 5476

P10N8.Matters to be kept from Wolsey and Campeggio See Stephen Gardiner and The Tudor Reaction by James Arthur Muller page 30 and notes page 344

P10N9.Instructions to 'Mr. Stephen shall promise to write it out afresh' a forged document LP 5523.

Part 21

Wolsey's Visit to Queen Catherine

Catherine's Tirade at Wolsey – Second Diet of Speyer – The First Protestants

On a hot day in 1529, Catherine of Aragon launched a tirade against Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey's gentleman usher, George Cavendish, describes Wolsey under pressure, caught between the Boleyns and Catherine and to this is added Edward Hall's account of the showdown.

"...in especial for the great malice, that you bear to my nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion because he would not satisfy your ambition and make you Pope by force..."

An Imperial assembly was called at Speyer. Called the Second Diet of Speyer, it opened on 15 March 1529. In Charles's absence, his brother Ferdinand was again the host. His opening proposition to the diet was to condemn the way in which the edict issued at the First Diet of Speyer (in 1526) had been interpreted. The German states had taken it to mean that they each had the right to make what religious reforms they chose. Ferdinand now denied them any such right, in addition to which he demanded that the old religion be enforced in all states. He also forbade all innovations and threatened not only the Anabaptists but also the Zwinglians with annihilation. These attacks aroused several of the powerful cities in southern Germany, which felt themselves in sympathy with the new doctrines.

The implicated cities and states responded by way of a Protestation on 19 April 1529. The German princes and towns defended themselves on a principle formulated by the Saxon Chancellor Gregor Bruck: 'In matters concerning God's honour and the salvation of households, each man has the right to stand alone and present his true account before God on the last day no man will be able to take shelter behind the power of another, by a small all great.' This was signed

by the Elector of Saxony the Landgrave of Hesse, Margrave George, the Prince of Anhalt and the ambassador of the Dukes of Luneburg together with the southern cities.

Those who protested have since become known as the Protestantes. Their alliance was the foundation for the formation of the Schmalkaldic League, a military-backed confederation against the Holy Roman Empire in which Thomas Cromwell would embroil himself.

Supplement to Part 21 – The Story of Wolsey's Visit to Queen Catherine

Catherine believed that Cardinal Wolsey Archbishop of York was responsible for her marital breakdown.

In the summer of 1529, at the Blackfriars Priory, on the banks of the River Thames, a court was convened to test the validity of her marriage to Henry VIII. Two judges were appointed to hear and judge the case, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio.

Catherine was not long at the court, she soon curtsied to the king and left on the arm of her assistant Master Griffith. Henry ordered her return, and the crier called for her to come back. 'Catherine, Queen of England, come into the court!'

'Madame,' urged Griffith, as they scuttled toward the exit, 'ye be called again.'

'On on, 'she snapped' it makes no matter, for it is no impartial court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways.'

We learn this from George Cavendish, Wolsey's ever loyal gentleman-usher and the cardinal's biographer. Cavendish followed events after Catherine's exit – she never went back to the court – which several days later involved a full-blooded confrontation between the queen and Wolsey. In Cavendish's account, however, loyal to his master he only hears Catherine's raised voice but sadly does not give us a blow by blow account of the confrontation. He does, however, tell of an eye-watering attack by Wolsey on Anne Boleyn's father

Notwithstanding. John Foxe (1517-1587) historian and martyrologist, (often accused of Protestant bias) from a seemingly reliable source, Cardinal

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Campeggio's secretary, who was present during the dust-up, does detail the fisticuffs, and by Jove, Catherine let the cardinal have it, all guns blazing!

Here are the two accounts, Cavendish's first.

The Bishop of Carlisle being with him in his barge said unto him, (wiping the sweat from his face), 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is a very hot day.'

'Yea,' quoth my Lord Cardinal, 'if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot.'

And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went immediately to his naked bed, where he had not lain fully the space of two hours, but that my Lord of Wiltshire came to speak with him of a message from the king.

My lord, having understanding of his coming, caused him to be brought unto his bedside; and he being there, showed that the king's pleasure was that he should at once (accompanied by the other cardinal) [Cardinal Campeggio] repair unto the queen at Bridewell, into her chamber, to persuade her by their wisdoms, advising her to surrender the whole matter unto the king's hands by her own will and consent; which should be much better to her honour than to stand to the trial of the law and to be condemned, which should be much to her slander and defamation.

To fulfil the king's pleasure, quoth my lord, he was ready, and would prepare him to go thither out of hand, saying further to my Lord of Wiltshire, 'Ye and other my lords of the council, which be near unto the king, are not a little to blame and misadvised to put any such fantasies into his head, whereby ye are the causers of great trouble to all this realm; and at length get you but small thanks either of God or of the world,' with many other vehement words and sentences that was like to ensue of this matter, which words caused my Lord of Wiltshire to water his eyes, kneeling all this while by my lord's bedside, and in conclusion departed.

And then my lord rose up, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went straight to Bath Place to the other cardinal; and so went together unto

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Bridewell, directly to the queen's lodging: and they, being in her chamber of presence, showed to the gentleman usher that they came to speak with the queen's grace.

The gentleman usher advertised the queen thereof incontinent. With that, she came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white thread about her neck, into the chamber of presence, where the cardinals were giving of attendance upon her coming.

At whose coming quoth she, 'Alack, my lords, I am sorry to cause you to attend upon me; what is your pleasure with me?'

'If it please you,' quoth my Lord Cardinal, 'to go into your chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming.'

'My lord,' quoth she, 'if ye have anything to say, speak it openly before all these folks; for I fear nothing that ye can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should both hear and see it; therefore I pray you speak your mind openly.'

Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin. 'Nay, good my lord,' quoth she, 'speak to me in English, I beseech you; although I understand Latin.'

'Forsooth then,' quoth my lord, 'Madam, if it please your Grace, we come both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the king and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience that we bear to your Grace.'

'My lords, I thank you then,' quoth she, 'of your good wills; but to make answer to your request I cannot so suddenly, for I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer to so noble wise men as ye be: I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I can find in England are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my lords, will any Englishmen counsel or be friendly unto me against

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the king's pleasure, they being his subjects? Nay forsooth, my lords! And for my counsel in whom I do intend to put my trust be not here; they be in Spain, in my native country. Alas, my lords! I am a poor woman, lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye be both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, destitute and barren of friendship and counsel here in a foreign region: and as for your counsel I will not refuse but be glad to hear.'

And with that she took my lord by the hand and led him into her privy chamber, with the other cardinal; where they were in long communication: we, in the other chamber, might sometimes hear the queen speak very loud, but what it was we could not understand. The communication ended, the cardinals departed and went directly to the king, making to him relation of their talk with the queen; and after resorted home to their houses to supper.

John Foxe's version follows.

[W]hen she understood the cause of their coming being thereat something astonished at the first, after a little pausing with herself, she began answering for herself.

Shortly after this the two legates came to the queen at the same place of Bridewell, and declared to her how they were deputed judges indifferent between the king and her to hear and determine whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

'Alas my lords is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no?

'When I have been married to him almost twenty years and in the meane season never question was made before? Divers prelates yet been alive and lords also privy counsellors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest, and now do say it is detestable and abominable. I think it create marvel and in especially when I consider, what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection, that King Fernando my father bare unto me. I think in myself that neither of our fathers,

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were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might followed of our marriage, and in especially the king my father sent to the court of Rome and thereafter long suite with great cost and charge obtained a licence and dispensation, that I being the one brother's wife and peradventure carnally known might without scruple of conscience marry with another brother lawfully, which licence under lead I have yet to show, which things make me to say and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and Godly:

But of this I only may thank you my Lord Cardinal of York, for because I have wondered at your high pride and vainglory, and abhor your voluptuous [pleasures of the body/gratification] life and abominable, lechery and little regard your presupeous [presumptuous] power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire and set this matter a broche, in especial for the great malice, that you bear to my nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion because he would not satisfy your ambition and make you Pope by force and therefore you have said more than once that you would trouble him and his friends and you have kept him a true promise for all his warres and vexations he may only thank you, and as for me his poor aunte and kinswoman what trouble you put me to by this new found doubt, God knows to whom I commit my cause according to the truth.'

The cardinal excused himself saying that he was not the beginning or the mover of the trouble, and that it was sore against his will, that ever the marriage should come in question, but he said that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause, which he swore on his profession to hear indifferently, but whatsoever was said, she believed him not, and so the Legates took their leave of her and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by Cardinal Campeius's [Camppeggio] secretary, which was present, and by me translated as near as I could. [John Foxe].

Part 22

Divorce Trial

The Trial Begins – Francis Finished in Italy – Treaty of Barcelona – Divorce Trial Adjourned and Called to Rome – Wolsey and Brandon Clash – Gardiner Appointed Principal Secretary

Wolsey was in trouble whichever way he turned: trouble from Catherine; trouble from Charles, who had detested him for years; and trouble from the many English people across all classes who now ridiculed him. Anne Boleyn, for now, suffered him. Henry, however, remained his friend. He needed him and was fearful of the world without him.

But there were members of the nobility and gentry who were sharpening some very long and deadly knives to use against him.

The clock had been ticking for some time. Previously, in April 1528, Margaret Habsburg, Governor of the Netherlands, had sent word with the Windsor Herald to Wolsey that some people in authority were making great efforts to achieve peace between Charles and Francis without the cardinal's interference or that of his sovereign. She confirmed these intentions to him directly in a personal communication a couple of days later. Negotiations continued until the spring of 1529, by which time they were sufficiently advanced for the French and the Imperialists to meet face-to-face that summer.

The legatine trial at Blackfriars in London began on 18 June 1529.

At the same time, the summit at Cambrai began. Cambrai, situated on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands, was a small ecclesiastical independent state chosen for the convention because of its neutrality.

Such was their animosity towards each other, however, that when the time came, neither Charles nor Francis was present to face the other in person.

The French were represented by Louise, Francis's mother, and his sister, Anne Boleyn's kindred spirit, Marguerite d'Angoulême. The Imperialists were represented by Margaret Habsburg, Governor of the Netherlands.

A harried Wolsey was desperate to be there; he had staked everything on friendship with France to realise his papal aspirations and now feared that Francis's mother would, on her son's behalf, desert him and make peace with the very man he abhorred, the man against whom he sought revenge and had worked for years to topple. The frustrated cardinal, even he, could not embody himself in two places at the same time. A few days before the Blackfriars trial went underway, he encouraged the French ambassador, Jean du Bellay, to engineer a delay to the Cambrai talks until the divorce trial was finished by prolonging the war against Charles in Italy. He wanted French military action to capture Milan, Parma and Piacenza.

That was not to be. Henry and the Boleyns kept Wolsey in London and sent Cuthbert Tunstall, at that time Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More to Cambrai instead.

Francis did actually make one more effort to conquer Milan, but his forces were cut to pieces at Landriano on 21 June 1529.

As a consequence of this the latest French failure, the pope announced that he had quite made up his mind to become an Imperialist and to live and die as such.

Eight days after the Battle of Landriano, the Treaty of Barcelona was signed. The treaty was a pact between the pope's Medici family and Charles's Habsburg family. To seal the arrangement, Pope Clement's nephew Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, was married to the emperor's illegitimate daughter, Margaret of Parma, another future regent of the Netherlands. Medici rule was to be re-established in Florence, and Wolsey and Campeggio's commission to try Henry's suit for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon was revoked.

On 6 July 1529, the pope broke the news to Casale that he had decided to allow Catherine her appeal and therefore call the case to Rome.

Campeggio and Wolsey knew the news was on its way – it was an integral part

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of the charade; however, Campeggio played his part to the full and announced to a shocked legatine court on 23 July 1529, before the official notification arrived from the pope, that he would not make a decision and would adjourn the case for the duration of the summer holidays, as was the legal practice in Rome. Charles Brandon was furious and heckled that it was 'never merry in England whilst we had Cardinals amongst us'. This was a futile loss of temper because at the end of July, soon after the court was suspended, news of the appeal reached England and the legatine court never sat again.

Anne Boleyn was even more trenchant in her letter to Wolsey.

On 28 July, Stephen Gardiner was appointed as Principal Secretary to the king. He would now live in attendance on the king.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 22

P22N1.Margaret Habsburg's Peace Moves Without Wolsey LP 4147

P22N2.Margaret Habsburg's Confirmation of Moves LP 4153 P22N3.Pope's Ill Health LP 5314

P22N4.Popes Ill Health LP 5325

P22N5.Popes Ill Health LP 5375

P22N6.Wolsey and Prolonging the War LP 5601

P22N7.Anne Boleyn's Letter to Wolsey

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Part 23

The Ladies Call Order

The Ladies Emerge as Rulers of a United Christendom – Over powerful Papal Legate, Cardinal Wolsey Castrated in Parliament – Weak King – Darcy's List

United in their cause, three determined women, Margaret Habsburg for the Hapsburgs and Louise and Marguerite d'Angoulême for the Valois, united against the cardinal to end his tertius *gaudens polities*. His ambition to become the pope was at an end and Christendom, now wise to his plots intrigues and conspiracies, had no further use for him.

Europe was at peace in spite of Wolsey's machinations to promote and prolong the war.

On 3 August 1529, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Louise de Valois and Margaret Habsburg signed the Peace of Cambrai.

Wolsey had used the church to advance his power and authority over both king and country. He was a megalomaniac, drunk on omnipotence and grandeur. He was intoxicated by a supreme clerical power that had been despised and venerated in varying degrees almost without interruption for centuries. Resistance to this power had existed since the days of Henry II, and Becket, King John and Pope Innocent, Richard II, Wycliffe, Chaucer and John of Gaunt and thence passed down through the likes of Sir John Oldcastle and the Lollard Knights – indeed since the Britons first met Augustine. It had lain hibernating in substantial pockets of the kingdom, and now it woke up.

Opinions and beliefs varied, but the anti-clericalists were united in the conviction that clerics in England had acquired too much power. These ordained men ought to confine themselves to matters spiritual and leave matters temporal to the secular authorities, not least Parliament.

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Wolsey had gone too far; Henry was too slow of thought to have any control over him, being ever two or three steps behind events. Wolsey had exploited his clerical offices as Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, cardinal and papal legate to the extreme and to the detriment of the common weal. He had ruled England for almost twenty years and for most of the past ten years had fought both Charles and Francis, and set them against each other to further his own papal ambitions to control of all Christendom.

At Cambrai, the ladies in their peace had eliminated him from their conflict.

In England, now the Lords and Commons would join together, and their king would, rather than bow to the dictatorial Wolsey, toe the line with decisions made by members in Parliament to reform the power exercised by the clergy.

In these early stages, Lord Thomas Darcy was at the forefront of this brave new world with a list of charges against Wolsey. On 9 August 1529, the first Parliament for six years was summoned. Sir Thomas More delivered the opening speech. Henry, he inferred, was a shepherd to his subjects:

‘Amongst a great flock of sheep some be rotten and faulty which the good shepherd sends from the good sheep, so the great wether [castrated ram] which is of late fallen as you all know, so craftily, so scabedly [shabbily] yea and so untruly juggled with the king, that all men must needs guess and think that he thought in himself, that he had no wit to perceive his crafty doing, or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent juggling and attempts.’

The anti-clerics formed a group organised with a set of beliefs that included a wide range of opinions and ideas, but they were united in their will to remove interfering, overbearing churchmen from the governance of their country.

But how long could this potentially divisive anti-clericalist union last?

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 23

P23N1.1529 Parliament List of All Acts

P23N2.1529 Wolsey castrated, the great wether

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P23N3.1529 Commons - Fishers Angry Response

P23N4.The Fate of Wolsey. Suffolk, Montmorency, Money and Montdidier in 1523 LP 6011

Part 24

Thomas Cranmer and Joseph of Arimathea

Emergence of Thomas Cranmer – Christianity Was English before it Was Roman – Henry Head of the English Church – the Pope Has No Authority Here – First Reformation Parliament

In the wake of the debacle at Blackfriars, a reassessment of the king's Great Matter was required. Thus, during the first week of August 1529, Thomas Cranmer, a man from the Nottinghamshire shadows of Southwell Minster and Newark Castle, emerged. The future Archbishop of Canterbury, ostensibly to avoid the plague at Cambridge, was lodged at Waltham Holy Cross in Essex, where the newly appointed Principal Secretary and Bishop of Winchester to be, Stephen Gardiner, and the next Bishop of Hereford, Edward Foxe, had arranged to meet him.

Their purpose was to find a new innovative resolution to Henry's marriage problems. Cranmer suggested seeking the advice of the leading universities of Christendom regarding the legal aspects of the divorce.

It is somewhat ironic that this meeting, which began the Reformation in England, took place at Waltham, because later, in 1540, Waltham Abbey was the very last of over eight hundred monastic houses to be closed.

Edward Foxe, a man, born in Dursley, Gloucestershire, the son of William, of a well-known Shropshire gentry family and his wife, Joanna, was the first of the Brittonic - English (see part 29) to re-emerge from the latency of the previous century.

Foxe claimed that he could establish that the pope held no authority in England and moreover had never at any time in history had any jurisdiction in that realm. Principal Secretary Gardiner and Fox reported back to Henry, and the king liked both ideas.

Cranmer left on his travels to the universities of Christendom.

Foxe meanwhile set about his attempt to prove that Joseph of Arimathea had brought Christianity to the British Isles immediately after the death of Christ, and then that hundreds of years later Emperor Constantine had exported the British creed to Rome, from whence, Foxe claimed, it had been corrupted. Christianity was a religion that had been nurtured in the British Isles and taken to Rome only centuries later. Foxe had shown that here at Waltham was the very cross that Joseph had brought to England from Calvary. Henry was told that the cross had been discovered by Tovi the Dane on St Michael's Hill at Montacute in Somerset and brought to Waltham by him in 1035.

Thus, the church in England belonged to the kings of England. This was Henry's church: he was the head of it, not the pope. If King Henry VIII of England wanted a divorce, then it was within his own power to arrange it, without the intercession of the Bishop of Rome.

Elsewhere in Christendom, following the Second Diet of Speyer and the Protestation there, many of the German states were preparing a military defence against papal and Habsburg interference in their affairs. It was against that background that anti-clerical laws from previous centuries were revived in England. The praemunire, a law introduced in the reign of Richard II, was based on earlier legislation from the days of Edward I (the Statute of Provisors of 1306). It prohibited the assertion or maintenance of papal jurisdiction or of Imperial, foreign or any other alien jurisdiction or claim of supremacy in England against the supremacy of the monarch. Wolsey was certainly guilty of that and was dismissed as Chancellor.

The first session of Parliament started on 3 November 1529 and sat at Westminster. Sir Thomas More, the king's Chancellor, says the chronicler Edward Hall, was standing at the right hand of the king, from where he made that infamous but eloquent oration calling Wolsey a castrated ram. Indeed, one of the reasons for which Parliament was called was probably to harangue Wolsey further and then have him attained and executed. Lord Darcy made public his list of complaints against the cardinal.

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Anne Boleyn in the meantime had drawn a promise from Henry that he would not give Wolsey a hearing. She was convinced that the king would succumb to Wolsey's self-pity and allow him back into the government. The country at large was eager to rid itself of Wolsey. However, the king was nervous about doing so, as he had never made a decision without the cardinal.

Wolsey, indeed, had pleaded with the French ambassador, Jean du Bellay, to implore Francis and his mother Louise to intercede with the king on his behalf, but he begged 'above everything' that they would not mention his actions in which he had purposely undermined Charles Brandon's plan to take Paris during the invasion of France in 1523.

In any event, he escaped 'the gates of hell' that had been expected to open up for him, and for the time being, was sent to his archbishopric in York, but it was a short-lived stay.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 24

P24N1. Statute in Restraint of Appeals

P24N2. Opening Speech of 1529 Parliament - The Anti Clerical Commons

P24N3. Fishers Angry Response

P24N4. Darcy's Complaint Against Wolsey LP 5749, P24N5. Wolsey's Fate LP

No 6011 / 1529

P24N6. Joseph Arimathea and Legends

P24N7. Benefit of Clergy

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Part 25

Bull of Bologna

Wolsey's Deathbed Speech – Collectanea satis copiosa – Threat of Excommunication to King and Kingdom – Supreme Head of Church – Second Session of the Reformation Parliament – Praemunire and Pardon of the Clergy – Third Parliament

Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey while returning to London from his diocese in York to answer charges of treason. George Cavendish, his trusty servant and subsequently his biographer, was with him as usual but the cardinal was in the custody of Sir William Kingston.

Sir William, who hailed from Painswick in Gloucestershire, seems to have lurked in the shadows of Henrician history. He was for a long time Constable of the Tower of London and reserved his appearances into the spotlight only for the most momentous events, of which Wolsey's death was one.

Kingston listened to Wolsey's last words, and Cavendish recorded them for later publication. On the last day of his life, Wolsey's worries were over the Lutheran threat, and he wanted to warn the king:

'And say furthermore, that I require his grace, in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress the new pernicious sect of the Lutherans that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back and subdue them as the King of Bohemia did who had good game to see his rude commons(then infected with Wycliffe's heresies) to spoil and murder the spiritual men and religious persons of his realm.'

A short while later Wolsey died, and Kingston, himself one of those very Lutherans, returned to the shadows, but only for the time being,

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Parliament had been scheduled to sit again in April 1530, but this was postponed in the first instance to 22 June 1530.

Henry was still waiting for decisions from the universities, in particular, Paris University, about the validity of his grounds for divorce.

Following the Treaty of Cambrai, Charles V was crowned Holy Roman Emperor, in Bologna, by the pope on 24 February 1530. He wielded his new Holy Lance at Henry and, under the emperor's direction, on 7 March 1530, from Bologna, Pope Clement issued a bull that read:

Bull, notifying that on the appeal of queen Katharine from the judgment of the Legates, who had declared her contumacious for refusing their jurisdiction as being not impartial, the Pope had committed the cause, at her request, to Master Paul Capisucio, the Pope's chaplain, and auditor of the Apostolic palace, with power to cite the King and others; that the said Auditor, ascertaining that access was not safe, caused the said citation, with an inhibition under censures, and a penalty of 10,000 ducats, to be posted on the doors of the churches in Rome, at Bruges, Tournay, and Dunkirk, and the towns of the diocese of Terouenne (Morinensis). The Queen, however, having complained that the King had boasted, notwithstanding the inhibition and mandate against him, that he would proceed to a second marriage, the Pope issues this inhibition, to be fixed on the doors of the churches as before, under the penalty of the greater excommunication, and interdict to be laid upon the kingdom.

Bologna, 7 March 1530, 7 Clement VII.

