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LIFE OF REGINALD POLE

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PREFACE

THE Life of Reginald Cardinal Pole would have been written by the Rev. Ethelred Taunton, had not an untimely death struck him down at the beginning of his task—leaving the world poorer for those who had the happiness of his friendship. After waiting to see if some worthier pen would take up the interrupted work, I ventured upon it, encouraged by the kindness of Father Taunton's literary executor, who was good enough to entrust his notes and data to me. These, collected with exhaustive research and care from the archives and printed books in England, were of invaluable assistance, and a sure guide to further research in Rome and other places in Italy. This is the extent of my obligation, which I gratefully acknowledge: for the book itself I am entirely responsible, and from a few of the notes, and especially from some of the statements in Taunton's brilliant study, *The Life of Wolsey*, his views on one or two important points appeared to be unsupported by the facts, and against the weight of the evidence: conclusions which his own further researches would doubtless have led him to modify.

The first Life of Pole, written in Italian by his friend and Secretary, Ludovico Beccatelli, Archbishop of Ragusa, was published at Venice in 1563, and a Latin translation with a few minor additions by Andreas Dudith, who had accompanied the Cardinal to England, appeared shortly afterwards. An interesting English version was published in England in 1686 during the short reign of James II, entitled "Some Observations upon the Life of Reginaldus Polus, Cardinal of the Royal Bloud of England. Sent in a Pacquet out of Wales by G. L. [G. Lyde], Gentleman and Servant to the late Majesty of Henrietta Maria of Bourbon, mother to the present King. . . .

Printed for Mathew Turner, at the Lamb, in High Holbourn, 1686.¹

The seventeenth century saw the publication by Cardinal Quirini [Brescia 1744-1751] of the monumental work in five volumes *Epistolarē Reginaldi Poli*, and as Beccatelli had inspired Lyde so Quirini inspired Lyde's grand-nephew, Thomas Phillips, S.J., to write an English Life of Pole, in two volumes, published in 1764; a work which excited an explosion of adverse criticism and violent denunciation, the lengthiest expression of which may be found in the 562 pages of the Rev. Timothy Neve's book, published at Oxford in 1766.² In the preface "The restless Emissaries of the See of Rome" are accused of having in "a very open and indecent" manner "worked up the exploded errors of Rome" in a "laboured and plausible insult upon the civil and ecclesiastical Liberties of this Country." The Rev. James Pye, LL.B., published in the same year, 1766, what he asserts to be the Life of Pole "now first translated into English" with an appendix setting forth the Plagiarisms, False Translations, and False Grammar" in Phillips's Life. In an appendix to the second edition of his work in the following year—1767—Phillips in moderate and dignified language defends himself from "Cavils which can only injure their abettors, and those who have not temper to overlook them. Censure and obloquy, deserved or undeserved, will have their day; with this difference that time, which wears away the impressions of prejudice, confirms the judgment of reason."

Each century since that which saw the birth and death of Pole, has thus seen his life and character brought before the judgment of the world, Zimmermann's *Kardinal Pole, sein Leben und seine Schriften* having been published at Ratisbon

¹ G. Lyde [1622-1706] was secretary to the Earl of Glamorgan, eldest son of the stout old royalist, the Marquis of Worcester. James II restored the fellowship of Magdalen College, which Lyde had lost on his conversion to Catholicism in 1644, by a decree dated Nov. 11, 1687; but he was expelled at the Revolution in the following year, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement, chiefly in the house of his sister, Mrs. Phillips, at Ickford, an obscure village in Buckinghamshire. *Joseph Gillow, Bio. : Dict. IV, p. 353.*

² Neve was Rector of Middleton-Stoney, Oxfordshire.

in 1893. No English translation of this interesting though incomplete work having appeared, Quirini's mighty book being in Latin and Italian, and Phillips's containing a considerable amount of matter which nowadays appears tedious and irrelevant, a twentieth century biography, based not only upon already recorded facts, but upon the vast treasure revealed by the diligent students of the archives of Europe, may not seem superfluous nor uncalled for.

It is a pleasing duty to record my thanks to the officials of the Record Office and the British Museum, to Father Ehrle, chief Librarian of the Vatican Library, to Monsignor Wenzel, keeper of the Vatican Archives, to Cavaliere Ognibene, keeper of the Este Archives at Modena, to Dr. Alessandro Luzio, keeper of the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, to Professors Antonio Favaro and Vittorio Lazzarini, of the University of Padua, and to Professor Giuseppe Galavresi, of the Royal Academy of Science at Milan, for much valuable assistance. Dom René Ancel not only communicated to me the results of his lengthened researches in the Farnese collections at Parma and Naples, and in the Archives of Brussels, but allowed me the privilege of seeing the proof sheets of his articles in the *Revue Ecclesiastique de Louvain*—“Légation du Cardinal Polus.” The Rev. Abbot B. Maréchaux, of the Church of Santa Francesca Romana at Rome, has kindly permitted the reproduction of the fine picture of Paul III and Cardinal Pole. For much kind help am I also indebted to Dom Gilbert Dolan and Dom Norbert Birt.

All this learned and cheerfully-rendered aid has helped me to keep close under the shadow of the wings of the “two great angels” who, as De Quincey finely says, “Stand by the side of history ; the angel of research on the left hand, that must read millions of dusty parchments and of pages blotted with lies ; the angel of meditation on the right hand, that must cleanse these lying records with fire, even as of old the draperies of asbestos were cleansed, and must quicken them into regenerated life.”

M. H.

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LIFE OF REGINALD POLE

CHAPTER I

FEW figures stand out from among the shadows of the past 1500-58 more clearly, or with a friendlier aspect, than does that of Reginald Pole—learned, simple-minded, pious, endowed with intellectual gifts of the highest order, wise and prudent in counsel, ardently zealous, and yet patient and long-suffering in the extreme, and with a rectitude of mind as true to its conscience as the needle to the pole. Of a jocund humour, which many waters could not quench, and delightful in conversation, he was endeared to his contemporaries by qualities that have left a memory and a fragrance which time does not stale, but carries on from age to age.

Erasmus, who was no flatterer, said of Reginald Pole that *Basilia.*
he rejoiced “that these deplorable times have found so able ^{4 Oct.,} ₁₅₂₅ a support of Letters and Piety”; but, considering the period of confusion and disruption in which he lived, far more remarkable than the high esteem of his friends is the attitude of adverse historians. Hume notices it with surprise: “insomuch that, in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit.” And when the Huguenot Rapin sets down the opinion of “several” as to Pole’s private aims and ambitions towards the crown, he does so with so little conviction that we are prepared for his conclusion: “But this is conjecture,” or, when reporting certain accusations with regard to Cranmer’s death: “It is also pretended,” etc. The venom of calumny seems to have dropped away from the pens of hostile critics and party writers when treating of him.

An element in the satisfaction with which posterity regards Cardinal Pole may perhaps be found to be a certain

1500-58 congratulatory pleasure that he, almost alone among the few who dared withstand the tyranny of Henry VIII, escaped the furious vengeance of that monarch ; and that it was from the safety of beyond the seas that he sent him the famous and much-discussed treatise *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis*, in which he held up a mirror before the King's eyes, forcing him to look for a moment upon his own conduct in its hideousness, while at the same time seeking to penetrate the triple armour of passion, avarice and vanity encasing the once noble and royal nature of his kinsman and sovereign.

The setting to this fine figure of Reginald Pole, the greatest Englishman of his time—its environment—was, be it not forgotten, the first half of the sixteenth century, of that *cinque cento* when beauty had enthroned herself in the minds of men, guiding eye and hand in little things as in great ; so that a fragment of stuff, the leaf of a book, a woman's jewel, or a bit of wrought iron held its due proportion of her influence as surely as the work of Holbein or of Titian ; while, in the realm of letters, poets were making beautiful old rhyme, preluding and modulating for the advent of the greatest of them all, who was born two years after Pole had died. And it is a strange and somewhat disconcerting paradox that all this harmony and beauty should have been co-existent with so much that was dark and ugly in the blood-stained pages of our history.

After the Battle of Bosworth, the fortune of the field, the axe and the assassin had reduced the immediate representatives of the house of York to three in number, frail shoots of the once flourishing White Rose : Edward, the little Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, only son of beheaded Clarence, and though only ten years old, already held in durance for the past two years by Richard III in Sheriff Hutton Castle ; the child's elder sister, Margaret Plantagenet, and his cousin Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.¹ Henry VII secured the latter

¹ Edmund de la Pole, chief of the Yorkist party, was an outlawed wandering exile in France, and the claims of Edward IV's younger daughters were of little account during the lifetime of Elizabeth and her descendants.

princess by marrying her himself ; he hastened to remove the Earl of Warwick from Sheriff Hutton Castle to the more rigorous confinement of the Tower, and looking about for a safe bestowal for the Lady Margaret, gave her in marriage to a kinsman of his own, and one of his closest adherents, Sir Richard Pole, a Knight of the Garter, son of Sir Geoffrey Pole, who had married Edith St. John, half sister to Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother.

By Sir Richard's marriage with Margaret Plantagenet the blood of the two royal houses was united, and their six children, four sons and two daughters, could claim royal descent on both sides.

In the month of November, 1499, four months before the birth of her third son, Reginald, Lady Pole was called upon to lose her only brother, as, at five years of age, she had lost her father, by the axe of the headsman ; a tragic event which was not to be without its effect upon Reginald Pole's future. The unfortunate Earl of Warwick had been bred up in such seclusion and ignorance in the Tower, that it was the common report that he "did not know a goose from a capon," which did not prevent the adherents of the House of York from looking upon him as their chief. Their hopes and affections, enhanced by the pathos of his destiny, hung around the captive, to his ever-increasing peril, still further intensified by the unsuccessful conspiracies in his favour. Simnel had personified him to the point of being actually crowned in Ireland in 1487 ; and although Perkin Warbeck chose to personify one of Warwick's murdered cousins in the Tower, that conspiracy may not have been without its effect, while the unfortunate attempt of a youth named Ralph Wilford practically sealed his doom. At the end of 1498, or early in 1499, Wilford, schooled for the part, it was said, by an Austin Canon, imitated Simnel's performance of personating Warwick, for which both he and his tutor were executed on the 12th February, 1499.

Henry VII, who had a frugal mind and turned most things to account, had sent Simnel into his kitchen as a scullion, but Perkin Warbeck had been lodged in the Tower. A few months after Wilford's execution, and probably alarmed thereat,

1499

Warbeck made an attempt to corrupt his gaolers and draw them into a plot for his own release and that of the Earl of Warwick. The latter, rejoiced, at the age of twenty-four, at the prospect of freedom after sixteen years' captivity, naturally agreed to the proposal. Meanwhile, the negotiations for the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with Katherine of Arragon were going on—not without difficulties—between the two monarchs of equal craft, Henry VII and King Ferdinand; difficulties as to dowry, and objections, on the side of Spain, to give his daughter to England, so long as the succession to the Crown might be disputed by the son of Clarence. Whether in consequence of a cold-blooded compact between the two kings, or from Henry's desire to clear away a hindrance, the judicial murder of the Earl of Warwick was determined upon.

The anxiety for the execution traceable in the despatches of the Spanish ambassador, and the presence of a Spanish agent at the young prince's execution support the former view.¹ Warbeck's plot had been disclosed—it is possible it had been connived at—and he and his confederates were executed at Tyburn on the 23rd November. On the 21st, Warwick was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford as High Constable of England, not, as might have been supposed, for trying to break prison, but on the pretence that he had conspired to depose the King. Acting either on mischievous advice, or in mere simplicity from his total ignorance of the world, he pleaded guilty, was condemned to death, and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th November.

This great blot on the character of Henry VII, this attempt to cement the marriage of his son with innocent blood, signally failed to bring good fortune upon his sons, or upon Ferdinand's daughters. Juana, *la loca*, and Katherine of Arragon will for ever stand among the sorrowful Queens of history; and when Henry VII, two years after Warwick's death, laid the body of his first-born son, the bridegroom of yesterday, and only fifteen years of age, in his tomb in the exquisite chantry of Worcester Cathedral, thoughts of the young cousin lying in

¹ Gairdner: *Letters of Richard III and Henry VII*, I, 113, 114.

a traitor's grave, and words of Holy Writ on the shedding of 1500 innocent blood, may well have crowded to his mind, and to the minds of many ; thoughts which were never to leave Queen Katherine of Arragon to the end of her days.

The cruel effort to secure the perpetuation of his line upon the throne by a wicked deed was also signally to fail, and the House of Tudor to die out in the second generation after him.

Reginald Pole was born at Stourton Castle, Staffordshire, on the 3rd March, 1500. Some writers, relying upon the account furnished by the Heralds' Office, represent him as the *fourth* son of his parents ; but Beccatelli, who received the information of birth and early events from the Cardinal himself, is more likely to be correct in giving the order of birth as Henry, afterwards Lord Montague (1492 (?)–1539), Arthur, Reginald, Geoffrey, and two daughters, of whom the elder, Ursula, married Henry, Lord Stafford, son and heir of the Duke of Buckingham, beheaded on Tower Hill, 13th Henry VIII, "whose large revenues were his chiefest crime."

Ludovico Beccatelli, afterwards Archbishop of Ragusa, Pole's secretary and biographer, gives *Artur della tavola rotonda* as his remote ancestor, a tradition he no doubt received from the Cardinal himself. He is on surer ground in tracing Pole's royal descent from King Edward III,¹ and the short sketch he gives of the Wars of the Roses, passing through an Italian mind into the Italian tongue, takes on an added glamour of romance ; as he recounts the struggles of *la rosa bianca e la vermiciglia*, we seem to read a page of Tasso's *Gerusalemme* done into prose.

Sir Richard Pole had large estates in Buckinghamshire ; Henry VII had given him several offices in Wales, making him constable of Harlech and Montgomery Castles, and sheriff of the county of Merioneth ; and for the first five years of his life Reginald Pole lived in the bustling activity and commotion of his father's house, we had almost said his father's court, so numerous and so varied were the individuals who went to make

¹ See Appendix A.

1500-5 up the retinue, or as it was called, the "family" of an important personage of that period—from the chaplain, pages, ladies in waiting, squires, minstrels, perhaps a dwarf or a jester, and the numerous servants, who still live for us in Shakespeare's plays ; with the crowd of retainers without, both horse and foot, bill and bowmen, armourers, falconers, and many more, down to the swineherds and hewers of wood and drawers of water—to each and all of whom the master's will was law, and every well-appointed castle had its dungeon for the unruly. Both within and without there was a mixture of magnificence and ceremonial, with a great simplicity of custom ; sharp distinctions, and yet closer bonds of union and mutual reliance between the lord and his men, and the lady and her women. In Margaret Plantagenet, the King had bestowed upon Sir Richard Pole a wife such as Solomon described as the prudent woman, whose household is clothed in scarlet, and whose price is far above rubies.

Heavy were the demands made by the sovereign in those days upon his greater subjects. In 1495 Sir Richard Pole raised men against Perkin Warbeck. In 1497 he was retained to serve against Scotland with fifty demi-lances and two hundred archers, and shortly afterwards with six hundred men at arms, sixty demi-lances, and five hundred and forty bows and bills. At the time of Prince Arthur's marriage to Katherine of Arragon, Pole was appointed his chief gentleman of the bedchamber, and it was under his care that the young prince was sent into Wales after the ceremony, for the short remainder of his life. The chief government of the Marches was also committed to his charge.

Beccatelli Sir Richard Pole died in 1505, leaving his wife sole guardian of their children. Reginald already gave proof of remarkable intelligence, and his earliest lessons were directed by his mother. At the age of seven, Lady Margaret Pole—during her husband's lifetime she only bore the title of Lady Pole—sent him to the Grammar School attached to the Carthusian monastery at Sheen. This was less Spartan treatment for a child of so tender an age than at first sight appears : scions of noble, and still more of princely houses in those days, used

to be accompanied by their tutor and servants, and provided 1505-13 with lodgings of their own.

In this "devout and pleasant place"—to use his biographer's words—young Pole is generally supposed to have remained until he went to Oxford in 1513; but there is interesting evidence—slight, but good—that he passed some part of those years at Canterbury, in the Benedictine School of Christchurch.

In the British Museum there is a MS. lesson-book and copy-book combined, which was evidently handed on from its ^{Harl. MS.} _{No. 1587} original owner, William Ingram, who scribbled his name on many of its pages, to successive schoolboys at Christchurch. On folio 208 of this old, but admirably preserved book, we find, on a page of copy in the exquisite calligraphy of the time, the signature, *Reynoldus Poulus*, "which makes us ask ourselves," says a recent writer, "could he have been a boy at Canterbury in his early days?"¹ Such a book, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, was too precious a possession to have been removed from its place; and there seems no reasonable way of accounting for the presence of Reginald's copy and signature than that he wrote them at Christchurch as a schoolboy there. The Carthusians were not a teaching order, whereas the Benedictines stood first among the teachers and trainers of youth at that period; and Cardinal Pole's well-known love of their order to the end of his life may date from the time of his school days.

Whether at Sheen or at Canterbury, he was diligently pursuing his studies when the death of Henry VII, and the accession of Henry VIII, wrought a great change in the fortunes of his family.

The tenderest affection united Katherine of Arragon and Margaret Pole, an affection of which Katherine could give but little testimony during the lifetime of Henry VII, whose judicial slaughter of Margaret's brother was an ever-present sorrow, and a source of innocent remorse to his daughter-in-law. The King died 22nd April, 1509, and although, for subtle

¹ An interesting account of this old book and its connection with Cardinal Pole, was written by Abbot Gasquet in the *Downside Review*, Vol. X. p. 31.

1513 reasons of his own, he had caused his son to sign a protest against marrying Katherine, no sooner was Henry VIII king, than he carried out his engagement within two months of his father's death. He was eighteen years of age at the time of his marriage, his bride was nearly seven years his senior ; but all accounts agree as to the happiness of their union, when the music-loving, lusty prince, as fond of his studies—theological and other—as he was of sport and games, was the delight of all beholders, full of good impulses and ready to further the good of his people. He was as ready as his wife to undo, as far as it was possible, the injury his father had done to Margaret Pole ; and one of the first acts of his reign was to bestow on her an annuity of £100.¹ In 1512, the King began to pay £12 a year for the maintenance of her son Reginald at school ; and the following year, 14th October, 1513, he created her Countess, by her brother's second title, Salisbury, and gave her the family lands of the earldom, in fee.

**Hen. VIII
Statute V** At her petition, moreover, Warwick's attainer was reversed, and the words of the petition embodied in the Act are remarkable, as showing how plainly the injustice of his sentence was acknowledged even in those days of tyranny—

“ Which Edward, most gracious sovereign lord, was always from his childhood, being of the age of eight years, until the time of his decease, remaining and kept in ward and restrained from his liberty, as well within the Tower of London, as in other places, having none experience nor knowledge of the worldly policies, nor the laws of this realm, so that, if any offence were by him done . . . it was rather by innocency than of any malicious purpose.”

Nor did the King's bounty to his first cousin stop here ; he bestowed upon her eldest son Henry a special livery of his father's lands, viz., the manors of Ellesborough and Medmenham in Buckinghamshire ; and on the 25th September, 1513, Henry Pole was one of a company of forty-nine gentlemen knighted by Henry VIII under his banner, after Mass, in the church at Tournay, which implies that he had distinguished himself during the French campaign. The family estate was

¹ Equivalent to £2,000 a year of the present currency.

now magnificent, consisting of property in Hampshire, Wiltshire, the Western counties, and Essex. But there is no doubt that it was heavily burdened by redemption money claimed by the King, and we find an acknowledgment by Wolsey, the King's almoner, of £1,000 "from Lady Margaret Pole," as part payment of "5,000 marks granted of her benevolence towards the King's wars . . . for his high and great goodness as restoring her to the inheritance of her said brother." (The Earl of Warwick.)

While his elder brother was winning his knighthood and his spurs in the French campaign, Reginald went to Oxford, as is shown by the following entry—

"8th June, 1513. For Reynold Pole, student in the University of Oxford, Pension which the newly elected Prior of St. Frideswide's is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination, until he is promoted to a competent benefice by the said Prior."¹

It is not without interest to note that these grants were made during Queen Katherine's regency, while Henry VIII was making war in France: the "livery of lands" to Henry Pole is signed *teste Regina*.

Young Pole entered Magdalen College as a nobleman, and an apartment was assigned him in the President's lodging.² Although, as we have seen, the princely or noble youth had extraordinary privileges, and lived much as he did at home, with a numerous "familia," including poorer but well-born youths who dressed like him, and acted as his *socii* or humble companions, a chaplain, and (if young) a private tutor, besides

¹ The State Papers of Henry VIII's reign contain abundant proof of the increasing demands made by king and courtier upon monastery and convent. Farm after farm, manor after manor, benefice after benefice, office after office were yielded up, in compliance with requests which were in reality commands. Pensions in ever increasing numbers were charged on monastic lands at the asking of those it was impossible to refuse "One of the most interesting of these cases," writes Mr. Brewer, "is that of a pension paid by the Prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, to Reginald Pole."—F. A. Gasquet: *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, Vol. I, pp. 28, 29.

² There is a tradition at Oxford that young Pole lived at Beaumont Palace, built by Henry Beauclerc, and given to the Carmelite friars by Edward II.—Headlam: *Oxford and its Story*, pp. 54 and 104.

1513-15 ordinary servants, the long hours of study were the same for rich and poor alike.¹ The period from 6 to 10 a.m. was the most sacred time of day for study and lectures ; but work seems to have been carried on with little interruption after dinner (at 10 a.m.) until supper at 5 o'clock. The evening, or part of it, was usually considered the time for whatever amusement student life allowed, though amusement was a thing which the mediæval idea of student life hardly admitted at all.

The lectures were given in Latin. Before the student could profitably attend University lectures, he must have learned to read, write and understand such Latin as was used in the schools. Latin was not merely the language of the lecture-room, but theoretically, at least, of ordinary student life. The freshman must have been able to talk some Latin as well as understand it.²

Chief among Pole's preceptors at Oxford stood Thomas Linacre, who not only helped to increase in him the love of learning, but instilled into him something of his own passion for Italy, and for the University of Padua. Linacre (1460 (?)—1524) had gone to Italy about 1485–6 in the suite of Selling, ambassador of Henry VII to the Pope. He graduated as M.D. at Padua, and probably spent some time there in medical study. So great was his love for the land of his studies, that on leaving the southern side of the Alps (probably by the Great St. Bernard) he is said to have built a rough altar of stone, which he dedicated "*sanctæ matri studiorum.*" He came back to England about 1491, and was incorporated M.D. at Oxford on his Padua degree ; according to Wood he was giving lectures about 1510. He was as fortunate in his pupils as he was in his preceptors. Thomas More acquired from him a knowledge of Greek, and Erasmus, who came to Oxford in 1497, partly to learn the language, generously acknowledged his debt to Linacre. Colet, another of the

¹ Hastings Rashdall, M.A. : *The Universities of Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 655-6.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 594.

brilliant band, was his friend until they quarrelled about a 1513-17 Latin Grammar.

Another of Reginald Pole's teachers was the learned William Latimer, and he made rapid progress, especially in logic and philosophy, surpassing, it is said, the expectations of his teachers. Having finished his course of philosophy, he gave a public account of his proficiency in an academical exercise, "a public and solemn disputation," which lasted no fewer than thirty consecutive days, Sundays and holy days excepted. The date of this extraordinary performance is not given, but it must have taken place before he was nineteen years old. Meanwhile, at the age of fifteen, he took the degree of B.A., and petitioned, according to the custom of the times, to wear a gown and robes suitable to his extraction and rank ; and to be admitted to the public library. At seventeen he was nominated by the King, prebendary of Roscomb in the Cathedral of Salisbury, and of Gatminster-secunda in the same church ; and had soon after, by the same royal bounty, the Deanery of Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire bestowed on him.¹

How universal and generally accepted had become the abuse of bestowing benefices on boys and laymen, is startlingly proved by the fact that two women, as conscientious and as pious as Queen Katherine and Lady Salisbury, should have acquiesced in such proceedings. The latter, it is true, intended her son for the Church ; but as early as the birth of the Princess Mary, the Queen had other views for her brilliant young kinsman, her special favourite among Lady Salisbury's sons. Beccatelli says—

"These things (the sacrifice of Lady Salisbury's brother) were well known to the Queen, and with her tender nature and Christian goodness, she felt remorse in her soul, and was wont to say that she would not die happy, if the hope of succession to the Crown did not return to the blood of the Lady Margaret, meaning thereby a marriage between her daughter and one of that lady's sons."

¹ No less detrimental to the well-being of the Church in England at this time was the crying abuse and scandal of pluralities . . . At this time also benefices were bestowed upon the young of good family, who had sufficient influence to secure these preferments.—F. A. Gasquet : *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, p. 22.

1517-19 ¹ Cardinal Pole was himself Beccatelli's informant as to the events of his early life, and it is interesting to find how early the question of a marriage between the cousins—which in the days of her sorrow was again to be considered by the Queen and the Emperor—had been mooted. From that time forth, Reginald Pole's pretensions to Mary's hand were to be—so to speak—in the air, and well liked of the English people, always averse to a foreign prince as king. While it is clear that he had no ambition that way himself, he was nevertheless looked upon as numbered among the numerous candidates, and not as one of the least eligible.

R.O.
April,
1515

Lady Salisbury was at this time the woman for whom Henry VIII had the greatest respect, describing her as the saintliest woman in England, and whom he greatly delighted to honour. Further "lands and possessions" were restored to her in 1515, and there is an entry of the sum of £1,599 19s. 10½d. paid to her. She is mentioned among those present at the christening of the Princess Mary on Wednesday, 20th February, 1516, and shortly afterwards she was appointed governess to the Princess. "The same year, Ursula Pole made the greatest match in England by marrying Lord Stafford, son of the magnificent Duke of Buckingham; and when Sir Henry Pole in 1517 had the barony of Montague or Montacute conferred upon him, the fortunes of the family were at their zenith—there to remain for four short years."¹

We have no information as to whether Reginald Pole took part in these family weddings and festivities, but through all the days of his life his friends, in whatever country he might be, were always amongst the best society in the truest sense of the word. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that while at Oxford he counted Sir Thomas More, who was twenty-five years his senior, among his friends. More having occasion for the advice of physicians, Reginald not only sent him the opinion of the most eminent of the profession at Oxford, but sent the prescription to his mother, Lady Salisbury, to be

¹ About 1513, Henry Pole had married Jane, daughter of George Neville, Lord Bargavenny, (Abergavenny) who was himself son-in-law to the Duke of Buckingham.

made up ; for which More returned his acknowledgments in a ¹⁵¹⁹ very polite letter. In another letter, he mentions the singular pleasure he had received from the commendations which a Latin letter of his favourite daughter, Margaret, had deserved from Pole, " a youth," he says, " as learned as he is noble, and as virtuous as he is learned."¹

Pole's own love of learning, the enthusiasm displayed by his chief preceptor, Linacre, for the "*sancta mater studiorum*," the fact that the most distinguished among the learned men, who were his teachers or his friends had received their education at Padua—Linacre and William Latimer, Doctor Richard Pace (Secretary of State and ambassador to Venice), Lupset (his secretary), Tunstall (Bishop of Durham), Dr. Colet (Dean of St. Paul's), and many others—naturally inclined him towards that great University. He was now in his twentieth year, seven of which he had spent at Oxford, " and his mother and family consented to a step which seemed to second the hopes he had already raised both in them and the whole nation."² The consent of the King had also to be obtained, and was granted without difficulty. Henry VIII seems to have fully shared his wife's affection for his brilliant young kinsman, though not her views as to his marriage with her daughter ; he rejoiced in Reginald's learning and distinction, and notwithstanding the noble provision he had already made for his support, he gave him £100 towards his expenses for a year (equivalent to £2,000 at the present day). It was, therefore, with a princely retinue and considerable state that Pole started from England, and made his journey towards Padua. It will not be amiss to give here some account of his personal appearance. Beccatelli thus describes him—

" Of medium height, and thin, in complexion white and red, as are commonly the English ; his face a little broad, with merry and benignant eyes, and in youth his beard was rather fair—*quasi bionda*. He was robust of body, and seldom sick . . . moderate in eating, although of a healthy appetite, which ill supported

¹ T. Phillips : *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 13.

1519

fasting ; he ate only twice a day, and his evening meal was slight ; he slept lightly, and generally rose before dawn, to attend to his studies and devotions ; he did not care for much personal service, and often got up and went to bed without assistance. In England and abroad he was noted for the chastity of his life and conversation. He was not ambitious of wealth—*di robba non fu cupido*—that which he had, he spent, and cheerfully gave. He wished his 'familia' to be well treated ; he avoided all debts, and made his expenditure accord with his revenue."

CHAPTER II

WHEN Reginald Pole, with his attendants, arrived at Padua ¹⁵¹⁹ in the spring of 1519, and was ceremoniously received by the Podestà, Pietro Lando, with the Capitan and his officers, in many respects the town was much as it is to-day. It had ceased to be a town of wood, and had become a town of stone and marble, traversed in graceful curves by the *fumicello*, a little branch of the Brenta, bathing the walls of the houses, and crossed by innumerable stone bridges, giving a Venetian air to the town, much emphasized by the Lion of St. Mark, to be found at every turn.¹

There are no records of Pole's sojourn to be found at Padua, for the *Cronaca* unfortunately only begins with the middle of the sixteenth century; and we may look in vain among the great arched houses with their courts and inner courts, the latter a cool green sanctuary of vine and fig-tree, for any indication of which was his. That the house was a large one is proved not only by the number of his household, but by the fact that he used to receive the English ambassadors and their suites when travelling to, or from Venice.

At the time of his arrival, Padua had but lately returned to her ordinary life; the disastrous wars of the League of Cambray having practically put a stop to the University's career between the years 1508 and 1517. A few only of the professors and students remained at their posts during those dismal days, but the return to collegiate life was so rapid that while there were only four lecturers at the re-opening in 1517, their numbers had increased to forty-eight two years later. The *Cortile* of the University was only built after Pole's departure, or we should find his coat-of-arms among those of the English and Scotch students, still blazoned on its roof and walls and staircases.

¹ Padua belonged to Venice from 1405 to 1799. The number of inhabitants in 1557 was 35,852.—Gloria: *Territorio Padovano*, Vol. I, p. 70.

1519

The University, still familiarly called the "Bo," from the fact that it stood on the place of a famous old hostelry, *Il Bove*, or the Bull Inn—which had been able to accommodate more than 600 guests, with stabling for 200 horses—had between 1,000 and 1,200 students, the same number, strange to say, as it has now. The rectors in their *togas*, the pompous Podestà and the Capitan with their officers, the students in their many-coloured garments, and with flashing weapons which the authorities were perpetually confiscating, moved about the streets with a gay contrast of colouring to the dull sameness of their present-day costume and attire. The conduct of the students, despite occasional broils and faction-fights ending in bloodshed, was less turbulent than might be expected. The reports of the rectors to the Venetian Signory, as well as that of each Podestà on terminating his sixteen months of office, and of the Capitan are, on the whole, favourable.¹

To the young Englishman exchanging the dull skies of his country for the brightness of Italy, nothing can have been more satisfying to the artistic side of his nature than to find himself in such a town as Padua at the moment he arrived there; and we can hardly conceive what a training to the eye and mind of so intelligent a youth as Reginald Pole it must have been to happen upon Italy in the year of grace 1519. The newest things counted among the best, and the work he actually saw in progress was worthy of what had gone before. In that stately triumph of the thirteenth century Lombard-esque architecture, the Basilica of Anthony, then as now "Il Santo" among all the saints of his native Padua, the works of Giotto, Mantegna, Donatello, and their contemporaries shone in the fresh beauty of their first centuries of existence, unmarred by time's decay, undefiled by the works of their

¹ The retiring Podestà, in his report to the Signory, 1st March, 1519, says the students were not so steady as they had been "in ancient times;" but on the same date Dr. Nicolo Michiel, advocate of the Commune, reports that little of moment has happened, although the students feted the Carnival in their usual manner; but he has opened an inquiry into the death of the Veronese student, lately killed, and eight students of Verona and Vicenza have been arrested.—*Sanuto's Diary*, Vol. XXVII, p. 6.

successors, which grew more and more unworthy as they went 1518 along, towards the pompous enormities of eighteenth century decadence. Gianmaria da Padova (il Mosca) and Paolo Stella, of Milan, were actually at work on the bas-reliefs in St. Anthony's Chapel; and Lullio Lombardo was to do his part during Pole's stay—to them, no doubt, as well as to the men of learning, he exercised the hospitality for which he soon became well known, as beffited the kinsman of the King of England.

The façade of the neighbouring basilica of Santa Giustina was unfinished, as it stands unfinished now; and the great Prato della Valle in front had already been, from time immemorial, the scene of the games and jousts and tournaments in which Padua, both town and gown, delighted.¹

The chronicles of Padua only date from the middle of the sixteenth century; but the accounts which fill their pages of jousts, masquerades, tourneys and dramatic performances, denote an old-established state of things. Padua possessed a very passion for the drama; the Podestà and the Capitan gave comedies and sumptuous masques in the great Sala di Giganti; and the students, the masters themselves, took part in pastoral plays and favourite dramas. In Carnival time the students came out in hundreds, quaintly costumed, with musical instruments in their hands, which they often played to perfection, as they sang the madrigals, than which no sweeter music perhaps ever delighted the ears of men.²

Padua, by far the most important of the daughters of Bologna, partly owed her greatness to the violent quarrels of the city of Bologna and the student Universities in the thirteenth century. The chroniclers go so far as to say that the *Studium* of Bologna was transferred to Padua in the year 1222, and it is possible that the statement is no very gross

¹ Pole was probably present at the great "Triumph" and dinner, *al gran trionfo e pranzo* in the Prato della Valle on the 16th December, 1520—when Andrea di Priuli, a Venetian patrician, celebrated his arrival as a student at Padua—described with much detail by Saludo in his diary, Vol. XXIX, p. 467.

² Prof. Raffaello nob. Nasini: *Annuario della R. Uniuersità di Padova*, 1902-3. Dottor Biagio Brugi: *Gli Scolari dello Studio di Padova, nel 500*. Drucker, Padova, 1905.

1519-20 exaggeration. There may well have been a short period during which Bologna was practically deserted by students ; and though that could not last long, and many of the receders went back, a good many no doubt remained.¹

Under the tutelage of Venice, Padua reached the height of her development, and she has been termed the *quartier Latin* of the former town, as she was in fact, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the University town of the Venetian Republic. Thither flocked students from all parts of Europe, to dip their buckets into the wells of learning, whose waters must have had a wonderful freshness and limpidity, and revivifying quality. At no time, save perhaps three centuries later, in the fields opened by the discoveries of Pasteur, Darwin, and their fellows, was there a more glorious epoch in the pursuit of knowledge, and in no place was it so ardently carried on as at Padua, the Athens of Europe, according to Erasmus.

Learned Greeks, driven from Constantinople by the Turks, had brought the treasures of their ancient science to Italy ; the beautiful form in which the old classics had clothed their thoughts became the pattern which the Humanists set before themselves ; not contenting themselves, in their ardour, with casting Christian thoughts and ideas into classical forms, but tempted to adopt the ideas of the ancient writers as the only correct rule and standard. The art of printing was now making it easier to publish the new discoveries of buried knowledge, and "every voyage among the new-old books was like a venture to one of the newly-opened quarters of the globe." "An emulation," writes Phillips, in his life of Pole, "which surprised even those who were engaged in it, was equally kept up by the professors, and those who crowded to their lessons ;" and he further very truly remarks that conversation in general turned on subjects "in which few modern companies could have any share."²

¹ Hastings Rashdall, M.A.: *The Universities of Europe*, Vol. II, p. 10 *seq.*

² The question of the influence of the revival of classical learning upon the religious thought of the time, and its connection with the various heresies contemporaneous with it, is fully considered in *The Renaissance and the Reformation*, by J. M. Stone. Also in *Katholische Reformation*, Kap. IV, by Mauerbrecher.

They were happy days, happy in the arts which flourished 1519-20 so gloriously, and equally happy in the men who pursued them, who ranked among the choicest minds of the period, and whose friendship was to influence the future life of the young "Nobleman of England," or "the King of England's kinsman," as Pole was called when he appeared among them. Chief in distinction stood Pietro Bembo. Born on the 20th May, 1470, of one of the oldest families of Venice, at the age of twenty-two he went to Messina, to study Greek under Constantine Lascaré. He was the delight of all Italy, writes his biographer Beccatelli, for the beauty of his writings in Latin "and Toscana."

When his father was sent as envoy to Ferrara, young Messer Pietro went with him, and was very well received, for his reputation *delle belle arti* by Duke Alfonso d'Este and Madama Lucrezia Borgia, his wife. There young Bembo met Ercole Strozzi, Antonio Tebaldo, and Giacomo Sodoleto, with whom he made great friends. He next went to Urbino, where learned men "were caressed" by Duke Guidobaldo and Signora Elizabetta, his consort. Pope Leo X took Pietro Bembo and Sodoleto as his secretaries, when Bembo was forty-three years of age, and when he spent his nights in study, and his days in the labours of his office. He remained at Rome until his father's death in 1519, when he returned to Venice and Padua. Leo X's death occurring about this time, Bembo determined to give himself entirely to study, not to return to Rome, and to fly all grandeur and ambition; so he provided himself with a fair house at Padua, and a beautiful garden, convenient for himself and for his friends. He was most assiduous in the study of botany and of simples, which was commented on "with great praise by Varchi in his funeral sermon." He spent the summer at Villa Bozza, near Padua, an ancient family seat, and the winter in Padua.¹ "He knew much about medals and seals and sculpture, painting, ancient and

¹ Santa Maria di Non, or Noniana, Bembo's country house, was situated at Villa Bozza—so called after the family of the valiant soldier Bozza da Nono—lying between the river Brenta and the little stream of the Piovego. His house in Padua was in the San Bartolomeo quarter, near the present piazza Garibaldi.—Gloria: *Territorio Padovana*, I, p. 192.

1519-20 modern, and had a collection second to few in Italy, tapestries worked in silver and Egyptian figures, marvellous to behold." After giving a long account of Bembo's books and his MSS. of Petrarch, his biographer continues : " Provençal books he greatly prized and sought out. So he lived, and cared not to go back to Rome, even when his intimate friend, Cardinal Medici, was made Pope under the title of Clement VII, and he might have hoped for great things from him ; he only went to kiss his feet in the Jubilee year of 1525, when he finished his *Prose della lingua Toscana* and sent it to Pope Clement."¹

Bembo's was the house where Reginald Pole, whose reputation for learning and intelligence had preceded him to Padua, was made most welcome, and where he became a constant guest. As the King of England's cousin, not more noticeable for the rich fur-trimmed habit—the *panni pretiosi et pellurae pretiosae*—of his rank, than for the modest ease and courtesy of his bearing and gentle behaviour, he soon found himself the centre of a group of distinguished young scholars, several of whom, according to the custom of the time, he received into his own household or " familia." Chief among these came his countryman, Thomas Lupset, secretary to Dr. Richard Pace, Dean of Salisbury, at that time English ambassador in Germany, and Christopher Longueil or Longolius, a native of Mechlin, in Flanders ; two extraordinary young men, as remarkable for their moral worth as for their learning.²

¹ *Vita del Cardinale Pietro Bembo*, da Ludovico Beccatelli, Arcivescovo di Ragusa.. On the death of Andrea Navagero, in 1529, who had been commissioned by the Signory to write a history of Venice, they asked Bembo to write it. Although sixty years of age, he began the work in Latin. The twelve volumes he finished, show how well he imitated the manner of Cæsar, whom he had taken for a model. Paul III (Farnese) made him Cardinal in 1539. He died 20th January, 1547.

² Lupset, who died in his thirty-sixth year, besides several works in English, wrote *Pro Erasmo, contra Leium, In Corruptos Saeculi Mores, De Malis Fugiendis, Epistola varia*, etc. According to Vittorio Cian, Longolius was born at Cambray. He quotes a breve of Leo X, dated 12th April, 1519, in which he is termed *Cameracensis*—native of Cambray. A second long breve of the same date, remedies his lack of birth by creating him a Count palatine of the Lateran, and moreover inscribes him in the College of Notaries. Vittorio Cian : *Rassegna Bibliografica, XIX, 1892.*

By the express appointment of the Signory, Reginald's 1519-20 instructor in Philosophy was Nicolo Leonico, the first, as Cardinal Bembo observes, who, in Padua, explained Aristotle in the Greek tongue, and did justice even to the majesty of Plato.¹ Romolo Amasei, afterwards secretary to Pope Julius III, and employed on very important affairs in the Courts of Germany, was professor of the Greek and Latin languages at Padua during Pole's sojourn there; Flaminio, a poet and master of Eloquence and Philosophy, became his great friend, and de Thou, in his history, informs us that Flaminio, "having had a great share in Reginald Pole's friendship, he was the first of the Italians who, at his instance, attempted in Latin metre the divine strength and harmony ^{Thuanus: Hist., Lib.} 8 of the Psalms."

The professors of the University were drawn from all ranks of life; the majority appear to have been men of gentle birth, but none gained for himself a greater reputation than did Lazaro Bonamico, the labourer's son of Bassano, who, with Flaminio and Longolio, became honoured members of Pole's household. When Padua chose Bonamico as professor of Eloquence, he preferred that station to all the emoluments offered him by King Ferdinand of Hungary and Pope Clement VII, to induce him to come to their courts. President de Thou says of him—

"He taught in this celebrated University, with the admiration of all; and was equally honoured by Italians and strangers, for his profound knowledge of antiquity, his erudition and eloquence, and particularly for a clear and ready judgment."

Erasmus, writing to Goes, places Bonamico's merit on a level with that of Bembo and Cochleus.²

With companions and instructors such as these, it is easy

¹ Leonico is celebrated by Erasmus as *Vir optimus, sanctissimus atque doctissimus*.

² *Egregii Litterarum Heroes.* Il Verce denies that Bonamico was the son of a peasant, and gives his genealogy for three generations, adding that his mother was called *Signora*. Pole took Bonamico with him to Rome in 1525.—Guiseppe Marangoni: *Bonamico e lo studio di Padova*, Venice, 1901.

1519-20 to conceive with what ardour young Reginald Pole drank deep delighted draughts from the wells of learning ; and, beyond his natural thirst for knowledge and capacity for acquiring it, he had another powerful incentive to cultivate his mind to the utmost—that of making himself worthy to be a good counsellor and useful servant to his King, to whose generosity he owed it, as he was ever ready to acknowledge, that he could write at all. To be able to lay the talents he had cultivated at the feet of his benefactor, to prove himself of use to his country, were the chief objects of his endeavours during his stay in Italy. We have it in his own words, written many years later to Edward VI, in the figurative language of which he was fond : no maiden had ever more carefully adorned herself, or studied to preserve her virginity for the husband of her father's choice, than he had sought to preserve the beauty and integrity of his mind and soul, to prepare himself to be a worthy and helpful servant to his sovereign—

*Epist. ad
Ed., par.
VI* “ Nothing was too difficult, no labour too great, while I had that hope ; but nothing would have been easy, nothing pleasant, if that hope had been withdrawn.”

In the same letter he declares his deep affection for Henry VIII, and how worthy Henry had once been of all love.

Pole's progress in learning was so marked as to excite widespread admiration. We have an interesting glimpse of him on his arrival in Padua from Pietro Bembo himself in a letter to Cardinal Chigi—

“ A few days ago, being at my Villa, —— [?] came to see me in company with *Monsignor d'Inghilterra*, who, besides the nobility of his blood, being the nearest kinsman to that country's King, is the most virtuous, learned and serious youth, who may perhaps this day be found in all Italy. Monsignor Stampa, who is studying here, a delicate youth much esteemed by the Duke of Milan ; also Messer Leonico, a good old man of seventy years, a most rare philosopher and learned in Greek and Latin letters, came also. . . . They stayed with me all day, to my great satisfaction—such as I had not had for many years. At Padua, he [Reginald Pole] is always with the above, or with Monsignor Prothon de Rossi, a gentle, studious youth of his own age ; or with Count Ludovico in San

Bonifacio and other scholars and very worthy gentlemen of the 1519-20 same kind, who willingly follow and escort him—*lo seguirono e corteggiano volontieri.*"

The abuse of bestowing benefices upon laymen, and the laxity of morals at the Court of Leo X are exemplified in Pietro Bembo. He had become enamoured when in Rome of a very beautiful young gentlewoman of the Morosini family, whom he had established at Venice, when he came back to Padua in 1719. His father's death threw him into money difficulties—with many poor relations dependent upon him—so that he was with difficulty able to save his beloved Villa Noniana. Marriage, though he was only in minor orders, would have involved the renunciation of his benefices, and all further hopes of preferment. *La Morosina*, as she was generally called, inspired no base or vulgar passion, as Bembo's verses to her show, and the terms of delicate respect in which he recommends her to his nephew, Gianmatteo. At her death, which took place in 1535, he was still in minor orders, and he was not ordained priest until he was raised to the Cardinalate in 1539. Yet the scandal has attached ever since to his character as Cardinal, although his later conduct was so exemplary that Pope Julius III could say of him, not only that he did not know a person with a finer mind, but that he knew none more zealous for the universal good than Cardinal Bembo.

Needless to say, his whole correspondence with Reginald Pole was in the highest degree unexceptionable, and the years of their early acquaintance were, according to Cian, the period of Bembo's greatest intellectual activity. One writer goes so far as to say that Pole's unaffected piety, and his candour and simplicity, allied to his great intellectual gifts, were not without their influence in bringing about the change in his friend's later life.¹ Bembo, the prince of Humanists, the great Venetian poet, like the majority of his contemporaries, went through a phase of singular tepidity, of inert apathy, if not of real loss of religious feeling, easily traceable to the sentiment of

¹ Zimmermann: *Kardinal Pole*, p. 21.

1520-21 paganism which accompanied the renaissance of classical learning.¹

One of Reginald Pole's first acts upon his arrival was to write a dutiful letter to Henry VIII. It is written in Latin and bears the date, Padua, April 27th, 1519. He announces his safe arrival, where he has been sent by the King, by whose liberality he is much obliged. He has spent much money on his journey.

Brewer,
Vol. III,
No. 198

The magistrates of Padua, instead of allowing him to live in retirement, have, out of respect to Henry and his intention, treated him with great respect, notwithstanding Pole had assured them he had been sent there merely to study. He will not permit the nobles and bishops who are there, among others a brother of the Duke of Bavaria and the Marquis of Saluzzo, to outdo him in diligence. He ends with the hope that the King will not allow him, for want of money, to abandon Padua for some obscure place in Italy.

Long
Epp.,
213b

The King's answer must have been favourable, for Pole spent nearly eight years—perhaps the happiest of his life—at Padua, with excursions to Venice and other places in the north of Italy, and one visit to Rome. He was in Venice in September, 1520, for his friend and house-mate Longolius writes to him there, the *VIII kal Settembris*. Longolius was already in failing health, and writes that he is oppressed with fever, death is near, and that he bequeaths his library to Pole, while asking for his prayers. It does not appear from the letters whether Longolius recovered sufficiently to go to England after this time, or if he had been there—which is more probable—in the early part of the year. Pole was thus able to send and receive personal news of himself and his relations, and to ensure his friend's good reception by the letters of introduction he gave him. Longolius writes to Thomas Linacre, 7th May, 1521, to thank him for his present, which as a token of friendship, he received this day from Reginald Pole. He

¹ Vittorio Cian: *Un Decenno della Vita di M. Pietro Bembo*. Torino, 1885. In answer to some remonstrance with regard to his connection with la Morosina, Bembo, in a letter quoted by Cian, remarks, "I am not a priest."

refers to Linacre's generosity when Longolius was in England 1520-21 last year.

It is evident that Pole's correspondence with his friends and relatives in England must have been regular and copious. Unfortunately, none of those letters have been preserved, the voluminous correspondence contained in the five volumes of Quirini consisting almost entirely of letters to and from his friends in Italy.¹ In the spring of 1521, he heard the first warning note of alarm to the fortunes of his family in the arrest and execution, or more properly speaking, the judicial murder of his sister Ursula's father-in-law, Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. The event is noteworthy, as being Henry VIII's first direct act of aggression on the life and estates of one of his subjects.

The King was greatly in want of money; the vast treasure left by his father had long been exhausted, and his revenues were unequal to the strain of his boundless extravagance, which had culminated in the fabulous splendours of the Field of the Cloth of Gold the previous year. As his kinsman, Pole, was to remind him, without any circumlocution, fifteen years later—

De
Unitate,
Book II.,
Cap. 3

"During twenty-six years you have wrung more money out of your people and clergy than the kings, your predecessors, during 500 years. I know it. I have seen the records of the accounts. . . . You never had an enemy except those whom you wilfully made your enemies; you have had no wars, which were not brought to an end in a few months' time."

The Duke of Buckingham was not only the wealthiest nobleman in the kingdom, but more powerful than a Tudor monarch cared that a subject should be; he was descended through his father from Edward III's son, Thomas of Woodstock, and his mother was Catherine Woodville, sister of Edward IV's wife, Elizabeth. He was the chief of the great nobles who resented their exclusion from office, and hated Wolsey as a base-born upstart. On one occasion, he was holding a basin of water for the King, when Wolsey ventured

¹ Not letters merely, but presents passed between Pole and England. There is a patent to him in the Venetian Archives, dated May 21st, 1521, authorising him to export plate, clothes, etc.

1521 to put his own hands into it, upon which the Duke promptly poured the water into the Cardinal's shoes. They were antagonists, but Polydore Vergil's story, followed by Holinshed and others, and adopted by Shakespeare, that Buckingham owed his fall to Wolsey's malice, lacks documentary proof.

The matter was carried through with startling celerity ; two false witnesses, discharged members of the Duke's household, Robert Gilbert, his chancellor, and Delacour, who had been his confessor, were found ready to depose against him. He had spent the winter in the country, ignorant of what was plotting against him ; the King summoned him to London on the 8th April, and on his arrival sent him to the Tower. He was tried by seventeen of his peers, presided over by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 13th May, upon charges as trivial as they were probably untrue—of having listened to prophecies of the King's death and of his own succession to the Crown—and he was not allowed to cross-examine the only two witnesses against him, Gilbert and Delacour. He was condemned, and was beheaded on Tower Hill four days later.

It is impossible not to believe that if Buckingham's judges had done their duty, and acquitted a man whose innocence was manifest, they would have given a check to the King, which Henry was too intelligent a man not to have heeded. Unfortunately, they did not venture to dispute his will, and by their weak servility they gave the rein to passions of tyranny and avarice which, in the course of the next twenty years, were to make of their sovereign the monster, of whom Sir Walter Raleigh was to say : “ If all the patterns of a lawless prince had been lost in the world, they might have been found in this King.”¹

Henry Pole, Lord Montague, Reginald's brother, and Lord Abergavenny, who was son-in-law to Buckingham, and father-in-law to Montague, were sent to the Tower with the Duke. They were soon released, “ but if,” as Chapuys wrote
27 Sept., 1533 many years later to the Emperor Charles V, the latter “ left his person in the Tower, Lord Abergavenny left most of his

¹ Tierney's Dodd, Vol. I, p. 321.

feathers," in the shape of the enormous fines he had to pay 1521-22 to the King.¹ Lady Salisbury, Montague's mother, at the same time appears to have been under a momentary cloud, although she was allowed to remain at Court, probably at the Queen's instance, *propter nobilitatem et bonitatem illius.*

As for Reginald, despite his youth, and his remoteness from England, and from any share in public affairs, he did not escape Henry's jealous suspicions. On the 1st May, 1521, the King told the Venetian ambassador that the Signory need not pay his cousin so much honour, or they would make him as insubordinate as his brother. At the same time, the King's vanity was flattered, that so near a kinsman of his own should be held in renown for his learning and intellect—which he himself had always prized—and he continued his benefactions to him.² Pole was deeply interested in the work of his friend, Longolius, whose premature death, on the 3rd September, 1522, in Pole's house at Padua, put an end to the important book he was engaged on—a refutation of Luther's whole system;³ of the five treatises in which the case was to have been stated, he had only had time to finish the first.

¹ Montague also probably paid heavily for his release; we find that his income in 1523 was less than £50 a year, and that he had parted with his paternal estates in Buckingham. As for Lord Stafford, the Duke's son, there is a sad letter of his, addressed to Cromwell some years later, begging for the restitution of some part of his father's estates, as he and his wife [Ursula Pole] were reduced to living on charity in a convent.

² Henry VII had trained his son in the learning of the Schools, the logic of Aristotle, and the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. A ready genius and relish for letters caused him to be the declared protector of all who excelled in them. Erasmus, in a letter to the Elector of Mainz, says: "learning triumphs in England, the King and Queen, the Cardinal, and almost all the bishops exert themselves in encouraging it." And again, from Basle, 1518: "The King, who is the most judicious prince of his age, delights in literature, the Queen is knowing, in a degree very uncommon to her sex; nor less commendable for piety than knowledge: and, in general, prudence and erudition are the surest recommendation to the favour of both the Court abounds with such eminent men, that it is rather a seat of the Muses than a palace, and may vie with any school of philosophy, with Athens itself." —Phillips, Vol. I, p. 36.