To the anti-clericalists in England, this was history repeating itself. Had not King John surrendered the entire kingdom to the pope under such a threat in the times of their forefathers? The response was to send a petition to the pope signed by eighty-three English dignitaries requesting that he grant the divorce.

In the summer of 1530, Henry was presented with the culmination of Cranmer's work, a manuscript compilation of what in later years became known as the *Collectanea satis copiosa* (Sufficiently Abundant Collections). It was an offering of proof that the King of England had both secular imperium and spiritual supremacy in England. Henry seemed to be impressed with it, as evidenced by annotations in his own handwritten across his copy, which is now held in the

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British Library.

The plague visited again. There was another postponement of Parliament, this time until 1 October, but the pestilence continued, and so, in the end, Parliament did not sit at all in 1530.

To keep matters simmering, however, on 25 September 1530 Anne's father (Thomas Boleyn) and Charles Brandon told the papal nuncio that England cared nothing for popes, even if St Peter should come back to life since the king's absolute power made him both emperor and pope within his realm.

Following on from its success against Wolsey, the law of praemunire was used again, and fifteen clerics were summoned to answer charges during the Michaelmas term. Among those included were Bishops Clerk, Fisher, Standish and West.

The second session of the Reformation Parliament began in January 1531 and the wisest men elected of all the shires' cities and boroughs assembled again at Westminster. As was customary, the clergy came together in convocation.

The individual charges of praemunire, however, were dropped and instead charges were brought against all the clergy of the realm, not just fifteen of them because they had all accepted the pope's authority in the Kingdom of England.

The king, however, offered a pardon on condition of a single payment by the church of one hundred thousand pounds and acceptance by the clergy that he, not the pope, was supreme head of the English Church, which he declared himself on 7 February 1531.

The offer was accepted with the caveat 'as far as the law of Christ allows', and the clergy submitted royal authority. Thus, this event is known as the Pardon of the Clergy, although it was not written into law until the fifth session of the Reformation Parliament (15 January to 30 March 1534), which did not include the caveat.

Cranmer, through the *Collectanea satis copiosa* and now Parliament, had given Henry the tools he needed to break with Rome. He could have set a course to

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void his marriage to Catherine, but he lacked the determination and courage to see it through.

Or was Henry more sophisticated than that?

Was this a deliberate, considered campaign to force Clement to admit the rights of the English king and his kingdom, to confess the papal usurpation, to disallow Catherine's appeal and to hand back Henry's case forever to where, in equity and law, he was told it belonged?

The Reformation Parliament sat for a third session in 1532 and passed the Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates.

Then came the Supplication against the Ordinaries, a petition against the ordained men of the church, the chief complaint of which objected to the legislative power of the clergy to make laws without the consent of the king.

The men of the church responded, and at the heart of their defence was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. On the main question, they declared that their authority for making laws for the maintenance of faith and virtue was grounded on the scripture of God and the determination of the Holy Church. The clergy, they argued, dare not submit to the king's assent in the execution of a duty certainly prescribed by God.

This was not the reply the Commons wanted, and Henry was not happy with the 'slender' answer. Much of Gardiner's defence against the Supplication against the Ordinaries, however, relied on Henry's own writings in *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, which had won him the title Defender of the Faith back in 1521. Perhaps, in the meantime, Henry had found some yet unrealised proof to the contrary, or maybe he had simply not read, never mind written the book that claimed his authorship. It seems king and bishop had shot each other in the foot, but anyway, it was all in vain; the argument was futile, and the clergy abdicated the right to legislate without royal approval. The event is known to history as the Submission of the Clergy

Two days after Parliament was prorogued, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, resigned. He loathed the new legislation and could not continue. He was

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replaced by Thomas Audley, who was knighted on the same day and took his oath on 5 June 1532.

All this reining in of the clergy, however, was doing nothing towards Anne de Boulogne and Henry becoming husband and wife. The wise elected men of the shires, cities and boroughs sitting in the Parliament House had carved out an agenda against the over-mighty ecclesiastical lords, and the clerics were in retreat, but this was not endearing the pope to Anne and Henry's cause to have the marriage to the Holy Roman Emperor's aunt annulled.

Anne was becoming frustrated. Henry had two children, male and female, both with potential claims to the throne. Henry either could not or would not risk the birth of an illegitimate child with Anne and so, exasperated by the king's procrastination, Anne reverted to her patrons in France.

Supplement to Part 25 - Wolsey's Death Bed Speech at Leicester Abbey

In the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for November 1529, there is an entry which reads as follows.

To Sir Wm. Kingiston,[Kingston] captain of the King's Guard, sent to the earl of Shrewsbury with divers of the Guard, for the conveyance of the cardinal of York to the Tower, 40/.

Financed accordingly, Sir William arrived at Sheffield Manor in Yorkshire on 22 November 1529 and relieved the Earl of Shrewsbury of his prisoner by taking Wolsey into his own custody.

On his way, south from York to London, Wolsey had spent the previous sixteen days with the earl and was, or became unwell. In spite of his plight however on 24 November, under guard, he arrived at Hardwick Hall in Nottinghamshire (not to be confused with the hall of the same name in Derbyshire built between 1590 and 1597).

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The next day he was at Nottingham and on Saturday 26 November he arrived at Leicester Abbey.

His health continued to deteriorate, and in the early hours of 29 November his gentleman usher, George Cavendish, who was with him, memorised and later wrote down an account of Wolsey's last hours and dying fear of the Lutherans.

George Cavendish's Account

My Lord being very weak, and about four of the clock next morning I asked him how he did.

'Well,' quoth he, 'if I had any meat. I pray you give me some.'

'Sir,' quoth I, 'there is none ready.'

Then he said:

'You are much to blame; you should always have meat for me in readiness, whensoever that my stomach serves me. I pray you get some ready for me, for I mean to make myself strong to-day, to the intent I may go to confession and make me ready for God.'

Quoth I, 'I will call up the cooks to prepare some meat, and also I will call Mr. Palmes, that he may discourse with you till your meat be ready.'

'With a good will,' quoth he.

And so I called Master Palmes, who rose and came to my Lord. Then I went and acquainted Master Kingston that my Lord was very sick, and not like to live.

'In good faith!' quoth Master Kingston, 'you are much to blame to make him believe he is sicker than he is.'

'Well, sir,' quoth I, 'you cannot but say I gave you warning, as I am bound to do.'

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Upon which words he arose and came unto him; but before he came my Lord Cardinal had eaten a spoonful or two of cullis made of chicken, and after that he was at his confession the space of an hour. And then Master Kingston came to him and bid him good morrow, and asked him how he did.

'Sir,' quoth he, 'I watch but God's pleasure to render up my poor soul to Him. I pray you have me heartily commended unto his royal Majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us from the beginning, and the progress, and especially between good Queen Katherine and him, and then shall His Grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a Prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will he will endanger the one-half of his kingdom.'

'I do assure you I have often knelt before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my Prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the Privy Council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take heed what you put in the King's head, for you can never put it out again.'

'And I desire you further to request His Grace in God's name that he have a vigilant eye to suppress the hellish Lutherans, that they increase not through his great negligence, in such a sort as he be compelled to take up arms to subdue them, as the King of Bohemia was, whose commons being infected with Wickliff's heresies, the King was forced to take that course.'

'Let him consider the story of King Richard II., the second son of his progenitor, who lived in the time of Wickliff's seditions and heresies. Did not the commons, I pray you, in his time rise against the nobility and chief governors of this realm, and at the last some of them were put to death'

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without justice or mercy; and under pretence of having all things in common, did they not fall to spoiling and robbing, and at last took the King's person and carried him about the city, making him obedient to their proclamations ?

'Did not also the traitorous heretic Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, pitch a field with heretics against Henry IV., where the King was in person, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory.

'Alas ! if these be not plain precedents and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince, then God will take away from us our prudent rulers, and leave us to the hands of our enemies. And then will ensue mischief, inconveniences, barrenness, and scarcity, for want of good orders in the Commonwealth, from which God of His tender mercy defend us!

'Master Kingston, farewell! I wish all things may have good success. My time draws on; I may not tarry with you. I pray you remember my words.'

Now the time began to draw near, and his tongue began to fail him ; his eyes were perfectly set in his head, and his sight failed him. Then we began to put him in mind of Christ's Passion, and caused the Yeomen of the Guard to stand by privately, to see him die, and bear witness of his words and his departure, who heard all his communications. And then presently the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost, and thus departed he this life, each of us looking on one another, supposing he prophesied of his departure.

We sent for the Abbot of the house to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his life, who said certain prayers before that the life was out of his body.

The Cardinal being departed, Master Kingston sent post to London one of the Guard. Then was Master Kingston and the Abbot in consultation about the funeral, which was solemnized the day after, for Master Kingston would not stay the return of the post.

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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 25

P25N1.The Bull of Bologna 7 March 1530 LP 6256

P252.Even if St Peter should come back to life. Sp Cal 445

Part 26

Anne de Boulogne Seeks French

Help

Henry and Francis Meet at Boulogne – Francis Promises Support for Henry's Divorce from Catherine–Anne de Boulogne Married to Henry

In 1532 Anne de Boulogne received news that King Francis would be meeting the pope in October the following year at the wedding his second son, Henri (later King Henri II), to Catherine de' Medici. This meeting, she perceived, would be an opportunity for her French sponsors to press the divorce case, face to face, with the pope.

Catherine de' Medici, after all, was herself a de Boulogne through her mother, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, Countess de Boulogne. It is more likely than not that Anne had been present at Madeleine's wedding, a flamboyant affair at Château d'Amboise in the Loire Valley on 5 May 1518. During negotiations between Francis and Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici – Pope Leo X – leading to the Concordat of Bologna in 1516, a marriage arrangement (an inducement) was agreed for Madeleine to marry Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Leo X's nephew. The current pope, Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici (Clement VII), was Leo's cousin.

Surely this union, together with Francis's influence, would pave the way for another de Boulogne marriage – Anne's to the King of England – sanctioned by a de' Medici pope.

The de Boulogne–Valois scheme was for Francis to convince Henry that he (Francis) would persuade Clement to grant the annulment. Indeed, Henry later claimed that Francis had promised that he would never consent to his son's marriage into the de' Medici family unless Clement decided the divorce in Henry's favour. In the meantime, the French king would give his personal

blessing for Henry to marry Anne.

To elevate her status, Anne was created Marquis of Pembroke on 1 September 1532.

In the autumn, a visit to the French king was arranged to begin the scheme. Nobility, prelates and servants were commanded to meet up with Henry and Anne in Canterbury on 26 September 1532. Many registered their unhappiness about crossing the Channel to France at the onset of winter.

The staunchly conservative Archbishop Warham, however, was not among them. He died on 22 August 1532 and in November Thomas Cranmer, at the time in Austria, was named as the new Archbishop of Canterbury. He arrived back in England on about 10 January 1533.

On 11 October 1532, Anne and Henry boarded the *Swallow* at Dover with an entourage of more than two thousand. Francis arrived at Boulogne on the 19th, and the two groups met the following day amid great pomp. Henry then spent five days lodged at the abbey in Boulogne. It was soon agreed that two French cardinals, Grammont and Tournon, would head a delegation to Clement in a concerted effort to have him grant Henry's divorce. They were due to meet him in advance of Francis's arrival for the wedding.

Amid great ceremony at Boulogne, Francis I and Henry VIII pledged to act as one, united like brothers; they swore their friendship, and the joint message to the pope was that whatever was Francis's pain or joy, so it would be Henry's, and vice versa: whatever was done to Henry was also done to Francis.

At some time in late 1532 or early 1533, Henry and Anne were married. Quite probably the marriage took place in Boulogne while they were there; however, the details have always remained secret.

A few weeks after they returned from France, Anne discovered she was pregnant.

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There was no time to wait for Francis and the pope now; the pregnancy changed everything. Henry's marriage to Catherine must be annulled officially and quickly.

Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 26

P26N1.Francis's instructions. What the two cardinals shall say to the pope. LP
1541

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Part 27

Anne Is Pregnant

Fourth Reformation Parliament – Thomas Cromwell Legislates – Francis Betrays Henry – It's a Girl

That which followed was a consequence of the pregnancy. The child, who grew up to become Elizabeth I of England, must be born as a legitimate issue of marriage. This child would wait for no man, not now and not ever. Elizabeth would arrive at Greenwich Palace on 7 September. Her mother and father must be married legally and without impediment, but Henry's unresolved marriage contract to Catherine of Aragon was just such an impediment.

Henry was forced to do something. Tradition has it that he had been smitten with Anne for years. Now he was compelled to act and act with urgency. He had been dawdling; more than three years had passed since the Blackfriars debacle and, despite reforms in the church, he had no clear strategy of his own personal invention to resolve his marital disorder.

Alongside Cranmer emerged a man whose ancestors, like Cranmer's, also hailed from the lands of Robin Hood's nemesis, the Sheriff of Nottingham, in the time of King John. He was a lawyer named Thomas Cromwell, who had spent some time in Wolsey's service and dissolved a score of monasteries to fund the cardinal's colleges in Ipswich and Oxford.

The fourth session of the Reformation Parliament began on 4 February 1533 and Thomas Cromwell now acted to wipe out papal control over the King of England and his realm. At last, on the basis of Cranmer's *Collectanea satis copiosa*, nearly four years after it was first mooted, Parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals, which severed papal authority over England.

In March 1533, Henry promised that he would repair the insult to Kings Henry II and John, who had been tricked into offering the realm as a tributary to the

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Holy See. He was also determined to reunite the crown with the goods churchmen had appropriated from it.

The legislation allowed Cranmer, on 23 May 1533, to declare Henry's marriage to Catherine void. A short time later, he declared that Henry's marriage to Anne was valid.

Henry was a God-fearing man and had procrastinated for so long because he was frightened of retribution. Now that retribution descended: on 11 July 1533, the pope retaliated and threatened Henry with excommunication if he did not take Catherine back as his wife by September 1533. Clement drew up a papal bull to that effect, although he did not publish it – for the time being.

Reports of the pope and Francis meeting at Marseilles reached England. The accounts told of how Francis kissed Clement's foot and grovelled in homage. Regardless of Henry's threatened excommunication from the church, Francis had carried on with the arrangements for his son to marry Catherine de' Medici. The son of the King of France would be allowed to proceed to marry the niece of the man who had already censured the King of England and who now threatened to heap humiliation upon Henry by excommunicating him. Henry was probably entitled to be upset; excommunication was the ultimate spiritual dishonour, and his 'brother' Francis, instead of standing with him, shoulder to shoulder, banded as brothers, had betrayed him. Or so Henry saw it. The planned Valois initiative to represent Tudor interests to the pope resulted in a diplomatic catastrophe.

The doctors and astrologers foretold of a son for Henry and Anne, but she gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. There is no record of Henry attending the christening.

Anne had failed him, Francis had betrayed him and the French connection had begun to unravel.

Notwithstanding, the fifth session of the Reformation Parliament sat from mid-January 1534 to the end of March.

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Notes Book, Volume 1; References for Part 27

P27N1.Repair the insult to Kings Henry II and John LP 235

P27N2.See also Scarisbrick, Henry VIII page 309

P27N3.Francis's love for Henry VIII - no man can separate them LP 424

P27N4.Brief contemporary description of the coronation. LP 563

P27N5.Pope Sentence of excommunication - suspended until end of September. LP 807

P27N6.Henry VIII's frustration and growing anger towards Francis I LP 1404

P24N7.Detail of deteriorating relations between Henry and Francis. Francis foot kissing the pope LP 1479

P27N8.Act in Restraint of Appeals – Preamble

The Betrothal of Baby Princess Elizabeth Flounders

Many Acts in Parliament – Valor Ecclesiasticus – Protestants Diverge – Friction with France – Anne Is Desperate for a French Marriage for Elizabeth – Another Power Struggle Begins – Anne Wants Cromwell’s Head Off

The rejection of papal supremacy manifested itself during 1534, encapsulated in the Act of Absolute Restraint of Annates and Election of Bishops, the Act Forbidding Papal Dispensations and Payment of Peters Pence, the Act of Heresy, the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, the First Act of Succession, the Second Act of Succession, the Act of Supremacy, the Treason Act and an Oath of Succession.

In 1535, a valuation of the church, the Valor Ecclesiasticus, was underway. Legislation for the dissolution of monastic houses was yet to come, in the spring of 1536, but the legislation, passed at the sixth session of the Reformation Parliament in November and December 1534, effectively completed the English break from Rome.

An angry but diverse group of people had trampled over Wolsey when he fell. They, in the aftermath of the overbearing cleric’s demise, had come together, unified in their desire to curtail the influence of the ecclesiastical lords and their adherents. None of them wanted to see the like of the megalomaniac cardinal again and all wanted reform in the church.

Having beaten down the English ‘I wanna be pope’ and ensured upon his death that he was gone forever, the definition of the Reformation became so broad that it was almost impossible to define.

On one side, a conservative faction felt that some wing-clipping and well-directed pruning in the wake of Wolsey’s departure would suffice. There was perhaps a middle way where it was thought church and state could live harmoniously side by side and respect the extent of each other’s authority. But

on the other side there were those whose ancestors had borne the nature of papal interference for centuries and wished to end the jurisdiction of Rome altogether. Stirred into this mix were any number of other permutations for interpretation, particularly the Wycliffe doctrine that found its way to Bohemia and the Hussites in the late 1300s and early 1400s. It was now seeping back in from northern Christendom.

The strongest faction in England had used the royal divorce as a vehicle to achieve its own ends – a separation from Rome, which had been achieved through Parliament principally via the Ecclesiastical Appeals Act in the spring of 1533. (The Act is dated 1532 because the legal year ended on 24 March).

Thus, before the end of 1534, that large group which had trampled gleeful and untethered over the prostrate Wolsey began to split. With one party encouraged by events in Germany and the other subservient to the French, they were setting out on very different paths.

The figurehead of one group was Thomas Cromwell and that of the other was Anne de Boulogne. One group was in steep ascendancy and the other in sharp decline.

The de Boulognes were floundering and needed a lifeline, so again they turned to France.

During 1534, they began negotiations to marry baby Elizabeth into the French royal family, and by the autumn Philippe de Chabot, Admiral de Brion of France, was on his way to England to discuss terms. Chabot arrived during the Parliament sitting. At court, there were anti-French murmurs and mockery of all the flattery, pandering and cowering shown to the French delegation.

Thomas Cromwell, however, was not one of those on bended knee. He was busy entertaining his friends from Germany and exchanging views on their version of Christianity without the pope.

Matters with the French, however, did not go well. They arrived with a proposal that the dauphin should marry Henry’s oldest daughter, Mary, not Elizabeth. There were doubts in France over Elizabeth’s legitimacy. It was a slur cast upon

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Anne and her daughter, 'and the lady [Anne]', said the Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys, 'is very angry about it'. It was also proposed somewhat maliciously by the emperor that his son should marry Francis's daughter. If the proposals were intended to upset Anne de Boulogne in an attempt to thwart her desire for the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth to the French, they succeeded.

In November 1534, counter-proposals were drawn up for an alternative marriage arrangement between Francis's third son (Charles the Duke of Angoulême) and Princess Elizabeth if 'the French King would obtain from the Bishop of Rome a decision for that the unjust and slanderous sentence given by the late Bishop of Rome is void'; in this event, Henry VIII of England would renounce the title of King of France. With very little agreed, the admiral's visit ended acrimoniously and he declined to go to Windsor and other places 'as the King desired'.

Weeks then passed. Christmas came and went, and still in at the beginning of February the French had sent no response to the English proposals. During this time, Cromwell boasted that he would make his master wealthier than all the other princes in Christendom, which relentlessly undermined the de Boulogne position.

Eventually, after months of silence, Palamedes Gontier, Chabot's secretary, arrived in England. He was hastily conducted to Westminster. Tensions now ran high; the long delay had fuelled a lack of trust in the French and relations were at a low ebb. Henry interpreted the silence as a snub. He had already spoken to the French ambassador, Charles de Solier, Comte de Morette, so sharply about his countrymen's conduct that the Frenchman dare not 'show himself to the King at court'.

Anne de Boulogne also complained mournfully about the long delay, which she said had caused her husband many doubts about her. She was ill at ease and having difficulty maintaining his trust, so reported Gontier. She was living in fear of ruin, she was in more grief and trouble than before her marriage, and she needed help from France before the evangelists trampled over her and the entire country.

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The Queen of England was wholly French; she had been mentored by the King of France's sister Marguerite. The de Boulognes had steered England away from the clutches of the Holy Roman Emperor and Anne had fulfilled her part in wresting Henry from the emperor's aunt Catharine of Aragon. She had assured Henry that Francis would be persuaded to take control of the church in France as Henry had done in England, a policy that the de Boulognes were optimistic in believing would gather pace after the death of Pope Clement VII in December 1534.

Anne had been offered up as bait for Henry when the French were desperate for English help to have Francis released from Spain. However, those days were long gone. Increasingly isolated, her position was ever weakening; she clung to the ambition to unite the reigning Valois of France with her daughter Elizabeth, who was of de Boulogne blood, but many of those who counselled Henry filled his head with pro-Lutheran and anti-French sentiment. Now she was more vulnerable than she had been before she was married. Her daughter's marriage was vital to secure her future before the Francophobes wrenched the royal sanction from her grasp.

As winter turned to spring, negotiations continued, but the French were deserting Anne. Still Francis wanted to know: if Mary were one day successful in her claim of legitimacy and did succeed to the throne of England, what state then would the marriage between Elizabeth and his son the duke be in?

Henry continued to reject a union with Mary. If there were to be a marriage, it would be with Elizabeth. He wrote thus to Chabot:

'Both by the King our brother's letters and yours we feel assured of his desire to preserve the amity between us to our successors; and though we cannot agree to the propositions made by the treasurer Palamedes, our reasons for declining them are such as you yourself will see to be right. As to the marriage proposed, as we were the first inventor of that knot, we purpose to send shortly to Calais deputies for our part, viz., the duke of Norfolk. Fitzwilliam and Cromwell, to arrange the conditions.

'The most convenient time for the meeting at Calais is about Whitsuntide

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next, not sooner, that Francis may have an opportunity of using his great influence with the bishop of Rome that he may revoke the sentence of his predecessor Clement about the pretended marriage with the lady Katharine. and declare it naught; which should be easy, as we find the opinion of the learned men about the Pope agrees with ours, and that he himself is somewhat disposed that way. But if the said Bishop follow the steps of his predecessor, we trust our good brother, considering the decision of his own universities and of Christendom, will adhere to us; and, meantime, that he will not practise either by marriage or otherwise with the Emperor or the king of Portugal. When we know our good brother's determination on these points, we shall send our said deputies at Whitsuntide.'