³ Luther had been condemned as a heretic, in January, 1521.

*Long
Epp.
L. IV.
Cap. 33* 1522-25 Reginald was at Venice, where he had gone to see Dr. Pace, lately arrived as English ambassador there, when Longolius was seized with his last illness ; the latter dictated a touching letter to him when near his end, testifying to their invariable friendship, which he trusts may reach beyond the grave, and bequeaths to him his library, as the only pledge he can give of his regard.

*Vol. I.
p. 24*

Pole hastened back to Padua, but arrived too late to find his friend alive. He paid a pious tribute to his memory by writing the Life annexed to the published edition of Longolius's works, printed in Florence in 1524. Pole modestly refrained from giving his name to the biography which, in the elegant simplicity of its Latin, is held by some critics to be superior to the more pretentious style of his later writings. "This was the first specimen," says Phillips, "Reginald gave of his masterly command"—he was then twenty-two years old—"of the Latin language, and of a manner of thinking, which always appeared answerable to the energy of that tongue and to every subject he treated in it."

Pope Leo X died December 2nd, 1521 ; his successor, Adrian VI, reigned little more than a year, and Clement VII, another Medici Pope, was elected in November, 1523. Reginald sent his congratulations to the new pontiff, and received a kindly acknowledgment, encouraging him in his studies. If the young "Nobleman of England's" fame was spreading throughout Italy and beyond its borders, he was not forgotten in his own country ; and on the 14th February, 1524, he was nominated fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by Richard Foxe [or Fox], Bishop of Winchester, the founder ; but he never seems to have been admitted.

Through Bembo, whose correspondence with him was continuous, Pole made the acquaintance of a man who was to become his life-long friend, Gian Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, the forerunner of St. Charles Borromeo, and one of the most eminent men of his time in learning and piety.¹ In a letter from Rome, dated December 24th, Bembo writes—

¹ G. von Dittrich : *Kirchenlyr.*

" Since Giberti read your letter, he has asked me many questions 1525 as to your studies, and expressed himself very kindly towards you ; *Poli Epp.*, your letter pleased him greatly, and he is much taken with you. I, p. 385 Yes, you have won the heart of a man whose approbation the mightiest kings are glad to possess.¹ What kings take trouble to obtain, has fallen without any effort into your lap. I rejoice at it not a little, as the influence he has with the present Pope is equal to his blameless character, fine culture, friendliness and worth, and, what will especially please you, his great love of learning and the fine arts, as far as is possible for a very busy man ; and a quite extraordinary readiness to protect the learned, to help and honour them."

Through Bembo again, Pole was brought into contact with Giacomo Sadoleto, whose personal acquaintance he was to make in later years. Sadoleto had seen Reginald's letter to Giberti, and was so delighted with it, that he desired to know him better. Giberti and Sadoleto were not more astonished at the young Englishman's accomplishments than delighted with his simplicity of heart, his deep religious feeling, and his candid openness. To Giberti, who was well acquainted with English affairs, who knew the lukewarmness of Archbishop Warham's fidelity to the Holy See, and the despotism of Wolsey, (whose despatches show us with what a lack of respect he treated Clement VII), it must have appeared of the happiest augury that Reginald Pole, to whom in all human likelihood the highest ecclesiastical dignities in England were destined, should be preparing so worthily to bear them, and to add lustre to them. On the other hand, the possibility that he might some day be called upon to share the English throne will not have been unknown at the court of Rome, although the hand of the Princess Mary, promised in solemn betrothal at the age of four to the Dauphin, had become one of the chief instruments of her father's policy in dealing with the great courts of Europe. These possibilities, his own exalted rank, the King's favour, and his mental gifts, helped to intensify the interest of Bembo and the others* in their young friend and disciple.

¹ Giberti had been employed on important missions to England and France.

1525-6

Giberti and Sadoleto were zealous for the reform of the Church, and the good seed they scattered fell upon fertile ground in Reginald Pole, whose own exalted idea of the spiritual calling was strengthened by the example of their virtues.

Perhaps the most interesting of Pole's correspondents at this time was the "prince of Humanists," Erasmus. They do not appear to have met when Erasmus visited England in 1516, for in a letter dated Basle, 4th October, 1525, the latter writes that Lupset had described Pole in such a manner, that an acquaintance of several months could not have given him a greater insight into his character ; " and I rejoice that these deplorable times have found so able a support of Letters and Piety." He introduces to his notice a young Polish nobleman, John à Lasco, who is going to Padua to study—

" You will love him, because he has all those qualities which make you amiable : noble extraction, high posts of honour, and still greater expectations ; a wonderful genius, uncommon erudition, and all this without any pride. I have hitherto been happy in his company, and now lose it with regret. Amongst other inducements to take this journey with him, which would give me a second youth, the chief is to converse with Pace, my intimate friend ; with Lupset, whom I have always loved as a son, and now consider as a patron ; and with you, my Pole, whom I value above all others ; but the situation of my affairs detains me here."

In another letter, dated Basle, March 8th, 1526, and beginning "*Ornatissime Reginalde*," Erasmus informs him that Luther had taken offence at a work of controversy he had published, though treated with great moderation, and had written a large volume against him, in a style—

" which no one would use against the Turk. I have answered a part of it only, having received the work late : and thus, from a constant promoter of peace and quiet, am forced to become a gladiator ; and, what is worse, to combat with wild beasts. . . . I condole with you on the premature death of Longolius, but I had reason to complain of him."

The cause of complaint was that Longolius, in an ingenious and elegant parallel drawn between Budé and Erasmus, while

saying much in praise of the latter, had, on the whole, given 1525 the preference to Budé.

Early in the year 1525, Lady Salisbury and Pole's kinsmen, the King included, were anxious that he should return to England; but it was the Jubilee year, and he obtained permission to go to Rome. He went in modest fashion, attended by his household; but he could not keep his journey so secret as to avoid the good reception and the presents offered him at Florence, and the other towns through which he passed, where he was much *accarezzato*, as his biographer, Beccatelli, tells us, much to his surprise; until he discovered that he owed the honours thus paid him to his friend by correspondence, whom he had never yet seen, the Bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti.¹

Pole's stay at Rome seems to have been short; and having satisfied his piety in visiting the places of devotion and fulfilling the conditions of the Jubilee, he went back to Padua, without showing himself at the papal court, or paying his respects to Clement VII. Beccatelli simply mentions the omission, and we are left to conjecture the reason of it. Some point of etiquette, the lack of some necessary letter of credence from the English court may account for it, without supposing that Henry VIII had interfered in the matter.

Either before, or after his visit to Rome, Pole wrote to ^{Vesp. F.} Cardinal Wolsey. He makes use of the opportunity of the ^{13, 206b} Venetian ambassador going to England, who has called at his house, to express his obligations to his benefactor. He is sought after more than the other nobles who are drawn to this city by its literary fame—not on his own account, of which they know nothing, but on account of the King who sent him. He requests that either the King or Wolsey will express to the ambassador their satisfaction with the courtesy shown to himself.

¹ Giberti was a man after Reginald Pole's own heart, and one of the most eminent Italians of his time. He had been at the head of the Chancery in Rome under Leo X, and being nominated to the See of Verona, had erected a printing-house in his palace, with a view chiefly to procure for the public correct editions of the Greek Fathers.

1525-27

He hopes he will not be forgotten in his absence, or thought alone ungrateful out of the many who have received Wolsey's favours. The letter is dated Padua, July 31st, and is written in Latin.

Beccatelli places Reginald's return to England immediately after his visit to Rome, but it is evident from Bembo's and Erasmus's letters that he spent the following year in Padua and Venice; and an extract in Sanuto's *Diarium* shows that he was present at a procession in Venice, on the 8th July, 1526, in honour of the French and Italian league.¹ He returned to England early in 1527.

Pole had amply fulfilled his promise to Henry VIII that he would let himself be outdone in diligence by no other student; indeed, few young men can have had less cause for self-reproach in looking back upon their University career, or more reason for satisfaction at its results. Not only had he enriched his mind with useful knowledge, but by the interchange of thought with the statesmen and men of learning it had been his good fortune to frequent, had ripened his opinions upon the relations between Church and State, upon the duties and rights of rulers and their people, and had enlarged and heightened his conception of the true philosophy of life. According to the custom of the time only to begin the study of theology at a riper age, Pole had occupied himself chiefly with logic and philosophy, solidly grounding himself in every branch of the "humanities" before entering upon his theological studies.

Besides his Life of Longolius, he had collected during his stay at Padua the various readings and emendations of Cicero's works, to which he added his own remarks, with an intent to publish a complete edition of them. "But the exigencies his country fell into soon after, and the occasion she had for more substantial service than classic learning could yield," caused the papers to be laid aside, then neglected, and finally lost.²

¹ Brown: *Venetian State Papers*, Vol. III, No. 1343; IV, 79. There is repeated mention of Pole in the Venetian papers, and he is invariably styled "Nephew" or "Cousin" of the King of England.

² Phillips, Vol. I, p. 24.

CHAPTER III

LADY SALISBURY was in London to receive her son on his return ; she had attended the Princess Mary from Ludlow in February, that she might be seen by the French ambassadors, who were expected for the marriage negotiations, both Henry and Francis being apparently intent upon an alliance between the little girl of eleven and the middle-aged widower of France, Mary's marriage with the Dauphin having been abandoned.¹

The King and Queen received Pole with great affection, while the whole court rejoiced at his return, looking upon him as destined to the highest employments in the State. His fame as a scholar, young as he was, had become European ; and the stripling of eight years ago had come back to his country a man, than whom there were few whose names were more respected for their attainments. But the fame of his learning was soon to be as a net spread for his feet ; and the virtues, the strength of soul and integrity of mind he had trained and cultivated to so high a degree, were to be put to the proof.

In order to understand Pole's future conduct, and to appreciate the characters of the chief persons with whom he was to come into contact, it is necessary briefly to recall the principal events, at home and abroad, which had occurred during his absence—familiar though they may be to our readers.

The state of England had changed for the worse ; the people groaned under the burden of taxation, their discontent, in Shakespeare's words—

" such which breaks
The sides of loyalty, and almost appears
In loud rebellion.
. . . The subjects' grief
Comes through Commissions, which compel from each
The sixth part of his substance. . . .

¹ *Ven. Cal. iv. Marc Antonio Venier to the Doge.* Feb., April, May, 1527.

1520-22

" This makes bold mouths :

Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze
 Allegiance in them ; their curses now
 Live where their prayers did ; and it's come to pass
 That tractable obedience is a slave
 To each incensed will."¹

Wolsey, all powerful, was held responsible for these exactions, and bitterly reproached for them ; but the war with France was costly, while Henry's demands were as imperative as they were insatiable, and Wolsey well knew that his own favour depended upon their exact fulfilment.

Charles V had made two journeys to England, in 1520 and 1522, to concert measures against the growing power of France and her young monarch, Francis I, as restless and ambitious as himself. " He perceived the ascendant Cardinal Wolsey had in all British counsels, and let himself down to every condescension which could propitiate him and flatter his vanity. Amongst other things, he made him an offer of his interest at the next Conclave ; and, in his letters, treated him with the highest regard, subscribing himself *his son.*"²

' Shortly before Leo X's death, Henry VIII had sent him, by a solemn embassy, a copy of his work against Luther, in defence of the Sacrament. Dr. Clerk, Dean of Windsor, presented it to the Pope in full consistory, and was received with the distinction which so unusual a present from a crowned head could justly claim. The Pope rose from his throne, kissed the ambassador's cheek, and assured him he would do as much for the approbation of the work, as had been done for St. Augustine's and St. Jerome's in their times ; and, by a very honourable decree, conferred on Henry, and all succeeding Kings of England, the title of Defender of the Faith.

On the death of the Emperor Maximilian, 12th January, 1519, Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V, then King of Castille, were all three considered competitors for the imperial crown ; and Henry had sent Pace to Germany to sound the

¹ *Henry VIII*, Act II, Scene 2.—*Hall's Chronicle*.

² Phillips, Vol. I, p. 27.

Electors as to his prospects. On the death of Leo X, Wolsey 1522-23 aimed at the papal throne, and Pace was despatched to Rome and Venice to further his interests ; Henry VIII was equally anxious for Wolsey's success, and in sending Pace to Venice, said he was sending "his very heart." But Pace was as unsuccessful in the one mission as in the other ; Charles was elected Emperor, and Cardinal Tortosa, who had been Charles's tutor, became Pope with the title of Adrian VI¹—to be succeeded in little more than a year by Julius de Medici as Clement VII—the Emperor, at both these elections apparently thinking of nothing less than his promises to Wolsey, an omission which added a note of personal resentment to the political antagonism between Charles V and the great Cardinal. Not that Wolsey's chances of election had ever been serious ; the three English envoys, Clerk, Pace and Hannibal, writing ^{Vit. B.} from Rome, 2nd December, 1523, to tell him of the election of ^{v. 229.} ^{B.M.} Clement VII, say that attempts had been made by Wolsey's friends for his election *sed parum feliciter* ; "they would not hear of it, and even abused those who said anything about it." In answer to Henry VIII's letters urging him to get Wolsey elected, Charles V politely wrote that he had sent instructions to his ambassador at Rome to that effect.

The chief incident in Adrian VI's short reign was the taking of the Island of Rhodes, and of Belgrade, the key of Hungary, by the Turks ; and the Pope's earnest endeavours to persuade the three bellicose young monarchs, Charles, Francis, and Henry, to stop fighting among themselves, and to unite against the common enemy of Christendom. The College of Cardinals wrote to Henry VIII exhorting him to show the same zeal against the Turks as against Luther ; they entreated him to withdraw his troops from France, to make a peace, or at least a truce for three or four years, and to send forces to their assistance. The Pope wrote to Henry, to the Queen, and to Wolsey ; and there is a draft in the Record Office of the articles for a truce between the three monarchs with a view to a crusade against the Turks. By the 9th article, in order to find supplies

¹ Adrian VI died 14th September, 1523.

1523

for the war, the Pope is to open the treasures of the Church, and allow all Christian Princes a general Crusade, with ample indulgences, and at the same time to grant a fourth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Church, under a bull, for this expedition. The draft is dated Valladolid, 12th April, 1523. The bull was granted, and the fact that the draft is dated Valladolid shows that the Emperor was inclined to accept the Pope's proposals, which would have brought peace to Christendom, and delivered a great part of Europe from the yoke of the infidel. But the voice of self-interest drowned that of their chief pastor, and the three kings were each too intent upon his own personal aspirations, too short-sighted as to the future, to condescend to abate or change his designs, and exchange rivalry and contention for peace and united action against the common enemy. The Turks were allowed to continue their advance almost unchecked, except by the sole forces of the states of the Church ; and the warning of Adrian VI that Rome itself was threatened, was to be fulfilled within the next three years by two separate and disastrous attacks upon that city, committed—not by the infidel—but by Spaniards, Germans and Austrians combined ; with a degree of wanton destruction and sacrilege, which compare most unfavourably with the conduct of the Turks at the taking of Rhodes, who respected priest and sanctuary, while the Christian devastators of the holy city spared neither.

✓ The object of Henry VIII, in the war with France in 1523, was to be crowned in Paris ; and his two allies, the Emperor and Charles, Constable of Bourbon, were to make separate attacks upon Francis I, converging upon Paris, for the establishment of the King of England upon the throne once occupied by Henry VI. But it was hardly to be expected that either Charles V or Bourbon would co-operate very heartily in an attempt to unite France and England under Henry VIII ; and once the Emperor had recovered Fontarabia, he conspicuously failed in fulfilling his engagements for supporting the Duke of Suffolk, the English commander. Wolsey was at no pains to conceal his indignation at Charles's promotion of his own interest at the expense of England ; he saw the impolicy of the

war, of which all parties were equally tired, and equally anxious for peace, though no one would be the first to confess it.¹

By using Clement VII as a mediator, the war—the last under Wolsey's administration—was brought to an end in January, 1524; and the great Cardinal was free to commence, through his own consummate statesmanship, dexterity and secrecy, his great object of so balancing the antagonism between Charles and Francis, so carefully and exactly adjusting his assistance to them, that whilst neither should obtain the preponderance, both should feel themselves obliged to the friendship of his master, and be willing to reimburse his expenses.²

The battle of Pavia and the capture of Francis I in February, 1525, overthrew the political schemes of Wolsey like a house of cards. He was evidently no more prepared than the rest of the world for so terrible a blow, which seemed for a time to have blotted out France from the map of Europe, and transferred the monarchy, not only of Italy, but of the West, at a stroke to the hands of the Emperor.

A trial of skill now began between Charles V and Wolsey, two men of equal subtlety and cleverness, who made move against move with equal coolness and courage. When Wolsey, under a flimsy pretext, seized the letters of De Praet, the Imperial ambassador, Charles swallowed the insult, because it was to his interest to keep peace with England. That they cordially detested each other was natural, but the popular belief that the Emperor from this time withheld in his letters to Wolsey those phrases of official deference and respect he had been wont to use, is founded on a mistake.³ It rests upon no better ground than the supposition that Wolsey revenged himself upon the Emperor for neglecting to assist him to secure the Papacy; both were too skilful—both too much interested in the result—to misapply their energies like

¹ Brewer: Introduction to Vol. IV, p. xii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

³ A letter of this period from Charles to Wolsey ends "your good friend."

1525

meaner men, or expose themselves to disadvantage by any useless gratification of ill temper.¹

Charles was heavily in England's debt, and had no money, so he proposed to Henry a renewal of hostilities. Wolsey took him at his word, suggesting the total exclusion of Francis I and his children from the throne of France, the crowning of Henry VIII at Paris, after which he would accompany Charles to Rome, by which means "and the possibility of Charles's marriage with the Princess Mary"—at that time nine years old—he would eventually become lord and owner of Christendom.

It is not to be imagined that Wolsey believed the Emperor would accept so extravagant a proposal, and help to enthrone a far more formidable monarch in Paris than Francis I, his prisoner at Pizzighettone. Charles appeared to acquiesce, so far as to request that the Princess should be sent to Spain, with a dowry of 400,000 ducats, and 200,000 more for the expenses of the war; and when the English ambassadors, aghast at a proposal which would have placed the little princess as a hostage in his hands, not for the repayment of more than half a million of ducats, but for their repudiation, declared to the Spanish ministers they could not believe that such a proposal had emanated from the Emperor, Charles—who had accepted the emerald ring they had brought as a love-token from the Princess, and had put it on his little finger—suggested that he had better take another wife, but not a French woman, as had been urged upon him. This was his mode of announcing his determination to marry Isabella of Portugal.²

Wolsey, meanwhile, was secretly negotiating with France, chiefly through the Queen-mother, Louisa of Savoy; but with all his efforts he could not prevent the acceptance by Francis I

¹ Brewer: *Introduction to Vol. IV*, p. liv.

² The Princess proposed by France was the King's sister, the Duchesse d'Angouleme, whose husband had lately died. The rumours, adopted by one or two historians, that Charles V had raised a doubt as to Mary's legitimacy, have no other foundation than the desire to make out a case for Henry VIII, with regard to his divorce.

of the heavy and onerous terms of the treaty of Madrid, which 1526 he signed in January, 1526.

In the midst of these diplomatic negotiations, a thrill of horror went through Europe at the news of the utter defeat of the Hungarians by the Turks, and the death of King Lewis at Mohatz on the 24th August, 1526, a startling confirmation of the late Pope's warnings and exhortations. And although it was not to succeed in converting the three kings to Adrian VI's views—which the events of the past three years had indeed rendered more difficult of execution—it moved them deeply, Henry VIII writing to Pope Clement VII that he had not been able to restrain his tears when he heard of the fate of Hungary.

“ The Moors had risen in Spain ; the Germans and the Spaniards were plundering the patrimony of St. Peter ; the followers of Luther were carrying fire and devastation throughout Germany, destroying images, burning churches, putting bishops and nobles to the sword. Princes, engrossed with their own selfish interests and plans of aggrandizement, were no longer concerned in maintaining the Faith. Everywhere the horizon was clouded ; the old world was setting in blood, the new world was rising in disorder.”¹

After the battle of Pavia, the Pope and the other princes of Italy formed an alliance—the Holy League—to withstand the encroachments of Charles V in that country. Their leader was the weak and indolent Duke of Urbino, whereas the Imperial troops were under the command of Hugo de Moncada, a commander as energetic as he appears to have been unscrupulous. He explains an act of great treachery towards the Pope in the following letter to Alonzo Sanches, Imperial ambassador at Venice—

“ Seeing the condition of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, the difficulty of procuring money and the fear that when reinforcements came it would be too late, especially if the French descend upon Italy, I have come to a resolution with Cardinal Pompeo Colonna and the rest of the Colonnese to help the Imperial cause on our own responsibility. . . . For this purpose, a truce has been concluded between the Pope and the Colonnese, *that the Pope having laid down his arms, may be thereby taken unawares.* For his Holiness,

¹ Brewer : Introduction to Vol. IV, p. cxxviii-ix.

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considering himself safe from that quarter [the Colonnese], and knowing that the Governors of Naples have no wish to make war on him. . . . considers himself so secure that he has kept only 200 foot and 100 horse in Rome. . . . Although the Councillors of Naples believe, and we have told them so, that these forces are destined for Siena . . . our intention is to attack Rome; we have accordingly 800 horse and 2,000 foot, paid by Naples, 2,000 lately levied in the Abruzzi, and 1,000 under Cardinal Colonna.”¹

The plot thus unblushingly set forth was carried out with eminent success. On the night of the 19th September, Moncada arrived before the walls of Rome, and seizing three of the gates, entered at daybreak by St. John Lateran and marched unopposed to the Janiculum, the citizens being hardly awake. Here Pompeo Colonna sent a trumpeter into different parts of the city, to proclaim that no person need be alarmed, the motive of invasion being to save them from the tyranny of the Pope! Clement VII had fled to the Castel St. Angelo; Don Hugo and his soldiers, with the aid of the rabble, rifled the Church of St. Peter of its ornaments, sacked the Pope's palace and the neighbouring houses of cardinals, ambassadors, and nobility without distinction.

As Castel St. Angelo was unprovided for a siege, the Pope was obliged to make terms with his conqueror. This was not difficult, for Moncada had secured his object. He was well aware that the Emperor had no desire to reduce the Pope to extremities. His object was sufficiently gained if Clement VII, who was of a timid nature, feared, but did not feel the force of Charles's resentment. He therefore entered the castle with a modest suite, made the profoundest obeisance to the Pope, apologised for the rudeness and licence of his soldiers, returned a silver cross and the papal tiara taken from St. Peter's, and with suave dignity besought his Holiness to renounce his opposition to the Emperor, from whose piety, justice, and moderation, nothing else was to be expected than the peace of Christendom, and the security of the Holy See. A sort of treaty was arranged on the 21st, suspending hostilities for four months—the Pope's forces to retire beyond the Po, the

¹ Gayangos: *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. III, p. 898.

Colonnese to be pardoned, and Moncada's forces to retire to Naples.

What share the Emperor had in this affair may perhaps never be known. The share he was to pretend to have is clear from a letter of his secretary, Perez, then at Rome, who tells him that but for Don Hugo's successful enterprise, the Pope would not have come to terms for a thousand years. Now, it is to be hoped that a good peace will ensue, the damage done may be repaired, and things will resume their former course, "*for certainly your majesty had no hand in it.*"¹

Unfortunately, Perez says in a subsequent letter that the Pope has somehow got hold of a letter which Don Hugo is said to have written to Vespasian Colonna, requesting him to attack Rome by force, *as such was the Emperor's pleasure.* "The Pope carries the letter about in his pocket, shows it frequently, and says he intends to make it the principal ground of attack, when next he sees the Emperor."²

Great was the indignation when the news spread abroad : Francis I expressed his displeasure at this "cruel and ungodly demeanor," offering to hazard his person in defence of the Pope—brave words which he, a lately liberated prisoner, was hardly in a condition to make good. Henry VIII instructed his ambassador with the Emperor to intimate his astonishment at an act, than which "if reports were true, nothing more detestable was ever done by the Vandals, Goths, or other barbarians."

Charles V joined in the chorus of indignation ; he wrote to the College of Cardinals in the strongest terms, of his regret and sorrow at what had occurred ; he instructed Perez to say how great was his displeasure, on hearing of the attempt made by the undisciplined bands under Don Hugo ; for although it was quite evident *that the disastrous doings in Rome were unpremeditated, and against the will of Don Hugo and the Colonnese*, yet he would have given anything that so flagrant an outrage had not been perpetrated by troops under the command of one of his own captains.

¹ Gayangos : *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. III, p. 886.

² *Ibid.*, p. 974.

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Such were the Emperor's words, which his acts strangely belied. He hastened to make the best of his opportunity, to crush the League, humble the power of the Pope, and seize the monarchy of Italy. Francis I, deluded by the hope of recovering his children—hostages in Charles's hands—on easy terms, abandoned the League to its fate; as did also Henry, for some unaccountable reason, perhaps to be found in Wolsey's determination to avoid a war. The King sent a present of 25,000 ducats to Clement VII by Russell, who was charged by Wolsey to hold out no hope to his Holiness of further assistance. The Pope and the Venetians, now greatly weakened, were thus left to continue the war unassisted.

The Emperor levied a force of 6,000 Spaniards and equipped a fleet of thirty sail, while he wrote to his brother Ferdinand to send into Italy 8,000 Germans, under the command of George Freundsberg, notorious for his cruelty, and hatred of the Church.¹ Thus was the successor of Constantine, who, of all men, was most bounden to protect and defend the successor of Peter and his patrimony, preparing to attack him.² The Pope, as a temporal prince, had taken up arms for the protection of Italy, and the Emperor let no feeling of spiritual obedience and subservience—no respect for the holy city it was his duty to defend—interfere to prevent his punishment. Charles V crossed the Po on the 27th of November.

Cardinal Wolsey had managed to keep England free from ~~all~~ embroilment in continental politics; and though carefully abstaining from joining the League, he kept up an intimate correspondence with the Pope and the Italian States. Henry VIII was beginning to take less interest in politics and spent the whole summer in hunting. "Everything is left," says the Venetian ambassador, "to Cardinal Wolsey, who keeps a great court, and has comedies and plays performed." The King continued to treat Queen Katherine with the same respect

¹ Gayangos: *Spanish Cal.*, Vol. III, pp. 952, 967, 1026.