Cromwell, who when the time came did not go to Calais, was working in an entirely different direction, edging closer to an alliance with the Germans. He was also planning the 1535 summer royal progress to the west country.

The negotiations with the French failed.

Anne's brother George de Boulogne, Viscount Rochford, went to Calais at Whitsun in place of Cromwell. He carried with him an English stipulation, fatal to Boulogne ambitions, for the young French duke to be educated in England. Francis was furious about the audacity of that suggestion. Cromwell, he perceived, had inserted a clause to hold his son hostage. Hadn't his brothers suffered enough incarcerated as hostages in Spain by Charles a decade earlier?

Cromwell, however, had every reason to hold his ground. The duke's eldest brother, the dauphin, had boasted from the rooftops that he 'would regain the title and arms which the king of England bore' and that he would succeed where the dauphin Prince Louis had failed in the time of King John'.

With Francis fuming, Rochford broke from the interview and returned to England desperate for alternative instructions, but first he was a long time consulting with his sister about their impending predicament. Anne, according to Chapuys, had been in bad humour and said a 'thousand shameful words' of the King of France, and generally the whole nation.

Cromwell held Rochford back from making a swift return to Calais. The

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negotiations collapsed and at the same time Cromwell continued to consult with the Germans. According to Chapuys, on 2 June Anne, as her fortunes crumbled, admonished Cromwell and wished she could see his head cut off.

Within a year this fate would become hers instead.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 28

P28N1. Valor Ecclesiasticus,

P28N2. Henry II and King John LP 235

P28N3. Cromwell and doctors from over from Germany discuss the sacrifice of the mass. LP 1482

P28N4. Hatred the nation bears to the French. LP 1437

P28N5. Anne de Boulogne's anger LP 1482

P28N6. Counter proposals LP 1483

P28N7. Admiral's snub, Anglo-French relations further deteriorate LP 1507

P28N8. Cromwell will make his master wealthier than all the other princes LP 1554

P28N9. Anne living in fear of ruin. LP 174

P28N10. Articles proposed for a treaty between the two kings. LP 340,

P28N11. Henry's further proposals including date for meeting at Calais. LP 341

P28N12. Rochford to Calais instead of Cromwell, Cromwell against the French but talking to Germans LP 666

P28N13. Rochford's return for instructions, Anne's bad humour and Rochford held back, Anne wants Cromwell's head off. LP 826,

P28N14. Francis's anger over his son being a 'hostage LP 846,

P28N15. Anglo-French negotiations broken off, by 7 June LP 891,

P28N16. King John and the Flanders conspiracy LP Vol 10,1069. (1536).

Part 29

The Royal Progress of 1535

The Brittonic - English

In March 1533, Henry promised that he would repair the insult to Kings Henry II and John, who had been tricked into offering the realm in tribute to the Holy See. He was also determined to reunite the crown with the goods churchmen had appropriated from it.

Letters & Papers No 235 1533 Volume 6, dated 15 March 1533

As penance for the murder of Thomas Becket, Henry II founded Witham Friary in Somerset for the first Carthusian monks in England. 'Henry II agreed to perform as a penance a three years' crusade either in the Holy Land or in Spain against the Moors. In 1175 he had not found time to accomplish this, and the punishment was commuted for the foundation of three religious houses, which he reluctantly and in a very niggard spirit performed.'

The Carthusian order survived in England over the following centuries but on 4 May 1535 three of its brothers from its London house were executed.

Cromwell had instigated a policy of antagonism against the Roman Catholic Church and on 19 June another three monks were executed. The new pope, Paul III retaliated with moves that suited Cromwell's scheme and heaped more misery on the de Boulognes. On 1 May, one of Anne's French allies, Jean du Bellay, was created Cardinal Priest of Santa Cecilia and as a consequence she lost one of her principal French collaborators, a friend who had claimed to her and to Henry that he was a 'bad papist'. That du Bellay had deserted them to side with the pope at this time both riled the king and furnished Anne's enemies with more propaganda to fuel Henry's distrust of the French and his doubt of the honesty and faithfulness of his wholly French wife.

On the same day as du Bellay's elevation, Bishop Fisher of Rochester was created Cardinal Priest of San Vitale in Rome. It is reputed that the king forbade the cardinal's hat to be brought into England, declaring that he would send the head to Rome instead. Fisher, who had been imprisoned since April 1534 for refusing to take the Oath of Succession, an act of treason, was executed on 22 June 1535.

Sir Thomas More, who had also been imprisoned since April 1534, faced trial on 1 July 1535, and on 6 July he too was executed.

These events were designed to provoke a bill of excommunication. They did indeed cause outrage in the Roman Catholic Church, but there was more to come.

In France the dauphin, François, had been boasting that he would subdue England as another Prince of France, Louis the Lion, had done in the time of King John. François had dared to brag in front of Englishmen that he would regain the title and arms that the King of England bore, and something more besides. Henry was reminded that Louis the Lion had been proclaimed King of England in 1216, and is known as the only uncrowned King of England; surely Henry would not allow François the same liberty in this, his own reign, would he?

Perhaps, it was suggested, even the king's wholly French wife, Anne de Boulogne, was part of the dauphin's plot.

Regardless of whether she had anything to do with the plot, in the summer of 1535, the Brittonic - English faction (see below) set about convincing Henry she was in the thick of it.

The king and his court left Windsor for the summer royal progress and were scheduled to arrive at Reading Abbey on 5 July 1535.

The progress was organised as a historical tour of anti-papist, anti-Blois-Boulogne Olde Angevin England. The train of thousands, perhaps as much as two miles long, set out to meander west to the Bristol Channel and arrived there at the end of August before winding its way back to Windsor in the autumn.

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Along the way, Anne de Boulogne would encounter her deadliest enemies. As the entourage wound its way west, the death cries of those Carthusian monks and the ghostly spirit of Thomas Becket haunted her with a cursed, inextinguishable sense of looming death.

This was Seymour country and Cromwell's plot was double-edged, on the one side to be rid of Anne de Boulogne and her adherents and on the other to introduce his new reformed Christian doctrine, which would purge the country of 'the vast institution which absorbs so much manpower, sterilized so much wealth, took so much and gave back so little'.

These were the lands once laid waste in the war between Stephen and Matilda, 'the Anarchy', nineteen years when 'Christ and his saints were asleep', when the Count de Boulogne lusted for power in England.

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Henry read of the Blois-de Boulogne union that;

They oppressed the wretched people of the country severely with castle-building. When the castles were built, they filled them with devils and wicked men. Then, both by night and day they took those people that they thought had any goods – men and women – and put them in prison and tortured them with indescribable torture to extort gold and silver – for no martyrs were ever so tortured as they were. They were hung by the thumbs or by the head, and corselets were hung on their feet. Knotted ropes were put around their heads and twisted till they penetrated to the brains.

They put them in prisons where there were adders and snakes and toads, and killed them like that. Some they put in a 'torture-chamber' – that is in a chest that was short, narrow and shallow, and they put sharp stones in it and pressed the man in it so that he had all his limbs broken. In many of the castles was a 'noose-and-trap' – consisting of chains of such a kind that two or three men had enough to do to carry one. It was so made that it was fastened to a beam, and they used to put a sharp iron around the man's throat and his neck, so that he could not in any direction either sit or lie or sleep, but had to carry all that iron. Many thousands they killed by starvation.

Only did it end when Eustace de Boulogne was struck dead by the wrath of God and Henry II won from the House de Boulogne his right to the crown of England.

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The progress of Henry VIII and Anne was destined for the lands of Robert of Gloucester, forefather of the Duchy of Lancaster. These were also the lands of King John the arch anti-papist, who had died at Newark-on-Trent. Furthermore, Cromwell's ancestors hailed from the shadows of Newark Castle, the place in which John had drawn his last breath, during his fight against the invasion of England by the French prince Louis the Lion.

To add to Anne's discomfort, the infamous Richard Layton, who had until recently spent his days interrogating More and Fisher, and Layton's compatriots, Thomas Lee and John Prise began the visitation of monastic buildings to collect information to value the church (the Valor Ecclesiasticus).

Henry had already undertaken to 'reunite to the crown the goods which churchmen held of it', and, under the German doctrine that Cromwell had attached himself too, closure of the monasteries was inevitable simply because under that creed there was no scriptural basis for monastic life.

So, what to do with the redundant buildings?

Anne would shortly appoint Matthew Parker to reform the collegiate church of Stoke by Clare near Sudbury (in the east of the kingdom). The reforms included the appointment of a lecturer on the Bible, with teaching given in both English and Latin; a new grammar school that admitted both fee-paying and non-fee-paying pupils; and eight or ten scholarships, which could lead to a six-year bursary at Cambridge. This was Anne's vision of the proper use of church endowments. Parker went on to become Archbishop of Canterbury and a principal architect of Anglicanism in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Cromwell, however, was having none of that.

In his plan the bastions of Catholicism that Anne wished only to reform were instead to be sent crashing to the ground by hammer, by wrecking bar, or if needs be by gunpowder. Worse for Anne, Layton and his lot would be following the royal party around the west country, at times crossing paths, for the next four months.

The entourage travelled further west each day, ever reminded of the region's

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reformist history – the centuries-old battles to resist French hegemony - and Henry I's quest for reform at Reading Abbey. Then they proceeded to Ewelme, where once lived Thomas Chaucer, whose brother Geoffrey had been an exponent of English over the French language and a Lollard sympathiser. A week after leaving Ewelme, the train had meandered its way to King John's Palace at Langley, north-east of Burford in Oxfordshire. There they perhaps saw a performance of King Johan, a play written by John Bale (a protégé of Jane Seymour's cousin Thomas Wentworth) that lambasts the church and papacy. King John shines through as the hero fighting against (among other things) sedition, usurped power and treason as symbols of corruption in the church.

David Knowles imagines Henry, Anne and their entourage 'riding under the louring skies and heavy foliage of an unusually wet summer', onward through the towns and villages that still mourned the rape, pillage and murder of the Anarchy, on into Gloucestershire and hospitality at Sudeley Castle.

'Will no one rid me of this troublesome priest?'

So cried Henry II of Thomas Becket in 1170, and four knights did murder the priest. One of the knights was the son of John de Sudeley, William de Tracy, who was probably born in the castle. Generations of Tracys still lived locally at Toddington, and recently Cromwell had obtained the grant of nearby Stanway for Richard Tracy from the abbot of Tewkesbury. Tracy and Cromwell were well acquainted – the king's minister had intervened on Tracy's behalf following posthumous accusations of heresy against Richard's deceased father.

William. William Tyndale, who was at the vanguard of religious reform, lauded Tracy senior's evangelical standpoint with the same vigour with which he derided the king's second marriage.

North to Tewkesbury, where the bridge over the River Avon still bears King John's name. North again of Tewkesbury is Worcester, where, in accordance with his dying wishes, King John is buried in Worcester Cathedral alongside his favourite saint, Wulfstan I.

It was now almost a month since the great retinue had left Windsor. Anne de Boulogne braved the sneers, stares and vulgar mutterings; she was hated in

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these parts, and revenge was in the air. Save her own party of ladies and perhaps some of her kin, all of her travelling companions on the road towards Bristol were of Brittonic – English heritage and hostile, and they were evermore turning her husband against her.

At the beginning of August, the train moved south to Gloucester, the heart of Angevin territory and a stronghold of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, during the Anarchy (King John also held the title upon his marriage to Robert's granddaughter). The court spent several days in and around the city.

At Painswick was Sir William Kingston, MP for Gloucestershire and the man who had been privy to Wolsey's deathbed speech at Leicester, in which he spoke of his dying fear of the Lutheran doctrine. Within months, Kingston would be Anne's jailer, and his testimony would be used in the evidence to condemn her to the executioner's axe.

A night stopover at Leonard Stanley and so to Berkeley Castle, from where the Berkeley family had financed Henry II. By the time of his accession, Henry II had defeated the threat of Eustace de Boulogne, seizing the crown for himself.

From Berkeley the party travelled to Thornbury Castle, the executed Duke of Buckingham's former home. From there they took the road to Acton Court owned by Nicholas Poyntz, whose interwoven ancestry placed him at the heart of the Brittonic - English

At the end of August, the royal party arrived at Little Sodbury Manor, home of Sir John Walsh, who a few years before had employed arch-Protestant William Tyndale as a chaplain and tutor. Tyndale had also written fervently against Henry's marriage to Anne de Boulogne in his *Practice of Prelates*. Tyndale had been a fervent critic of Wolsey before the Cardinal's fall. Both had attended Magdalen College School and then on to before Magdalen College, Oxford University.

The plague may have prevented the royal train entering Bristol, where Cromwell was Recorder from 1533 until his death. Robert of Gloucester had made Bristol the 'Western Capital of England' and the city had been the centre

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of Anglo–Angevin power against Stephen and his quest to bequeath the English crown to the de Boulognes.

Via Bromham House in early September, the entourage arrived at Wolf Hall, the home of the Seymours. Here, Anne was in the heart of the territory of her enemies, as the Seymours were the leaders of the Brittonic – English movement, aiming to eliminate Roman and French influence in England.

The family was descended from the St Maurs, later anglicised as Seymour. Aymeric de St Muar had been an executor of King John's will and a Templar Knight who stayed loyal to the maligned king. The Seymour family, over the years, married into that of William Marshall. At Wolf Hall, Henry VIII would have heard the story of William Marshall's father, John who withstood a siege laid by Stephen at nearby Newbury Castle. William was a boy but Stephen was holding him as a hostage outside the castle and threatened to catapult him, with a siege engine, over the castle walls into the bailey unless John surrendered.

If Anne had remained courageous in the face of adversity thus far, she was now demeaned with torturous and gratuitous humiliation as an unwelcome guest in the household of her husband's future wife, preordained to replace her as Queen of England, an outcome of Henry's relationship with the Seymours for which Anne must first be executed.

After Wolf Hall, the party moved on to Thrupton House and the theme continued: the Lises and the Greys held Thrupton (it was over the appointment of John de Grey to the see of Canterbury that King John fell out with the pope and was excommunicated), and John Wycliffe had been a curate a few miles away at Ludgershall.

And so on to Winchester. The progress was scheduled to arrive there in early autumn for the consecration of three new evangelical bishops, all with Brittonic - English roots: Edward Foxe for Hereford, Hugh Latimer for Worcester and John Hilsey for Rochester.

Around this time, a special envoy from France, Jean de Dinteville, also arrived at Winchester (Dinteville is one of the figures depicted in the famous painting *The Ambassadors* by Holbein).

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Dinteville brought news that the pope had issued a brief depriving Henry of his realm and royal dignity. Worse for Anne de Boulogne, the pope called upon Francis, King of France, her patron, to enforce the excommunication. Said Pope Paul III to Francis: 'be ready to execute justice on Henry when required, remembering the great armies with which his forefathers revenged her[France] injuries'.

The brief cited Fisher and the sacrilegious slaughter of so many other clerks and religious men. The pope claimed that Henry's actions had exceeded the wickedness of his ancestors and their treatment of Thomas Becket. The Seymour–Cromwell strategy was going to plan; Anne de Boulogne was marooned, her position all but hopeless. She was isolated, surrounded by enemies in England, while her friends in France were licensed by the pope to deprive her husband of his kingdom – by force.

Ambassador Dinteville returned to France with a message from Anne to her mentor, Francis's sister Marguerite d'Angoulême: 'The queen [Anne] said that her greatest wish, next to having a son, is to see you again.'

How must Anne have longed to return to France with the ambassador. Her forlorn hope was to produce a son, a male heir, and have him marry a French bride. Either that or flee to the royal court in France where she had grown up, where she had been educated and groomed, but even there nothing had prepared her for this assault on the heritage that she claimed and on the kingdom of France that she called home.

The progress was due to begin its return to Windsor from Winchester but, it having started in that direction and reached Bishop's Waltham, there was an about-turn, maybe influenced by anxiety about the plague in London. The entourage retraced its steps and returned to Winchester. From there the party travelled by ship to Portchester Castle, synonymous with kings Henry and John.

After the debacle with the French at Winchester, the original route for the progress seems to have been abandoned.

From Portchester probably via Beaulieu Abbey, founded by King John, Henry travelled back in a westerly direction, away from Windsor to Salisbury and then

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Clarendon Palace, where the Constitutions of Clarendon had been drawn up by Henry II 1165 to curb the extent of papal authority in England. Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Becket had resisted the Constitutions, but before Henry could put him on trial he fled to exile – in France.

Towards mid-October there was a determined strike for home via The Vyne at Sherbourne St John and then the hospitality of yet more Brittonic - English: Sir William Paulet at Basing House, whose forefathers hailed from Pawlett in Somerset, the heart of Brittonic – English country, and then Henry Daubeney at Bramshill House, who in less than two years would be titled Earl of Bridgewater (Somerset) in recognition of his ancestry in Avalon. Finally, there was a stay with the Seymours again at Elvetham House, with perhaps another performance of King Johan.

During the summer of 1535, the house of Seymour trounced that of de Boulogne.

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Supplement to Part 29 – The Brittonic English Faction

At First, the Brittonic – Anglo Saxons

In 596, sent by Pope Gregory the Great, the papal authority upon which Wolsey relied was brought to the British Isles, from Rome, by Augustine – later Saint Augustine. Almost a thousand years before Cardinal Wolsey's government of England this missionary cleric came to convert the pagan Anglo- Saxons to the Roman Catholic version of Christianity.

Roman rule in Britain ended almost two hundred years before Augustine arrived. During the intervening period Angles and Saxons from Germany had invaded from the east. They divided native Britons and drove them, some to the north of the island, others to the west.

The Anglo -Saxons were, as we know, pagans, however, continuing his mission from the east, Augustine and his band of clerics were successful in converting the Anglo-Germanic tribes to Christianity.

As an agent of a powerful Anglo - Saxon king, over the next few years, Augustine continued his way towards the Britons who had been driven west and now occupied Wales, the South West Peninsular and parts of today's Gloucestershire, Somerset and Hampshire, an area known to history as Dumnonia.

There had been a brand of Christianity in Britain, practised by native Britons, for centuries before Augustine arrived. Some may argue that it was introduced during or immediately after Christ's lifetime, through a vibrant commercial trade between the South West and the Mediterranean.

Be that as it may, it certainly was not the brand of the religion that Augustine had come to coerce the natives into following. As Augustine approached the River Severn, his way was blocked, here now lived the Britons. The Britons of Brutus, these were the lands of legend where once King Arthur fought the invading Saxons, the grounds of Joseph of Arimathea, the Holy Cross, of Avalon and of Glastonbury. The Britons resisted the influence of the papal autocrats.

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From Augustine's Oak – Little Acorns Grow

Augustine however persevered, and a conference – known as Augustine's Oak was organised, held over two sessions, and probably at separate locations.

The conference of Augustin's Oak, we are told, was convened somewhere on the border which separated the Anglo – Saxons and the Britons, but the Venerable Bede, 'the father of English history' unfortunately does not give us the exact place or places.

For the first meeting, there are a number of suggestions, Aust on the River Severn is an ongoing favourite, but the most likely is the present-day College Green at Bristol. The second was probably held at a location close to Worcester; the proposals are; Rock, Hartlebury, and Alfrick, all in present-day Worcestershire. The Church of St James, the Greater at Stanford Bishop in Herefordshire, boasts the very chair in which, so it is claimed, Augustine sat, and it is lovingly preserved in the chancel.

Divisions prevailed throughout the encounters; the date of Easter was at the top of a list of disputes. With that and the tradition in mind, that Joseph of Arimathea, the very man who buried Jesus, had brought the original version of the Christian religion to the West Country the list of differences seemed unreconcilable. The two-sided even refused to eat together.

This confrontation, however, was more than about religious doctrine. Augustine was firmly allied to King Æthelberht, the most powerful king in southern England. To the natives, Augustine's was an alien denomination espoused by the agent of the vanquisher. At the second meeting, the Britons were insulted when Augustine remained seated as they arrived. Discord between the two Christian sides was too great. Augustine had converted the Anglo– Saxons, but here he failed with the Britons, and so Roman Catholicism was rejected.

In a tale propagated by Queen Elizabeth I's Archbishop of Canterbury, Mathew Parker, Augustine promised bloody retribution on the defiant natives. His revenge was delivered at the Battle of Chester in 615 when over a thousand monks, Britons from Bangor Iscoed were massacred.

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Bede's history includes mention of the monk's slaughter, led by the Anglo - Saxon King Æthelfrith.

"resorted...to pray at the...battle...King Æthelfrith being informed [of this] ...said, "If then they cry to their God against us, in truth, though they do not bear arms, yet they fight against us because they oppose us by their prayers." He, therefore, commanded them to be attacked first. About twelve-hundred of those that came to pray are said to have been killed".

The die was cast – the troubles began, east versus west, the Christianity of the Britons against the Christianity of Rome – and those in between.

But in the west from this flux of Britons and Anglo – Saxons was born a hybrid, a defiant breed of people whose evolution was shaped by the border country in which they lived, and it was fostered over the following centuries through necessity, coalescence and intermarriage.

Hence, from this fusion, the first Brittonic – Anglo Saxons were born.

Time passed, and of course, the Vikings arrived, but the limit of the invasion was the Danelaw to the north of Watling Street. Although there was something of an incursion into northern Cheshire, the Welsh Marches remained otherwise free of Norsemen.

The Brittonic - Normans

That the Marches remained free of Norseman was true, until the Normans invaded in 1066.

They swept all aside, including the Marches, until the conquering force reached the foothills of the Welsh mountains, and there it stopped.

The Normans defeated the Anglo Saxons, but not the Britons of Cymru. William the Conqueror, rather than do battle on hostile terrain, established the first Marcher Lordships. This was a stratagem conceived to create a frontier territory between England and the hostile anti-Norman Welsh.

The Marcher Lords became the first line of defence in the west of Williams new

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kingdom. There were as many as forty lordships created, and these lords were a privileged lot, within their domains they were granted authority akin to royal power; justice was administered by the lord in his courts, in his own name, and his exceptional local power gave him the right even to wage war.

With this extraordinary authority, the rulers were fiercely independent and shunned outside meddling in their affairs. As with the Anglo-Saxons before, another amalgam of peoples occurred in the Marches, and for many the pre-Augustine version of Christianity held sway. Many lords scorned interference in local affairs by Roman Catholic Churchmen.

As robust, however, as Norman rule may appear, less than sixty years after the invasion, the preservation of William I's lineage was in choppy water.