² In the morning Office of Good Friday, in the states of the Church, the Emperor was formerly prayed for:—"pro Christianissimo Imperatore nostro N. ut Deus et Dominus noster subditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes, ad nostram perpetuam pacem."

as ever, although he had abandoned all hopes of children by 1525-27 her. This impression was generally and publicly confirmed by the creation of his natural son by Elizabeth Blount—daughter of Sir John Blount, and one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting—or, as Wolsey calls him, the King's “entirely beloved son, the Lord Henry Fitzroy,” then a child of six years old, as Duke of Richmond, on the 16th June, 1525.

The public ceremony was carried out with the greatest pomp and splendour, in the presence of the Cardinal, the Chancellor, and the whole court. The little boy was further created Lord High Admiral of England, his revenues were more than £3,500 a year, equal in modern computation to £40,000 or £50,000, and it was a significant fact that the title of Duke of Richmond, chosen by the King for his son, had been that of his own father before he ascended the throne as Henry VII. The rank of Lord High Admiral gave the child precedence of all the nobility, including Princess Mary herself, and his court and revenues were far larger and more imposing than hers. The Queen, as was natural, was perturbed and indignant—“at the instigation, it is said, of some of her Spanish ladies,” writes the Venetian ambassador, 29th June, “so the King has dismissed them from the Court—a strong measure—but the Queen was obliged to submit and have patience.”¹ Katherine clung with passionate affection to her daughter, but now they were to be separated; according to the custom of the time, Mary, as Princess of Wales, was sent, under the care of her governess, Lady Salisbury, to hold her little court at Ludlow Castle, as the little Duke of Richmond was sent, with far greater splendour, to represent vice-royalty in the North.

The luxury of the court seems to have reached its uttermost expression in the entertainment given to the King by the Cardinal, in honour of the new year of 1527, at York House.² The description by the Venetian ambassador of its varied and almost interminable splendours fills pages in folio, and is corroborated by the English chronicle; hour after hour

¹ *Venetian Calendar*, Vol. III, p. 455.

² York House afterwards became Whitehall.

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brought fresh masque, or ball, or banquet, as the gorgeous pageant held its way for the unwearied guests. It is one of the famous feasts of history.

Such, briefly stated, were the chief events at home and abroad, in which England was concerned, which had happened during the eight years of Reginald Pole's absence. One we have not mentioned—the most portentous of all to Pole and to his country—the unobserved, almost accidental return to her native shores of a young Englishwoman, one of the women of Queen Claude of France, recalled from her service in 1522, probably because of the hostile intentions of England against France.¹

Although, not long after his return to England, Reginald retired to Sheen to study theology, setting up his abode in the house built for himself by the learned Colet, Dean of St. Paul's,² under the shadow of the Carthusian monastery—which had been Pole's own first school as a little boy—he found time during the next two years to make himself thorough master of the affairs of his country, to the extent of being able to assure the King, as we have seen, how closely he had studied the financial history of England. As an example of the thoroughness of his investigations in the subjects which he thought it his duty to know, the fact is remarkable and deserving of remembrance, in considering his future life and undertakings. Although still a layman, he was elected Dean of Exeter on the 12th August, 1527.

While Pole was quietly pursuing his studies at Sheen, a fresh invasion of Rome, beside which that of Moncada was but the painted image, began on the 6th May, 1527, and lasted twelve days with inconceivable barbarity. Clement VII, though personally a brave man—it was with difficulty that he had been persuaded to retire to the Castel St. Angelo, desiring to await the invaders seated on the pontifical throne—was timid and vacillating in council. He had written a bitter letter

¹ There is reason to believe that Anne Boleyn returned to France and remained there until the death of Queen Claude in September, 1526.

² John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, [1467 ? 1519.]

to Charles V, attributing the hostilities to the Emperor's ¹⁵²⁷ determination to ruin Italy and devastate the patrimony of the Church ; and then, frightened at his own temerity, had attempted, too late, to recall the letter and substitute a milder one.

Henry VIII again sent money and condolences, and the Pope had used the good offices of Sir John Russell to obtain an accommodation with the Emperor, a truce having actually been signed in the month of February. This did not prevent Bourbon, commanding the imperialist troops, from advancing upon Rome, when he found that Florence was prepared for a determined resistance. He was killed at the Thurion gate, being almost the first man to fall ; and his place as commander was taken by the Prince of Orange, who vainly issued a proclamation against plundering. The Lutherans under Freundsberg, who had left their country shoeless and penniless, were no more reckless and brutal in their iconoclastic fury and desire to fill their pockets than were the renegade Italians who had swelled the ranks of the army, and the Spanish soldiery, who had been induced to leave their quarters in Milan in the hope of finding Rome a richer and more luxurious capital than the one they had left. The scenes of furious licence and drunken orgy which filled those twelve days make sickening reading in the despatches of Casale,¹ the English ambassador, and the other accounts of that sacking and plundering of Rome.

True to his principle of keeping England out of a continental war, Wolsey again set himself the difficult task of balancing the great powers of Europe, in the new aspect of affairs, by his own expert statesmanship. His letters are models which might serve for the Ministers of a great government at any period of the world's history, the present included. While Charles V swore that he would never release his hostages, the children of Francis I, until the consummation of that monarch's marriage with the Emperor's sister Eleanora, and the surrender

¹ Sir Gregory Casale, a native of Bologna, was much employed by Henry VIII as ambassador in Italy.

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of Burgundy, Wolsey was negotiating with Francis for the supply of the money for the children's ransom, and the marriage of the French king with the Princess Mary, who in her babyhood had been betrothed to his son.

To the Pope English gold and English condolences were again despatched, while the Emperor was kept in check by Henry VIII's assurances to Clement VII that he was ready to join the King of France in any measures to avenge the injury done to God and the Church, in the person of its chief pastor, and to prevent the evils threatening the common cause¹—

“ Unaided by fleets or armies, ill-supported by his master, and by colleagues of very moderate abilities, he [Wolsey] contrived by his individual energy to raise his country from a third-rate state into the highest circle of European politics. Englishmen have so long been accustomed to this supremacy . . . that they cannot recognise the difficulty of Wolsey's task, or the merits of the man who first conceived and realised this conception of his country's greatness. Gasping and enfeebled from the wounds of civil wars . . . menaced by Scotland on one side, and Ireland on the other—without fleets or armies, or a foot of colonial ground, it required all the proud originality of genius to overrule the material disproportion of England, and contend for the palm with the greatest and most ancient kingdoms of the world.”²

Well would it have been for Wolsey's fame and for the welfare of his country if he had confined his aspirations to these efforts for her good and her aggrandizement. Looking with patriotic insight into the future condition of England, warned by Henry VIII's recognition of his natural son and the child's creation as Duke of Richmond that the King might be tempted to contemplate leaving him the crown in default of the Princess Mary, and certain that such an event would replunge the country into civil war : looking around the throne and recognising that the next heir after Mary—whose delicacy

¹ Charles V wept upon hearing of the sack of Rome, and declared that Bourbon had not led the troops but had been led by them : protestations which appear to have deceived nobody.

² Brewer : Introduction to Vol. IX, pp. clxxxvi-vii.

of constitution caused her life not to be reckoned as a good 1527 one—was the King of Scots, Henry's nephew : Wolsey knew full well that the English would not accept a King from Scotland without a struggle, and that the field would be open to the competitors in England, of whom the Poles were by many believed to stand before the Tudors in direct descent from Edward III ; while Henry Courtenay, the young Marquis of Exeter, son of Catherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV, and first cousin to the King, would hold his claim to be as good as had been that of Henry VIII.

Warned by all these threatening stratagems and broils, the bold genius of Wolsey, accustomed to prevail, hesitated not before the attempt to avert them ; and in order to "do a great right" to "do a little wrong," even if he acknowledged to himself that there was any wrong at all ; or that he was influenced in any degree by his personal enmity for the Emperor, and disaffection for Katherine of Arragon, the ascetic saint who did not sufficiently disguise her disapprobation of the Cardinal's mode of life.

There appears to be little doubt that the first open suggestion to Henry VIII that he might obtain a dissolution of his marriage, came from Wolsey. The King was in his thirty-sixth year, the Queen was six years his senior, and besides the other reasons for setting him free, if possible, to marry again with the hope of having a son, was the doubt whether the nobles of England would, for the first time in the history of their country, accept a female sovereign.

When Wolsey spoke to Henry about a divorce, the King, in whom respect for Katherine was a feeling so engrained that to the last he could never quite rid himself of it, and conscious of the gravity of the proposal, is said to have replied :— " Beware of disturbing settled questions." Three days later Wolsey came again, bringing with him Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the King's confessor. He had induced Longland to help him in the matter, which the bishop in later years, as we know from a letter of Chapuys to the Emperor, bitterly repented ever having meddled with. Longland merely asked the King to let the matter be examined, when Wolsey broke

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in and said that there was a woman of great beauty, and nobleness in France, Margaret, sister of the most Christian King, widow of the Duke of Alençon, and a fitting bride for the King.¹

Thus was started the great question of the divorce, which for more than six years was to keep Europe attentive : the great struggle between Henry VIII, Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn, with the help of France on the one side, and Katherine of Arragon, the Pope and the Emperor on the other ; a cause which, apparently so simple in its inception, was to have effects so widespread and remote. The history of the divorce has been written in three languages, and from every point of view, and it is only necessary for us to recall its chief features with regard to Reginald Pole's share in them.

What to Wolsey was a question of policy and expediency, which might be laid aside in case of difficulty or inconvenience, was soon to become a question of life and death, in which his own ruin was involved. If he thought of Anne Boleyn at all in those early days, he regarded her as sure to rank, sooner or later, among the Elizabeth Blounts and other ladies who succeeded each other in the facile affections of the King, and exercised the "great patience" of the Queen. And we can hardly wonder less at the cleverness with which Anne deceived Wolsey, than at the incomparable audacity and skill with which she secured her hold upon the fascinated King, and made marriage the condition of yielding to his suit. Henry VIII was unaccustomed to resistance ; and Anne, even if we reject many of the stories of her adventures at the court of France, had brought no virtuous reputation back to England. Refusing

¹ Nicholas Sanders, D.D. (born 1527, died 1583) : *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, p. 16. Mr. Brewer, in the introduction to his 4th Volume, discredits the account, and Longland's share in it ; but he died before reaching the papers of 1534, with Chapuys' letter of 3rd January :—" The Bishop of Lincoln, who was at the beginning one of the promoters of the divorce, has said several times . . . that he would rather be the poorest man in the world than ever have been the King's counsellor and confessor."

to see the King except in the presence of a third person, she 1527 fanned the flame her beauty had enkindled, fortified his determination to set himself free at any cost, and brought the crown of England within her own grasp. Reginald Pole, whose knowledge of all the circumstances was second to none, in after years designated her as *quae totius mali causa* Ep. ad. Ed. XLIII. *fuisset.*

Anne was then twenty years of age; a lively sparkling brunette with fascinating eyes and long black hair which, contrary to the sober fashion of those days, she wore coquettishly flowing loosely, interlaced with jewels. The beauty of her eyes and hair struck all beholders alike—grave ecclesiastics and spruce young sprigs of nobility. The blood of the Ormonds ran in her veins, and from her Irish descent she inherited—

“The blue-black Irish hair and Irish eyes.”

Her features do not appear to have been regular, her complexion was dark, and she had six fingers on one hand. In the hottest fit of the King’s expectation, Anne would suddenly withdraw from court, and leave him to mourn her absence. “I have been in great agony about the contents of your letters,” wrote Henry on one of these occasions, “having been more than a year wounded by the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your affection.” He then goes on to promise that he will make her “*my sole mistress*,” and will “*remove all others from my affection, and serve you only*.” This letter appears to have been written in May, 1527, after the collusive suit—instituted with great secrecy—in which the King was summoned to appear before Wolsey and Archbishop Warham at Westminster, to answer to the objection alleged against him: for co-habiting with his brother’s wife for eighteen years.¹ And if we remember that the word “mistress” had a different signification—which still lives among the poets—in those days to that which it now

¹ The court was prorogued, and the proceedings were not resumed, perhaps from their manifest absurdity.

1527 has, Henry VIII's letter contained a distinct promise of marriage.¹

Few men can ever have been more dismayed than was Wolsey, on discovering that he had laboured to dislodge the daughter of Isabella the Catholic, not in favour of a daughter of France, but of Lady Boleyn, one of the most ill-reputed women of the English court. Cavendish reports, and probably with truth, that when the King first disclosed his intention to Wolsey, the latter fell on his knees, and endeavoured, without effect, to dissuade him.

More than once, as time went on, finding into what a labyrinth of trouble the question of divorce had led him, Henry himself inclined to give it up; but Anne's power was too great, he could not break the chain that bound him to her will, even after her early resistance had ceased and she was openly his mistress, and more than ever determined to become his wife.

The question was, to obtain an annulment of Pope Julius II's dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII with his brother's widow, on the plea that the papal dispensing power could not affect the prohibition recorded in Leviticus, by which the Jews were forbidden to marry the widow of a deceased brother; and it was urged that this law was equally binding upon Christians, being founded on the nature of things and incapable of being dispensed with. As a passage in Deuteronomy, commanding the brother of a man who had died without issue to marry the widow on pain of being declared infamous, appeared to be in direct contradiction to the above law, while admitting of the simple explanation justifying Julius II's action, that even at the time it was made it admitted of exceptions, which were not only authorised but even prescribed—"the abettors of a powerful king's passion so perplexed it, that the heads of men grew giddy in endeavouring to find any meaning of the law, but the true; and more efforts were made to invalidate one lawful marriage, than had been

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¹ This letter, and sixteen others from Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn, are in the Vatican Library. They are generally signed Henricus, and most of them are written in French.

taken to ratify all the contracts of matrimony since its first ¹⁵²⁷⁻²⁹ institution."¹

The adhesion of France, in its then deplorable circumstances—Francis I was released from captivity in March, 1526—was not difficult to obtain for any scheme of Wolsey's; and Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, was persuaded by him to represent to Henry VIII, during a ball at Hampton Court, that his marriage had given great offence in France, and that his conscience was interested in having the lawfulness of it elucidated. When Jean de Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, succeeded Grammont in October, 1527, he was good enough to furnish the first *Memoir* to prove that the passage in Leviticus was of Divine right, and that the Pope could not dispense from it.²

On the 22nd June, 1527, Henry VIII virtually separated from the Queen, telling her that they had been living in mortal sin all the years they had spent together. Inigo de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, writes to Charles V—

" . . . He said he had come to the resolution, as he was much troubled in his conscience, to separate himself from her *a mensa et thoro*. The Queen bursting into tears, and being too much agitated to reply, the King said, by way of consolation, that all should be done for the best, and begged her not to divulge what he had told her . . . so great is the affection of the people for her that some demonstration would probably take place. Not that the people of England are ignorant of the King's intentions, for the affair is as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the town crier; but they cannot believe that he will ever carry so wicked a project into effect . . . but they will probably content themselves only with grumbling . . . "³

And now Wolsey, "preferring his life to his honour"—as the Jacobites of a later day used to say of a man who had turned traitor—forgetting the duty of his sacred calling, and the true service of his sovereign, became the instrument of

¹ Phillips: *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I, p. 41.

² Le Grand: *Histoire du Divorce*. Pub. 1688. Brewer believes the speech of the Bishop of Tarbes to have been a political figment arranged between the King and Wolsey. *Letter of Wolsey*, July 5th, 1527.

³ Gayangos: *Cal. Spanish Papers*, Vol. III, p. 276.

1527-29 designs as flagrant and cruel as they were unjust. Nothing could be more revolting than the hypocrisy of pretending a strict regard for the forms of justice, and the secret efforts of Henry and his minister to defeat justice—to pretend to the Queen conscientious scruples as to the legality of her marriage, and yet take such measures against her as should prevent these scruples from being judicially tested. Wolsey suggested to the King the argument of hair-splitting casuistry, that because there was no *explicit* mention in Julius II's dispensation of the *impedimentum publica honestatis*, even if there had been no "affinity" contracted, the dispensation was invalid. He made an attempt to induce Pope Clement to send him a commission to execute plenary jurisdiction in the King's suit, with a clause to be inserted, by virtue of which the Pope would ratify any sentence pronounced by Wolsey. He went in solemn embassy to Paris to gain Francis I's co-operation, and wrote from thence to Henry VIII suggesting the calling of a congress of Cardinals at Avignon to settle the divorce, or to obtain the Pope's freedom from the Emperor.

That the Pope, set free by the condescension of the Emperor, should out of gratitude to the King consent to the divorce of the Emperor's aunt, was as probable as that the French Cardinals would assemble at Avignon, under the quasi-papacy of Wolsey himself. But the latter had committed himself to a course from which there was no retreat, and he snatched at any delusive hope with the energy of despair.¹

Meanwhile when William Knight, Archdeacon of Chester, and secretary to the King, arrived in Italy charged with secret instructions to try and persuade the Pope to allow Henry to marry again without waiting for a divorce, and carrying with him a decree and a dispensation drawn up in England,² he found that Clement VII had escaped from the Castel St. Angelo [9th Dec., 1527], and was at Orvieto. The drafts were submitted to Cardinal St. Quatuor, who bluntly declared in

¹ Brewer: Introduction to Vol. IV, p. cclxxxvii.

² Brewer, in his Introduction to Vol. IV, warns students against accepting, as emanating from Rome, divers drafts of papal decrees and dispensations, really drawn up in England.



a letter to Wolsey, they "could not pass without perpetual dishonour to the Pope, the King, and to your Grace." He then set to work to amend the documents into a shape which, to the unsophisticated judgment of Knight, seemed to answer the purpose sufficiently, and he wrote joyfully to Wolsey : "At all events, I do bring a *commission* with me, and a *dispensation*, which I trust the King and your Grace will like well."

When the documents reached England, they were found to be "of no effect or authority" for the unworthy purpose for which they were required.¹ After this failure, a proposal was made by Casale, 12th January, 1528, that a legate should be sent to England to try the case in conjunction with Wolsey. Clement VII was anxious to do anything in reason to please Henry VIII, the defender of the faith, the prince on whom he most relied to help him to check the encroachments of the Emperor;² but he was not prepared to encounter the perpetual dishonour described by Cardinal St. Quatuor, nor was he to be moved by those torments of conscience which the King professed to feel. In choosing Campeggio as legate, he hoped the Cardinal would persuade Henry to some reasonable course. In an interesting letter to the Signory of June 16th, 1528, Gasparo Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, writes—

"Visited Cardinal Campeggio, starting for England; general belief anticipates a result which will perhaps not be verified. . . . The Pope also mentioned the dispensation demanded by the King of England, discussing the arguments *pro* and *con*; and said he had destined Campeggio, who was a good jurist, had experience of England, and was in the Emperor's confidence, and that he would

¹ "Knight and his mission were unceremoniously snuffed out; a warning to all who wade beyond their depth into the law, or dabble in diplomacy they do not understand. About a year later he wrote a very pensive letter to Henry VIII, saying how it pierced him to the stomach, that any charge committed to him should not be performed according to his Majesty's pleasure, as chanced in his last voyage of 1527. Knight's inauspicious mission produced no other effect than that of awakening the suspicions of the Pope." Brewer: Introduction to Vol. IV, p. cccxx.

² The French and English Heralds declared war against Charles V in January, 1528.

1528 perhaps make the King of England understand the truth, and make some adjustment."

Again on the 21st November Contarini writes—

"The Pope has letters from England. Cardinal Campeggio endeavoured to dissuade King Henry from attempting to divorce the Queen. This his Majesty resented, and wrote hither saying he chose to be clearly informed whether such exhortation proceeds from the Pope, or from Campeggio—evincing resentment as aforesaid."

"Rome, December 29th, 1528.

"The Pope discussed the divorce, saying it was of a bad sort; the King being so obstinate that Wolsey did not dare contradict him; nay, that he ruminated by night what he should say to the King to gratify him in this affair of the divorce, although aware it would be his ruin."¹

Clement VII was a timid man, who described himself as "between the hammer and the anvil," and he hoped that by temporising and gaining time he might yet avoid choosing between those two formidable princes, Henry and the Emperor. Wolsey, who knew the King so well, and Katherine of Arragon, who knew him better still, also put their trust in time, hoping that the King's fancy might die out or rove elsewhere, or that the unpopularity of the business might turn him from it. But if they knew Henry, it may truly be said that they did not know Anne Boleyn, or the tenacity of purpose, the fixed ambition which guided and moulded her every act and word.

¹ *Cal. Venetian Papers*, Vol. IV, Nos. 301, 372.

CHAPTER IV

REGINALD POLE was brought face to face with the detested ¹⁵²⁷⁻²⁹ question of the divorce before he had been very long in England, and his withdrawal to Sheen was no less from a desire to get away from discussions which he could not expect to influence, than in order to continue his theological studies undisturbed by the distractions of the court. Sir Thomas More at this time shunned the court as much as he could—

“ He knew how hard it was to contend with one whose arguments he could not admit without peril of his conscience, or contradict without peril of his life. His learning, his reputation, his legal acquirements, were sure to point him out to the King as the one man above all others in the kingdom whose judgment on the question none would venture to impugn, and few would be inclined to dispute.”¹

The above words are entirely applicable to the younger man who, if his reputation was not as great as More’s, had an equal integrity of mind, which could neither be blurred nor biassed by his ardent gratitude and affection for Henry VIII, nor by the love and reverence he bore the Queen, his constant friend, and whose great wish it had been to call him son—a wish which the poor Queen’s distaste for the scheme now on foot, to deliver up her little daughter as a bride to an elderly debauchee like the King of France, no doubt revived and enhanced.

Although a thin disguise of silence had been thrown over the divorce scheme by the King and Wolsey, the latter ordering the English envoys in Spain to declare the rumour which “ somehow or other has sprung up to be entirely void of foundation,” it was becoming generally known.² We have

¹ Brewer: *Introduction to Vol. IV*, p. ccxx.

² These assertions were thrown away upon Charles V, who was already in possession of Mendoza’s letter of June, with its full account of the affair from the Queen herself. They proved the King’s and Wolsey’s title to the epithet “ double-tongued ” (*bislinguae*) they had applied to the Emperor in former days. *Ven. Cal.*, Vol. III, No. 680.

1527-29 the story from Pole's own hand, in his "Apologia" to Charles V, of his first indirect encounter with the subject, and with the man who was to be its chief promoter, Thomas Cromwell, the Putney armourer's son, who had been a merchant's book-keeper in Venice,¹ and the companion of the common soldiery in Italy, now in the service of Cardinal Wolsey; and who one day approached Pole at York Place, the Cardinal's palace, and fell into a discourse on the necessary qualifications of those who are called to the councils of princes. His motive, Pole surmised, was to sound him on the subject of the divorce which then divided the Privy Council, knowing that his opinion of the affair could not fail to be asked. Pole's answer was that he thought it the duty of every such person, above all other considerations, to advise what was most conducive to his prince's honour and interest—an answer which gives the keynote to his whole future conduct. Cromwell replied that these notions were very plausible when delivered in the schools or from the pulpit, but were of little use in the cabinets of kings.

He then proceeded to expound his own views—which he certainly in the course of his career fully carried out—on the qualifications of a prudent and experienced counsellor; the chief concern of such a person to be the study of his prince's inclinations, "in which much sagacity was required, as they sometimes lie disguised under appearances of a very different import: that it became kings to use the specious names of religion, equity, and other virtues, though their designs were not always regulated by them; that true ability lay in managing affairs in such sort as they might obtain their ends, and yet no open failure in religion or probity be observed; and that this ability was seen in proportion as the Minister could reconcile the appearances of virtue, which princes were unwilling to give up, with the substantial interest of the State."

This was the sum of Cromwell's discourse, from which Pole gathered that if he really thought as he spoke, and had been Nero's counsellor when the murder of his mother was in debate,

¹ *Apologia ad Carolum*, V. par. xxviii: "I knew the merchant at Venice whose book-keeper he was."

he would not have been at a loss to justify that matricide. 1527-29 However, he prudently made no reply "to this barefaced impiety" beyond saying he supposed Cromwell had spoken for argument's sake, and not from his true sentiments. "He made no apology," continues Pole, "but perceiving, as well he might, both from my countenance, and some words which dropped from me, that I was rather displeased than taken with his politics, he replied it was no wonder, if having as yet little use of public affairs, I did not comprehend what experience alone could teach, especially as it did not agree with those tenets in which I had been brought up . . . that a short discourse of an experienced person was more to the purpose than whole volumes of the philosophers: That if I needs must have books, I should at least read those who allow more to experience than to speculation: That he had one of a very acute modern, who did not, like Plato, publish his own dreams . . . but had laid down maxims and observances, of which daily experience confirmed the truth; and if I would give him leave, and promise to read the book, he would send it me: That he had a great regard for me, and foresaw to what difficulties I should be exposed if I let myself be carried away by notions of men unacquainted with the world, though otherwise ever so learned. . . . Having thanked him for his civilities, and promised to read the work, we parted."

Cromwell did not follow up this insidious attack upon a young man's principles of religion, justice, and good faith by sending him the book best fitted to support it. Pole had reason to believe that he repented of having opened himself so fully; he was able, however, to procure the much-extolled work, and found it to be—as might have been expected—a copy of Machiavelli's *Il Principe*—"such a performance," writes Pole, "that, were Satan himself to leave a successor, I do not well see by what other maxims he would direct him to reign."¹

¹ A German writer, Brosch, in his *Geschichte von England*, VI, 259, treats the above conversation as a fable which did Pole little honour, on the ground that the *Principe*, written in 1514, was only published in the year 1532. The writer must have known little of the literary

1527-29 Cromwell had probably been instructed to sound Reginald-Pole as to his views, and the undaunted reply he had given to the indirect enquiry may have been the reason why he was not further questioned as to his opinion on the divorce. Sheen was too near London, and Pole was too important a personage not to be obliged to appear at court from time to time, so that he must have followed, with what feelings may be imagined, the unfolding of the great drama.