The death of King Henry I's heir, William Adelin, who was drowned in the so-called White Ship Disaster, and the resulting quarrel over the right of succession, caused a civil war. Henry's daughter Matilda, who claimed the crown, allied with the king's illegitimate son Robert of Gloucester, who was one of the first Brittonic - Normans. This alliance of half brother and sister fought against another of the Conqueror's grandchildren, Stephen of Blois and his son Eustace de Boulogne for the crown of England – Angevin versus de Boulogne.

See Family Tree Below

The Anarchy, Brittonic- Normans fighting Frankish -Normans, was a savage nineteen-year, east-west civil war, that inflicted deep cut injuries. The unhealed wounds flared up in Henry II's conflict with Archbishop Thomas Becket and again in King John's fight with Pope Innocent and his war with the Dauphin of France Louis the Lion.

The Brittonic - English

By the time the turbulent reign of Henry III came to an end, the Welsh had taken back control of many Marcher lordships. The new King Edward I invaded Wales and restored authority. The famous Marcher Brittonic – Norman families emerged; the Mortimers, de Braoses, de Lacys, Grey de Ruthyns, Talbots, and the Le Strange families eventually acquired much Welsh blood through

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politically advantageous marriages with the Welsh nobility. Roger Mortimer, 1st Baron Mortimer (1231–1282) for example was a son of Gwladys Ddu, daughter of Llewelyn the Great of Gwynedd.

The story of the Mortimers, Edward II, Isabella, Berkley Castle and Edward III is well known. By the time of Geoffrey Chaucer (champion of the English language over French) during the reign of Richard II, the people of the Marches may now be described as Brittonic – English.

The reign of Richard II throws up many questions, but one thing is for sure, and that is that the undercurrent of anti-clericalism fostered in the Marches turned into a wave and nearly swept the Roman Catholic church away. Sir John Oldcastle (Shakespeare's Falstaff), the man from Almeley in the Marches, led the so-called Lollards in revolt against his onetime ally Henry of Monmouth (Shakespeare's Hal), who became Henry V.

The doctrine advanced by Lollard adherents was preached by John Wycliffe whose sympathisers included John of Gaunt and Geoffrey Chaucer, both of whom died as Parliament was about to consider a bill demanding disendowment of church lands in favour of the king. Hal, who was brought up in Herefordshire and previously led a Marcher war deep into Wales had unfaithfully promised the Lollards that he would curb the power of the church.

Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury and *de facto* ruler of England, however, persuaded the young Henry V to turn his attention, with the support of the church, to invading France and reclaiming the French Crown.

Tempted by greater glories in France young Hal famously turned on Oldcastle and his Brittonic English followers, dissenting leaders were rounded up and executed - all else in the kingdom was concentrated on the war with France.

Civil war followed the inevitable disaster of the conflict with the French, during which time the anti-clerical Brittonic English became a latent force, hibernating in the castellated lands of the Welsh Marches, in Bristol and in Avalon.

The civil war ended at Bosworth and then in the reign of Henry VIII came another archbishop, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, like Arundel, an overbearing

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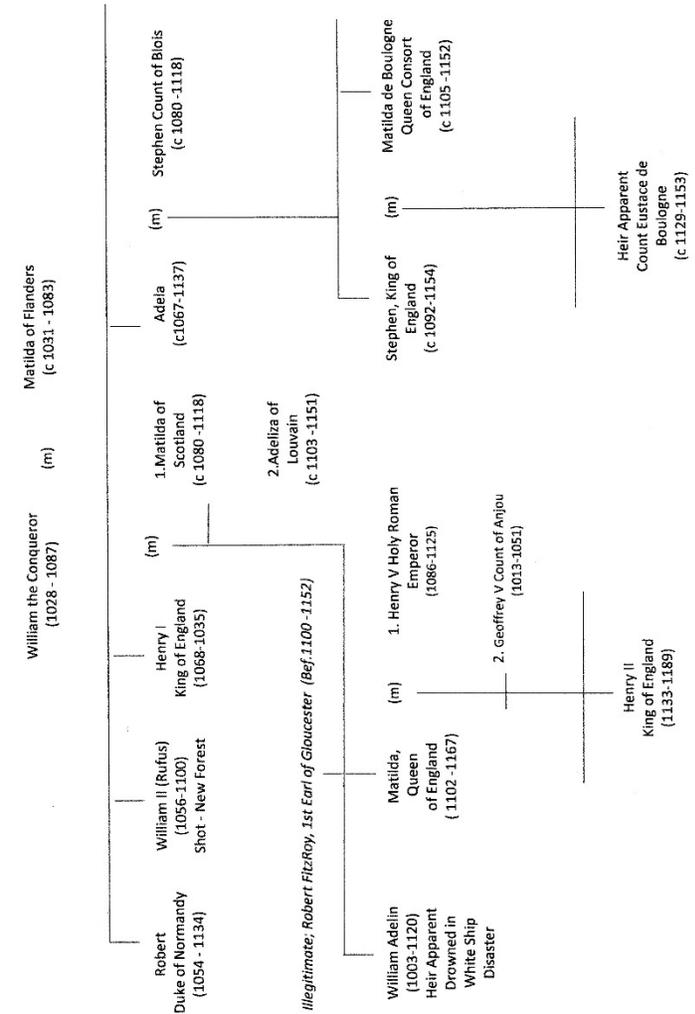
cleric, a megalomaniac. Wolsey, however, went further, he demanded to be pope. This imperious prince of the church was the nemesis of a Brittonic - Englishman; he was the embodiment of the anti-Christ, and so in the west of England they began to stir.

Wolsey to the Brittonic – Englishman was terrible enough in himself, but he was for the latter part of his ‘reign’, until 1529, allied to the wholly French Anne de Boulogne. If Wolsey was the Brittonic Englishman’s nemesis, his antithesis was Anne de Boulogne, sponsored by the royal house of Valois in France she craved to be their queen. Hence the Brittonic- English rose from their latency.

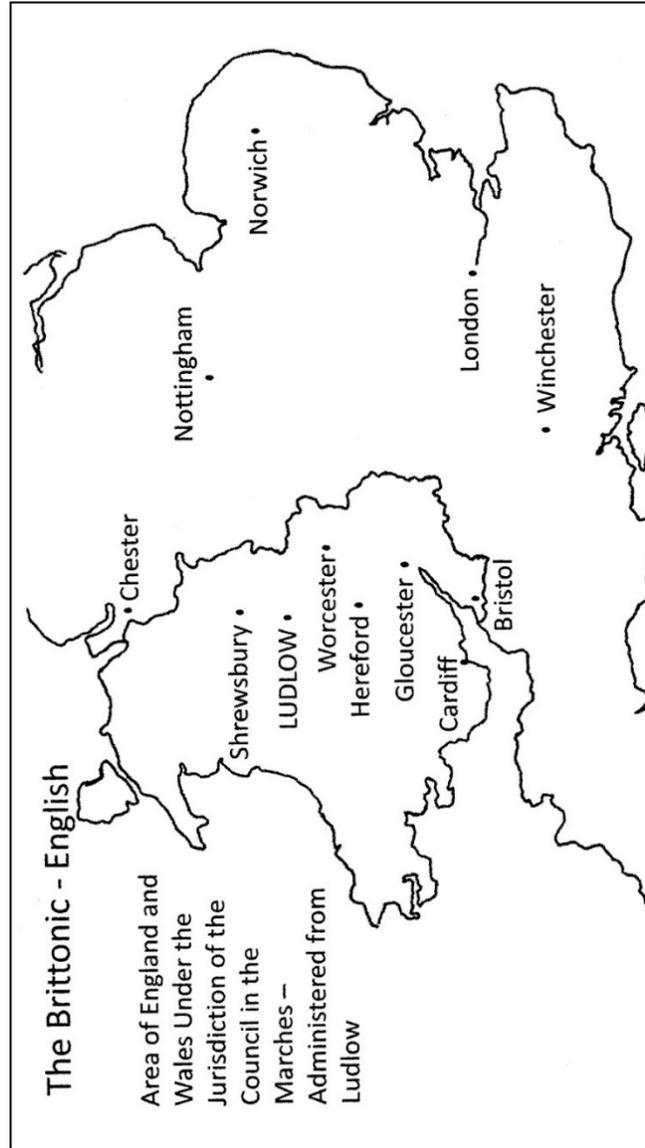
Gloucestershire man William Tyndale was at the vanguard of the resurgence, and during the reign of Henry VIII, in the names of Seymour, Herbert, Cranmer, Paulet, Dudley, Parr, Cromwell and of course scores in the Parliament, the Brittonic – English faction seized control of the kingdom.

Henry VIII, the Reign

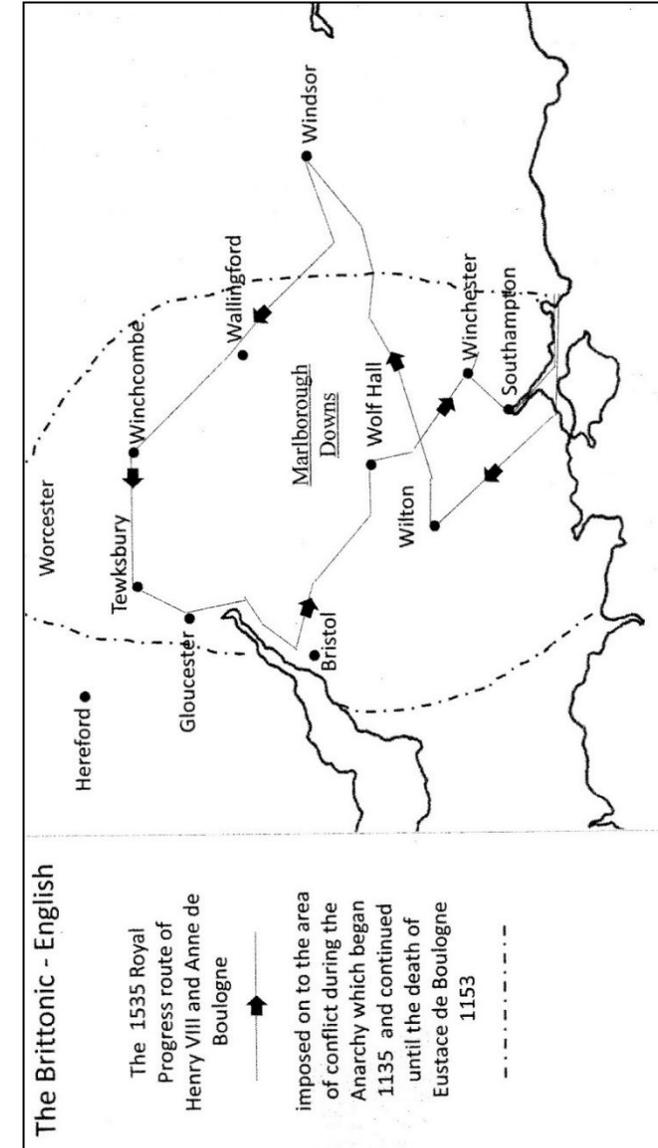
The Anarchy
Heir Apparent Count Eustace de Boulogne and Rival Henry II's Line of Descent



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Notes

P29N1. Carthusian monks. See Houses of Carthusian monks: The priory of Witham. *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 2*

P29N2. 'The vast institution which absorbs so much manpower.' See Scarisbrick's *Henry VIII*, page 243

P29N3. 'riding under the louring skies and heavy foliage of an unusually wet summer' David Knowles *Bare Ruined Choirs* pg165

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 29

P29N4. Presentation of Papal Brief to Francis 1535 LP 148

P29N5, Pope Paul to Francis [Deprivation of Kingdom of England] LP 1117

P29N6. Thomas Howard is on his way to Winchester LP 420

P29N7. Charles Brandon is in Winchester LP 437

P29N8. Chapuy's Report including movement of Bailly of Troyes & matters with Lubeckers

P29N9. King John and the dauphin - conspiracy LP 1069

Part 30

Anglo-French Connection Severed

Cromwell and Seymour Alliance – Anne Accused of Adultery and Executed – Alliance Sealed with New Wife Jane Seymour

A session of Parliament had been scheduled for 3 November 1535 but was postponed until 4 February 1536 for fear of the plague.

On 8 January 1536 news arrived that Catherine of Aragon had died the previous day at Kimbolton Castle. Reports of Henry's reaction vary from sadness and joy, and then on the same day as Catherine's funeral Anne de Boulogne miscarried a male foetus. Jean de Dinteville, who had comforted her at Winchester however, was never named as one of the adulterers.

Catherine's death cleared the way, should circumstances contrive by some means to take Anne's life also, for the king to marry freely without the yoke of the emperor and the pope's interference. The death also paved the way for the building of bridges with Charles, and so Cromwell began to work for a reconciliation of sorts. Indeed, one of Chapuys's clandestine sources, Gertrude Blount, Marchioness of Exeter, informed him that Henry was now claiming that he had been seduced into the marriage with Anne de Boulogne by witchcraft and that he might take another wife.

Parliament finally got underway on 4 February 1536 and one of the bills to be passed for royal assent was an act stating that all religious houses under the yearly revenue of two hundred pounds would be dissolved and given to the king and his heirs.

Anne de Boulogne had spent the previous summer with Edward Seymour breathing down her neck and if that had not been enough for her in March 1536 he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber. A few days later, he, his wife, Anne née Stanhope, and his sister Jane moved into the palace at Greenwich.

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They had an apartment that, so the story goes, Henry could reach through a private passage.

This, as might be somewhat expected, sent Anne de Boulogne into an intense rage and, with seemingly suicidal intent, on 2 April she had her almoner John Skyppe preach in the royal chapel directly against the bill, protesting that the monasteries should be converted to some better use, not utterly subverted as Cromwell planned.

Here now appeared the manifest separation in anti-Roman doctrinal beliefs. The Boulogne philosophy, which was about to suffer a critical setback, would in time recover in the form of Anglicanism under the patronage of a de Boulogne daughter, Elizabeth I. The Cromwellian conviction, for now holding sway, would reach its zenith under the governance of Thomas's kinsman Oliver Williams, who adopted Cromwell's surname in a later generation.

As evidenced all over England today, the dissolution bill was passed, although there was an even more destructive one yet to come for the larger monasteries. After seven years, the Reformation Parliament was dissolved on Friday 14 April. As the members left that Good Friday afternoon, few of them could have envisaged a return to Westminster again in just a few weeks' time.

Alongside his parliamentary endeavours, Cromwell, in the wake of Catherine's death, had been negotiating with the Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys for a closer relationship with Charles. All had gone well and their talk was about to bear fruit, so much so that Cromwell now arranged for the ambassador to meet Henry with a view to formalising matters. They met and rode to court together on Easter Tuesday, 18 April.

The encounter was a disaster. The king burst into a wild rant, tripping over his enraged words and recounting every injustice he perceived Charles had ever done him. Chapuys and Cromwell's jaws dropped; they were astounded, and all their work in preparation for the meeting was left in tatters. Cromwell, according to Chapuys's report, 'has taken to his bed for pure sorrow'.

He may well have done just that but in any event he later confessed to Chapuys that this was also the day he had decided to bring about the final demise of the

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de Boulognes. He had had it in the planning for a long time, but someone, one of them or all of them, had got to the king over that meeting on 18 April and turned him against the emperor. Enough was enough and they had to go – the whole lot of them.

The Seymours now prepared to take over. The coup began. There would be a regime change, and it was very swift and very efficient.

Cromwell's first intrigue was centred on the rumours coming out of Flanders reporting that the king was threatened by a conspiracy conceived by those who were nearest his person. That coupled with threats made by the boastful dauphin that he would regain the title and arms that the King of England bore, and 'something else besides', triggered Cromwell's action to save the king from murder.

The 'something else besides' was construed as a union with Princess Elizabeth, who upon Henry's death would become queen, as established by law in the Act of Succession. In such circumstances, Anne would head a regency government aided by her brother and father, with support from France. The de Boulognes would prevail as rulers of England after four hundred years waiting for what they perceived to be their right.

On 24 April, therefore, the Oyer and Terminer (hear and determine) commission was set up – and, on 27 April, less than two weeks after the previous session was dissolved, writs were issued for a new Parliament. Whatever Cromwell was proposing to do, he would be seen to do it according to the law.

Henry, of course, knew it was all coming. After all, Jane Seymour's wedding dress needed to be ready within a month.

Mark Smeaton was the first to be detained at Cromwell's house in Stepney, on Sunday 30 April. Anne and her brother were arrested on 2 May and joined by Henry Norris, William Brereton and Francis Weston. They were followed by Richard Page and Thomas Wyatt, both of whom were later released.

The accused were held for betraying the king according to their deeds, not their bodies – the accusation of physical relations with Anne would come later, and

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for now the charge was conspiracy to kill Henry VIII.

On 12 May, Brereton, Norris, Smeaton and Weston were tried and found guilty.

On 15 May, the shadowy Sir William Kingston escorted Anne and George de Boulogne to the Great Hall in the Tower of London. The trial began and was conducted in accordance with the law of the day. Cromwell had wrested the royal sanction from the de Boulognes as they had from Wolsey. He, Cromwell, now operated the machinery of state, and this was a state trial.

The procedures applied predated the appointment of a defence counsel; cross-examination was not allowed but hearsay was admitted as evidence. The concept of justice defined as scrutiny of the facts, heard before an impartial judge, had not been devised in sixteenth-century England. This was a state trial designed to secure a verdict in favour of the state.

George and Anne were found guilty and executed on 17 May and 19 May respectively.

Henry was betrothed to Jane Seymour the day after Anne's execution and they were married on 30 May 1536. On 5 June, Jane's brother Edward was created Viscount Beauchamp of Hatch, Somerset, but there was still more work to do to complete the overthrow.

Parliament began on 8 June. Its principal purpose was to remove the bastard child Elizabeth from succession to the crown.

On 15 June, Mary was allowed back to court after signing articles rejecting papal supremacy.

Parliament duly passed the new succession legislation, which was followed by an act for the attainder and execution of the Duke of Norfolk's brother Lord Thomas Howard. Howard intended to marry Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Henry's sister. Such a marriage presented a risk to the new regime. Howard was removed to the Tower, tried and sentenced to death but he died of an illness before the sentence could be carried out. Margaret Douglas, according to Chapuys, was also sentenced to death but escaped the gallows after pleas from

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Henry's sister. The preservation of her life of course gave birth to the Stuart dynasty, with which Cromwell's later kinsman would do bloody battle in the next century.

As a consequence of the removal of Elizabeth from the succession, Henry VIII was now the father of three bastardised children: Mary, Henry Fitzroy, and Elizabeth. The male, Fitzroy, was married to Mary, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, a formidable family union. He in those circumstances maintained the strongest claim to succeed his father. The scenario inevitably presented a danger, however, by 23 July 1536 young Henry Fitzroy was dead. The coup was over. All discernible threats had been eliminated and the way made clear for Henry to produce a Seymour king for the future rule of England.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 30

P30N1. Henry VIII tricked into marriage by witchcraft and might take another wife. LP 199

P30N2. Act that all religious houses under the yearly revenue of two hundred pounds shall be dissolved

P30N3. Anne de Boulogne in an intense rage. LP 495

P30N4 Cromwell and Concubine on bad terms, Chapuys running commentary. LP 601,

P30N5. Henry VIII's rant, Chapuys running commentary 21 April. LP 699

P30N6. Cromwell has taken to his bed from pure sorrow, Chapuys running commentary, LP 700

P30N7. Cromwell set himself to arrange a plot. LP 1069

P30N8. Thomas Cranmer on Anne Boleyn.

Part 31

Rebellion

Reforms Too Drastic for Anti-Clerical Darcy –in the North, the Seymour and Cromwell Regime Is Rejected The Pilgrimage of Grace – Thousands Called to Arms to March on London – Government Promises Concessions – Rebels Return Home – Broken Pledges and Bloody Vengeance

Thousands of Englishmen and women resented the new Seymour–Cromwell regime. One of those ever more disgruntled was Lord Thomas Darcy of Templehurst in Yorkshire. He was anti-clerical in his views in as much as he abhorred religious interference in secular affair. He had wanted reform but, so far as he was concerned, in the recent turn of events the baby had been thrown out with the bathwater, candles, scented water, nursemaid and all.

In the late 1520s, he had been Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's most ardent critic and had drawn up a list of charges against him. He could also claim to be one of the most prominent architects of Wolsey's downfall, but he never had, back then, envisaged the savage stripping of the altars that had begun now. How now Wolsey's deathbed speech reverberated.

In 1534, Darcy and his 'brother' as he called him, Lord John Hussey, of Sleaford in Lincolnshire, began what became a series of meetings with Eustace Chapuys, Charles V's ambassador in London. The purpose of the meetings was to persuade Chapuys and so in turn the emperor to launch an invasion of England that, Darcy claimed, would be supported by most English people. The aim of the invasion would be to overthrow the Seymour–Cromwell regime and restore Mary's right to the throne. The target was specifically the Seymour–Cromwell government – not the king himself.

In the autumn of 1536 at Louth, Lincolnshire, an uprising began. There were

commissioners working in Lincolnshire at that time and the first of the lesser monasteries were being closed. The insurrection spread to the sound of church bells: they were rung in back rounds (the reverse of rounds – that is, ringing the bells in ascending order of pitch, from the tenor to the treble) all across the county and Lincolnshire rose up in arms.

Within days, thousands had assembled at Lincoln Cathedral and from there the common people issued five articles of grievance addressed to Henry VIII.

However, as mayhem engulfed the county, Lord Hussey left. Yorkshire was not yet ready to join the rebellion; coordination with Yorkshire rebels was lacking and no help had arrived from the Continent.

A response to the list of grievances arrived from London on 10 October 1536. It was full of threats and insults. Lacking the support of its allies north of the Humber and with no support from the Low Countries, the Lincolnshire Rising stalled.

Then, just as the Lincolnshire Rising was petering out, Yorkshire answered the call to arms.

The Yorkshire Rising began on 10 October. North of the Humber, the church bells rang out. In the East and West Ridings, ten thousand marched on York; lawyer Robert Aske was their leader, and by 16 October the city of York was in rebel hands.

The North Riding was soon up in support. Even before Aske arrived in York, another lawyer, Robert Bowes, was at the head of assemblies in Richmondshire and Richmond itself. Mashamshire rose, as did Sedbergh and Nidderdale, Jervaulx Abbey and Coverham Abbey. Then from even further afield more rebels set out from Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland, marching under the banners of their saints. Their local leaders took on pseudonyms – Captain Charity, Captain Faith, Captain Pity and Captain Poverty – and they all came together.