If the Queen would consent to enter a convent, all would be easy ; and to this end Cardinal Campeggio, by the Pope's instructions, and Wolsey, on his knees, directed their efforts. In two interviews with Katherine, the former laid before her the great advantages of such a course, the relief it would be to all concerned, the dangers it would obviate, as it might be taken for granted that the King would never relent from his determination to continue separated from her. There was no question then of the legitimacy of her daughter being impugned ; on the contrary, it was repeatedly and emphatically affirmed, and the care of the Princess was to remain in her mother's hands. But the Queen remained firm : she was her husband's wife, her marriage was legal until it had been proved otherwise, she could not admit that she had lived in sin for eighteen years ; and in touching words, uttered under the seal of confession to Campeggio, and which she afterwards instructed him to divulge to the Pope, she related the circumstances of her marriage with Prince Arthur.¹

One reason for the firmness of her attitude may very well have been—although in her unswerving devotion to the husband who had been “the Cid, the paladin of the world” to her, no word of it passed her lips to Campeggio—that she knew Henry VIII to stand in the very degree of affinity to Anne

habits of the early sixteenth century, not to have been aware that books were often copied in MS. and circulated from hand to hand for a considerable time before being printed. Many of such copies still exist at the present day ; and Cromwell, during his stay in Italy doubtless became acquainted with Machiavelli, and procured a copy of his work. That he was Machiavelli's pupil, his whole life shows. Zimmermann : *Kardinal Pole*, p. 46.

¹ Theiner, p. 570. Læmmer : *Mon. Vat.*, p. 125.

Boleyn, through her sister Mary, the possibility of which, 1528-30 through Prince Arthur, so irked his "conscience" in regard to herself. Many persons knew it, Reginald Pole included, and in later days he brought the accusation in plain words against the King himself, in his *Pro Unitatis Ecclesiasticae*:

"Was not the wife you chose for yourself the sister of one whom you had first seduced, and then kept for a long time as your mistress? At the very time in which you tried to prove a papal dispensation to be invalid, you sought for a dispensation to marry the sister of your former mistress."¹

Lib. III, Cap. 2

The King, in December, 1528, had overcome the resistance of Anne Boleyn, as his letters to her clearly show, and he lodged her in royal state at Greenwich; an affront to the Queen which Katherine bore with the serene "great patience" of old, and with a high courage and smiling steadfastness of bearing, which called forth the admiring comments of the foreign envoys. She still was permitted to live in the King's palace and to take her part in all public functions. "The Queen is with the King" [at Hampton Court], wrote Scarpinelli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, 28th June, 1830. "They pay each other, reciprocally, the greatest possible attention, or compliments in the Spanish fashion, with the utmost mental

¹ The seeking of a dispensation by Henry VIII from the impediment of "affinity" with Anne has been denied, but the proof lies in the drafts of the bull prepared in England and proposed to the Pope; wherein, with some circumlocution and in veiled terms, necessitated by the delicacy—or rather by the unblushing effrontery of the case, the King is to be allowed, provided his marriage with Katherine be pronounced unlawful, to marry another "even if she be of the second degree of consanguinity, or of the first degree of affinity . . . in order to prevent uncertainty of the succession." [R.O. Herbert, 118.] The letter written to Henry VIII some years later by Sir George Throckmorton, and preserved in the Record Office, places the matter beyond all doubt. Relating the reason of a conversation with the Lord Privy Seal, which had come to the King's ears, the writer explains:—"I said to him that I told your Grace I feared if ye did marry Queen Anne, your conscience would be more troubled at the length, for that it is thought ye have meddled with both the mother and the sister. And his [your] Grace said "Never with the mother" . . . I thought no harm to your Grace in the speaking of them; for that I ever spake these words was to lament what I thought would follow of that marriage, to your Grace and to your realme in time to come."

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tranquillity, *con la maggior tranquillita di animo*, as if there had never been any dispute [*offenzione*] whatever between them."

Although the divorce was the main and absorbing subject filling men's minds, other topics were not altogether neglected. The intercourse between Wolsey and Reginald Pole, necessarily slight owing to the divergence of opinion between them on the great question of the day, seemed to fall readily on to matters in which they were thoroughly agreed ; and where the younger man could openly and heartily admire the acts of the great Cardinal. In a letter to Romolo Amasei, dated London, 6 Kal., February, 1529,¹ Pole says that ever since his return to England, the Cardinal of York has been urging him to procure some professor of oratory from Italy, thinking that from his long sojourn there, and his acquaintance with learned men, he would be able to persuade one. The Cardinal has commenced a magnificent work. [Christchurch, Oxford ?]. The place is grand in itself, but much more so by the multitude of the teachers and the taught ; two hundred will be supplied with food and clothing. No class of learning is excluded, and each has its own rewards.

Wolsey has spoken to Pole particularly about Amasei, and has authorised him to offer him 500 ducats a year and his travelling expenses, also benefices for his sons, if he has any destined for the Church. The quietness of the retreat would be profitable both to himself and others, and Pole can assure him of the Cardinal's kindness and munificence ; but he knows Amasei's fear of change, and remembers his refusal of Matteo Giberti's offers ! Amasei may think him not a fair adviser, as he is pleading the cause of his country, which he wishes to see profited by his instructions, but he also considers Amasei's interests. He would be better off than he has ever been. . . . The letter is addressed *Doctissimo viro D. Romulo Amasaeo, Bononiae* ; but it did not tempt him to England.

A gleam of hope came to Wolsey of a brilliant exit from his difficulties by the rumour of the Pope's death, which reached England in the month of February. Every agency was

¹ *Egerton MS.*, 1998, f. 1.

immediately set to work ; the English envoys in Rome, who ¹⁵²⁹ now numbered no less than four—Gardiner, Brian, Gregory Casale and Peter Vannes—were ordered by the King to press Wolsey's claims to the Papacy “as that on which depends the making or marring of the King's cause.”¹ Ludovico Falier, Venetian ambassador in London, writes to the Signory, 4th February, 1529—

“ As soon as the rumour of the Pope's death reached London, Wolsey despatched the Bishop of Bayonne [French ambassador] by post to France, to ask the Most Christian King to direct his three French Cardinals, and such others as he can influence, to go to Rome, and make the Cardinal of York, Pope.”

“ February 26.

“ Cardinal Wolsey has a stronger fantasy than ever to be made Pope, and spoke to me to get the Signory to exert all their favour, and to desire the Venetian Cardinals to bestir themselves.”

Wolsey's own letter to Gardiner, dated Westminster, 7th February, is interesting : “ . . . This realm would be utterly undone, if the King's secret matter were settled in any other way than by the authority of the Church.” He sees nobody else so fit as himself for the Papacy, notwithstanding his old age ; for the restoration of the Church and the See Apostolic to their former dignity, for the sake of obtaining peace amongst Christian princes and relieving England from its present calamities, otherwise he would never accept the Papacy ; but, in accordance with the necessity of the time and the will of the two kings [Henry and Francis] will do all he can to attain this dignity ; no other, when all the Cardinals are considered, can and will set a remedy in the aforesaid things except himself.²

Clement VII did not die, but recovered from the illness which had occasioned the rumours ; and the incident is chiefly remarkable as showing how Wolsey's former perspicacity had given way to moral blindness. He knew how the divorce, his master and himself, were now regarded in Rome, and yet he thought the Cardinals might be induced to make him Pope, in order that he might settle the “ secret matter ”

¹ Brewer, Vol. IV, No. 5270.

² *Ibid.*, No. 5272.

1529 —which was being cried on the housetops—to the King's satisfaction.

Casale,
16th Feb.

Then came the trial, June, 1529, with the Queen's sole appearance before her judges, and her magnificent speech and appeal to the Pope, of which the transfiguring touch of Shakespeare has merely enhanced the dignity and pathetic beauty. Clement VII was now thoroughly on his guard ; he was no Hildebrand or Boniface, but in the words of the English envoys in their report—"there are many things the Pope says he cannot do" ; "though it may be in his *Pater Noster*, it is not in his *Credo*."

Among the things he had been asked to do was to pronounce a forgery—without having seen it—a breve of Julius II, which Ferdinand VII, as if by a premonition of what was to come, had obtained from Rome, amplifying and confirming the dispensation sent to England for the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine. By some means the existence of this important document for her cause had been conveyed to the Queen by the Spanish ambassador. This was a fatal blow, but Henry and Wolsey did not hesitate ; after a cruel attempt to make Katherine the instrument for getting it into their own hands, they not only boldly proclaimed it a forgery, but tried to induce the Pope to do the same, without having seen it.¹

To these depths had Wolsey fallen ; caught like a bull in the

¹ The Simancas MSS. contain the letter of the Queen to the Emperor, begging him "for the love of God," to send her the original breve, to help her to obtain justice. She adds that she has given a procuration to the bearer, her chaplain, Thomas Abel. Annexed to this letter is one from Abel to Charles V, warning him on no account to give up the breve, the Queen's letter asking for it having been written under compulsion : "She neither says, nor writes, nor signs anything but what the King commands ; for to this she is compelled by a solemn oath." Mendoza, the ambassador, also writes to Charles V's minister, Muxetela, that the Queen has been made to write a letter to the Emperor against her will ; and suggests having a copy of the breve made in the presence of the English ambassadors. "They will use every effort to get it from the Emperor, but his Majesty will, of course, be careful not to give it up. . . . They have made her write for it as urgently as if her life depended upon it, but his Majesty must be informed that this was done entirely under compulsion. . . ."—Add. MS., 28 578, f. 13. B.M.

toils, he was making desperate plunges to escape from the 1529 difficulties which he could see, more clearly than any other man, were gathering for his ruin, and for that of the Church in England. His great talents, turned to base uses, by a curious but not altogether uncommon result, seemed gradually to forsake him ; and it is with a feeling of nausea mingled with pity that we read his letters of this period, and compare them with the masterly despatches of former days.

Cardinal Campeggio's letters to the Pope show not only the impression made upon his own mind by Katherine's attitude, and by the speech of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in her defence, but upon the public. They show, moreover, his growing uneasiness at the speed with which the proceedings were being hurried on by Wolsey ; and at that Cardinal's behaviour who, after the speeches of Fisher, Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and of the Dean of Arches [Ridley ?], haughtily expressed his surprise at what he was pleased to call " this unexpected attack upon the legates." We have the summary of Fisher's speech on the 25th June in a letter from Campeggio to Cardinal Salviati, which ends—

" In maintenance of this opinion he was willing to lay down his life ; adding that as John the Baptist, in olden times, regarded it as impossible to die more gloriously than in a cause of matrimony, and it was not then so holy as it has now become by the shedding of Christ's blood, he could not encourage himself more ardently, more effectually, or face any extreme peril with greater confidence than by taking John Baptist for his own example. . . ." " This affair of Rochester's was unexpected and unforeseen, and has consequently excited everybody's amazement. You who know what sort of a man he is, may imagine what is likely to happen."¹

While the Pope was sending urgent orders to Campeggio, to pronounce no sentence without a new and express command from Rome, the Cardinal continued to complain of the proceedings. He writes, 13th July—

" We have since progressed in the same manner, with great strides, always faster than a trot. . . . It is impossible for me not to declare my opinion . . . but it is of little avail. I will not fail in my duty or office, nor willingly give cause of offence to anyone.

¹ Brewer : *Letters and Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 2538-9.

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When I pronounce sentence, I will keep God before my eyes, and the honour of the Holy See."¹

Under these circumstances—the Queen's appeal to Rome and the absence of the important breve, which the Emperor declared he would send to Rome, but nowhere else, Campeggio prorogued the court on the 22nd July to 1st October. And Wolsey had made his last effort, by sending Dr. Benet to the Pope to try and prevent the advocation of the cause to Rome. Clement VII, while admitting that no prince was so attached to the Holy See as Henry VIII, and none whom he more desired to please, answered that the Queen's demand was no more than justice. He must act, he said, as a common father and an upright judge. When Benet urged Wolsey's fidelity to the Pope, and said that if His Holiness complied with the demands of the Imperialists and revoked the cause, it would lead to the ruin of the Cardinal, and the destruction of the Church in England ; Clement replied, wiping the tears from his eyes, that no one foresaw the mischief more clearly than himself. He lamented the destruction of Christendom, still more that he had no means of finding a remedy ; but he could not gratify the King at the expense of his conscience and the dishonour of the See Apostolic. "Seeing," writes Benet, "that we could obtain nothing from him, we consulted among ourselves how the advocation might be delayed until you [Wolsey] had concluded the cause in England." The contrivance was in vain : the letters reached England a day or two after the prorogation of the court. And though Wolsey did not scruple to detain Campeggio's letters, in order to keep the Pope in ignorance of the proceedings in England, nor to write to Benet that if the Pope had consented to the advocation of the cause to Rome—"it must be revoked ; if it arrive here before such revocation, no mention shall be made of it, even to the King himself"—all his efforts were in vain.²

¹ Large sums of money had been offered to Cardinals St. Quatuor and Campeggio, who had refused them.

² Katherine's protest to the Pope against the divorce, and against the trial in England, where she was in her husband's power, is dated 20th July, 1528.—Cott. App., xxvii, 23. B.M.

Up to this time of his life, Henry VIII had encountered little 1528 opposition ; the Queen had never wavered in her submissive obedience, no one had ever ventured to remonstrate with him on his proceedings ; the fragments of a great nobility, humbled and cowed by the fate of Buckingham, trembled at his nod ; never had king reigned with more absolute sway in England ; never had any king's will been so regarded as the voice of God, and the unerring rule of duty. Until Fisher's speech at the trial, no prelate had ever openly contradicted him, and great was Henry's wrath. Considering it below his dignity to reply to Fisher in open court, he wrote an answer the following day in the shape of a letter to the legates, in which, as Mr. Brewer remarks, he ransacked the Latin vocabulary for its choicest epithets of vituperation, attacking the character and conduct of Fisher with unsparing violence.

If it be asked why Henry confined himself to hard words, instead of blows on this occasion, it must be remembered that respect for the law was never wanting in his most furious onslaughts ; or rather that a veneer of legality as well as of orthodoxy—theological vanity being one of his salient characteristics—was an absolute necessity to him. Again, he always wished to stand well with the vulgar mob, as well as with the rest of his subjects ; and like all the Tudors, the last thing he cared to face was unpopularity. Fisher escaped this time, but his offence was not forgotten.

The King had brought himself to believe that his writings in defence of the Church had saved the Faith, and that this service and his occasional acts of parsimonious liberality, had established a claim upon the Pope which was to be acknowledged by instant compliance with his wishes, however opposed they might be to the ordinary precepts of justice ; he continually harps on the subject in his despatches to his ambassadors at Rome. In this temper he sent for Wolsey, who, after the audience, said to the Bishop of Carlisle, when he made a remark on the heat : “ Yea, quoth my lord Cardinal, if ye ^{Caven-}_{dish} had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot.”

Inigo de Mendoza, the Imperial ambassador, had written

1528-29 to the Emperor at the beginning of the year that Anne Boleyn suspected Wolsey of putting impediments in the way of her marriage; and that "in this suspicion she is joined by her father, and the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who have combined to overthrow the Cardinal."¹ It is hardly too much to say that during the summer Anne Boleyn played with the unhappy Cardinal as a cat plays with a mouse, interrupting her persecution by a sudden gracious letter or act; one day taking a golden tablet off her own wrist to send to him as a token of regard, to the bewilderment of the Venetian ambassador, who was present.

The formal notice of the revocation of the legates, and of the advocation of the cause to Rome is dated 19th July, and reached London in August. Stephen Gardiner, who had returned to England in June, was now installed as Henry's chief secretary, and when Wolsey begged for a personal interview, the King sent an excuse through Gardiner declining the request as too painful for his nerves. When this letter was written, Henry had gone to Woodstock, taking Anne Boleyn with him, after he had "commanded the Queen to be removed out of the court."²

It is not surprising that Reginald Pole, with his opinions, and the consciousness of his inability to be of any use or service to the King whom, in spite of all his errors, he loved

¹ *Simaneas MS.*, 4th February.

² Before the end of the year 1529, a formal reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor took place, and Gasparo Contarini graphically relates, in a letter to the Signory, 5th November, the humble demeanour of Charles V towards his spiritual sovereign and whilom prisoner. He came in armour, but without a helmet. "When he came under the canopy in front of the Pope, who was seated on his throne (outside the Church of St. Petronio) he did him homage, kneeling on the ground . . . Then, when in contact, he kissed the Pope's foot, and on rising, kissed his hand; and after the Pope had raised him with his hand, gave him '*osculum pacis*,' presenting him with a purse, containing gold medals to the amount of 1,000 crowns. . . . Being very near, I heard the Pope's first words:—'Be your Majesty welcome. I hope in God that He will have brought you hither for the greater good of Christendom.'" Contarini also remarks that it was impossible to catch the Emperor's words, as he had so low a voice.—*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. IV, No. 524.

with a loyal and sincere affection, and saddened by the spectacle of the persecution of the Queen, should have desired to remove himself still further from the court and its miserable intrigues. He sought and obtained the King's leave to go to Paris to study at its famous University, Henry allowing him the same pension and retinue as at Padua. The matrimonial cause was, moreover, before the court of Rome, and it might be hoped that the King would accept its verdict. The French ambassador, du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, wrote to Anne de Montmorency, then *Grand Maitre* of France, announcing Pole's arrival. His letter is dated London, 12th October, 1529—

“ This King is now sending his relative Poul (*sic*) one of the most learned men known, to visit the country [France], and continue his studies. He will pay his respects to you and to the King, according to his instructions. He and his relations, who are great lords, have asked me to recommend him to you. . . . ”¹

At the Record Office is preserved a paper of instructions regarding his journey in Reginald Pole's hand, addressed to Starkey, who was going with him as secretary or chaplain, and also as spy. It is worth recording as a specimen of the methods and necessities of travel in the first half of the sixteenth century ; it is undated—

“ I. Ind. to Mr. Starkey for Thos. Lupset, *imprimis* to cause the two mattresses of white fustian to be trussed. *Item*, to see to be well carried the Virginals. *Item* to have in mind that there are two black coffers for Mr. Fox ; one short, the other long. For me, there are two hogsheads full of books ; five trussing chests full of my stuff. Let not my little trussing bedstocks be forgot. To truss all Smith's packet. To let Auchpol, the Scot, have warning of your departing, that he may come in company. To ask Mr. de Langy for two books for Mr. Fox—*Liber Conciliorum* and *Liber Mercatoris* [?—you must put them in Mr. Fox's great chest. Let the canvas mattress serve for Jack to lie in the boat with the stuff.

“ II ” (in Starkey's hand). “ Account of money expended and

¹ Le Grand : *Histoire du Divorce*, III, p. 364. At the beginning of the above letter, du Bellay says he believes people are speaking soberly to Henry about the marriage with Anne.

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received on a journey," evidently to Rouen, and thence to Paris. *Persons mentioned* :—“Mr. Patys, Mr. Lupset at London, Mr. Martyn, Edward, Owen, Jack, Archpole, Mr. Const, Davy, Rob Coke, Barnardyn.” *Places* :—“London, Dieppe, Rouen, Paris.” *Chief items* :—“Binding of the Councils, 8s. Paper to write the Greek book, 9d. Gifts at Paris.”

The care for his Virginals and for his books bespeak the music-loving student, and the mention of his “canvas mattress for Jack” in the boat, a man careful of his servants. If all the members of his suite appear in the above paper, they numbered eleven persons.

If Pole’s departure followed immediately upon du Bellay’s letter, he had left England when Wolsey fell from power. The ambassador, who had written in May that he apprehended the Cardinal’s total ruin, as the King “has only been induced to enterprise this affair by the assurances Wolsey has always given,”¹ writes on the 17th October to Montmorency—

“I have visited the Cardinal in his troubles. . . . He represented his case to me in the worst rhetoric I ever heard; for heart and tongue failed him completely. . . . He wept much, and prayed that the King [Francis I] and Madame would have pity upon him, if they found that he had kept his promise to them of being their good servant, so far as his honour and ability would stretch. . . . I consoled him as well as I could, but I have been able to do little. . . . The worst of his evil is that Mlle. de Boulen has made her friend promise that he will never give him a hearing, for she thinks he could not help having pity upon him.”²

The Seals were taken from Wolsey the day of du Bellay’s letter, which is not exactly sympathetic in its tone. It cannot be denied that there was a certain want of dignity in the great Cardinal’s attitude, which certain of his critics appear to have attributed to his plebeian birth; his appeals to Henry VIII for the hearing which Anne Boleyn did not mean him to have were pitiable enough, to judge by an undated letter beginning: “Though I daily cry to you for mercy,” and ending: “Your most prostrate poor chaplain, T. Carli, Ebor *Miserrimus*.”

¹ Le Grand: *Histoire du Divorce*, III, p. 317; 22nd May, 1529.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 369.

The French ambassador's next letter completes the tale 1529 of ruin—

"While writing, [22nd October] I hear that *M. le Légit* [Wolsey] has been turned out of his house, and all his goods delivered into the hands of the King. Besides the depredations charged against him, he is accused of so many things that he is quite maddened with it all—*qu'il est du tout affolé!* The Duke of Norfolk is made president of the Council, and in his absence, Suffolk; and above them all, Mlle. Anne."

In one of the first of the long series of letters which give us the truest and most graphic account of the course of events for many years to come, Chapuys, the new Imperial ambassador, informs Charles V that Wolsey "has been constrained to make the inventory of his goods under his own hand, that nothing may be forgotten."¹

That inventory still exists, and as we turn its folio pages they reveal the lavish superabundance of the Cardinal's worldly possessions, of the riches he had accumulated with the rare taste of one of the world's greatest *connoisseurs*, and with an apparently fathomless purse. And when all was gone, the recuperative power of a great mind asserted itself; in losing all things Wolsey found himself, and the concluding year of his life furnishes a fine example of penance and repentance, of humility and good works redeeming the past iniquity, and preparing for the death of which it may be said that nothing in his life became him so well as his leaving it.

¹ Eustace Chapuys was a native of Annecy, in Savoy, and was only thirty years of age when he came as ambassador to England. His facile and graphic pen gives us a vivid picture of the events which he witnessed; and his prudent and courageous conduct was no doubt more than once of great service to Katherine of Arragon, and to her daughter.

CHAPTER V

1529 REGINALD POLE had thought that absence from England would save him from the divorce question, but before he had been long in Paris he found himself directly mixed up in it. Cardinal Campeggio had left, or, considering the circumstances of his departure, had escaped from England in October, Wolsey was in disgrace at York, and Anne Boleyn and her supporters reigned supreme in the Council of the King; though not altogether undisturbed, for Henry wrathfully turned upon them from time to time for their incompetence, telling them he "missed the Cardinal more each day." Under their impulse, or from his own anxiety to give his proceedings a cloak of orthodoxy, the idea had now been started to get opinions favourable to him on the question of the legality of marriage with a deceased brother's wife from all the Universities of Europe. A regular hunt throughout the chief countries began, and was carried on with extraordinary diligence and not a little corruption, of which we find the evidence not only in various statements and complaints of the time, but in the constant applications of the English agents to the King for more money. Under the pretence of payment for their labours, the professors who gave an opinion in favour of the King received large sums, which were in reality nothing less than bribes; and in nearly all cases, the consummation of the marriage with Prince Arthur—which Katherine always denied in the most solemn manner—was taken for granted.¹

Not long after his arrival in Paris, Pole received a letter from the King, with a patent appointing him ambassador, and empowering him to obtain opinions favourable to Henry from the doctors of the Paris University. "Amazed at finding himself in such honours," writes Beccatelli, "when he had

¹ Henry VIII had tacitly admitted the truth of his wife's statement at the trial; and it was only later, as his case began to look more and more hopeless, that he snatched at every pretext, however unworthy, that could strengthen it; and allowed the assertion to be made by his creatures and agents that the marriage with Prince Arthur had been consummated.

thought to have escaped them, and to be safe in port, with 1529-30 his usual modesty *il signor Reginaldo* made his excuses to the King, declaring himself not apt to serve him in such an affair, which required a person of greater practice and experience in such studies, different from any he had hitherto made ; so the King agreed to send him one of his Council as co-adjutor, who upon his arrival was courteously received by *il signor Reginaldo*, who gave him a lodging in his house, and left the care of the whole negotiation to him." Beccatelli's account is supported by Pole's own statement to Henry VIII in later years.

The King had hesitated to grant the permission to go abroad, and in consenting may have contemplated making use of Pole in Paris ; but the commission came upon the latter as a complete and most disagreeable surprise. In his *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis*, after assuring the King that the learned Englishmen whom he had tried to draw to his side loved him better than the foreigner from whom he sought the support they could not give him without betrayal of their duty, adding that he—Pole—was of their number, he goes on—

" I can, God is my witness, truly declare that no commission was ever more displeasing to me in my whole life than that of collecting opinions in favour of the divorce. As I had left England with the object of escaping from the plots and intrigues which, under your own protection and direction, were agitating against your honour and your house, your commands were doubly grievous to me. I thought there would be no such agitation abroad, when suddenly your letter and commission came upon me ; I was to undertake your business with the University.

" I can still remember that as soon as grief at the unexpected news allowed (for some time the blow robbed me not only of speech, but of the faculty of thinking), I wrote to you, setting forth my ignorance, and entreating you to send a more experienced person in such matters. You did so at once, or I would have considered any torments preferable to such a service, which I never really took upon myself as I only played the part of his representative, until the newcomer arrived. I took no share in the matter, and was convinced of the unlawfulness of the divorce."¹

Similar expressions may be found in Pole's letter to Edward VI ; and yet, notwithstanding such clear and positive

¹ *De Unitate*, Lib. III, Cap. III.

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assurances, and the fact that it would have been little less than insanity on the part of Pole to have made them to Henry VIII—who would have known their falsity as well as the writer himself—in a work expressly destined to bring that monarch back to the paths of truth, certain writers have tried to discredit them on the strength of an expression of the King's, the draft of an anonymous letter, and one of Pole's own letters to Henry. The point is important, as it would prove either an extraordinary laxity of memory as to past events, or such a carelessness of statement, that Pole would have to be given up as a reliable authority on any subject, at any time. But the most truthful and scrupulous of men, as Reginald Pole remained to the last day of his life, can have no such accusation levelled against him that will bear examination.

The expression in a letter of Henry VIII to the Earl of Wiltshire—for to that title had Anne Boleyn's father been raised—in sending him letters for Dorigni, the Dean, and the heads of the faculty of theology in Paris, “if you and my kinsman think it will promote our cause, you may deliver them,” was probably written before Henry had received Pole's request to be relieved of the commission ; the letter, moreover, is endorsed in a more modern hand : “To induce cardinall Pool to aff [ord help to the King's] great cause.”¹ The Latin draft of a letter “to Reginald Pole” without signature or date has every appearance of being one of the figments not uncommon in those days—and written for the purpose of persuading some other person of Pole's adhesion to the “great cause,” or Pole himself, if it was ever sent to him,—that he was regarded at court as a partisan of the divorce. It runs—

“ Being at Court, I was desired by the Duke of Norfolk to write to you how greatly he congratulated both himself and you that you had acted so stoutly on the King's behalf, specially when it was without being asked or ordered by the King.”²

The writer betrays himself in the sentence commencing “specially”; by protesting too much he convinces us of the contrary of what he says. He goes on to state that he has

¹ *Vit. B.*, XIV, 297. B.M.

² *Ibid.*, 298.

heard the King himself express great satisfaction in having 1530 Pole at last for an advocate, to whose learning he pays so high a tribute that the writer cannot repeat it. He was delighted to have the task of writing this, on account of his friendship for Pole.

Edward Fox had been sent to Paris by Henry VIII in reply to Pole's request, and William Langeais, brother of the Bishop of Paris, "preferring the King's money to his own reputation, ^{Sanders,} brought over to his side all the poor lawyers and theologians ^{P. 79} he could." Pole writes to the King, evidently before Fox's arrival, 13th May, 1530, that he has been informed by Langeais of the arrival of such letters from the French King to the University "as Mr. Welsborne, your Grace's orator [ambas- R.O. sador] had written to be sent by the last post. . . . Langeais says they are as effectually writ as could be for the King's purpose." The purport of the letters of Francis I, then at Chantilly, was to exert pressure upon the members of the University in favour of Henry VIII's cause. He was in great anxiety to redeem his sons, still hostages in the Emperor's hands, and from England he had been promised the money for their ransom ; Henry's alliance was also of the first necessity to him as a protection against Charles V.¹

The struggle was keen, the debates hot within the University ; Henry VIII had written to Nicholas Dorigni, President of the Chamber of Requests, immediately upon receiving Pole's letter of the 13th, saying he understands "by his beloved cousin, Reynold Pole's" letter, that the French King hath enjoyned the said Dorigni to promote his cause there. He exhorts him to be diligent, and to receive the directions of Reynold Pole. The pressure of the two monarchs was barely sufficient to obtain a majority of votes. The faculty of Paris was far from unanimous, a strong party of opponents was headed by Natalis Beda, the eminent doctor, and several stood neuter or absented themselves ; and finally the votes of 53 for the divorce to 44 against it were only obtained after stormy debates almost ending in blows.²

¹ The royal children were released in July, 1530.

² Beda's strong opposition to the divorce is mentioned in a letter from J. Stokesley to the Earl of Wiltshire, dated Paris, January 16th, 1530.

1530

R.O.

It was Pole's task to inform Henry VIII of this result—the conclusion of the divines in “your great matter,” which was “achieved” according to the King's purpose on Saturday last; but the sealing of the same has been put off, and to this day the King's agents have not been able to obtain it. The adverse party use every means “to embroyll” the whole determination, that it may not take effect—another proof how unwillingly the determination had been come to. Pole's letter is dated 7th July, and is the chief, indeed the only, document of any value at all, which might lend some colour to the theory that his own account of the matter was erroneous.

He continues to say that the bearer, Mr. Fox, has used great diligence in withstanding them; whose presence he had urged at the first breaking of the matter among the faculty—

“ And whereas I was informed, first by Mr. Lupset and afterwards by Mr. Fox, how it standeth with your Grace's pleasure, considering my fervent desire therein that your matter once achieved and brought to a final conclusion in this University, I should repair to your presence, your Grace could not grant me at this time a petition more comfortable unto me.”

To read into the words that his “fervent desire” refers, not to his return “at this time” to England, but to his anxiety that the faculty should vote in favour of the divorce,¹ is a straining of their sense which they will not bear, when taken with all their accompanying circumstances. Strype, no friend of Pole's, writes—

“ The King employed divers agents abroad, for the gaining of the opinions of foreign Universities, and Doctors of Divinity, concerning his marriage; as at Paris, Reginald Pole, his kinsman (who yet did him small service that way) Sir Francis Bryant, and Edmond Fox.”²

Referring to a later period, the same writer remarks: “The King was jealous of Reginald Pole, his kinsman, now abroad, not standing right to neither of his causes, as well that of his matrimony, as that of his supremacy.” It is not possible,

¹ Hook: *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 38-9.

² John Strype, M.A.: *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, p. 143, pub. 1721.

moreover, that de Ganay, the Imperial ambassador in Paris, 1530 should have made no mention of so important a person as Pole, had he looked upon him as active in the matter, when he wrote to Charles V on the 5th July 'that the "inventors of this tragedy" were Langeais, who had used as great diligence in all abominable ways as if he expected to be made Duke of Lancaster, and a Dominican monk, Bishop of Senlis, in time past confessor of the French King. The chief president [Dorigni] had also done much, and de Ganay cannot conceive what moved him.

On the other hand, Pole's recall to England by the King might well appear as of good augury. Wolsey was no longer at the head of affairs, Sir Thomas More was Chancellor, and Pole might reasonably hope that the time had come when he might have some voice in the Council of the King; that he might be able to do his part in counteracting the intrigues of the Boleyn party, and the growing favour which Cromwell—whose principles and springs of action were but too well known to him—was daily gaining with Henry VIII.

Under the pressure of their own sovereign, and the persuasions and the gold of the English King's agents, the majority of the French Universities followed the example of Paris, generally, it would appear, under the impression that the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine had been consummated. Dr. Richard Crook and Stokesley searched Italy for favourable opinion; Bologna subscribed to the divorce on the 30th June, and Padua, although the Venetian Government had tried to evade the question, upon the 1st July. The Imperial ambassador at Rome writes to Charles V, 18th July—

"The Bishop of London has been traversing these lands, and finally in Padua he gained eleven votes from as many friars, for ten ducats. Most of them are quite illiterate, and men of bad lives."

The other Italian Universities, and those of Spain and Germany would not countenance the King's cause, and even Melancthon and the German Lutherans were very open in declaring against it.¹

¹ Tierney's Dodd, Vol. I, pp. 199-203.

1530-31 Pole, to whom all this was well known, bewails it, and says he marvels at the folly of the King's spending such heavy sums of money to brand himself with shame ; to make people believe that he had been for twenty years living in incest.¹ The confusion such proceedings would lead to in respect to a cause actually before the courts of Rome was plain to him, although he probably knew at the time that Clement VII, in his anxiety to please Henry VIII, had given a breve to the English ambassador, allowing "doctors and schoolmen to express their opinions," as the Pope himself reminds Henry in a letter of January, 1531 : that when the King had procured by his agents *prece et pretio* subscription of doctors and schoolmen, to the great injury of the Apostolic See, he did not punish the authors of them as he might have done, and was urged to do by the Imperial ambassador, but granted a breve to the English ambassador, allowing them to express their opinions.²

Meanwhile, Reginald Pole had returned to England and to Sheen ; but any hopes he may have cherished of bringing a good influence upon the Councils of the King must soon have vanished ; in one way only could he gain a place therein : by acquiescing in the purpose which the King's chosen advisers were doing their utmost to render more fixed and immovable day by day. He could but continue his studies "with some quietude," writes Beccatelli, and watch the course of events. But his quietude was not to be of long duration.

Despite his youth, he enjoyed so great a reputation for learning and integrity, that if he could be brought to write or speak in favour of the divorce, the words would have a weight counterbalancing the adverse opinion so boldly expressed by the Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher.³ Sanders and Strype

¹ *De Unitate*, Lib. III, Cap. III.

² Gairdner, Vol. V, 5th January, 1531.

³ Chapuys writes to the Emperor, 23rd January, 1531 :—"The Bishop of Rochester lately sent to me to say that the King had made new attempts to suborn him and others who hold for the Queen, telling him many follies and falsehoods. . . . The practices made to suborn everybody are almost incredible, but they cannot succeed, so that it is not probable that this affair of the Queen will be mentioned to the Estates [Parliament]."—Gairdner : (Vienna Archives), Vol. V, No. 62.

unite for once in testifying—to use Strype's words—"to the 1530 high opinion generally conceived" of Pole, whose honourable life and admirable learning made him, as Le Grand says, the man with whom it would have been difficult to find one to compare, for the indifference with which he regarded those things which most move the ambitions of men. That Henry had spared him so long may be attributable to the real affection he bore his young kinsman, making him hesitate to raise a question in which Pole was not likely to agree with him. But it remained to be seen whether he was, in truth, incorruptible; by the death of Wolsey in November, 1530, the Arch-bishopric of York, as was the bishopric of Winchester, became vacant, and Pole was invited by the King to accept either of the Sees in return for his avowed support in the matter of the divorce.¹

The bribe was magnificent, and a less clear-minded man might have been tempted by the prospect such a position would afford of doing good. But no bribe, no desire to please the King, nor to avert danger from his kin or himself could induce him to palter with his convictions. To the Duke of Norfolk, who brought him the King's message, a few days after Wolsey's death, expressing his Majesty's desire to raise him to so exalted a dignity—to which there was no other objection than the uncertainty of his disposition with respect to the divorce—he replied that he could not sufficiently acknowledge the King's goodness, and should think himself honoured enough, in whatever condition, provided he was allowed to promote his Prince's true interests; but, that prospect lost, no advancement, however conspicuous, would be agreeable to him: and as he did not well see how he could abet the divorce and, at the same time, act a becoming part with respect

¹ Beccatelli mentions that the See of Winchester was kept vacant for some months, in the hope that Pole would consent to accept it; and that each of the two bishoprics was worth some 30,000 *scudi* a year. Stephen Gardiner was made Bishop of Winchester, December 3rd, 1531, and Edward Lee became Arch-bishop of York; he had accompanied the Earl of Wiltshire to Bologna, to get opinions in favour of the divorce.

1530-31 to his duty to the King, he rather chose to be deprived of that mark of his favour, than accept it on such terms.¹

By the smile or the frown of the Tudor monarch men were made and unmade, as few knew better than the Poles ; and it may be imagined that Reginald's brothers looked with little less than dismay upon his uncompromising answer to the Duke of Norfolk. Although Lord Montague had been restored to favour, and had taken his seat in the House of Lords in 1529, the fate of his father-in-law, and his own sojourn in the Tower were very present memories to him ; like the rest of his family, and the greater part of the nobility and the country generally, he detested the divorce, but nevertheless he had signed the address of the Peers in 1530 to Clement VII, urging him to comply with the King's suit. Sir Geoffrey Pole,² Reginald's younger brother, had been recently knighted by Henry VIII, and soon afterwards married Constance, the elder daughter and heiress of Sir John Packenham, by whom he became possessed of a large estate in Sussex.³ With so much to lose, Sir Geoffrey joined with Montague in urging upon their brother not to ruin himself and them by resisting the King's will, and declining a position where he might have so many other occasions of being useful to his sovereign and to his country.

Norfolk had begged Pole to take time for consideration, and all his relations and friends adding their entreaties, he at last consented to postpone his answer for a month, during which time he would endeavour to find some solution which would satisfy the King, without prejudice to his own conscience. In the interval the King, says Beccatelli, was more than usually gracious to him, with *gran ciera e carezze*. Pole tells us himself how day and night his friends besieged his ears with quotations

¹ *Epist. ad Edwardum*, pars. 32-34.

² Arthur, the second son of Sir Richard Pole, must have died before reaching man's estate, as we find no mention of him in contemporary documents.

³ Lordington. Local antiquaries assert that this manor belonged to Sir Geoffrey Pole's father ; but that has been fully disproved by Father Morris [*Month*, LXV, pp. 521-522.]

from Scripture and serpent-like astuteness “until I could 1530-31 resist no longer.” They had bidden him remember that a good helmsman brings his ship safely into port, though contrary winds may force him to trim his sails, and steer out of the direct course for a while. This Reginald set himself to do during the month’s respite, weighing all the arguments with so great a desire, he confesses, to please men that it came near to blinding him to their aspect with regard to Divine justice; and when Montague and Dr. Fox came to him, at the end of the time, from the King for his answer, he told them he believed he had found one which would satisfy him.

Upon this report, Henry, in his satisfaction, immediately sent for Pole and received him alone in a private gallery of York House [Whitehall]. The rest is best told in Pole’s own words : “When the King came towards me, full of expectation, as he told me himself, and I, prepared to fulfil that expectation, attempted to speak, I found, oh good providence of God ! that my tongue was hampered, my lips refused to move, and when at last, recovering myself, I began to speak, I uttered every argument most opposed to the theory I had come to defend.” The King changed colour, his countenance became full of ire, he put his hand to the dagger in his belt and then withdrew it ; and when Pole began a trembling apology for having displeased him, he replied : “I will consider your opinion, and will then reply to it”; and with a vehement expression of wrath went out of the room, shutting the door with a bang—*ostio, magno impetu, clauso*, leaving Pole in tears.

The King remained shut up alone for some time ; and when Pole announced what had happened to his friends, who at once gathered round him, their consternation and reproaches can be imagined ; but he could only thank the Divine clemency, realising the truth of Solomon’s words : *Hominis est praeparare cor, Dei vero gubernare linguam*. He then bethought him of putting into writing the excuses the King had refused to hear, with all his reasons for not being able to approve the divorce ; and when the Duke of Norfolk and Montague told him it would only further incense his Majesty, he replied that he thought not,

1530-31 as his purpose was to soften the offence he had already given.

The good and evil in Henry's nature probably wrestled strenuously during that hour of solitary thought, after the shock of the disappointment at Pole's address, and at first it almost seemed as if the good had prevailed. Pole entrusted his letter to Sir John Russell, a gentleman of the King's privy chamber, asking him to deliver it to the King if he could do so without incurring detriment or blame, receiving Russell's answer that if Pole was the writer he would deliver it "happen whatever pleased God."

"I requested my brother to sound the King's mind," writes Pole, "as he did . . . having found an opportunity for conversing with the King in a privy garden, where he chanced to walk with him, he related the whole circumstance. On hearing him, and after remaining a long while thoughtful and silent, he [Henry] exclaimed that he had read my writing, and that I had spoken the truth; nor could its perusal make him feel any anger against me, as although the writing was very contrary to his will, he nevertheless recognised in it my love for him and the sincerity with which I had written it; but that in conclusion my opinion did not please him, and that he much wished me to change it, in which case he would then prove how dear I was to him."¹

Pole's epistle to the King is not extant, but a summary of its contents remains in a letter which Cranmer, at that time chaplain to Lord Wiltshire, and ex-tutor to his daughter Anne, wrote to his lord, giving reluctant praise to Master Reynold Pole's production; which was much contrary to the King's purpose, but written with such wit and eloquence that if it were known to the common people, "they could not be persuaded to the contrary." Pole urges Henry to leave the cause to the Pope's judgment, and argues against it the diversity of titles it would engender, as in the days of York and Lancaster; the people think the King has an heir already, and would be sorry to have any other; the Emperor would support his aunt. As to the arguments alleged in favour of the King

¹ *Cardinal Pole to Protector Somerset, 7th September, 1549, MS., St. Mark's Library, Brown, Vol. V, No. 575.*

and the authority of the Universities, he points out that if 1531 Henry pleased to take the opposite side, he could justify it on as good grounds with respect to the law of God ; the people are not to be satisfied by learning and preaching, for what loyal person would be glad to hear that his prince had lived so long in matrimony so abominable, as the books on the King's side say ? He sets against the authority of the Universities, often led by affection, and in this case brought over with great difficulty, the authority of Henry VII, of the Queen's father, and of the Pope, and their Councils.

After warning the King of the Emperor's power and the little trust to be had in the promises of France, " who never keep league with us except for their own advantage," he urges the sake of Henry's own honour, saying he stands on the brink of the water, and yet may save all ; but one step further, and all his honour is drowned.

Cranmer concludes : " Will show the rest of this matter to you to-morrow by word of mouth." And this strange priest remarks complacently : " The King and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsor, and are looked for again to-night at Hampton Court. God be their guide."¹

Henry VIII was not without cause for uneasiness ; in January, 1531, at the request of the Queen, the Pope sent him an injunction forbidding him to re-marry until the decision of the case, and declaring that if he did, all issue would be illegitimate. He also forbids anyone in England, of ecclesiastical or secular dignity, Universities, Parliaments, courts of law, etc., to make any decision in an affair the judgment of which is reserved to the Holy See. The whole under pain of excommunication. As the King had refused to receive the former citation, this is to be affixed to the churches of Bruges, Tournay, and other towns in the Low Countries, which will be sufficient citation.²

" The King has a great dread, for all his bragging," wrote Chapuys to the Emperor on the 21st January, " of receiving some mandate from Rome," and for that reason, Chapuys

¹ *Lansdowne MS.*, 115. B.M.

² Gairdner, Vol. V, No. 27.

1531

believes, he will see neither him nor the nuncio. Henry was also "having words" with Anne Boleyn, who probably did not find that things were going fast enough. The tidings thereof reached Clement VII *via* France—that the King of England was so passionately in love with the woman he wished to marry that, having some difference with her, he summoned certain of her relations, and implored them with tears to make peace.¹ The conditions of peace, it may well be supposed, included the active pursuance of the divorce; and thus spurred on, the King sought for fresh support for the cause which was daily becoming more discredited in the eyes of all.

Unfortunately, there stood at the King's ear the worst of counsellors, the pupil of Machiavelli, ready to put into practice the theories which he had poured into the astounded ears of Reginald Pole at his first return to England. After the disgrace of Wolsey, Henry VIII had confirmed Cromwell in the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries, thereby disappointing public expectation and the general belief that he would be cast into prison and put to death for his misdeeds and extortions.² "But he saved himself by his wits," writes Pole, "as he had so much of the monastic spoils to buy his like." "He was certainly born," he adds, "with an aptitude for ruin and destruction."

All Henry's expedients were exhausted; he began to waver, and observed to his confidants that he had been grossly deceived; he would never have sought a divorce, had

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,582, f. 318. B.M.

² "The King and Wolsey had obtained from Pope Clement VII in 1524, soon after his elevation to the papal throne, a decree authorising the suppression of over forty religious houses, for the founding of two colleges, Ipswich and Oxford. There was great latitude in the Commission, and great complaints were made of abuses in the execution. . . . Wolsey excused himself in a very submissive letter to the King. . . . which did not stop the clamour of the people, who disliked such proceedings, and looked upon them as the effects of Wolsey's avarice and ambition."—Phillips: *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I, p. 30.

"Of Cromwell it is enough to say that even at this early period of his career, his accessibility to bribes and presents in the disposal of monastic leases was notorious."—F. A. Gasquet: *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, pp. 382-383.

he not been assured that the papal approbation might be easily obtained ; that assurance had proved false, and he would now abandon the attempt for ever. Pole had this account from one of those to whom the King had disclosed his sentiments : “ *mihi referebat quæ audivit* ”—and he might reasonably hope that his own fearless expostulation had had its share in bringing about this change of humour. The great aim and ideal of his student life had been so to train his every faculty and power, that he might prove a wise counsellor and useful servant to his sovereign and his country ; and when the opportunity offered, the mind thus trained and disciplined carried him triumphantly over every difficulty, even that which, in a momentary desire to prefer the opinion of others to his own, he himself had raised. He had spoken at the actual peril of his life ; Henry VIII told one of his familiars afterwards Beccatelli he was so incensed that he had thought to kill him on the spot, but refrained at the sight of the candour and integrity with which he spoke.

One of Cardinal Wolsey’s last messages to Rome before his disgrace was a threat that if the King obeyed the Pope’s advocation to appear and defend his case, he would come at the head of a powerful army. Henry did not make good his minister’s words, but sent Sir Edward Karne as *excusator* with a long string of arguments and declarations why he could neither go to Rome, nor plead by proxy ; and in his anxiety to get support for his cause, he got a learned Jew, writes Chapuys, over from the Continent, who gave it as his opinion that the marriage with Katherine should not be impugned, but that the King should take another wife, whose son should be regarded as if he were the Queen’s.¹

It was at this pass that Cromwell held the epoch-making discourses with Henry VIII, in which he advised him to throw off the yoke of Rome, and make himself head of the Church. They are recorded by Pole in his *Apologia* to Charles V,

¹ The Jew, according to Ludovico Falier, the Venetian ambassador in London, was a renegade, by name Marco Rafael. March 4th, 1531.—*Ven. Cal.*, Vol. IV, No. 658.

1531

written five years after his own departure from England, and three years before Cromwell was beheaded. He says—

“ Lest it should be imagined that I have adapted a discourse to the character of the person, I declare, with the strictest regard to truth, that I have only thrown together, either what on different occasions I have heard from himself, or learned from those who were privy to all his designs ; and have unquestionable proofs of everything I have set down.”

After declaring the general concern of the nation for the disquietude he laboured under, Cromwell ventured to insinuate to the King that he might, with great emolument of power, profit and honour, not only extricate himself from his present difficulties, but secure his whole future life from all such opposition ; and, after repeating many of the arguments he had formerly used to Pole himself, concluded that if the nature of rectitude was variable, none had a better right to change it than kings, whose prerogative it was to have the very laws derive their force and stability from their will. The law of God, which forbade marriage with a brother's widow, and the decision of the Universities in his favour, left no further room for disputing about what was right. The people had no right to pass sentence on the actions of their sovereign ; and if the Roman pontiff, out of consideration to the Emperor, persisted in refusing the King's just demands, he had a fair opportunity of freeing himself and his kingdom from the slavery of a foreign yoke : this yoke which the Pope had laid on the necks of kings and states was grievous, and he wondered why they did not consider it in the same light with the German princes, and, like them, shake it off. They had felt no inconvenience from such a conduct, but great increase of wealth and power. By assuming the supremacy of the Church in his own dominions, which was due to him, he would surpass all his ancestors in every princely prerogative ; two heads in the same state was a prodigy ; the fiction of priestcraft to subtract the clergy from the jurisdiction of the prince.

And here, says Pole, having, as it were, transported the King to the pinnacle of the Temple, from whence he might survey

the Church's fair possessions, the religious houses, and the whole patrimony of the clergy, he told him all these were his on the easy condition of declaring himself, what he really was, the Head of the Church, and causing that title to be confirmed by the Supreme Council of the Justices. The matter would not be difficult, if he chose skilful managers, and observed the precaution of exacting compliance under the severest penalties, sparing none who dared to transgress. His predecessors had not seen how much their majesty was impaired by submitting to the papal jurisdiction ; or had been too much occupied by foreign wars to give heed to those domestic enemies who, under the appearance of religion, sapped the foundation of government. But now a perfect tranquillity at home and abroad afforded a favourable opportunity of recovering what usurpation had so long withheld, of obtaining the desired object of his choice and affection, and increasing both his wealth and power. The supremacy, in all its latitude, was to be secured, and by this means true sovereignty to himself and his successors, and a lasting monument left of his own wisdom.¹

Such proposals chimed too well with every evil passion in Henry VIII's breast not to be as welcome as rain to a thirsty land ; in fact, so artfully were they framed that Pole tells us—

“ Their semblance of reason was so plausible, that some of my acquaintance, who had a reputation for prudence, and had hitherto condemned the King's designs, were prevailed on to approve them. As for the Adviser, he was honoured with the King's entire confidence, became his Chief Counsellor, and was invested with a power suitable to the plan he was to execute. Some time before, on Wolsey's disgrace, whose creature and chief agent he had been, the people, who were acquainted with his abilities for villainy, had doomed him to the gallows. . . . Their surprise and sorrow were all the greater when they saw him at the helm, and the King's Vicar-General in his new capacity of Head of the Church.”²

No time was lost : although Convocation only formally agreed on March 11th to the title of “ chief protector, the only

¹ *Apologia ad Carolum Imp.*, par. 27 seq.

² *Ibid.*, par. 28. Dr. Gairdner, in *Lollardy and the Reformation*, shows that Cranmer had forestalled Cromwell in making the suggestion to Henry VIII.—*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, XIII, p. 77.

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supreme lord and, *as far as the law of Christ will allow*, the supreme head of the Church," Chapuys mentions it in a letter to the Emperor of the 14th February, saying it has been wrung from the clergy under pain of the law of *praemunire*, and implies in effect "as much as if they had declared him Pope of England." As to their proviso he shrewdly remarks—

"But that is all the same, as far as the King is concerned, as if they had made no such reservation; for no one now will be so bold as to contest with his lord the importance of this reservation. This Act has very much astonished the Queen, who, seeing that the King is not afraid to commit such enormities . . . has no doubt that now the King's lady is as much delighted as if she had gained paradise."¹

The fateful concession had only been made after three days' strenuous opposition; and Reginald Pole, who had been present, as he reminds the King, in his *De Unitate*, f. 19, with a deputation of the clergy, and had heard him refuse the large sum of 400,000 crowns unless it were granted to him as head of the Church, also reminds the King that he was absent from Convocation when it was conceded: "*dum haec statuerentur non adjui.*"

The clergy began to repent almost immediately of what they had done; they were more conscious every day of the error they had committed, going so far as to declare they would not pay a penny of the 400,000 crowns unless Parliament would retract it. The clergy of York and Durham sent Henry VIII a strong protest against the new title, and the Province of Canterbury did the same. "The King is greatly displeased," writes Chapuys in reporting the facts to Charles V, 5th May, 1531.

It must have been a relief to Reginald Pole to turn from the contemplation of these doings to his correspondence with his friends abroad, in which, for obvious reasons, no allusions to public affairs found place. His correspondence with Pietro Bembo seems to have been regular ever since his departure from Padua, and he remarks in a letter to Sadoleto that during

¹ Gairdner: *Letters and Papers*, Vol. V, No. 105.

the four years he had spent in England, he had read but little more classic Latin than what he had written himself in answer to the letters of his friends, having been entirely taken up with theology, and he excuses himself that his Latin has become rusty. On the 25th August, 1531, Erasmus writes to him from Friburg : Simon Gryneus has arrived from England "and has expostulated with me not a little for having omitted to write to you, who deserve a principal place among my friends." He supposes that Pole has returned to those literary pursuits which he had reluctantly abandoned when he left Padua, and tells him that Frobenius is going to print the Greek St. Basil at Erasmus's suggestion.

Gryneus had probably told Erasmus of Pole's desire to leave England. The disintegrating power of tyranny such as that of Henry VIII reaches to the sources of family as well as of social life ; and love itself can do no other than desire the absence of those it cherishes, but can neither defend nor help, and whose presence is a peril and a danger to themselves and to all concerned. Thus it was to be with the Queen and her daughter ; to this it had already come with Lady Salisbury and her son. Katherine of Arragon and the Princess still appeared on public occasions, and the Queen maintained the rule of high-bred Spanish courtesy with the King, and the cheerful dignity of bearing which endeared her more and more to the people, who looked with corresponding hatred upon her rival.¹

As for Pole himself, his inability to serve the Queen whom he revered, the danger his presence might bring upon his own family—his niece Katherine, Montague's daughter, was soon to be married to Francis, Lord Hastings, son of the Earl of

¹ Henry VIII went so far as to reproach the Queen for the affection of his subjects, accusing her of trying to make herself popular, and gaining the affection of the people. It was about this time that a sudden and unexpected solution of the situation almost came to pass : "Anne Boleyn was supping alone at a villa on the Thames, when a mob of 7,000 or 8,000 women of London, and of men disguised as women, attempted to seize her, and she would have fallen a victim to their anger, if she had not escaped them by crossing the river in a boat." —*Ven. Cal.*, IV, p. 304.