Thomas Darcy controlled the principal stronghold, Pontefract Castle, in the king's name, and on 19 October he turned the fortress over to the rebels and

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assumed a leadership role alongside Aske.

On the same day, lacking intelligence about Yorkshire, a government force that had been put together to resist the initial Lincolnshire Rising and that had only made it as far north as Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, was disbanded.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, however, was mobilised to lead an army, albeit a fraction of the size of the rebel force at Pontefract, and by 23 October he had moved north to Newark-on-Trent. Despite his own military prowess, he nonetheless proposed negotiation, not armed confrontation.

Norfolk's proposal – dialogue and peace – caused disagreement in the rebel ranks. There were tens of thousands of armed troops who were eager and impatient to move off south and oust Cromwell and his adherents by force, but their leaders procrastinated. Aske and Darcy believed that, by mediating through the Duke of Norfolk, they were dealing directly with the king, thus circumventing Cromwell. Darcy had served Henry VII and laid his trust in the person, the individual character, that was his son, Henry VIII, a man whom he believed that, left unmolested by the likes of Wolsey, de Boulogne and Cromwell, was good-hearted, generous and God-fearing.

The two sides did talk and, as a consequence, a parliament in York was promised to resolve their grievances, a royal progress to the north of England was pledged and Robert Aske was invited to spend Christmas as Henry VIII's guest, which he did that December, following a peace agreement that was signed on 27 October 1536.

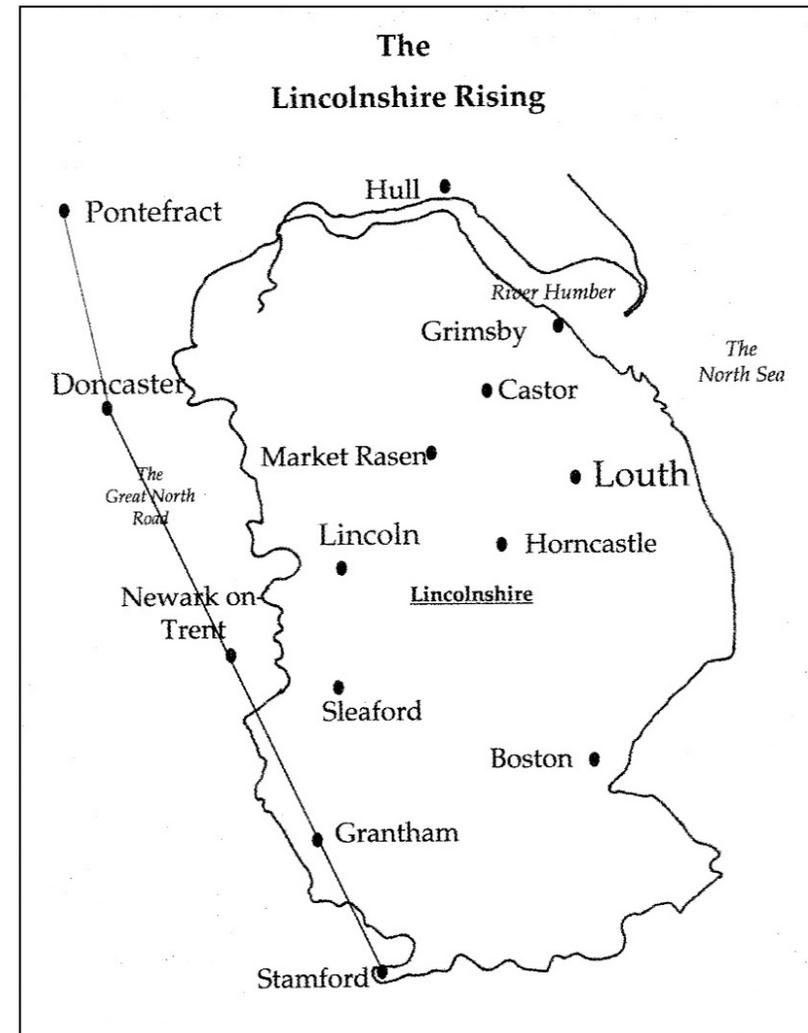
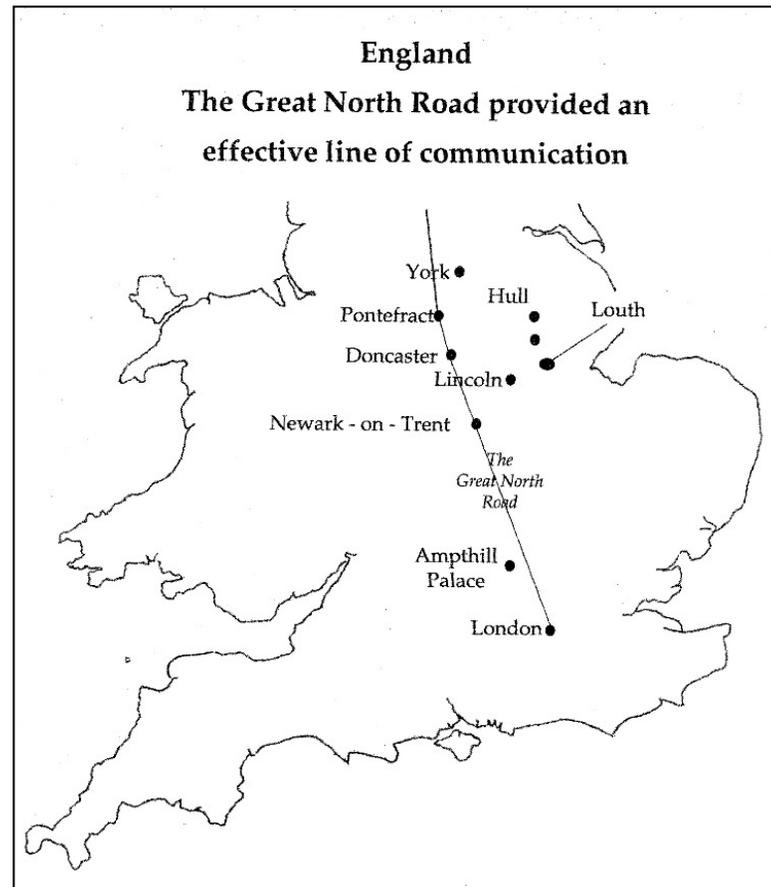
There was a faction of the rebels, however, led by Sir Robert Constable, who feared what Cromwell would do, to such a degree that they demanded to 'have all the country made sure from the Trent northwards'. Indeed, Cromwell had threatened that 'their example shall be fearful to all subjects whiles the world doth endure'.

Having been wined, dined and made merry, an optimistic Aske returned north after Christmas. Many, however, were frightened and angered with what they perceived to be false promises. Sir Francis Bigod raised another rebellion. He planned to take Hull and Scarborough but his uprising was short-lived;

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Cromwell's threats rang in his followers' ears and the effort collapsed. Bigod was arrested, tried and executed.

Cromwell's took his revenge the following year. Hundreds were executed in a show of force that remained a source of fear to all subjects while their lives endured. Darcy, Hussey and Aske were among those slain.



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Timeline of the Pilgrimage of Grace

Sunday 1 October

A group of parishioners, led by Nicholas Melton, Captain Cobbler seized the keys to St James's church in Louth to protect the vessels, ornaments, images and other treasures from seizure by the visiting commissioners.

Monday 2 October

The so-called commons marched on the town hall where the election of town officers was due to take place. Supervised by John Henage, the Bishop of Lincoln, John Longland's servant. They made him swear allegiance to the commons.

The Bishop's registrar John Frankishe was seized, and all books and papers, including a copy of the New Testament in English, were burned.

Tuesday 3 October

Three thousand marched to raise Caistor but the town was already up, the peal of the common bell had raised them.

The visiting commissioners fled.

A servant of Lord Burgh was beaten to death by the rebels.

Bells to rise were ringing all over the county.

Lord John Hussey called for a deputation be sent to him at Sleaford where he would hear their grievances.

Letter of demands sent to the Henry VIII in London

Wednesday 4 October

Ten thousand or more assemble on Hambleton Hill midway between Tealby

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and Market Rasen

Thursday 5 October

Thousands march from Hambleton Hill to Lincoln and assembled in the Cathedral Close. The Bishop's Palace was ransacked.

The Yorkshire towns of Beverley and Halifax affirmed support.

Two thousand from Boston had risen, all were to muster at Ancaster Heath south of Lincoln on Sunday 8 October.

Another letter of demands sent to the king

Saturday 7 October

A deputation was sent to Sleaford to bring Lord Hussey to Lincoln, but he had gone to meet with George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury in Nottingham.

Monday 9 October

Lord John Hussey was detained by the Earl of Shrewsbury

Tuesday 10 October

With Hussey absent in Nottingham, the rebels begin to turn on other members of the gentry who in his absence lacked leadership.

A response to their demands was received from the king

Wednesday 11 October

At a meeting in the fields below Lincoln cathedral, the Commons were told that a letter had been sent by the gentlemen of Lincolnshire to the Duke of Suffolk Charles Brandon asking him to speak to the king on behalf of them all.

Until they heard back from him there was nothing more to be done.

The same night Lancaster Herald arrived and told the rebels to disband or be attacked.

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Thursday 12 October

The Lincolnshire rebels began to disband.

However – In Yorkshire

Friday 13 October

The town of Richmond, in the heart of North Yorkshire, was up with ten thousand men led by Robert Bowes.

Thousands more converged on Market Weighton Hill, midway between Hull and York. Their leaders were William Stapleton and Robert Aske.

The massive force was organised to make a two-pronged attack, Stapleton moved to the west to take Hull and Aske to the east to seize control of York.

Monday 16 October

The rebels held York

Tuesday 17 October

The pilgrim's oath was drawn up.

For the king Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk headed a small force to take on the rebels but had only travelled as far north from London as Ampthill in Bedfordshire.

George Talbot also had a small force centred on Southwell and Newark in Nottinghamshire to secure river bridges and so block the rebels march south, but he was massively outnumbered.

Thursday 19 October

Hull surrendered to William Stapleton

Saturday 21 October

Lord Thomas Darcy surrendered Pontefract Castle to the rebels. Pontefract

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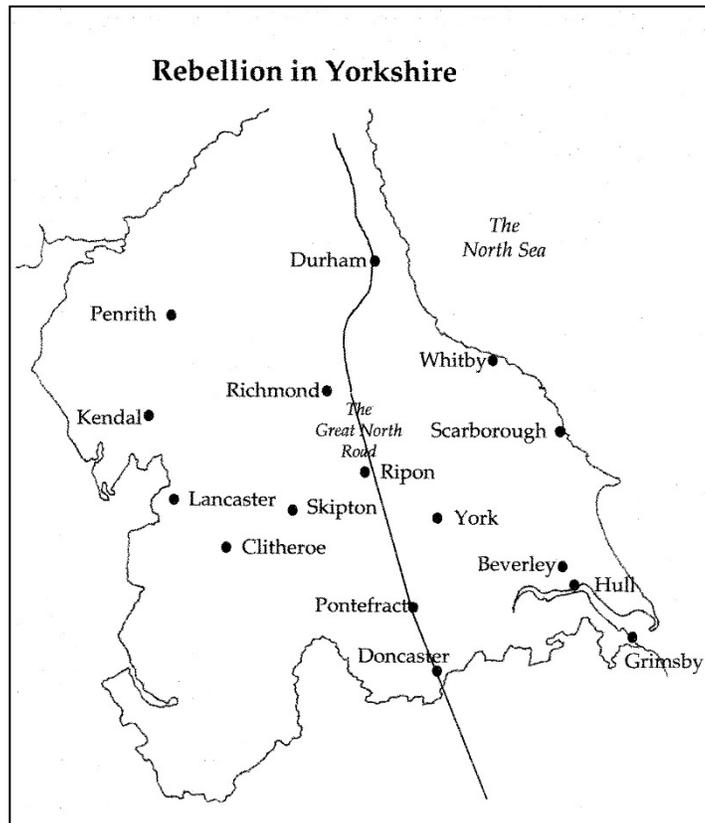
Castle became the command centre for the rebellion

21 to 26 October

Armed men arrived daily at Pontefract swelling the ranks to enormous numbers arriving from the lakes in the North West, Durham, Cleveland and Stapleton came in with his forces from Hull and Beverley

26 October 1536

A truce was agreed and the rebels chose the suicidal policy of entering into an agreement without any security or guarantees. For this failure, they paid the price in the destruction of themselves and their cause. Hundreds, including their leaders, were later executed.



Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 31

P31N1. Act for Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries

P31N2. The Lesser Monasteries – Those with a Yearly Value of Less than Two Hundred Pounds

P31N3. The First Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII

P331N4. Lincoln Articles

P31N5. Lincoln Articles Henry VIII's Reply to the Demands, P31N6. Pontefract 24 Articles

Part 32

Evangelicals Strengthened by Rebellion Failure

Work Begins on Book of Revised Doctrine – Unity Sought with Lutherans in Germany – Queen Jane Dies after Giving Birth

The rebel pilgrims failed to use force of arms to further their aims when the way was open for them. Instead they chose the suicidal alternative of entering into an agreement without any security or guarantees. For this failure, they paid the price in the destruction of themselves and their cause.

It was, however, a resounding victory for Cromwell and had all but wiped out the opposition, or at least the will of the opposition to contest him. In the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace, a synod of the English church was called and opened in the latter part of February 1537. Its purpose was to lay down in detailed written form a commentary on the Ten Articles published in 1536 and to advance the new German Christian doctrine into England.

Reginald Pole, one time a great friend of Henry VIII but now in exile, was created a cardinal, and Pope Paul III deployed him to promote rebellion in England and so overthrow the government. He left Rome on 18 February but received scant support from Francis and Charles.

An ecumenical council had been called and was due to open on 23 May 1537.

Under Cromwell the English evangelicals were intent on strengthening their possession and sent, seemingly unknown to the king, a man named Thomas Theobald to mediate with the Schmalkaldic League, a defensive alliance of Lutheran princes within the Holy Roman Empire that had formed in the town of Schmalkalden, east of Frankfurt. The Schmalkaldic alliance of German states had begun religious cooperation in favour of Lutheran philosophy and anti-papal sentiment and, by now, it was also posturing against Charles V and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.

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In August, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, assisted by Edward Foxe, since 1535 Bishop of Hereford, finished a manuscript written to add weight to the authority of the Ten Articles. It was ready for publication. Bishop Foxe was also instrumental in the secret negotiations with the German evangelists, urging them to send a delegation for discussions about England adopting their doctrine. The finished book was named *The Institution of a Christian Man*.

Although Henry gave his blessing to the publication of Cranmer and Foxe's work, notwithstanding that he was head of the church, he had not read it, hence it carried little clout and became known as the *Bishops' Book*.

Edward Seymour was admitted to the Privy Council on 22 May 1537 and on 3 August Gregory Cromwell married the queen's sister, Elizabeth née Seymour, and thus became the uncle of the future King Edward VI when he was born on 12 October 1537.

Shortly afterwards, on 24 October 1537, Queen Jane died as a result of the birth. She was but twenty-eight years of age.

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Part 33

Cromwell Seeks Anglo-German Confederation

First of Larger Monasteries Dissolved – Henry Invites Lutherans to London but Is Largely Absent from Discussions – Cromwell's Injunctions Issued – Evangelists in Ascendance

On 16 November 1537, the first of the larger monasteries, Lewes Priory, surrendered to the crown, and on 16 February 1538 the monastery was granted to Thomas Cromwell. He employed military engineer Giovanni Portinari to supervise the demolition.

On New Year's Day 1538, a small court was gathered at Greenwich and among those present were Cromwell and Edward Seymour.

During the festive season they acquainted Henry with the secret efforts of Foxe and the comings and goings to Germany. Henry was persuaded, in a letter dated 2 January 1538, to invite John Fredrick and Philip to receive an embassy from England. In a gesture of reciprocation, it was also proposed that later in the year a German delegation would be received in England, with 'sufficient power and authority' to conclude an alliance between the parties.

The person Henry claimed that he most wanted to meet was Martin Luther's principal collaborator Philip Melanchthon.

Meanwhile, an ecumenical council was postponed until Easter 1539.

Christopher Mont led the English delegation to Germany in February 1538 and later in the spring, by way of that reciprocation, the Germans did set out for London. From Hesse, Philip sent nobleman Georg von Boineburg, an experienced diplomat, to head his delegation. The ambassadors from Saxony were led by Franz Burchard. Accompanying him were Bernhard Mila, John Fredrick's vice chancellor. Friedrich Mykonius a theologian was sent instead of

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Philip Melanchthon, which annoyed Henry. Mila went home after about three weeks. As the ambassadors were on their way, travelling to England, however, the reformers suffered the untimely loss of forty-two-year-old leading advocate Bishop Foxe, who died on 8 May 1538.

The Germans arrived in England on 27 May and met with Henry on 10 June.

An alliance of the German states and England was a serious concern for Francis and Charles. If the English navy exercised control of the Strait of Dover, Charles's domains in the Netherlands, some of which were sympathetic to the Schmalkaldic League's quest for autonomy, would be cut off and vulnerable to invasion from both German land forces and a naval assault from England.

In addition, from Francis's point of view, hundreds of miles of his eastern borders were vulnerable to hostile German forces, and in the west a seaborne attack from England might come anywhere from Calais to Biarritz.

Most of northern Christendom was hostile to the Roman Catholic Church and the pope appealed to both Francis and Charles to stop warring with each other and concentrate on their common enemy, the evangelists.

In a hitherto unlikely, and as it turned out short-lived, reconciliation facilitated by the pope and applauded by Cardinal Reginal Pole, Pope Paul III, Francis and Charles gathered with their entourages in Nice and somewhat begrudgingly signed a peace pact on 18 June 1538, known as the Truce of Nice.

If the German ambassadors who had arrived in London hoped for earnest discussions with the king himself, they were soon disappointed.

Henry VIII was of course supreme head of the church in England but had not affirmed his understanding of the *Bishops' Book*, which had been written specifically to expound the Creed, Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Hail Mary, and to deal with various questions disputed between Henry's new church and the Roman creed. His presence was surely essential if any progress were to be made. That task, however, was delegated to a committee of divines. Henry was off on his summer jaunt. It was time for the annual royal progress; he wanted to take his sports and inspect the ports along the south coast.

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Left behind, the two sides first met on 14 June 1538 and thereafter two or three times a week until sometime into the summer.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 33

P33N1.1538 Injunctions

P33N2.On New Year's Day Small Court at Greenwich LP 24, P33N3.Letter 2
January See - Mcentegart Henry VIII, The League of Schmalkalden and the Reformation. Page 87

P33N4.Ecumenical Council

P33N5.Suppression of Religious Houses - The Larger Monasteries.

Part 34

Bishop Tunstall is Called South

King Seeks Help and Guidance from Bishop of Durham – Germans Frustrated with King’s Absence from Theological Discussions – Tunstall Advocates Greek Orthodoxy – Germans Leave for Home –Gardiner Returns to Halt Cromwell’s Reformation

Henry needed help with this new way of doing things. He lacked the confidence to involve himself in the discussions and was not sure himself what his own new Henrican creed actually stood for. With Gardiner sidelined in France by, he called the conservative Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, south from his duties as president of the Council of the North to join him on the royal progress.

During the summer of 1538, the king lodged at more than thirty houses. With no reliable means of communication between the roving head of the church, along the south coast, and the divines in London debating the reform of his religion, any agreement on a new doctrine was quite impossible.

The Germans were frustrated, tired and anxious as they lingered in a plague-ridden London as Henry hunted and took the sea air.

The Germans wanted to go home.

Having laboured for weeks over the twenty-eight articles of faith (the theses) detailed in the Augsburg Confession, the delegates turned to the abuses (the antitheses), but they were no longer prepared to sit about and discuss them with the English mediators without the opinion of, indeed without any contribution from, Henry.

The Germans put their proposals in a letter to the meandering king and posted it to wherever the courier might find him. They also wrote to Cromwell, to let him know they would be leaving for Germany in a fortnight on a ship to

Hamburg.

Henry was with Tunstall when he received the letter. Tunstall was well versed in Greek Orthodox doctrine and he set to work explaining to Henry where he saw problems with the German proposals.

The fortnight’s notice the Germans had given passed. The king was still on his progress, matters were no further forward and the exasperated Germans packed their bags ready for the journey home.

An anxious Cranmer, on behalf of an uneasy Cromwell, pleaded with them to stay and speak to Henry face to face when he returned; that way they would have a better chance of persuading him to accept their religious interpretations over and above the Orthodox Greek creed that Tunstall had Henry warming to.

But still the king was not expected back for about a month and the Germans loathed to wait. Cranmer communicated to Cromwell that he had told them ‘their tarrying should now grow unto some good success concerning the points of their commission, which I much put them in hope of on your behalf’, and in case that were not persuasion enough for them to remain in England the ship on which they were due to sail home was impounded.

Henry eventually arrived back on 24 September 1538. It seems that, although the theologians were granted a farewell audience, there is no record of what else was discussed; however, they were given a letter from Henry to Philip and John Fredrick along the lines that they should come back in the future to continue the discussions and conclude an agreement. But most of all Henry wanted to speak with Philip Melanchthon.

On 26 September 1538, just after the king returned from the royal progress, Stephen Gardiner arrived back in England after spending three years as ambassador in France.

In those three years, of course, much had happened. Catherine had died, Princess Mary had acknowledged the royal supremacy, Anne de Boulogne had been executed, Jane Seymour had become queen and then given birth to the future Edward VI and died, the dissolution of the monasteries had begun and

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continued apace, the Pilgrimage of Grace had been crushed, the Ten Articles has been passed by convocation, a royal proclamation had called for an English Bible to be published, the destruction of images and relics had begun, sermons had been preached against idolatry and feigned miracles, and Thomas Becket's shrine had been desecrated. During his absence, Gardiner had been asked, from England, for his advice on some of these matters, and on others he had given it anyway. As far as the German alliance was concerned, Gardiner's view was that Henry would only succeed in transferring the old papal subordination to Germany and becoming subservient to the continental evangelicals instead of the pope.

Gardiner and Cromwell's views were polarised, and the Bishop of Winchester was back in England bent on using every gasp of breath for the accomplishment of Cromwell's overthrow. The sentiment was mutual, and Cromwell wanted rid of the bishop, his clerical opinions and his influence over the king. The outcome was inevitable – one or other of them would meet the executioner.