1532 Huntingdon—the ever-increasing favour of Cromwell with the King, and the recollection of his own conversation with that man of “ill-fated abilities” were sufficient warning to “flee the inhospitable shores” of his native country.¹ For some time the King refused the permission he begged, to retire abroad and return to a life of study. And it was not until Parliament was about to meet, in February, 1532, and Pole openly told him that should he be called to take his seat, and the divorce was discussed, he must speak according to his conscience, that Henry suddenly gave him leave to depart. The whole circumstances appear to have been well known, for Chapuys writes to the Emperor, on the 22nd January, 1532—

“Parliament will open on the 16th. . . . The son of the Princess’s governess, who refused the Archbishopric of York because he would not adopt the King’s opinion, could not obtain licence to study abroad until the other day. He told the King that if he remained here he must attend Parliament; and, if the divorce were discussed, he must speak according to his conscience. On this, the King immediately gave him leave to go, and promised to continue his income of 400 ducats, and to allow him to retain his benefices.”

Before leaving England Reginald Pole had an interesting interview with his kinsman, Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, the King’s cousin-german, and one of the most important nobles of the realm; an account of which we have in his own hand, written twenty-one years later to Exeter’s son, Edward Courtenay [2nd October, 1553]. Exeter was ill at the time and sent for Pole, and addressed these words to him:

Ven. Cal. “Lord Cousin Pole,—Your departure from the realm at this present time shows in what a miserable state we find ourselves. It is to the universal shame of all us nobles, who allow you to absent yourself when we ought most to avail ourselves of your presence, but being unable to find any other remedy for this, we pray God to find it himself.”

It would be difficult to find words more eloquent than these of the state of feeling and of helplessness to which the overbearing mastery of Henry VIII had reduced the chief men of his court.

¹ *Apologia*, par. 29 seq.

The date of Pole's departure for his long exile is not clear; ¹⁵³² the first letter extant addressed to him from England bears date of 31st July.¹ He must have left in the spring, though probably not before the 24th February, when Archbishop Warham, six months before his death (23rd August), made some atonement for his weak-kneed servility to the King, and lack of valiant example and good guidance to the clergy, by uttering his solemn protest "against all enactments made in the Parliament commenced in the Blackfriars, 3rd November, 1529, in derogation of the Pope's authority or of the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Province of Canterbury."²

Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's intimate friend, also sent in his protest against the title granted by Convocation, of *Supremum Caput*. He thinks the word ought to be explained *in temporalibus, post Christum*, in order to avoid offence.³

But such after-thoughts—and they were numerous—were of no avail. Of a different nature was the protest of Peto, a friar of the order of Observants, a simple and very devout man, who preached before the King in the Palace Chapel of Greenwich on Easter Sunday, April, 1532. Taking as his text the 22nd Chapter of the Third Book of Kings, viz., the last

¹ The letter is from Edward Wotton, Pole's agent in London, and is preserved among Pole's letters in St. Mark's Library, Venice. It is dated July 31st, but without the year, and addressed to "D. R. Pole, Anglo, Avinion." John Walker has put into the bank for Pole £84 15s. 10d. Will remit 400 crowns. . . . Some of Pole's receivers or farmers are not very good payers . . . thinks, therefore, Pole would do well to send him a list of what is due at stated times. . . . For the next five years, £30 a year will have to be paid to the King, so Pole should now begin to play the good husband and not be negligent, but let John Walker know how everything should be received. . . . "Abell (as they say) hath put forth a book in English, in which he answereth in every point the book that is put forth concerning the marriage [by Cranmer, in 1529]. I would get or send it you . . . but it is not commonly abroad, nor I dare not be so curious about getting it." Thomas Abell's book appeared in 1531, which led Mr. Rawdon Brown to place Wotton's letter in that year, when Pole was still in England.

² Wilkins, III, p. 746; Gairdner, Vol. V, No. 818.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 745; *ibid.*, No. 819.

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part of the story of Ahab, and turning to the royal pew, lifting his skull-cap with a profound reverence—

“Your Highness’s preachers,” he said, “verily are too much like those of Ahab’s day, in whose mouths were found a false and lying spirit. They flatter and proclaim falsehoods, and are consequently unfaithful to your Highness. Theirs is a gospel of untruth. . . . I beseech your Grace to take good heed, lest if you will need follow Ahab in his doings, you will surely incur his unhappy end also, and that the dogs lick your blood, as they licked Ahab’s— which God avert and forbid !”¹

Pole had probably left England when these undaunted and prophetic words were uttered, but when their echo reached him, they will have made his heart burn within him. Then followed the tidings that Sir Thomas More had laid down the Great Seals, and was Chancellor no more. “Seeing that affairs were going on badly,” reports Chapuys, on the 22nd May, “and likely to be worse, and that if he retained his office he would be obliged to act against his conscience, or incur the King’s displeasure. . . . Everyone is concerned, for there never was a better man in the office. . . .”²

Reginald Pole had spent five years in England; to the reputation for learning and virtue which he had brought with him from Padua, his conduct in the refusal of the Arch-bishopric of York, and his attitude towards the divorce had

¹ F. G. Lee, D.D.: *Historical Sketch of Cardinal Pole*, pp. 290-91; *Stow Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 561. Stow states that the King “being thus reprobred, endured it patiently and did no violence to Peto, but the next Sunday Dr. Richard Curwen, a Canon of Hereford, preached in the same place, who sharply reprehended Peto and his preaching, called him dog, slanderer, etc.” *Ibid.* Chapuys, however, writing on the 16th April, states that when Curwen was told off to refute Peto’s statements the latter had gone to Toulouse, but the Warden, Henry Elston or Elstowe, stood up and contradicted Curwen in the name of the community. Nor was Henry VIII as patient as Stow says; Peto must have been arrested immediately upon his return from Toulouse, for we find in a letter of Chapuys under date of May 2nd, 1532: “The Observant Friars (Peto and Elston) are still under arrest.” But they do not seem to have been brought to trial, and they were both able to leave the country.

² Sir Thomas More was succeeded as Chancellor by Sir Thomas Audeley, who, if we are to believe Marillac, the French ambassador, was “grand vendeur de justice.”—Le Grand, Vol. I, p. 224.

added a lustre that enhanced it immeasurably in the eyes of all 1532 honest men—all the more, perhaps, that the valiant defenders of truth and justice who openly ranked with Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were so few. The field was now in the hands of Anne Boleyn, and the King's lay Vicar-General Cromwell; to whom was soon to be added a worthy third in the person of the Boleyns' chaplain, Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

With these adventurers as advisers instead of Katherine of Arragon, Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, and—we may add Reginald Pole, for if his intervention was as short as it was perilous to himself, it had been within measurable distance of proving efficacious—with these new confidants and instruments, it is not surprising that Henry VIII's downward career thenceforward proceeded by leaps and bounds.

CHAPTER VI

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“IN order,” as Beccatelli states in his *Vita*, “to be in a remote place,” and where such an incident as the King’s orders formerly sent to him in Paris would be unlikely to recur, Reginald Pole betook himself to Avignon, the papal city, where he might live unobserved, and pursue his studies in peace. Avignon was a celebrated seat of learning; although André Alciate, the great doctor of Civil Law, had left for Beziers before Pole’s arrival he found in J. Francis Ripa a worthy successor to Alciate’s chair, and the learned Castellan, Dean of Avignon, whose erudition and friendship for Pole are specially recorded by Pietro Bembo. Here, with an increase of seriousness and devotion, consequent upon his experiences in his own country, he turned his studies entirely to sacred literature. The climate of Avignon, however, as the year drew on, with its fierce winds and hurricanes, proving contrary to his health, he determined to return to Padua in the month of September. He took Carpentras on his way in order to make the acquaintance of its famous bishop, Giacomo Sadoletto; and during the visit was knit the friendship, which remained undiminished until Sadoletto’s death in 1547.

“In a time of corruption, luxury, cupidity, dissensions, and religious feuds. . . . Giacomo Sadoletto . . . was a model of chastity, frugality, integrity, disinterestedness, generosity, mildness, and toleration. At a period prolific in learned writers, his works were admired by those writers themselves.”¹

Twenty-three years older than Reginald Pole, and yet so like him in many ways; precocious in learning—it was said of him that he knew the precepts of Aristotle at an age when children are beginning to learn Greek and Latin—a poet, whose verses as a young man show what he could have done if he

¹ P. Charpenne: *Translation of A. Florabelli’s Life of Sadoletto, 1547. Preface.* Sadoletto was born at Modena in 1477, created Cardinal in 1536, and died at Rome in 1547.

had given himself up to that art, it can be imagined how rare a 1532 pleasure two such men would find in each other's conversation.

When Pole arrived, Sadolet was finishing his *Treatise on Education* destined for his nephew—a promising young man who was to succeed him as Bishop of Carpentras,—and he entrusted the MS. to Pole to take to Bembo at Venice. Pole was to read it on the way, and to record his own opinion of it. He did so in a letter dated Venice, 5 Kal. November, 1532. The letter is of great length, in the finished style of eloquence which Erasmus compared to that of Cicero.¹

In thanking Sadolet for his hospitality, Pole recalls the words of Timotheus to Plato after having supped with him—^{Poli Epp. I, 277} that his banquets were not only agreeable at the time when the guests partook of them, but afterwards. Sadolet's consummate learning and prudence had freed his mind from perplexity on very great matters. The MS. entrusted to him was a companion “which placed you constantly in my sight, and recalled in a lively manner the conversations we had had. Who indeed could give me a juster notion of you than yourself ? than your writings ? than that very treatise which I was to deliver to Bembo ?” It had made him forget all the inconveniences of a troublesome journey, and fixed his attention on that lucid path, by which the writer leads his pupil to true glory; as a great master, whose age and experience has enabled him to point out the dangers and obstacles which occur in this pursuit, and the means by which they are to be shunned or conquered ; always rising to the dignity of his subject.

No one had a better title to so admirable a work than the nephew for whom it had been drawn up, whose birth and happy disposition had already prepared him for these sublimer lessons. After having said everything in praise of the book which his relish for its excellence could suggest, Pole then, as the author had desired his opinion, does not dissimulate his disapprobation of the conclusion ; and tells him he thinks he should not have finished his plan with what concerns philosophy, but have carried it on still further. He says—

¹ One sentence of Pole's letter covers twenty-seven lines *in folio*.

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"I will not dispute the excellence of this science, and the preference it might have claimed above all others, had your disciple lived in the early times of Plato and Aristotle, or in the later days of Cicero, or had these instructors been his guides. . . . But being born in happier days, when new tracts of sea and land, unknown to antiquity have been discovered; and harbours which the ancients frequented have become of little use, or lie buried in ruins; so, under the guidance of Christ, a much safer and calmer haven of the mind has been opened to us, than the old world ever knew of. Then why does Sadolet, who has sailed by those ports, or made no longer stay than was needed to store his vessel for the rest of his voyage, and has taken up his station in that haven [theology] where he dwells secure and with a tranquil mind—why does he leave the disciple, whose course he has hitherto steered, in the unsafe harbour of philosophy?—a harbour which no longer deserves that name, but has become what the poet said of Tenedos—

*"Nunc tantum sinus et statio malefida carinis."*¹

After drawing a fine comparison between the wisdom and tranquillity of the Christian state and that of which the ancients made profession, having the same superiority over whatever philosophy could propose, that divine things have above those which are human, Pole entreats Sadolet not to judge his part performed till he has brought his pupil into that sacred haven in which he himself has found peace of mind and true glory. He concludes—

"I have enlarged on this subject to obey your commands of sending you my opinion of a work which I cannot sufficiently admire, and at the same time to testify my esteem for sacred literature, which I could not, without concern, see passed over in silence, whilst you do so much honour to the other branches of learning."

To appreciate Pole's criticism, it is necessary to remember how greatly the Renaissance, with its almost exclusive cultivation of classical learning, had tended to bring a cold blast of paganism to bear upon the whole system of human knowledge.

Sadolet was not long in replying. He wrote, on the 3rd

¹ "Once blest with wealth, while Priam held the sway,
But now a broken, rough, and dangerous bay."—Pitt.

December, affectionately approving the love of virtue and the devout mind which appeared in Pole's expostulation, and explaining that he had made no special mention of theology because it came under the general notion of philosophy, and was the utmost height and perfection of it : that in philosophy, as in a great body, there were several parts, and that what treated of God, and the first Cause, as Aristotle had well observed, was almost alone worthy of the appellation ; Christian writers of later times had treated theology in a different manner, yet those holy and learned men, Chrysostom, Basil, and others had viewed it in the same light as he had done, and called it philosophy. Moreover, he had only brought his disciple to the twenty-fifth year of his age, and did not judge it proper to recommend professedly a science which seemed suited to riper and more sedate years ; as to what concerned religion, he had said as much of it as was necessary to be known at so early a period of life ; and, to conclude, he intended to range all philosophy under its several heads ; and in a new treatise, called *Hortensius*, theology would be the principal ornament ; so he had not thought it advisable to anticipate its commendation.

This explanation did not altogether satisfy Pole that *Poli Epp.* I. 283 Sadoleto had treated sacred literature with all the attention it had a claim to, as appears by a later letter from Sadoleto, in answer to one of Pole's, which has not been preserved. He says he imagined he had already cleared himself, but since Pole persists in the charge, he would take care to satisfy him in as ample a manner as he could wish : all he asked was an unprejudiced review of the point in debate, which biased the judgment to neither side, in a cause which was yet undecided.

The impression Pole made upon his new friend appears in the letters the latter wrote to Giberti, Bishop of Verona, and to Bonamico : "When Reginald passed by Avignon" [Carpentras], he writes to Bonamico, "his stay was so short, that it hardly allowed me to contemplate him ; and yet, methought I discovered such various excellence in every kind of merit that I have not only loved, but conceived the highest veneration for him. His genius, probity, erudition, entitle

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him to our esteem ; but there is still something more admirable, that such a goodness of disposition, and so much humanity, should be joined to an elevated fortune and royal extraction.”¹

Pole’s habit of letting no opportunity slip of improving himself by the advice and discourse of able men is referred to by Sadoleto to Giberti : Reginald can tell him everything that concerns himself. “ The short time he was with me, he enquired what method I observed in reading and writing, and what was the principal view I proposed to myself in my studies ; and I have reaped in my turn the greatest satisfaction from his acquaintance, having discovered a genius of the first class, a consummate knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, accompanied with humanity, and great elegance of manners.”² Sadoleto, moreover, received Pole’s advice on an important article, which does equal honour to the enlightened mind of the one and the teachable disposition of the other, especially when the disparity in age between them is considered.

Brought up among the wits of the Court of Leo X, Sadoleto had retained a secret bias to those studies which were there in request ; and though, on his advancement to the episcopate, he had begun to apply himself to pursuits more suitable to his character, a certain irresolution still hung about him, and hindered him from closing with what unquestionably had the better claim to his industry. He had two works on hand : a commentary on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, which he had undertaken, he says, because he was desirous to bring all the assistance he could to the cause of Christianity, which was almost everywhere in danger. The other work was in praise of philosophy, and he was in doubt which he should finish first. Bembo, whom he had consulted, and who as yet had made but a slender progress in Christian literature, was earnest with him in favour of the latter : “ Your reputation,” he says, “ is concerned in giving this Dialogue your first care. You are engaged to the public by the pledge you have already given of the performance. The expectation you have raised, and so

¹ Phillips, Vol. I, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

many years deferred to gratify, will make you find less indul- 1532
gence than if you had published nothing on this head." Pole's
opinion had also been asked, and he had given it in so com-
prehensive a way as not only to resolve the question in debate,
but to give the decisive cast to his friend's future conduct with
respect to letters.

"I shall never forget," writes Sadolet, "the faithful and prudent
advice you gave me, when I was unresolved to what kind of learning
I should chiefly apply myself, and to what authority I should pay
the greatest deference. There were not wanting those who proposed
to me certain plans of study and writing, very different from what
I have now embraced. But you readily and wisely counselled me
to addict myself chiefly to those whose emolument extended not
only to this life but to futurity. This single answer determined me
to betake myself to sacred literature, to which my own choice
already inclined me. . . ."

Strength of character and intensity of purpose must have
been clad in great sweetness of disposition and winning
persuasive charm to have exercised so sudden and strong an
influence upon those who came in contact with Reginald Pole,
as happened time after time, with the most diverse persons,
throughout his life. A very clear and ardent flame must
have shone through "the ivory lantern" of his personality,
unsmirched by anything that was gross or mean, and which
warmed and enlightened every true heart that came near him.
And he had come to Sadolet as a disciple, with no thought
farther from him than that of teaching where he had come to
learn.

Pole had delivered Sadolet's MS. to Bembo, and enclosed
letters from him to the former in his own of the 5th Kal.
November, adding it was easier to conceive than to describe
Bembo's satisfaction with the book. At Verona, he had given
Bishop Giberti, Sadolet's letters, and had been detained a day
by the bishop, who talked of scarcely anything else than
Sadolet and his writings.

During the next two years Pole spent most of his time at
Venice, with constant visits to Padua. His information from
England was minute and complete, as is proved by his later
writings; but how his letters were conveyed to him does not

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appear—in all probability through the Venetian embassy, for no mention of public affairs could be ventured by the ordinary post ; at Venice, moreover, he was at headquarters for receiving the earliest notification of all public news, the organisation of the Venetian government in that respect being extraordinarily perfect and widespread. From thence he could keep an anxious attention fixed upon the developments of the tragedy in his own country, while carrying on with his Italian friends the intercourse and correspondence upon learned subjects into which no mention of those other cares was allowed to find a place. In November he was ill, for Sadolet wrote : "Your Thomas wrote to me from Avignon that you had had a relapse of your old complaint at Venice." He made one more attempt before the end of the year to plead Henry's own cause with that monarch, writing to him from Padua a carefully considered letter, full of powerful arguments against the divorce, whose wisdom the King and Cromwell praised, but paid no further heed to. Meanwhile his friends in England caused him to be instituted in his absence (20th December, 1532), to the Vicarage of Piddletown, in Dorset, a living in the patronage of his family. In order to hold it he was dispensed *propter defectum susceptionis sacrorum ordinum*, for he was still a layman.¹

Add. MS. The news from England was anything but reassuring. On 6113, Sunday, September 1st, Henry VIII made Anne Boleyn £. 7. Marchioness of Pembroke, giving her two patents, one of her creation, the other of £1,000 a year ; and he obtained, through the French ambassador, an invitation from Francis I for that lady to accompany him on his approaching visit to France ; the French King, "knowing," writes Chapuys, "that the King would bring her without being asked, as he cannot leave her for an hour."²

¹ Hutchins : *Dorset*, II, p. 624. Pole resigned the living of Piddletown three years later.

² Le Grand : *Histoire du Divorce*, Vol. II. The French ambassador, in a letter to the Grand Maître, Anne de Montmorency, says the English King hopes Francis I will bring the Queen of Navarre and his children to the meeting.

Francis I was doubtless charmed to renew his acquaintance 1532 with Mistress Anne, but he did not accede to Henry's wish that he should bring the ladies of his family with him to Calais.¹ The ostensible purpose of the meeting between the two kings was the treaty against the Turk, signed by them at Calais on the 18th October, but Henry's chief desire was that Francis should exert further pressure upon the Pope in the matter of the divorce. It is possible that the merry monarch of France may have remarked that since Henry had made himself head of the Church he could do as he pleased; which, as we shall see, the latter accepted as formal advice to marry Anne Boleyn without further reference to Rome. But though he might dance with the new Marchioness of Pembroke, and give her a fine diamond, Francis would not, for her sake, quarrel with the Pope, nor accept the English King's invitation to follow him into schism.

For this interview, Henry VIII had not only, writes Chapuys ^{1 Oct.} to Charles V, given Anne all his own jewels to wear, but sent the Duke of Norfolk to the Queen to obtain hers as well. Katherine began by replying that it was against her conscience to give her jewels "to adorn a person who is the scandal of Christendom and a disgrace to the King, who takes her to such an assembly; however, if the King sent expressly to ask for them, she would obey him in this as in other things." Henry did send for them, and the Queen gave all the jewels she had, "with which the King was much pleased." The jewels were expressly asked for as a loan, but they were never returned to the Queen, as Chapuys indignantly records in several of his letters to the Emperor.

The crisis which was now approaching between the King and the See of Rome—notwithstanding the greatest anxiety to avoid the extremities to which each was committed, the one by his self-will, and the other by his manifest duty—is summed up in a letter from Clement VII to Henry VIII dated Rome, November 15th. After recapitulating all the proceedings during the past four years concerning the marriage question,

¹ See Appendix B.

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the Pope refers to his letter of the 25th January, telling the King not to send away Katherine, nor cohabit with a certain Anne while the case pended. He is grieved to hear he still continues to separate himself from Katherine and to cohabit with Anne, and again exhorts him and warns him, under pain of excommunication, to take Katherine back as his queen, and reject Anne within one month from the presentation of this letter, until the papal sentence be given. If the King does not do this, the Pope declares both him and Anne to be excommunicated at the expiry of the said term, and forbids him to divorce himself from Katherine by his own authority, and marry Anne, or any other, such marriage being invalid.¹

9 Feb.

Chapuys expressed indignation with the Pope that he had not pronounced sentence of excommunication instead of decreeing a breve, which he can revoke at his pleasure, which would not be the case with the sentence—

"A sentence is the sovereign and only remedy, and the Queen says the King would not struggle against it, if only for fear of his subjects. . . . If a tumult arose, I do not know if his Lady, who is hated by all the world, would escape with her life and her jewels. If the Pope does not take care, and that soon, he will lose his authority here little by little, and his censures will not be regarded."

These strictures of the Imperial ambassador have often been repeated, and Dr. Gairdner remarks: "Apart from all questions of morality, the disobedience shown by the King to the Holy See was such as might well have justified a sentence of excommunication, if the papal authority intended still to make itself respected. But Clement was not the sort of Pope who could be expected to bring kings to a sense of duty . . . and during the whole progress of this unhappy question he contrived more and more to weaken his own authority till it was finally repudiated altogether."²

It may, however, be questioned whether the Pope would

¹ Gairdner: Vol. V, No. 1545. In a breve dated January 2nd, 1533, Clement VII invited Henry VIII to come to the General Council to be held at Bologna, reminding him of his title of F. D.—Le Plat: *Monumentum Concilii Tridentini*.

² Preface to Vol. V: *Letters and Papers*, p. xii.

not have incurred equal blame, and more deservedly, if he had 1533 failed to reach the uttermost limits of patience and forbearance in his dealings with the King. Although Clement VII during the Italian campaign may have merited the pasquinades with which he was assailed for his want of resolution in a time of war,¹ he does not lack defenders of his conduct with regard to English affairs. Audin declares : " This Pope's conduct in the affair of the divorce would be a model of diplomatic ability if, above all, it were not animated by a truly Christian charity."² And in his recent life of Gianmatteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, *Datario* of Clement, Signor Battista Pighi writes : " Clement VII was accused of having too long deferred pronouncing sentence upon Henry VIII's matrimonial cause ; but whoever knows the nature of the base passion which agitated the King, the illusions and the deceptions which form its ordinary course, and who at the same time considers Henry's former merits . . . will rather admire in Clement VII the Vicar of Him who does not wish for the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live."³

In the above letter Chapuys tells the Emperor that the Queen has commanded him to write as he has done, and that she suspects the sudden promotion of Cranmer to the Arch-bishopric is for the purpose of attempting something against her ; for the King has boasted that if the Pope did not grant what he sent Dr. Bonner to ask—" who starts to-morrow "—he would have his case tried in England as soon as the bulls arrived here [for Cranmer].

When Archbishop Warham died, August, 1532, Cranmer was in Germany, on a mission from Henry to the Protestant princes concerning the divorce. He embraced the tenets of the

¹ " Un papato composto di rispetti
Di considerazioni e di discorsi,
Di più, di poi, di ma, di sì, di forse
Di pur, di assai parole senza effetti."

Berni Opere, Vol. V, Sonetto xxv, Milano, 1806.

² Audin : *Op. Tom.*, II, Cap. 17.

³ Battista Pighi : *Gianmatteo Giberti Vescovo di Verona*, Verona, 1900, p. 144.

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reformers to the extent of espousing the daughter, or sister, of Osiander, the great pillar of Lutheranism in that country.¹ According to Harpsfield, in his MS. Life of Cranmer, quoted by Le Grand, when Cranmer went to thank Henry for his nomination, the King bade him go and thank Anne Boleyn, "for you owe the obligation to her." On the morning of his consecration, 30 March he called together some of his friends, among them Goodrich, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and a notary, in the Chapter House of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and declared to them that the oath of obedience he was about to take to the Pope was a matter of form by which he did not intend to be bound. "I take it to satisfy such as are present, and in no way to submit myself to those who are not here."² He desired that his protest might be registered.

R.O.,
S.P., I,
390

This act of duplicity, and Cranmer's letter to the King a fortnight later, beseeching him very humbly to allow him to determine his great cause of matrimony, as belongs to the Archbishop's spiritual office—"as much bruit exists among the common people on the subject"—duly reached Reginald Pole's ears at Venice; and, when the tide had turned, and Cranmer was a prisoner at Oxford, in the letter which was Pole's last, almost despairing effort to bring him to a sense of his misdeeds, he says of the first: "To what did this serve, but to be foresworn before you did swear. Others break their oaths after they have sworn: you break it before. Men forced to swear by *vim et metum* may have some colour of defence, but you had no such excuse."³

Ibid.,
Rym.
XIV, 454

Meanwhile, as Queen Katherine had foreseen, Cranmer's consecration was immediately followed by the determination of the Convocation of Canterbury "on the two points discussed in the King's divorce—first, that the Pope has no power of dispensation in case of a marriage where the brother's wife has been *cognita*." The house consisted of sixty-six theologians, the negatives nineteen. The second was, whether Katherine

¹ Tierney's Dodd, Vol. I.

² Harding, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, quoted by Le Grand, Vol. I, p. 259.

³ Strype: *Chronicles*, App. 213.

was *cognita*. "The numbers present forty-four. Decided in 1533 the affirmative with five or six negatives. . . . 5th April."