The exiled Reginald Pole continued to work against the reforms in England. He was at Nice and with Francis and Charles, helping to make a peace between them. In November, Cromwell in savage fashion arrested most of the Pole family in England. In December 1538 Henry Courtney (Marquis of Exeter) and Henry Pole, both staunch traditionalists, were executed along with Sir Edward Neville. Margaret Pole, the Blessed, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, niece of King Edward IV and King Richard III, was also arrested, but she was spared execution until 1541.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 34

P34N1. Twenty-Eight Articles of Faith

P34N2. Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall called south LP 1267 P34N3. The Germans proposals in a letter to the meandering king. LP 37

P34N4. Germans intend to leave on Hamburg ships in 14 days. LP 38

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Part 35

Luther via Cleves

Cromwell's New Strategy via Cleves – Another Delegation Sent to Germany – Another Wife for Henry

As head of the church Henry VIII enjoyed the revenue from the sale of the dissolved monasteries, but he was both disturbed by and fearful of a move any further away from the religious traditions and the orthodoxy that he had grown up with and that had been instilled in him, by heart, from birth. His conscience would not let him abandon the traditions of the Christian faith, so revered over the centuries.

Cromwell's political and religious change, its blandness, was an innovation the king found instinctively repellent and he was not persuaded to engage with it.

Henry refused to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession as a means to an alliance with the Germans. For him the sacraments were inviolable, ingrained, entrenched and utterly unnegotiable.

Cromwell therefore sought an alternative strategy to achieve his ambitions and further his root-and-branch changes.

The German state of Cleves was not a member of the Schmalkaldic League and John III the Peaceful, Duke of Cleves and Count of Mark, was open to adopting a religious middle way in the stand-off between the two creeds. He was married to Maria, Duchess of Jülich-Berg, and so ruled over the United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg.

The peaceful John's eldest daughter, Sibylla of Cleves, however, was married to Johann Friedrich I, Elector of Saxony, who was at the heart of the Lutheran reform and a principal member of the Schmalkaldic League. He had a son, William, who on John the Peaceful's death would inherit his father's lands to

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add to the Duchy of Guelders, which had come down to him by the recently deceased Duke of Guelders. This duke, a short time before his death, had snubbed and so incurred the wrath of Charles V, who claimed the duchy for himself.

Here, then, potentially, was a group of German states that was not within the League of Schmalkalden and therefore not subject to adherence to the Augsburg Confession but that importantly through Sibylla did have a matrimonial union with the reformed states. The young heir, William, harboured an inherent animosity to Habsburg rule over the Duchy of Guelders and the emperor's wider hegemony. As a stroke of fortune John the Peaceful had fathered two daughters, as yet unmarried. This presented an interesting opportunity for Cromwell to arrange a political alliance in his interest, and a matrimonial union for his unlovable King.

In the latter part of January 1539 Christopher Mont was again sent to Germany to go to John Fredrick, 'Champion of the Reformation', and question him 'to find out the inclination which both dukes of Cleves, father and son, bear to the bishop of Rome; he shall also enquire, in case they are still of the old popish fashion, whether they will be inclinable to alter their opinions. If the Duke and the Landgrave are together the said Christopher is to address himself to both; if not, he shall go first to the Duke and then to the Landgrave. He shall solicit the sending of the notable legation spoken of at the said Duke's orators' last being here.'

Mont was to speak to Franz Burchard, John Fredrick's vice chancellor, about a possible marriage to be arranged between Princess Mary and Anne of Cleves's brother, William. Once this was done, he was to inquire about the beauty and quality of both daughters of the Duke of Cleves.

No sooner had the strategy been employed than Anne of Cleves's father died, on 6 February 1539, and all his responsibilities passed to William.

However, for as long as Cromwell propagated the alliance with Germany, there existed the probability of a military intercession from Charles or Francis, or the two of them in unison.

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Cromwell was contending with a divide-and-rule strategy against England and the Germans and so employed the same tactic against his adversaries. In the spring of 1539, work began on what became known as device forts or Henrician castles, many of which remain in existence today along the south coast.

Cromwell turned to the states of northern Christendom to find his military engineer. He engaged one Stephen von Haschenperg to undertake the castle-building programme, and the first were built in Kent at Sandgate and Camber along with the bulwarks between Sandown and Walmer. Cromwell's policy was twofold. On the one hand, these were defensive fortifications against invasion along the coast and so provoked Henry's fear that his kingdom was in continuous danger of invasion. On the other hand, they were part of an offensive strategy to control the 'narrow sea' between England and the Continent. The new fortifications therefore were employed to divide Charles, who ruled from Spain, from the northern parts of his empire while at the same time offering protection to the rebellious Germans, with whom Cromwell wanted an alliance.

The northern port of Hull was not fortified until after Cromwell's demise. There were no other deep-water havens to the north between Harwich and Hull and, when the work was undertaken, it was on a considerable scale. However, given England was allied to Germany during his time, Cromwell was not concerned about an attack on the northern coast and therefore the fortification of Hull was unnecessary.

Charles's alternative route to Germany, avoiding the 'narrow sea' unless he travelled through France, was by ship to Italy and overland from there, but the Turks presented a considerable risk to him in the Mediterranean.

Cromwell continued to discreetly pursue a direct alliance with the Schmalkaldic League but towards the end of March was much annoyed with the lack of commitment from the Duke of Cleves and Landgrave of Hesse. On 22 March 1539, his frustrations spilt over in a letter to Christopher Mont. Cromwell was fearful that Melancthon and Charles were about to sign a truce, which would stall his plans for an Anglo-German confederation. 'Nothing', Cromwell ranted, 'would be more fearful to the papists nor more encouraging to the evangelical company than to see all its professors joined in an indissoluble knot.' It was

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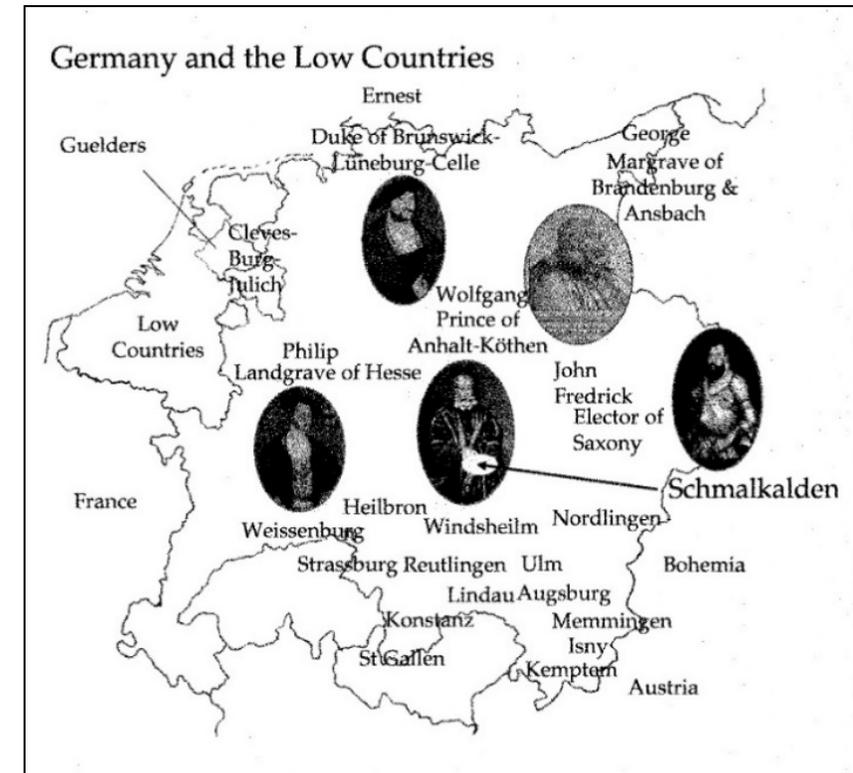
critical to his cause that the evangelists evolve as a unified power, '*virtis unita vincit dispersa decrescit*'.

His worries were well founded.

On 19 April 1539, the Schmalkaldic League did reach an agreement with Charles. The Treaty of Frankfurt was signed on 19 April 1539. The treaty stipulated that the emperor would not take any violent action against the Protestant members of the Schmalkaldic League for fifteen months starting in 1 May 1539, and during this time both parties would work to resolve the differences in their confessions.

Notwithstanding, a small delegation did, however, arrive from Germany five days before the opening of Parliament on 23 April 1539, but without Melanchthon.

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Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 35

P35N1. Christopher Mont sent to Germany with instructions. LP 103

P35N2. Cromwell's fears about Melanchthon and Charles signing a truce. LP 580

P35N3. Charles has been advised not to make war on England, until he has broken the power of her allies, Denmark, Cleves and Germany. LP 767

P35N4. Stephen von Haschenperg See Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Part 36

Six Articles Revitalise Conservative Faction

Gardiner and Howard Fight Back – Cromwell Falls Ill – Act of Six Articles – Henry Writes Legislation in His Own Hand – Episcopal Resignations

The Treaty of Frankfurt was a significant setback to Cromwell and his plans to lead an evangelical confederation and so conservatives, together with the ecclesiastical lords, moved to take advantage of his misfortune.

Parliament had not sat in 1537 or 1538 but, with Gardiner back in the country during the winter, an assembly was planned for the spring of 1539 and on 1 March 1539 writs of summons were sent out to call members to Westminster.

As the delegation from Germany arrived, things began to go even further awry for Cromwell. At the same time the previous year, Bishop Foxe had fallen ill as a similar delegation was about to arrive, and Foxe had died. Now, this year, Cromwell was struck with a serious illness and confined to his bed until 10 May 1539.

The new Parliament session began on 28 April 1539 and on Monday 5 May 1539 Chancellor Audley announced that above all things the king desired to stamp out the differences in opinions concerning the Christian religion in the kingdom and come to an agreement on a single doctrine, which would be enshrined in law.

Because of time constraints (there were other parliamentary matters to consider) and the wide variance of sentiment, Audley suggested a committee be appointed to examine the differing opinions and return to Parliament with recommendations for legislation. Audley's proposal was accepted and the committee went off to deliberate.

On 16 May the Duke of Norfolk addressed Parliament and reported that the committee appointed to consider the diversity of opinions was deeply divided and had made no progress.

Norfolk went on to propose to the members that six articles of religion should be put to Parliament for the members to consider and then, once a policy had been agreed, a system of penalties for infringement should also be introduced and added to the law.

The six articles to be considered were thus:

1. Whether the elements of the Eucharist could truly be the body of Christ, except through transubstantiation.
2. Whether the laity should receive the sacrament in both kinds.
3. Whether the vows of chastity made by men and women ought to be perpetually observed under divine law.
4. Whether, by divine law, private masses should be celebrated.
5. Whether divine law permitted priests to take wives.
6. Whether auricular confession was necessary by divine law.

During the examination of doctrine, the king encouraged a conservative approach and one of the final drafts of the eventual legislation was amended in his hand.

Howard's proposal became the basis of the Statute of the Six Articles, An Act for Abolishing of Diversity of Opinions of certain Articles concerning Christian Religion, which reaffirmed fundamental doctrines of the church.

It became law on 28 June 1539.

The Act of the Six Articles – 'the whip with six strings' – caused Cranmer, who was married, to a German woman remove his wife and children from England

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to Germany. Bishops Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton, evangelists, resigned from their dioceses.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 36

P36N1. Act of Six Articles

P36N2. German, Martin Bucer's opinion on The Six Articles LP 423

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Part 37

Cromwell Recovers from Whipping with Six Strings

Cromwell Regains Health and Domination – Further Device Forts Built to Control Strait of Dover – Holbein Sent to Paint Cleves Sisters

Cromwell's strategy was in disarray. His illness had cost the cause dearly, and the conservatives and Parliament had carried the king with them. Cromwell's strategy for an English–German alliance might have collapsed altogether at this point but, he did at least have the Cleves plan to fall back on.

The introduction of the Statute of the Six Articles was a famous victory for the Gardiner and Norfolk faction, and they plotted to oust Cromwell from government altogether. Their purpose was to replace him with Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, who had spent the royal progress of 1538 with Henry. However, Tunstall balked quickly, declaring that 'treacherous is the place of primacy about kings'. It was probably a wise move, and he lived until he was eighty-five.

Cromwell had recovered, unlike Foxe a year before, from his illness, and he was back on his feet and returned to the fray by the time the Six Articles became law.

A year had also passed since Tunstall had been called south to join the king; however, this year, Cromwell had Henry's ear, and he was called down to Oatlands Palace on 11 July 1539.

He opened his heart to the king about the cruel plot to oust him and the sadness it brought him, especially after all his hard work for His Grace and his royal happiness. In the meantime, Stephen Gardiner hurled insults at Cromwell's trusted principal reformist, Dr Robert Barnes, calling him, among other things, a heretic. Cromwell persuaded the king that not only did conservatives want rid of him but also they wanted Henry's dear confidant, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

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He fuelled and stoked Henry's dread of invasion by those virtuosos of perfidy, Francis and Charles, and emphasised the importance of the device-fort-building programme – the fortresses Cromwell had told the king would be a lasting legacy of Henry VIII's wisdom and foresight. Indeed, they were Henrican castles to protect the realm.

Thus, as summer turned to autumn in 1539, Cromwell accomplished a complete turn of events. He was back at the helm. Gardiner was kicked off the Privy Council and it seems Tunstall and Clerk probably followed him out of the door.

As Henry urged urgency on the builders of the south coast fortifications to protect his kingdom, so Cromwell redoubled his efforts for the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves – or her sister if he so fancied. In July, William Petre and court painter Hans Holbein were sent to Cleves, Petre to negotiate the terms and Holbein to paint portraits of sisters Anne and Amelia. The pictures were sent back to England for Henry to decide which of the sisters he preferred.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 37

P37N1.Cromwell called down to Oatlands Palace

LP 1249

P37N2.Book of statutes referred to in LP 1249, LP 1253, P37N3.French summary of situation, including prospect of war. LP 1260

P37N4.French summary of situation, including threat from Germany. LP 1261

P37N5.French update, Henry VIII in Royal Progress. LP 35.

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Part 38

Cromwell's Plans Bear Fruit

Cranmer Is Surprised – a German Wife for Henry – Charles Departs Spain for Germany

Thomas Cranmer's German wife fled back to her homeland in the wake of the Six Articles, and even Cranmer was surprised at this choice of a new wife for Henry. 'That it would be very strange to be married with her that he could not talk withal', Cranmer said. Further, Anne's older sister, Sibylle, was married to Martin Luther's alter ego, John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony, whose opinions flew directly in the face of the law passed to eradicate such diverse opinions.

In the light of this new legislation in England, Henry's future brother-in-law, John Fredrick, also thought it all very odd. Cromwell, however, during the marriage negotiations convinced sceptical German ambassadors that the anti-evangelical laws had only been passed because 'the thing was introduced by some of the bishops during his [Cromwell's] illness'. In addition, he explained, conservative stalwart, committee member and principal architect of the legislation John Stokesley (Bishop of London) had died on 8 September, so the act was unlikely to receive ongoing support. On top of that, Cromwell emphasised, the act had never been enforced and never would be; to allay all of their concerns, he would have it repealed.

By 6 October 1539, all of the marriage negotiations were complete and the ambassadors returned home.

The Schmalkaldic League was due to meet at Arnstadt in November and the marriage agreement paved the way for its members to vote in favour of a delegation to be sent to England. Although Mont's work had realised nothing, Cromwell's propagation of a marriage alliance with Cleves provided the conduit for the forging of an alliance with the Germans and, thus, a path via the back

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door into the Schmalkalden League and a union ripe for expansion into a northern Christendom anti-papist movement.

Matters moved apace, and on 26 November 1539 Anne of Cleves and her entourage left home bound for England.

In Spain, however, Charles had lost patience with the belligerence of the northern domains, and, as a consequence of their connivance with an insidious force in England, he was on his way north with a pledge to sort out the lot of them. The day after Anne left Germany bound for England, Charles left Spain bound for Germany.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 38

P38N1. Arrangements for passage of Anne of Cleves to England. LP 634

P38N2. Anne of Cleves at Calais on her way to England. LP 677

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Part 39

The Cleves Marriage Is a Calamity

Henry Dislikes Anne of Cleves – the King Is Unhappy – Charles and Francis Unite against the Lutheran Threat

Henry VIII had been duped by various means into the Cleves marriage and it worked to the advantage of the conservatives. They were ready to scupper the union before it ever got into bed.

Anne of Cleves would be Henry's fourth wife. Within months, Catherine Howard would become his fifth and Queen of England. Catherine was at Greenwich Palace with Henry for Anne of Cleves's arrival in England; she had already been appointed as a lady in waiting for the new German queen.

There could hardly have been a worse time in the year for Anne to cross the Channel, but such was Cromwell's urgency for the Cleves union. Bad weather delayed Anne at Calais for almost two weeks. She arrived there on 11 December 1539 but did not set foot on English soil until 27 December.

The rival woman offered by the conservative party was Catherine, niece of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (the daughter of his brother Edmund). Anne de Boulogne had been Norfolk's sister Elizabeth's daughter, so Anne de Boulogne and Catherine Howard were cousins.

Henry prepared to meet his German bride-to-be for the first time. Perhaps Hans Holbein, painter of the famous portrait of Anne, was a little nervous. Cranmer's doubts in the autumn came back to haunt Cromwell, who in his audacity had brokered this ill-fated union. The archbishop had been correct when he had 'thought it most expedient the King to marry where that he had his fancy and love, for that would be the most comfort for his Grace'.

Henry and Anne met and from first sight it was a disastrous match. When

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Cromwell asked him how he liked the lady Anne, Henry retorted that she was nothing so well as she was spoken of and if he had known before as much as he knew now she should never have come into the realm. Henry immediately attempted to extricate himself from the marriage altogether but then the fear 'of driving her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king' induced him to go through with the ceremony at Greenwich Palace on 6 January 1540.

A Protestant revolt broke out in Ghent, in the Low Countries. The city belonged to Charles but it was only thirty miles from the French border. Both of the two most powerful rulers in Christendom were being threatened by the Protestant confederation, of which Cromwell was at the heart.

In Spain, Charles's wife Isabella of Portugal had died in May 1539 after a stillbirth. He had not been to the Low Countries for several years. Saddened and reflective, he decided that he would leave Spain for a time, anxious to make a permanent peace between his family and Francis. He left for the land of his birth to put down the dissenters in person. He would deal with these Lutherans and at the same time put down the new young Duke of Cleves, Anne's brother, Henry VIII of England's new brother-in-law.

Brother-in-law William, in fact, was now even grander than before and had become Duke of Cleves-Jülich-Berg. He was also holding the neighbouring Duchy of Guelders as the successor of his relatives the Egmond dukes. Charles claimed Guelders for himself as the dukes had sold their right of heritage, but William refused to relinquish it.

Charles first thought to make the journey by ship from Barcelona and on through Italy to avoid the English Channel, the Strait of Dover, Henry's navy, and the new chain of coastal fortifications.

However, Francis was, for the time being, Charles's friend and invited him to make the journey overland through France.

He promised Charles safety, impenetrable security and utmost friendliness. Charles accepted his new friend's invitation and crossed into France on 27 November 1539. He spent his first night at Bayonne and would be Francis's guest for almost two months, until 24 January 1540.

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This ploy had outwitted Cromwell. He had not expected the friendship between Charles and Francis to last long, let alone continue to blossom as it now appeared to be doing.

But he planned to upset the harmony.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 39

P39N1 Arrival of Anne of Cleves. LP 14

Part 40

Diplomatic Incident: Handbags in Paris

Wyatt and Bonner Antagonise Charles and Francis – Cromwell's Efforts to Split Them Are Failing

As Henry braced himself to marry Anne of Cleves, the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France spent Christmas together in Paris.

Eleven days of Christmas passed peacefully and then on the twelfth day a diplomatic incident blew up.

Travelling with Charles was one Robert Branceter, sometime servant of Reginald Pole and now in Charles's service. He had been attainted in absentia by Parliament in January 1539 at the same time as Pole.

Cromwell discovered Branceter was in the Imperial entourage. Because in England Branceter was a wanted man, Cromwell instructed Thomas Wyatt, English ambassador to the Imperial court, to have Branceter arrested by the French authorities, which Wyatt succeed in doing. The Provost of Paris took Branceter into custody.

When Charles found out that one of his valued servants had been arrested by the French at the behest of the English, he was furious.

Francis, the bewildered host, was bemused and embarrassed by the incident and quickly had Branceter released.

The release of Branceter was an affront to Henrican pride, and it was vital that Charles and Francis be held to account for the insult. The English ambassador to France, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, whom Francis detested at the best of times, waded into the fracas by launching a barrage of insults, face to face, at the King of France. Meanwhile, across Paris, Charles was trading invectives with

Wyatt.

By accident or design, England's two most senior diplomats had outraged the two most powerful men in Christendom. Worse, as they were agents of the king, convention had it that Henry VIII himself had affronted Charles and Francis personally.

Neither the emperor nor the King of France, however, believed this was Henry's personal doing. During the rant, Francis had roared at Bonner, 'If Henry himself had said so, I would have punched him in the eye but you do not speak by order of the king.'

Both princes had, after all, experienced Wolsey's power over the enthralled King of England, but the two rulers and their advisers now agreed that it was high time something was done about the problems the current *de facto* ruler of England was creating for them – not only in terms of this incident but also in the wider problem of Cromwell's recruitment of Germanic states to facilitate the exit of northern Christendom from the Roman Catholic jurisdiction of the south.

Cromwell's evangelical ambitions began to unravel at the hands of the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 40

P40N1.Branceter included on list of attainders relating to the Pilgrimage of Grace. LP 867

P40N2.Wyatt's report to Henry VIII. LP 38

P40N3.For detailed account of the maelstrom see Susan Brigden *Thomas Wyatt The Heart's Forest*. Pg 501-7,

P40N4.Francis's demand that Bonner be replaced. LP 121

P40N5.Read this to the King of England without omitting a word. LP 122

Part 41

Norfolk Meets with Francis and Marguerite
d'Angoulême

Thomas Howard Seizes the Opportunity to Attack – Howard Leaves for France in Secret – King Francis and Marguerite d'Angoulême Support Howard against Cromwell and the Germans – Gardiner's Dual Attack on Cromwell's Adherents in England

At the end of January 1540, Charles bid farewell to Francis and travelled on to Brussels. From there he went to Ghent, arriving on 14 February 1540 to inflict his retribution on the Protestant rebels. Francis undertook to deal with the heretics in England.

On the same day, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, left on his way across the Channel to meet with the King of France. Francis had travelled east to Abbeville.

The meeting was secret; even the French ambassador to England did not know Howard had gone until he arrived in France, and even then he did not know the reason why.

The duke was in France until early March. He met not only with Francis but also with Marguerite, the king's sister, whom he 'found the most frank and wise woman he ever spake with'. She advised him that the person who most influenced the French king was Madame d'Estampes, his mistress, and that Norfolk should seek her favour too. Bishops, he concluded, made bad ambassadors to France, and he advised Henry to 'for God's sake revoke the Bishop [Bonner] hence as soon as ye may, for he [is] marvellously hated here and will never do you good service'.

The upshot of the Branceter affair was that he was escorted from France under Charles's protection. Francis had Bonner unceremoniously ejected from his

country and Wyatt was back in England a few weeks after that.

Norfolk's visit to France cast Anglo-French relations in a new light. The French and the emperor were ostensibly united against a confederation of Lutheran German states; there was no intention, nor had there ever been, to attack England. Henry VIII, however, would be well advised to fully acquaint himself with the dealings of his first minister in abetting the enemies of the two most powerful men in Christendom. So far as the French king and those close to him were concerned, the Duke of Norfolk was precisely the man to deliver that advice.

Cromwell had secured the English Channel to keep the emperor out of the Low Countries but that scheme had failed, as had the attempt in Paris to drive a wedge between Charles and Francis. Now Cromwell's German alliance was beginning to unravel. This was not the wisest of times for one of his chief adherents, Friar Robert Barnes, to open a brazen attack on Norfolk's ally the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner the belligerence of which Gardiner described himself:

'Then he began to call up for me to come forth to answer him.

He termed me a fighting cock and he was another and one of the game; he said I have no spurs and that he would show.

And after he had pleased himself up in the allegory of a cockfight then upon a foolish conclusion he cast me openly his glove, and not content there he called me forth by my name Gardiner and opposed me in my grammar rules and said if I had answered him in the school as I have there preached at the cross he would have given me five stripes and raged after such a sort as the like hath not been heard been heard done in a pulpit (ordered to declare the word of God in, and not to touch any particular man) as he railed me by name alluding to my name as Gardiner, what evil herbs I set in the garden of Scripture so far beyond the terms of honesty as all men wondered at it, to hear a bishop of the realm as I was so reviled, and by such one openly.'

Gardiner complained to the king about his treatment by Friar Barnes. The incident was the beginning of the end for Barnes, and the evangelical alliance

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with the Germans was in serious trouble.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 41

P41N1.Norfolk to France on secret affairs. LP 202

P41N2.Norfolk to Henry VIII. LP 222

P41N3.Norfolk to Henry VIII. LP 223

P41N4.Norfolk to Cromwell LP 224

P41N5.Norfolk, the Queen of Navarre and Madame d'Estampes LP 253

P41N6.The bruit of war has ceased, no more preparing of ships, device forts slowed. LP 289.

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Part 42

Norfolk is Back and Tells Henry What's What

Henry Bourcheir Dead from a Broken Neck in Fall – Norfolk Has Henry's Ear and Intends to Break Cromwell – Cromwell Accedes to Bouchier's Earldom – Cromwell Executed – Wife Four – Divorced – Marries Wife Five

The Duke of Norfolk, on his return to England, set out for London, the court and Henry. However, Cromwell stopped him on the pretext of a case of the plague in Norfolk's household and the danger of him bringing it to court. The duke scribbled his disagreement in a return-of-post note dated 1 April 1540.

Henry was famously unhappy with his marriage to Anne of Cleves and it he blamed Cromwell for the mismatch. His discomfort, however, had almost certainly been eased by now, if not some months before, by Catherine Howard.

The degree to which Henry blamed Cromwell for this particular matrimonial mess is confused by the elevation of his first minister to the earldom of Essex in April 1540.

Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, fell from his horse, broke his neck and died on 4 April 1540, and a fortnight later (on 18 April 1540) Cromwell was granted his earldom. William Parr (brother of Katherine), who had married Bouchier's daughter, had expected to receive the honour (and did eventually receive it).

The award of the title certainly came as a surprise to the French ambassador; however, Cromwell seems to have fostered some ancestral connection with the Bouchiers, and it seems likely that Henry had promised him the Earldom of Essex upon Bouchier's death – sometime beforehand and so Cromwell took for himself what had already been pledged.

Henry was dissatisfied with his German wife but the young Howard girl was

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making up for that and of course Cromwell's secret machinations with the confederation of Lutheran states had not yet been revealed.

Thus far at least Cromwell had prevented Norfolk from interfering with his elevation to the nobility but he could not keep Norfolk away from Henry indefinitely; after all, the duke's young niece was attending to the king's needs and fancies.

When the inevitable meeting did take place, the duke told Henry about his meeting with Francis and explained that neither Francis or Charles intended to attack England; their common enemy was the Lutherans in Germany.

The duke reminded Henry that, in his capacity as head of the Church of England, he had helped to draft the Six Articles and that everything Cromwell was doing was flying viciously in the face of what Henry had enshrined in law.

Norfolk told Henry that Cromwell was using the new coastal fortifications as a device to cause Henry to worry about an attack and that really they were being built for offensive purposes to control the Channel and separate Germany and Spain. He asked Henry why, with all this reinforcement along the coast, had Hull not been fortified.

Francis, said Norfolk, was Henry's friend and had allowed Charles through France to reach Germany to save them all from the clutches of the Lutherans. It was time Henry realised what his minister was doing.

Norfolk told Henry that Holbein had been coerced into painting a flattering portrait of Anne of Cleves and that her brother intended to join the Schmalkaldic League for protection from Charles's anticipated attack to reclaim Guelders. The king, he claimed, had married into the Lutheran cause, hoodwinked into it at Cromwell's behest.

To this he added that England would be at the forefront of a confederation of northern European states – an alliance from Penzance to Prague – that rejected the authority of landed aristocracy and was ruled by those who were prepared to rise through commerce and work, those preordained by God and not those of inherited wealth and good deeds. Cromwell would lead this new

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commonwealth and in a year or two it would not lie in the king's power to resist; there would be no king, but in his stead a Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.

Cromwell was a man of low birth who derided the established nobility. He flouted commodity laws and he was a heretic. He daily acted without the king's authority and furthermore he intended to usurp the king's power in its entirety and rule through Parliament.

Norfolk delivered an impassioned warning that Cromwell intended to fight the king in armed combat if he did not 'turn' and support his ambitions to reduce the established church and its traditions to rubble and ruin. Henry's very life was in jeopardy.

The duke lamented that it had become apparent that all prospects of a marriage for Henry's daughter Mary had been thwarted because Cromwell intended to marry her himself – Henry must act urgently.

'Give the royal sanction to the Bishop of Winchester and me and we will save you and your kingdom!'

Thus, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, were empowered.

On 10 June 1540 Cromwell was arrested in the Council Chamber at Westminster. Confronted by Howard, he was accused of treason. Charles de Marillac related the events in his despatches to France: 'The duke of Norfolk having reproached him with some "villennyes" done by him, snatched off the order of St. George which he bore on his neck, and the Admiral [John Russell], to show himself as great an enemy in adversity as he had been thought a friend in prosperity, untied the Garter.'

Cromwell was taken to the Tower. His house was searched and an inventory of his goods taken. And then Marillac says, 'Next day were found several letters he wrote to or received from the Lutheran lords of Germany. Cannot learn what they contained except that this King was thereby so exasperated against him that he would no longer hear him spoken of, but rather desired to abolish all memory of him as the greatest wretch ever born in England.'

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While in the Tower, 'the greatest wretch ever born in England' documented sufficient evidence for Henry to have his marriage to Anne of Cleves annulled, thus ending all connections with the Germans. Parliament passed a bill of attainder against Cromwell on 29 June 1540.

Cromwell had been Earl of Essex less than two months when he was arrested. He was executed for treason on 28 July 1540 and Henry married Catherine Howard, the Duke of Norfolk's niece, on the same day.

With this the demise of Henry VIII's fourth wife, the Cromwell era ended and a brief Norfolk and Gardiner epoch began. The royal sanction, however, for the time being was somewhat diluted.

Henry in his own hand declared that the marriage was never consummated.

Probably since before the lady from Germany set foot in England, he had been occupied by Catherine Howard and thus now the Howards held the royal sanction.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 42

P42N1. War preparations given up and attention turned to jousts, touneys and pastimes – Queen's coronation at Whitsuntide. LP 401 P42N2. Barnes recantation LP 411

P42N3. Norfolk's disagreement about coming to court. LP 442 P42N4. Cromwell counterworking the king's aims for settlement of religion. LP 765

P42N5. Marillac to Francis I about Cromwell's wrongdoings: LP 766, P42N6. The Duke of Norfolk having reproached him with some "villennyes" LP 804

P42N7. Henry in his own hand declared that the marriage was never consummated. LP 825

P42N8. Cromwell's attainder – summary

P42N9. Cromwell's attainder – in full.

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Part 43

Privy Council, Culpeper, Progress and Execution

The End of First Minister Control – Power Transferred to the Privy Council – Adultery Up North – Another Broken Marriage – Execution of Catherine Howard

The fall of Cromwell led to the rise of the Privy Council and for the time being the realm was governed by a small group of ministers rather than one man, as had been the case under Wolsey and Cromwell.

The first meeting after Cromwell's death was on 10 August 1540.

The newly married king, however, never one for administrative matters, took his pleasure and leisure in the privy chamber.

Henry VIII's privy chamber was a series of private rooms in every palace or house he resided in. Entry to these rooms was by privileged appointment.

The gentlemen of the privy chamber were servants to the Crown who waited and attend on the king and queen at court during their duties, functions and entertainments.

As a privilege of favour, they were empowered to execute the king's verbal command without producing any written order because their person and character were sufficient authority.

The gentlemen who dominated the privy chamber shared the king's religion, personal favour and trust. They held an important role in the administration of the Crown's coffers.

These royal servants organised hunting expeditions, pleasures and pastimes, and among this band of trusted companions was Thomas Culpeper. Culpeper was a favourite of Henry VIII, described as 'a beautiful youth' and similar in age

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to the new queen, the unchaste Catherine Howard.

As spring approached in 1541, the royal entourage was at Hampton Court. According to French ambassador Marillac, Henry was far from happy in the new season, ill in both mind and spirit. He bemoaned that he had an unhappy people to govern. He was discontented with his Privy Council, most of whom 'under pretence of serving him, were only temporising for their own profit'.

Upon this impression, he spent Shrovetide without recreation, even of music, in which he used to take as much pleasure as any prince in Christendom, and stayed in Hampton Court with so little company that his court resembled more a private family than a king's train. Strangers who went thither were asked their business and dispatched or sent back, as if to hide their mien and the king's indisposition.

By 21 March 1541 the king and queen were at Greenwich, where Queen Catherine and her ladies were left to amuse themselves while the king inspected the fortifications at Dover. Henry was gone for almost two weeks, returning on 4 April 1541.

Henry had spent time reviewing the southern coastal fortifications and had decided that next time he went Catherine would accompany him; indeed the royal progress this year included visits to the port of Hull on the north-east coast close to the mouth of the River Humber. There they could inspect the castle and both sides of the estuary.

If this were not fun enough for his young, ebullient wife, for further entertainment Henry's nephew King James V of Scotland was invited to meet the king and queen at York.

Almost four years had passed since the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion and the king's promise of a parliament in York was yet unfulfilled.

On 1 July 1541 a great royal train arrived at Enfield from Westminster on the first leg of the two-hundred-mile journey north to Yorkshire. Thomas Culpeper was with them, and the party would be away on royal progress for nearly four months.

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James V, who had lost both his young sons on the same day on 21 April, did not arrive, which annoyed Henry. However, the fortifications at Hull and on the Humber were thoroughly inspected and orders given for a castle to be built over the next few years.

On Allhallowtide, 31 October 1541, the royal party arrived back at Hampton Court.

Catherine may have been pleased to be home but there was trouble in store, and there was hardly time to unpack the royal wardrobe. Cromwell had suffered the axe to his neck but the evangelist party was still alive and looking for revenge. While Henry and Catherine had been in Yorkshire, this group had sharpened their long knives.

At All Souls Day mass on 2 November, Henry gave thanks to God for the gift of his sweet matrimony to his young wife, Catherine, with whom he had ostensibly shared the last four months away. She was his 'rose without a thorn'. Henry then opened a letter from Thomas Cranmer, the content of which plunged his fifth marriage into turmoil.

Cranmer, Thomas Audley and Edward Seymour had uncovered damning evidence about the queen having previous lovers, about her morals and about a current, secret lover.

The evangelical accusers apparently had not the heart to tell the king face to face and so had persuaded Cranmer to put it in writing.

The bitter gist of the letter was, in the first instance, that this 'rose without a thorn' had been deflowered long ago; indeed, the birds, bees and any number of the Privy Council had been busy with her long before Henry ever married her. Then, if that was not enough, Henry discovered that, even worse, loyal, trusty Thomas Culpeper had kept Catherine company in bed throughout the progress in the north. It was from the heat of Tom's love, not Harry's, that his wife had radiated her ebullient spirit.

The king at first did not believe the sordid tales about his wife's promiscuous, adulterous behaviour. At first, he was calm and ordered further investigation,

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but he was fooling himself, and, when Cranmer returned with even more evidence about her bedtime romps, distraught, the sick and ageing monarch broke down and sobbed:

But what inward sorrow the king's majesty took when he perceived the information true, as it was the most woeful thing that ever came into our hearts to see it; so it were too tedious to write unto you. But his heart was pierced with pensiveness that long it was before his majesty could speak, and utter the sorrow of his heart unto us; and finally, with plenty of tears, which was strange in his courage, opened the same.

There were suggestions that Henry had gone mad. French ambassador Marillac wrote to Francis on 7 December 1541 and informed him that 'this King has changed his love for the Queen into hatred, and taken such grief at being deceived that of late it was thought he had gone mad, for he called for a sword to slay her he had loved so much. Sitting in council he suddenly called for horses without saying where he would go.'

So there followed another sad end to another marriage. For political ends, Henry had been duped again. Queen Catherine was condemned by a bill of attainder and executed on 13 February 1542. Thomas Culpeper and another lover, Francis Dereham, had been executed some weeks before, on 10 December 1541.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 43

P43N1. Fortifications at Hull, Progress 1541

P43N2. Proceedings against Queen Catherine – State Trial including. 'inward sorrow the king's majesty took'

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Part 44

Henry Recovers from Catherine's Unrequited Love

Cuckolded Henry's Poor Health and Dire Spirits – Henry Aspires to Prove Himself in Battle – Tudor Bravado

While Henry had been in the north inspecting Hull, Francis and Charles had been trying to settle their differences over territorial claims, but it was as ever a futile effort and so Francis sought allies in case of a renewed and somewhat inevitable Habsburg-Valois war.

In anticipation of the breakdown of relations with Charles, Francis made approaches to Henry about a marriage between Princess Mary and Francis's third son, Charles, Duke of Orleans, but the preliminary negotiations about a dowry awakened an unresolved issue of unpaid pensions due from Francis.

The pensions were sums of money pledged but unpaid by France relating to treaties going way back to Wolsey's days. The revival of these problems was compounded by the fact that Henry refused to agree to the recognition of the legitimacy of Princess Mary (which would be necessary to facilitate the marriage). She had been declared a bastard as a consequence of the Aragon annulment and that was the way, as far as Henry was concerned, the matter would stay.

Henry was scorched raw with humiliation after the Catherine Howard debacle. It was not just Catherine's derision of him but also that Rochford woman, George de Boulogne's wife Jane, had delighted in watching him being painfully jilted by a young woman, cuckolded under his own bedroom window by an athletic, virile lover. That scheming Rochford woman, she was complicit in it all.

Henry now yearned to prove himself a real man, but Charles too goaded him over his weaknesses. Charles, he heard, was amused that after all these years he had failed to collect what was due to him from Francis. Charles, he was told

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privately, delighted in Schadenfreude where Henry was concerned. The febleness of his failure to collect what he was owed after all those years made him descend into an ever more hapless state. He was a gullible fool; indeed, French ambassador Charles de Marillac expressed concern about his very sanity.

Said Marillac, 'And finally he took to tears regretting his ill luck in meeting with such ill-conditioned wives, and blaming his Council for this last mischief. The ministers have done their best to make him forget his grief, and he is gone twenty-five miles from here with no company but musicians and ministers of pastime.'

Now Henry decided that, as the sovereign of one of Christendom's leading powers, the King of England would prove himself strong and powerful, on the field of battle if necessary. He would be a proper leader, like the emperor.

Henry VIII quelled his sobs, dried his tears and stood tall. He pledged to get his pensions from France by going to war with Francis and re-establishing for England the lost Angevin Empire.

Henry reinvigorated himself. He yearned for the days of his youth and games of war, and he fostered a dream of grandeur to emulate those who had gone before him: the Henrys and the Edwards, Richard the Lionheart and even his own father. But he could not fight France alone; he needed help – from Charles.

Negotiations for an Anglo-Imperial alliance were opened but progress was slow; however, finally, on 11 February 1543, a treaty was agreed. The principal delay had been the wording of the treaty and the description of Henry's title and standing following the break from Rome. Charles, as Holy Roman Emperor, could not recognise him, for example, as the supreme head of the church in any treaty document, while the English insisted that he should be accorded his full style. The diplomats wrangled for weeks.

Henry was now an excited old man full of bravado and pain-relieving alcohol, determined to fight in person, as Henry VIII, on the battlefield. He would be the warrior king, in a fashion to lead his army to victory: the King of England and the Holy Roman Emperor together in glorious unison.

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As war approached, Charles, as things turned out, was beginning a process of goading the enraptured Henry into splitting the French forces to suit his own purpose.

War was declared on 12 July 1543.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 44

P44N1. Concerns Henry VIII had gone mad. LP 1426 (Dec 1541)

P44N2. Declaration of War by Francis I against the Emperor 486,492,669

P44N3. Treaty negotiated between Henry VIII. and the Emperor by Eustace Chapuys. LP 144

P44N4. Ultimatum to France including demand for security for the pension in the future, the towns of Boullongne, Ardre, Monstreul, Terrouen and the county of Ponthieu... in default of the realm of France, the duchies of Normandy, Gascoigne and Guyenne and all the lands which your master has usurped from him. LP 754.

Part 45

French Queen of Scotland Pregnant Again

New Threat from Scotland – Mary Queen of Scots Born – Seymour
Brothers Act to Secure Their Future

Elsewhere, however, observers thought the king's plans unwise.

Henry VIII's health, both mental and physical, had been the subject of international discussion for some time. The French ambassador offered his opinion that 'this King's life was really thought to be in danger, not from the fever but from the leg, which often troubles him because he is very stout and marvellously excessive in drinking and eating, so that people worth credit say he is often of a different opinion in the morning than after dinner'.

Surely this 'marvellously excessive' king, whose intrinsically impaired judgement was exacerbated by drink, was nearing the end of his life. If the war did not kill him, the food and alcohol would instead. There was every possibility that if Henry VIII made it to France he would return in a big wooden box.

The Seymours began to manoeuvre. The brothers of deceased Queen Jane and uncles of the five-year-old Prince Edward, heir to the throne, prepared to take control of the realm upon Henry's seemingly imminent death.

The Seymours claim to rule, albeit legitimate, was far from secure, tenuous even, because it wholly depended on their young nephew. It was Edward or nothing – they had no spare – and with the king in such poor and declining health they chose this time to act, protect Edward's future and thus strengthen their own positions. The possibility of Catherine Howard bearing a child as a rival claimant to the Seymours' protégé had given them some cause for concern but a legitimate child from that union had been unlikely; anyway, by now it was a thing of the past.

The Seymours, of course, were not rid of the Howard threat altogether because

Princess Elizabeth was a blood relative.

A significant risk to their ambitions had at one time come from Scotland, in the descendants of Henry VIII's sister Margaret. Her son James V, a grandson of Henry VII (the founder of the Tudor dynasty), had married Mary of Guise in 1538. They had produced two half-French sons: James, Duke of Rothesay, and Robert, Duke of Albany, who naturally were Henry VII's great-grandsons. However, both had died, on the same day, 21 April 1541, and those sad, untimely deaths had the effect, so long as the Scottish king and queen remained childless, of eradicating a Scottish Tudor claim from north of the border.

However, they did not remain childless.

In the spring of 1542, in the midst of the talk of war against France, news arrived in England that the Scottish queen was pregnant again.

Thomas Seymour was at the court of Charles's brother, Ferdinand, in Vienna, but during the summer of 1542 was he summoned home.

Now trouble brewed on the Scottish borders. The difficulties there involved a battle on 24 August 1542 at Haddon Rig near Kelso. The Scots defeated the English and had their leader, Sir Robert Bowes, taken prisoner. To escalate matters, the Scots refused to ransom him.

The English exacted revenge at the Battle of Solway Moss on 24 November 1542, when Thomas Howard trounced an army led in person by the King of Scotland. On 8 December 1542, King James (who survived the battle) and his French wife became the parents of a daughter named Mary; she of course was Henry VII's great-granddaughter.

Days later, on 14 December, in an occurrence shrouded in mystery, her father, the thirty-year-old James, died, and baby Mary became Queen of the Scots.

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Book of Notes, Volume 2; References for Part 45

P45N1.III health of Henry VIII LP 589

P45N2.III health of Henry VIII and lamenting Cromwell's execution LP 590

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Part 46

Baby Mary Queen of Scots

Threat of French Husband for Mary Queen of Scots – Seymour's Plan to Betroth her to Prince Edward Instead – Subjugation of Scotland

The baby now famously known as Mary Queen of Scots was six days old when she acceded to the throne of Scotland. Her birth was one of the most significant events in Scottish, English and British history; the permutations for her future were numerous and the consequences for those she touched were enormous.

If she married a French man, it would create a formal union between France and Scotland with the probability of Scotland being swallowed up as a French domain. That situation had the potential to create an enormous military threat to England.

If she married a Scotsman, her son would have a credible claim to the throne of England, but, that aside, if she were brought up as a Catholic, Mary Queen of Scots might kindle support for a claim to the English throne in her own right and rally the overthrow of the next king, Edward.

The Seymours' position was ever more precarious as they sought to control the risks to their nephew and his kingship. For Edward Seymour, indeed for the Seymour party as a whole, it was imperative that baby Mary Queen of Scots be pledged in marriage to the young English prince, heir to the throne. To prepare her for marriage, it was vital she be moved, at any cost, from north of the border and brought up in England a long way away from the clutches of the Scots and the French and any hint of popish practice.

By that strategy, Edward Seymour considered, this sequence of events could be turned to his advantage, to unite the two kingdoms and considerably strengthen his own position. He would become Lord Protector of both kingdoms and so unite England and Scotland.

A declaration, with a list of reasons, was published claiming that Henry VIII and

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his predecessor were the rightful kings of Scotland. Although that right had not been exercised for all these years, Henry was enforcing it now and the Scots should pay him homage to him, their rightful lord.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 46

P46N1.Declaration of Henry VIII 1542

P46N2.Nicholas Bodrugan's 1548 Epitome is Indicative of the Seymour strategy against Scotland, as is the exhortation to the Scots on page 207 of the same publication.

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Part 47

Thomas Seymour and Katherine Parr

Pimp Seymour Secures Katherine Parr as Henry's Next Wife – Matrimonial Alliance for the Evangelists

Thomas Seymour arrived back in England in the new year of 1543. He had calculated that whoever governed not just Prince Edward but Mary and Elizabeth too would inevitably have future governance of the kingdom and so he developed a surreptitious plan to rival his brother Edward's manoeuvrings.

Eight or nine years earlier, with Cromwell's connivance, Thomas and Edward had contrived to have their sister Jane seduce Henry and prise the royal sanction from Anne de Boulogne and her family.

At this present time the king was, unusually for Henry, without a wife, and a repeat of the same plan could be even easier to effect, if a suitable woman could be persuaded to snare him again. The problem for Thomas Seymour was that his only remaining sister was already married – to Cromwell's son Gregory.

So who could be the seductress this time around?

Katherine Parr had been born in 1512 and was the eldest surviving child of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmorland and Maud née Green, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Green of Greens Norton, Northamptonshire.

She had been married twice before, first in 1529 to Edward Burgh, the son of Thomas Burgh, third Baron Burgh of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. He had died in 1533 in his mid-twenties. Katherine's second husband was John Neville, third Baron Latimer of Snape Castle, Yorkshire, although she had spent most of their marriage at his manor in Wick, Worcestershire. However, about the time Thomas Seymour returned home, Katherine acquired a position in the household of Princess Mary as one of her ladies in waiting.

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On 2 March 1543, the forty-nine-year-old Lord Latimer died. Katherine was but thirty years old, intelligent, attractive, staunchly evangelical and now a widow. Usefully, she was also a kinswoman of Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall.

Thomas Seymour was something of a swashbuckler, a renowned heroic archetype: chivalric and ready to rescue a damsel long deprived of love, romance and physical affection. A swashbuckling type that a damsel such as Katherine Parr might find attractive.

He promised his hand, to marry her after the king died, but first he would pimp her to Henry VIII.

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Part 48

Treaty of Greenwich

Treaty with Scots – Scheme to Unite England and Scotland

On 1 July 1543, the diplomatic efforts with the Scots bore some fruit – sour fruit, as it turned out later. England and Scotland agreed a treaty, the Treaty of Greenwich, which became known as the Treaties of Greenwich – it incorporated two agreements.

The concept was to unite both kingdoms. The first part of the treaty would create peace between the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Scotland.

The second part was the marriage of the future Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots. The purpose here was for Mary, for the time being, to live in Scotland but in the company of an English nobleman and his wife. Later, when she reached the age of ten, she would be removed south to live in England. Then, when she was considered old enough to be married, she would become Edward's wife and unite the two kingdoms in marriage.

Within the treaty was the provision for the kingdom of Scotland to maintain its laws.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 48

P48N1 Treaty of Greenwich including marriage proposals LP 804.

Part 49

Henry is Married to Katherine Parr – Invasion of France

Sixth Wife for Henry VIII – Mary and Elizabeth Restored to the Succession – Invasion of France – Seymour's Scheme for Scotland Rejected

During the spring of 1547, Thomas Seymour reaped what he had sown. Just as he had plotted, Katherine Parr enchanted Henry VIII, and she became his sixth wife on 12 July 1543, five months after the death of her previous husband. However, at the same time as the well-practised Henry was slipping another ring on another new wife's finger, matters in Scotland were going awry.

On 6 July 1543, Katherine's brother William Parr, ascending in royal favour, wrote from Warkworth Castle in Northumberland to Charles Brandon (Duke of Suffolk) about intelligence he had gathered in Scotland – namely, that the Scots had no intention, and never had, of adhering to the Greenwich treaty.

Although the agreement was ratified by the Scots on 24 August 1543, none of it was ever performed, and by 11 December 1543 the Scottish Parliament had ripped it up altogether. Henry VIII had trusted the Scots to stick to their word but they had proved themselves unfaithful.

At court, Katherine Parr was at work making political inroads bolstering the Seymour position by befriending the royal children (all three), and in the spring of 1544, in the Third Succession Act, both Mary and Elizabeth were restored, behind Edward, to the line of succession. To defeat a potential claim from north of the border, the descendants of Henry's two sisters were specifically excluded.

By the beginning of April, Edward Seymour was at Newcastle to deal with the Scots. He carried a plan with him, which was to take the chief port in Scotland, Leith, and use the navy to blockade the Firth of Forth. By that means he would cut off Edinburgh from both essential supplies and protection from the French. He would then use his land army to 'force all on this side [south] of the Fryth to become [Henry's] subjects'.

The plan was countermanded on 10 April 1544. Instead, Edward was to sack Edinburgh, not 'forgetting to turn upside down the Cardinal's [David Beaton] home city of St Andrews', which Seymour complained was a daft idea.

He replied to the council and said that to sack the capital was pointless; it would only strengthen the Scots' resolve and within a short time they would recover their position. Despite restating the merits of his original plan, he was overruled.

The council replied on 17 April that they wanted only a quick raid; France was the priority.

Seymour now calculated that there was another way of beating the Scots – cut them off from France by controlling the Strait of Dover. He was soon on his way south with that purpose.

Notes Book, Reference for Part49

P49N1.The plan was countermanded LP 314

P49N2.Seymour's counter-argument LP 319

P42N3.Countermand restated - with reasons LP 348.

Part 50

Henry's War Foiled

Henry Ignores Pleas to Stay in England – New Queen Is Regent in
Henry's Absence – King's Chaos in France – Boulogne Taken

These plans were soon set in motion, and throughout May and June 1544 fighting men were ferried across the Channel to build up forces in the Pale of Calais in preparation for the invasion of France. Some four thousand soldiers were ordered to be transferred from Scotland to France, a thousand of them by sea.

By mid-June, Henry's war was underway. The king, however, was still in England, and half-hearted efforts were made to keep him from the stress of the operation. Ambassador Chapuys reported his own concerns over Henry's obstinacy to Charles; he told him that Henry VIII was too old, was too overweight and had 'the worst legs in the world'.

He also reported to Charles's sister Mary Queen of Hungary, who was the emperor's regent in the Netherlands. 'All those about him have tried every means to dissuade him from it but it is no use,' and Chapuys 'does not think that there can be any other means except that the Emperor should wish to excuse his going, for the King would hold it a point of honour to go if the Emperor were there.'

Charles certainly did not agree with that idea, he was not going to excuse himself for anyone. While he was sympathetic to Henry's health problems, the emperor was younger and lustier than the King of England and, after all, he had come from Spain via Italy and Germany, specifically, to lead his army in battle.

Henry's bravado prevailed, if Charles were going, he would also go and show the emperor himself what a good soldier he was.

While Henry's military prowess was under discussion at home, over in France Norfolk moved off with his troops. On 22 June 1544, at a crossroads with Ardes in one direction and Boulogne in another, he wrote back home for instructions. 'Am conveniently placed to besiege Arde and little out of the way to besiege Boulogne, and in the highway towards Mounstreull. Expected 'ere this to have learnt the kings pleasure' – or, put another way, 'Now what are we supposed to do?' The whole business was a shambles, with a fundamental lack of organisation and a shortage of beer, bread, guns and even shot.

When Norfolk did receive his orders, there was no mention of the attack on Paris, a critical part of the original plan, but he was to go and lay siege to either Ardes or Montreuil, a little over forty miles from Calais. The duke chose Montreuil.

Henry made ready to take to the field and set off with a horse winch, litter and all the paraphernalia needed to ship a decrepit old man across the narrow sea. He arrived in Calais on 14 July 1544.

During Henry's foray to France, Katherine was appointed Regent of England and her secret lover, Thomas Seymour, was appointed to the new and illustrious senior post of Master General of the Ordinance.

Her brother William received the title he coveted: Cromwell's former earldom of Essex.

The strategy changed; Seymour's plan was adopted and, instead of the impossible task of retaking the entire lost Angevin Empire, the objective was switched to holding the port of Boulogne.

Edward Seymour joined the king on 13 August and Boulogne fell on 12 September. On 18 September, the king entered the town in triumph. Henry had the church, probably where he had married Anne de Boulogne, pulled down to make way and provide materials for the construction of a bastion.

Under the original plan, by this time, the English should have been at the gates of Paris. The siege and capture of Boulogne had turned the entire operation on its head and so now the emperor made a unilateral peace with Francis.

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The one-sided agreement allowed the French to disengage from the Imperial forces, march west and concentrate their firepower on the English. The dauphin, Francis, launched an attack on Boulogne on 9 October 1544; the French, however, were repelled. The English garrison held but the fighting season was over for the year and Francis's son returned to Paris.

Seymour held Boulogne, a key strategic possession, but in the spring of 1545 the French were advancing a plan for revenge.

Notes Book , Reference for Part 50

P50N1.Four thousand men to be transferred LP 508

P50N2.Worst legs in the world LP 529

P50N3.Norfolk writing for instructions LP 758

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Part 51

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and Boulogne

French Naval Attack – Mary Rose Lost in the Solent – Death of Charles Brandon – the King Is Beguiled by Henry Howard's War Efforts – Howard Replaced by Seymour – Peace Agreed – England to Retain Boulogne for Eight Years

Francis amassed a fleet at Le Havre and an army of thirty or forty thousand men to retake Boulogne. He also landed a small force in Scotland to join the Scots in an attack from the north.

The French battle fleet of two hundred and thirty-five ships entered the Solent on 18 July 1545; it was some four times larger than the defending English flotilla. The English navy, however, had the strategic advantage and, despite a brief French incursion onto the Isle of Wight, held the Solent.

The French were rebuffed and returned to Le Havre but at the cost of the Mary Rose, one of the English navy's most famous ships, not as a result of French action but thanks to the weather: after a breeze blew up, she listed and water poured in through her open gun ports.

The small force sent to Scotland disintegrated.

Charles Brandon was expected to lead a large army back to France to secure Boulogne but the king's great friend died on 22 August 1545. Four days afterwards, the captain of the garrison at Boulogne, Thomas Poynings, also died.

Henry VIII appointed Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and son of the Duke of Norfolk, to replace Brandon, passing over the more able Lord Grey of Wilton, who was ready and waiting to take over from the unfortunate Poynings.

Appointed on 3 September 1545, Henry Howard was titled Lieutenant General

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of the King on Sea and Land for all the English possessions on the Continent. It was an ill-judged appointment, and calamity and catastrophe ensued. The cost of the war was ruinous but, so long as the king listened to Howard's misleading accounts about its merits and his own military ability to run it, so it continued. The Privy Council was against it and even Howard's father berated his son for encouraging the king to carry on with it.

Eventually, after a humiliating defeat on 7 January 1546 at St Étienne, Howard was relieved of his duties and Edward Seymour was appointed in his place. Seymour landed in Calais on 22 March 1546, and he negotiated a peace that was concluded on 7 June.

The Treaty of Ardres (also known as the Treaty of Camp) stipulated ratification within forty days, required payment of outstanding pensions and provided for peace with Scotland, but the most important outcome for Edward Seymour was that England retained possession of Boulogne for eight years, until 1554.

Henry VIII had failed in his quest to recover the lost Angevin Empire but Seymour had succeeded in his for possession of Boulogne.

Indeed, the twelfth clause of the Treaty of Ardres stated:

The King of England to peaceably enjoy the town of Boulogne and the territories within these limits, viz., the port of Boulogne with its further shore, as far as the highest winter tide runs, up to the bridge called Pont de Bricque shall be the boundary, and from that bridge the river flowing under it which shall be common to both princes and shall not have its course deflected by either, as far as the head and fount of the same, shall be the boundary; so that by this treaty the said port from the sea to Pont de Bricque, the town and all the county of Boulogne on this side the said river and port shall be peaceably enjoyed by the King of England until the 2,000,000 cr. with the further sum upon the letters obligatory mentioned in the 11th article above is paid.

Thus Edward Seymour, in possession of Calais and Boulogne, had control of the Strait of Dover, from both sides of the narrow sea, effectively blocking that route from France to Scotland. The future Protector of England was detained in

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Boulogne until October 1546 securing English control. He would not allow any direct settlement with Scotland that did not absolutely guarantee the marriage of his nephew, the future King of England, to Mary Queen of Scots.

Notes Book, Volume 2; References for Part 51

P51N1.Seymour negotiated a peace which was concluded on 7 June 1546 LP 1014

P51N2.For Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's exploits in detail see *Henry VIII's Last Victim: The Life and Times of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* by Jessie Childs

Part 52

Preparation for a New Reign

Henry VIII's Health Deteriorating – The End Is Nigh – Battle for Control of the Future Edward VI

While Seymour was working in France to secure his ambitions for power in the next reign, there were problems with the opposing Howard faction in England.

John Lascelles, who had given Cranmer the means to bring down Catherine Howard, was now the target of heresy accusations. To complicate matters further, a certain friend of his, Anne Askew, probably more correctly known as Anne Ayscough, a Lincolnshire neighbour of Charles Brandon's widow and a confidante of Queen Katherine, had arrived in London to preach, all too loudly, the evangelist cause.

From the viewpoint of the regime-in-waiting, this was not the place and certainly not the time for Ayscough to vent her opinions. Seymour and his party hoped to effect a smooth, quiet and bloodless change of government, and she was stirring up trouble. The conservatives, headed by Gardiner and the Howards, were looking for ammunition to fire and somehow halt the impending Seymour government; Anne Ayscough was providing them with that ammunition.

Appeals for her to recant went unheeded and she would not be silenced; somewhat inevitably, she was arrested and interrogated. Claims of torture followed, and on 16 July 1546 she was executed by fire alongside John Lascelles.

An account of her suffering torture has come down through the writings of John Bale, 'bilious Bale', a historian and dramatist and former prior of the Ipswich Carmelite house who was converted to the reformist cause by Sir Thomas Wentworth, first cousin to the Seymour brothers and of course the deceased Queen Jane.

According to John Foxe, Queen Katherine was overtly very much given to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, and that she, for that purpose, had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as, at all times convenient, she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters, so also of ordinary; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her said chaplains, in her privy chamber, made some collation to her and to her ladies and gentlewomen of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. As these things were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown to the king; whereof, at first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like.

Stephen Gardiner, however, was in the presence of Henry and Katherine when the conversation turned to religion. When Katherine left, Henry is reported to have said, 'A good hearing, it is, when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife.'

Gardiner rebuked the king for receiving religious instruction and teaching from his wife, a woman. He continued to hector the king about his naivety in allowing heretical opinions to infuse his court, saying that 'the uttering thereof might, through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety'.

It seems Gardiner's tactic of censuring the fickle king worked; Henry, in his humiliation, turned to bravado to save face and a warrant was issued, apparently with his signature, for Katherine's arrest, ordering for her to be taken to the Tower and interrogated. Foxe explains that Katherine found out about the scheme.

In his account, someone dropped the arrest paperwork and so Katherine found out about the scheme and dashed off to Henry to apologise. 'If your Majesty take it so', quoth the queen, 'then hath your Majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband'.

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Henry accepted the apology but had either forgotten that he had signed the arrest warrant or forgotten to cancel it, probably both, because the next day, 14 July 1546, the Lord Chancellor arrived in the royal garden with forty of Henry's guards to arrest Katherine and the three ladies in her company: Anne Herbert (née Parr, Katherine's sister), Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhitt and Lady Jane Grey. Henry intervened and with a pompous dressing down of the Chancellor sent the troops back to where they had come from.

This tale says Foxe 'putteth me in remembrance of another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen'.

Foxe had many a tale to tell but, whatever the truth of his accounts, Gardiner was correct: Katherine Parr was and had been from the outset at the heart of the Seymour family's ambition to rule England through the future Edward VI.

Book of Notes, Volume 2; References for Part 52

P52N1. Sp LP 370 Meetings of the Council are mostly held in the Earl of Hertford's house.

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Part 53

Henry VIII's Death, Will and Executors

Dry Stamp – Gardiner Punched – Dudley Suspended from Council –
Henry's Wishes Ignored – Edward Seymour Confirmed as Lord
Protector – Legacy

The mainstays of the council preparing to take over the government of England had been assembled under Edward Seymour's direction.

To effect a smooth transition of power, they needed to be rid of a handful of, from their standpoint, troublesome conservatives.

Preparation continued and a dry stamp was introduced in August 1546, which removed the necessity for the king to sign official documents. Henry's health deteriorated and tensions ran high during the days of uncertainty waiting for his death; John Dudley was suspended from the Privy Council for punching Bishop Gardiner during a meeting.

Seymour and Dudley struck back and suddenly Gardiner found himself tripped and then shoved into a land dispute with Henry. The bishop was consequently excluded from court and thus denied access to the king.

Father and son Thomas and Henry Howard were arrested in mid-December for treason and sent to the Tower. Henry was beheaded on 19 January 1547 on a charge of treasonably quartering the royal arms with his own (an act that signified a claim to the throne).

Thomas acknowledged that he had 'concealed high treason, in keeping secret the false acts of my son, Henry Earl of Surrey, in using the arms of St. Edward the Confessor, which pertain only to kings'.

In his will (which was dry stamped and thus not signed by Henry), the dying

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king wished for sixteen executors and twelve assistant executors to oversee its administration. As might be expected in the circumstances, Edward Seymour ensured that the will was designed to exclude the threat from Scotland to the incoming young king. The will stipulated that Henry VIII should be buried with his third wife, Jane Seymour. Katherine Parr, his wife at the time of his death, shortly afterwards did marry Thomas Seymour.

The law held that it was treason to predict the king's death but the time was fast approaching and on 27 January 1547 Sir Anthony Denny entered the king's chamber and told him that in 'man's judgement you are not like to live' and that the king ought to prepare himself for death. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was sent for and, a short while after he arrived, the king gripped the priest's hand in his last earthly gesture to the faith of Christ.

In the early hours of 28 January 1547, Henry VIII died. There was no public announcement for three days afterwards while the new government secured its position.

Henry had expected a council to rule until young Edward, the new king, became of age. He had meant to entrust the government to a Regency Council that would rule collectively, by majority decision, with 'like and equal charge', but that was not to be. The first Privy Council meeting of the new reign was held on 31 January 1547 and a few days later, at its second meeting, as had probably been agreed with his principal team of adherents quite some time beforehand, Edward Seymour was appointed Lord Protector. He also secured letters patent from his young nephew King Edward granting him the right to appoint members to the Privy Council himself and to consult them as and when he considered proper. Edward Seymour was the new king in all but name.

Seymour had flouted Henry VIII's designs and went ahead to rule largely by proclamation, calling on the Privy Council to ratify his decisions.

That Henry VIII's last will and testament was, for the most part, discarded by the new regime within hours of his death exemplifies his reign.

Henry had never been educated as a ruler or leader in his early years; his brother had been groomed for that responsibility. His grandmother was instrumental in

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arranging his first marriage, to Catherine of Aragon, and the cleric Thomas Wolsey was quick to exploit Henry's youthful zest for sport and gambling and, in the absence of opposition, assumed control of the government of the country. He also found it necessary to organise the hapless monarch's household affairs.

Wolsey was happy with the marriage to Catherine, even more so when her nephew Charles V of Spain became Holy Roman Emperor, guardian of the pope. It was that papal office to which Wolsey aspired. Charles, in return for Wolsey's favours to him, promised the cardinal the papacy.

The promises did not materialise. Wolsey was furious, changed sides and pledged his support to the French to realise his ambitions. Henry VIII was initially oblivious to Wolsey's machinations but then followed the megalomaniac cardinal like a toady lickspittle when directed to discard the Imperialist Catherine for the Valois of France and so advance the over-mighty cleric's drive for revenge and self-satisfaction.

The mighty churchmen, the lords ecclesiastical, fell from grace and an anti-clerical faction exploited the bewildered king's marital dilemma to realise their centuries-old ambition to be rid of papal interference from government altogether. However, these men and women, led by Edward Seymour and Cromwell, rebutted the French influence introduced into the kingdom by Anne de Boulogne. Anne was wholly French and to realise their purpose they had to be rid of her.

No sooner it seemed had the befuddled Henry married Anne de Boulogne than he was coerced by the Brittonic-English faction into executing her and marrying Seymour's sister Jane.

When Jane died a little over a year after that marriage, Cromwell took a harder line against the Roman church and tried to ally England with Lutheran Germany, sealing the union with the marriage of his king to Anne of Cleves, the daughter of a German duke, on the strength of a dodgy portrait.

At first, the king acquiesced, but the match with the – so history has it – dour fräulein was one that even the enslaved Henry VIII could not tolerate, not least because Cromwell's nemesis, Thomas Howard, was offering his nineteen-year-

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old English niece as an alternative bride – and some support for the conservative cause.

Young Catherine, albeit instrumental in the fall of Cromwell, turned out to be something of a harlot; she had not the gift of continency, and her last date was with the executioner.

As the end of the reign approached, the Seymours countered with Katherine Parr. This was the most cynical of the six marriages, because of the depth of the premeditation; Katherine was pimped to Henry for his dying years by her future husband, Thomas Seymour.

Henry VIII's persona – his ineptitude in administration, his lack of perception and his bravado-filled, overblown ego – was the instrument through which a series of transient, disparate policymakers facilitated the transposition of government during his reign, from the schemes of a clerical megalomaniac to a destructive, violent rejection of clerical participation in the affairs of government.

The legacy of his reign is immense because of the feebleness of the man.

Henry VIII's surviving offspring were, respectively, their mothers' children. They all stood for the diverse politics of the men and woman behind the contrived marriages into which the marionette king had been cajoled.

There was nothing in the character of the man in his children, save Elizabeth's transposition of his psyche in her absolute rejection of marriage.

Had he lived, his son, Henry Fitzroy, would have succeeded to the throne as a Howard protégé.

For six years after Henry VIII's death, the Brittonic – English, in the guise of Edward Seymour and Edward VI, would hold sway. This was followed a violent volte-face by the fanatically Catholic daughter of Catherine of Aragon, Mary, and then another momentous leap of faith to the middle way of Anne de Boulogne in Elizabeth I.

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But King Edward Seymour, Queen Mary Trastámara – Habsbourg and Queen Elizabeth de Boulogne, the so-called Tudors, are the subjects of later reigns yet to come.

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