Chapuys wrote on the 31st March that the King was extremely urgent with the synod for the determination, so that those present could scarcely eat or drink, and using such terms to them that no one dared open his mouth to contradict except the good Bishop of Rochester. "But his single voice cannot avail against the majority, so that he and the Queen consider her cause desperate."

Although the Queen's cause was in truth desperate, and Fisher's voice was the only one to make itself heard on her behalf, it is some satisfaction to find from the above notarial attestation that eighteen others voted with him, although against an overwhelming majority. Parliament followed next: "constrained," writes Chapuys, "by the King's absolute power, the Estates [Commons] have done the very contrary to the remonstrances they heretofore made, and have decreed that all processes, even in the case of marriage, ought to be settled in this kingdom without recourse to the Pope, under pain of high treason!" And the same letter announces: "Last Sunday, being Palm Sunday, the King made the Bishop of Rochester prisoner, and put him under the care of the Bishop of Winchester, which is a very strange thing, as he is the most holy and learned prelate in Christendom."

Henry VIII, in a letter of 12th April to Cranmer, very graciously allowed his cause to be tried by him; although Henry is his King, and recognises no superior on earth, yet as Cranmer is the principal Minister "of our spiritual jurisdiction," and is so in the fear of God, he cannot refuse his request.¹

There now appeared nothing to wait for, though, in fact, there was grave cause for uneasiness: the Pope had declared that issue of Anne's would be illegitimate, and the whole of Christendom would agree with him, including Henry's own subjects. On the other hand, a marriage ceremony could not be delayed, if Anne's child was to be born in a semblance of

¹ Cranmer's letter to the King, given above, was dated April 11th.

1533 wedlock.¹ In this dilemma Henry VIII looked to his ally of France to help him ; Anne's brother, Lord Rochford, was sent to Paris to inform Francis I that Henry *had taken his advice*, R.O., S.P., VII, given at their last meeting, and, in his anxiety to have a male 427 heir, had proceeded effectually to the accomplishment of his marriage. He hopes Francis will assist and maintain him in case of the Pope's excommunication ; and to establish the succession which, please God, will follow, and which to all appearance is in a state of advancement already ; as the King himself would do for Francis in like case. He also sends the draft of a letter for Francis to write to the Pope, together with a long string of arguments.

Francis was assailed on both sides : Charles V was not unmindful of the insult and injury being done to his blood in the person of his aunt. So far he had contented himself with supporting her interests before the Pope, but now that Henry was acting in open defiance of the Holy See, such representations were of little use. Charles was steadily consolidating his own mighty empire, and knew that any overt act against England would involve a war with Francis I, still smarting from his own disasters and imprisonment. To detach him from Henry was now the Emperor's object ; and through his ambassador in Paris he lavished praises upon him for " his honest expressions about this marriage," for the good counsel he had given the King, and the sympathy he had expressed for Katherine.² But such half measures were ill suited to bring Henry VIII to reason. So long as the Emperor and the King of France abstained from joining against him, so long as his own people did not rise in open rebellion, he held to the course which was becoming more difficult and eccentric every day, through his own determination to cling to that semblance of legality which was so dear to him, and which the inevitable

¹ Letter of the French ambassador, Le Bailli de Troyes, London, May 1533. *Mélanges Historiques de Camusat*, p. 128. Le Grand : Vol. I, p. 259-260.

² *Granvelle Papers*, II, 22. The French ambassador Le Bailli de Troyes, had been urgent with Cranmer to defer the dissolution of the marriage.

circumstances of the case rendered in fact impossible, notwithstanding the craven submission of the clergy, of the nobility and parliament. Having announced his marriage to Francis I, he next sent the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Mountjoye to the Queen at Ampthill to tell her he had married "the other lady" more than two months ago, that Katherine was no longer to call herself Queen, and that he would not pay her expenses after Easter, nor the wages of her servants. Katherine calmly replied that so long as she lived she would be Queen, and that failing for food for herself and her servants, she would go and beg for the love of God. In sending this account to the Emperor, Chapuys adds—

"Although the King himself is not ill-natured, it is this Anne who has put him in this perverse and wicked temper, and alienates him from his former humanity. On Easter Eve, dame Anne went to Mass in royal state, loaded with jewels, clothed in a robe of gold frieze . . . and was brought to church and back with the solemnities, or even more, which were used to the Queen. 16 April

"She has changed her name from Marchioness to Queen, and the preachers offered prayers for her by name. All the world is astonished at it, for it looks like a dream, and even those who take her part know not whether to laugh or cry. The King is very watchful of the countenance of the people, and begs the lords to go and visit and make their court to the new queen. . . ."

With regard to the Holy See, the idea had occurred to Henry to appeal from the Pope's sentence to the next General Council, and to announce this was the mission upon which Bonner had been despatched in February.¹ The degree of moral bewilderment at which the King had by now arrived, receives startling testimony in some words of Chapuys in the above letter, showing that Henry's mental equilibrium was trembling in the balance, if the Imperial ambassador, the most accurate and trustworthy of witnesses, truly describes his words in the following passage:—[Chapuys had taken Hédin—"who is here by consent of the Queen for his pension"—with him to Court as a witness of his interview with Henry.]² After Chapuys' departure, the King retained Hédin and said—

¹ See Appendix C.

² John de Hédin was *Maitre d'hôtel* to the Queen Regent of the Netherlands.

1533

“ ‘ You have heard the Ambassador, who speaks of excommunication and prohibiting intercourse. I give you notice that it is not I, but the Emperor who is excommunicated, because he has long opposed me, not allowing me to get out of the sin in which I was, and has put off my marriage; and this is the kind of excommunication which the Pope cannot remit without my consent. But do not tell the Ambassador a word of it.’

“ Your Majesty can well imagine his blindness. Hédin only replied that these matters were too high for him, and beyond his digestion.”

Such sentiments—uttered in the sixteenth century—betray a state of mind in the speaker closely bordering upon dementia, fitly ended as they are, by the sly injunction not to tell the ambassador a word of it.

27 April

We see in Chapuys’ letters, as in a mirror, the confusion that prevailed, the preachers exhorting the people to pray for the new Queen, the murmurings and departure of the congregations before the end of the sermon; Henry’s wrath, his orders to the Lord Mayor, who convokes the trades and their officers and orders them, under pain of the King’s displeasure, not to murmur at his marriage, nor to let their apprentices murmur, nor, “what will be more difficult, their wives.” Seeing the bad disposition of affairs, Chapuys, who had asked for his own recall, which Charles V had not agreed to, attempts to learn the Queen’s intentions “in order to find some remedy, since kindness and justice have no place. But she is so scrupulous, and has such great respect for the King, that she would consider herself damned without remission if she took any way tending to war.”

At Dunstable, probably fixed upon as a quiet and out-of-the-way place, on the 10th of May, Cranmer began his process “in the King’s great matter.” The Queen refused to appear either in person, or by proxy, and so was declared *contumax*.¹ The old Duchess of Norfolk, who had been summoned, was not there, nor was she present at Anne’s subsequent coronation, “from the love she bears to the Queen, although she is Anne’s aunt.”²

¹ Thomas Bedyll to Cromwell.—*Otho*, Chap. X, 1646. B.M.

² From a catalogue of papers at Brussels, since lost.—Gairdner, Vol. VI, No. 585.

The trial, at which few or none were present, proceeded 1533 quickly, and Cranmer writes to Cromwell, on the 17th, that he is hurrying as fast as he can ; and this singular judge expresses the hope that " the noble lady Katherine " will not change her mind, and appear before him, as it would cause delay. His hopes were realised, the Queen took no notice of his proceedings, and he was able, on the 23rd May, to write to Henry VIII : " To-day I have given sentence in your great and weighty cause. . . . I desire to know your pleasure concerning the second matrimony as soon as you and your counsel are perfectly resolved therein, for the time of the coronation is so near at hand, that the matter requires good expedition."

The divorce from Katherine was therefore pronounced four months after Henry VIII had gone through a marriage ceremony with Anne Boleyn, although the date of that ceremony—practically the King's first act of bigamy—was, 18 May for obvious reasons, never exactly stated. Chapuys says : " The King's marriage was celebrated, as it is reported, on the day of the conversion of St. Paul [25th January]," and Cranmer himself, in a letter to Hawkins, dated Croydon 17th June, says it took place " about Paul's day last . . . as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big *Harl. MS.* 6, 148, with child." The report that Cranmer married her is false, f. 25 and he declares : " for I myself knew not thereof until a fortnight after it was done."¹

As for Cranmer's part in the proceedings, Reginald Pole subsequently expressed the feeling of all honest men, when he asked him if he had not laughed within himself, when he

¹ Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the King's chaplains, performed the ceremony in a room in the west turret of Whitehall. When he discovered the object for which he had been summoned, Lee made some opposition ; but Henry calmed his scruples with the assurance that the Pope had pronounced in his favour, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet. Lingard, in disproof of Burnet's treatment of this account as a fiction of Sanders', shows that it is taken from a manuscript history of the divorce presented to Queen Mary thirty years before the work of Sanders was published [Le Grand, II, p. 110]. Lee was made Bishop of Chester, was translated to Lichfield and Coventry, and honoured with the presidentship of Wales. —Stowe, p. 543.

1533 assumed the character of a severe judge towards the King.¹ And if, as is more than probable, Cranmer knew that Henry stood in the very degree of affinity to Anne Boleyn, in which he gravely exhorted him no longer to remain with regard to the Queen, the scene appears as an almost unheard-of travesty of the forms of legality and justice.

10 May Chapuys was making a gallant fight in defence of the Queen. He sends the Emperor a copy of the protest he has made in his name to Henry VIII, saying he thought it better to write than to go to court, "lest the world should suspect your Majesty consents to the affair. . . ." He appeared before the Council at Westminster and reports his expostulations to the Duke of Norfolk and to Cromwell. He continues—

18 May " You cannot imagine the great desire of all this people that your Majesty should send men here. Every day I am applied to about it by Englishmen of rank, wit, and learning, who give me to understand that the last King Richard was never so much hated by his people as this King. . . ."

Barce-
lona,
24 May As soon as Charles V heard that the marriage was an accomplished fact, he ordered his ambassador in Paris to "show these things" to the French King and urge him as a Christian prince and related to Katherine by his wife, to denounce the marriage; or at least not to countenance it in any way, "or interfere with justice." It would be interesting to know whether by the last four words, the Emperor meant that he had some thought of executing justice himself. Five days later he held a Council, at which the "Points to be considered, etc., concerned Henry VIII, Katherine, and Anne Boleyn.

16 June The same day, 29th May, Anne was crowned, with great magnificence, at Westminster. "The people would not uncover as she passed. . . . The French ambassador and his suite were insulted by the people. . . ."² and Chapuys describes it as "a cold, meagre, and uncomfortable thing. . . . And it

¹ *Quid vero? an non tecum ipse ridebas, cum tanquam severus iudex regi minas intentares?*—*Poli Epist., de Sac. Euch.*, p. 6, Cremonæ, 1584.

² From a catalogue of papers at Brussels, since lost.—Gairdner, Vol. VI, No. 585.

seems that the indignation of everybody has increased by half 1533 since the coronation."¹

As for Queen Katherine, when Lord Mountjoye and Richard Gryffith went to her at Ampthill with the King's orders, she asked to see them, and struck out "with her pen and ink" the words "Princess Dowager" whenever they occurred, "affirming that if she agreed to our persuasion, she would be a slanderer of herself and confess to having been the King's harlot for twenty-four years, alleging the words :—*Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam.*"²

Needless to say, Pole's own family fervently detested the marriage ; when, in the previous year Henry VIII had taken Lord Montague to Calais for the interview with Francis I, Geoffrey Pole crossed the sea in disguise ; and keeping himself hidden in his brother's apartment during the day-time, stole out at night to collect news. Montague sent him back to England to inform the Queen that Henry had not succeeded in persuading Francis to countenance his marriage with Anne Boleyn—a fact which entirely disagrees with Henry's own interpretation of that monarch's attitude.³ At the coronation banquet—not with their own good-will we may be sure—Montague was set down as "Carver for the Queen," and Sir Geoffrey among the knights appointed "to be servitors" on the same occasion. Five days later both brothers and Montague's son-in-law, Lord Hastings, dined with the Princess Mary, and Montague dined with her again on the 24th of June. Their mother's position was more difficult ; she was 24 Aug. Governess to the Princess, and when Lord Hussey was sent to demand Mary's jewels—Anne Boleyn's thirst for jewellery seems to have been insatiable—Lady Salisbury refused to give them up without a special warrant from the King. A few days later, Lord Hussey wrote again to Cromwell—Beaulieu, 28th August—that "the Lady Governess" will not give up the Princess's plate.

When the news of the divorce and the marriage reached

¹ Otho, C. X., 2036. B.M.

² See pages 99 and 104.

1533 Rome, the Pope's sentence could not but follow; accordingly, in a breve dated 11th July, 1533, Clement VII formally declared Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine and marriage with Anne null, and pronounced the King to have incurred the major excommunication; but, as offering him a last opportunity for reconsideration, the Pope suspended the declaration of the sentence until the end of September.¹ A few days later, the Pontiff issued a bull commanding Henry to restore Katherine and put away Anne Boleyn. In case of disobedience, he calls upon the Emperor and all other Christian Princes, and Henry's own subjects, to assist in the execution of the bull by force of arms.²

8 Aug.

The King's perplexity, and the great trouble of his Council when news of the sentence reached England, are described by Chapuys in a letter to Charles V of the 13th August. Henry's first act was to despatch the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Rochford to Paris, to try and persuade Francis I to give up his projected interview with the Pope at Marseilles, declaring at the same time that he will not give way about the divorce, etc. His next, was to write to Bonner, ordering him to intimate to the Pope that he appealed from his sentence to the next General Council. An appeal which Clement VII was to dismiss as "frivolous."³

That "violent desires have violent ends" was to be proved most tragically, and in characters of blood, scarce three years later; but even now, within two months of the coronation of his new Queen, Henry VIII's humour had not only cooled, but changed. Chapuys reports that the King's great affection

¹ Sanders, III; Pocock, II, p. 677.

² The College of Cardinals were practically unanimous in their support of the sentence. The Cardinal of Ancona, Pietro Accolti, [born at Cerezzo in 1454,] had been secretary to Pope Julius II, and he still maintained the validity of the Act of Dispensation, at the age of seventy-eight, after a lapse of thirty years, thus showing himself at once conscientious and courageous. Clement VII informed Marc Antonio Venier that it was the Cardinal of Ancona who made him issue the papal breve of January, 1533. This was the last act of Ancona, whose death is recorded by Venier in a letter dated Rome, 23rd April, 1533.—Brown: *Ven. Cal.*, Preface to Vol. IV.

³ See Appendix C.

for the Lady seemed to have cooled in consequence of the 1533 sentence passed at Rome, and that he seemed somewhat to recognise his position. And Charles V received the same information from other sources—

"The English nobles are ill-disposed towards Anne on account of her pride and the 'insolence of her relations'; for the same reason the King's affection for her is less than it was. He now shows himself to be in love with another lady, and many nobles are assisting him in the affair"¹—intelligence which may not have been without its influence, in checking any idea Charles might entertain of active interference on his aunt's behalf.

Moreover, Anne was jealous—"not without cause"—says ^{3 Sept.} Chapuys; and, not being endowed with the great patience of the Queen, used words to the King which displeased him, so he bluntly told her to shut her eyes, and endure as well as her betters had done; that she ought to know that it was in his power to humble her again in a moment, more than he had exalted her. "So there has been some grudge between them, and the King has been two or three days without speaking to her. No doubt," philosophically adds the ambassador, "these things are lovers' quarrels, to which we must not attach too much importance; yet many who know the King's disposition consider them a very favourable commencement for the recall of the Queen."

On the 7th September, at Greenwich, Anne gave birth to a daughter; and the temper of the world in general towards all Henry's late doings is reflected in Chapuys' next letter, saying ^{10 Sept.} that nothing of importance has happened since his last. He has only to mention that on Sunday last, the Eve of Our Lady, about 3 p.m. the King's mistress was delivered of a daughter, to the great regret both of him and the Lady; and to the great reproach of the physicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and sorceresses, who affirmed it would be a male child. But the people are doubly glad that it is a daughter instead

¹ *Correspondence of Charles V, "Memoriale d'Inghilterra."*—*Add. MS.*, 28,586, f. 90.

1533 of a son, and delight to mock those who put faith in such divinations.

15 Sept. The christening, on the 10th September, was "as cold and disagreeable both to the Court and the City" as her mother's coronation had been, "and there has been no thought of having the bonfires and rejoicings usual in such cases."

This did not prevent Henry VIII from giving the child his mother's name, declaring her Princess and heir to the throne. This act of the King's, while it drew from Katherine of Arragon one of the most beautiful and courageous letters that can ever have been written by a mother to her daughter, instigated the following despatch from Chapuys to the Emperor, which was to make a lasting impression on the retentive memory of that monarch—

" LONDON, 27th September, 1533.

" . . . And if matters were to come to a rupture, perhaps it might not be *mal à propos* that your Majesty should use all means possible to draw to you, or get into your power, the son of the Princess's Governess, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, to whom, according to the opinion of many, the kingdom would belong. The said son is now studying at Padua. For the great and singular virtue of the Duke [*i.e.*, Pole] besides that he is of the King's kindred, both on the father's side and on the mother's, and for the pretension that he and his brother might have to the kingdom, the Queen would like to bestow the Princess on him in marriage rather than any other; and the Princess would not refuse. He and his brothers have many kinsmen and allies, of whose services your Majesty might thus make use, and gain the greater part of the realm.

" I beg you to take my bold advice in good part, which is only prompted by my desire to serve you. Among the other allies of the said personage is Lord Abergavenny, one of the most powerful, wise, and prudent lords of England, who is ill-pleased with the King because he detained him long in prison with the Duke of Buckingham, his father-in-law, who left therein his person, while Abergavenny left his feathers, that is to say, a great part of his revenue, which he will be glad by some means to get back again, and revenge himself. He had charge lately, when I was at Court, to bring me back . . . and then said that he would have been glad to talk with me, but had no opportunity; and only observed that there was not a gentleman in the world who would more heartily

do service to your Majesty than he, and that possibly your Majesty 1533 would perceive it some day. . . ."¹

Mary was now seventeen years of age, and *would not refuse*, states the ambassador, to marry her cousin ; it had been the Queen's hearty wish ever since her daughter's birth, that the injury done to Reginald's uncle might, in a measure, be righted in his person ; and she probably wished it with tenfold intensity now that her only daughter was despoiled of her birth-right, as far as her father could despoil her. These intentions and inclinations cannot have been kept secret from Reginald himself, whose wishes must perforce have been sounded, but we have no indication whatever of how they were conveyed to him, or what impression they made upon his mind. Though he may have had no inclination to marry, he was not a priest, and there is no reason to suppose that a man so devoted to his country would have made any prolonged or great objection to serving her as her King, had the road thereto been opened for him by the Emperor.

¹ Gairdner, Vol. VI, No. 1164.

CHAPTER VII

1533 THE project of a marriage between the Princess Mary and Reginald Pole, as well as the delivery of Katherine of Arragon and her daughter from a thraldom which was daily becoming more severe, depended upon the Emperor ; and it may safely be affirmed that no event of his time contributed more to give Henry VIII a free hand in the persecution of his wife and daughter than did the battle of Pavia, which fettered the movements of the conqueror, more than it did those of the conquered, eight years after it had been fought. With the ever-aggressive Turk behind him, Charles V could venture upon no such hazardous enterprise as an expedition to England without the assistance, or at least the hearty goodwill of Francis I, and it was not in the nature of things that either of these should be forthcoming. It could not be expected that the French King would not gladly seize the occasion of his late enemy's struggle with so powerful a foe as the King of England—in however just a cause—to try and recover the loss of territory and the loss of prestige he had suffered at his hands. Charles V had vanquished him in warfare, had held him and his sons to ransom, while from Henry VIII he had received nothing but benefits as the price of support in his matrimonial schemes.

The Emperor's tentative proposals and invitations therefore remained unheeded, and Francis continued to labour in a cause, the hopelessness of which was daily becoming more apparent to him. On the other hand, the Pope's sentence could be of little avail in bringing Henry to submission, if his appeal to the Emperor "and all Christian princes" to put that sentence into execution remained unobserved.

14 Oct. By the end of September Francis I had obtained, at Henry's request, a prorogation from the Pope of the censures against him. Francis wrote himself to the Bailly de Troyes, his ambassador in England, enclosing the prorogation and declaring his opinion that the peace of Christendom would be

the result of his interview with the Pope, which had begun the 1533 previous day [at Marseilles], and during which he would not forget to do all that was necessary for the King's affairs.¹

Henry VIII had attempted to dissuade his ally from meeting the Pope, and Chapuys relates how the King on receipt of ³ Nov. letters from Marseilles, "as soon as he began to read, changed colour, and crushed up one of the letters in his hand, saying he was betrayed, and that neither the French King nor he was such as he [Francis] thought."

Francis I, on his side, was no better pleased : "How!" he exclaimed, on hearing that Bonner had brought no power for settling affairs, "when I am negotiating his business, and my desire of settling the King of England's cause was one reason of my marrying my son to the Pope's niece." [Katherine de Medicis.] And he added that the ambassador was playing tricks, *si burlava*, and that he considered him a spy.² At the same time Henry VIII was pressing the French ambassador ⁷ Nov. "wonderfully" so that the Bailly begged the Duke of Norfolk and others of the Council to tell the King that it is easy to trouble a good friend by importunity. If Francis declared himself the Pope's enemy, as the King wished him to do, his Holiness would entirely give himself over to the Emperor. Norfolk agreed with him. "He says the King is so troubled in his brain about this matter that he does not trust anyone alive; and though he himself is one of the chief persons in whom he trusts, both the King and Queen [Anne] suspect him." And the writer adds :—"There are many persons here, even among the principal people, who would be very sorry if the Pope had given sentence against the late Queen, for this one and all her family are little beloved."³

The King of France went so far as to declare to the Pope, when Clement VII had told him of Bonner's message, that the King of England was destroying himself. He was surprised that the King had a reputation for wisdom, for really he was

¹ Camusat, 12; Gairdner, Vol. VI, 1288.

² Count of Cifuentes to Charles V. *Add. MS.*, 28,586, f. 49.

³ Bailly de Troyes to Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître. Camusat, 142b. Gairdner, Vol. VI, 1404.

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a madman, and was benefiting the Queen by his confession that the sentence had come to his notice.¹

Henry VIII was meanwhile dealing out ever harsher measures to his wife and daughter. In October the Princess was "made Chapuys, to change her dwelling from a fine house to a very inconvenient 18 Oct. one" [Beaulieu to Hertford Castle], and the following month, "to subdue the spirit of the Princess," the King deprived her of all her people and ordered that "she should go and live as attendant (*demoiselle*) with the new bastard." Chapuys adds that he has vehemently, but uselessly, protested against such an outrage. On the 16th December he describes the solemn removal of "the bastard" to Hatfield, and the Duke of Norfolk's message to the Princess Mary that her father desired her to go to the court and service of "the Princess," and that he was there to do the King's will. After describing how Mary had asked for half an hour's respite, "to make, as I know, a protestation which I had sent her, in order that, if compelled by force or fraud to renounce her rights, it might not be to her prejudice," Chapuys goes on—

"Her gouvernante [Lady Salisbury], daughter of the late Duke of Clarence and near kinswoman to the King, a lady of virtue and honour, if there be one in England, has offered to follow and serve her at her own expense, with an honourable train. But it was out of the question that this would be accepted; for in that case they would have no power over the Princess, whom it is to be feared they mean to kill, either with grief or otherwise, or make her renounce her right.² . . . Considering that my words only served to irritate him [Henry], and make him more fierce and obstinate, I have resolved not again to address to him a single word, except he obliges me, without a command from the Queen.

¹ See Bonner's letter, Appendix C; *Cifuentes to the Emperor*.—*Add. MS.*, 28,586, f. 62.

² Lady Salisbury's post was given to Anne Boleyn's aunt, Alice, widow of Sir Thomas Clere, of Ormesby, in Norfolk. Anne ordered Lady Clere "to box her ears as a cursed bastard" if Mary used the title of Princess. But when the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Rochford reprimanded Lady Clere for behaving towards her with too much respect and kindness, the lady very nobly answered that even if she were only the bastard of a poor gentleman, she deserved honour and good treatment for her goodness and virtues.—*Chapuys to the Emperor*, 11th February, 1534.

" You cannot imagine the grief of the people at this abominable ¹⁵³³ government. They are so transported with indignation at what passes, that they complain that your Majesty takes no steps in it. . . . It is not to be thought that the King will be brought to the point by mild treatment, for his sin carries him away, and he is bewitched by this accursed woman in such a manner that he dares neither say nor do except as she commands him. . . ."

As for the Queen, the Duke of Suffolk, with great reluctance—^{23 Dec.} " he wished some mischief might happen to him to excuse himself from the journey," wrote Chapuys—went with a litter, by the King's orders, to remove her from Ampthill to Somersham, " a house surrounded with deep waters, the most unhealthy and pestilential house in England ; and she, seeing the evident danger of it, refused to go except by force." In his next letter, the ambassador describes how the Queen locked herself ^{27 Dec.} in her room, and spoke to the commissioners through a hole in the wall, telling them they must break down the doors if they wished to remove her.

" This they did not dare to do through fear of the people that had assembled there, weeping piteously and lamenting such cruelties."

Henry did not proceed to the extremity of having the Queen removed by force to a pestilential house. Indeed, the only person who could defy his will with impunity appears to have been his repudiated wife.

Francis I, in an interesting instruction to his ambassador to England, complains that Henry's ambassadors at Marseilles had undone in an hour Francis's work of a week. It is not only strange conduct, but insulting, that they should defy a guest of his, which they confess they would not have dared to do if his Holiness had been elsewhere.¹ He made the same reproach to the ambassadors—

" ' If my brother of England thinketh it expedient for him to have the Pope with him, as he told me himself he did, he may not think that the Pope, holding his peace at a sentence given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, will confess himself therein no Pope, and be made such a fool as he will apply to lose his pre-eminence and authority by entreaty. . . . As fast as I study to win the Pope,

¹ *Fonds Français*, M. 23,515 ; Le Grand, III, p. 571.

1533-34 ye study to lose him. . . . Ye have dearly marred all.' And, wringing his hands, wished that rather than a great deal of money, he had never meddled in that matter."¹

Francis's brother of England had determined to cease to wish to have the Pope with him ; he was heard openly to declare that if he could get no other remedy, he would throw off his allegiance to the Holy See ; and that he repented of nothing more than of the book he had formerly written against Luther in its favour. The die was cast, and on the 11th February, Chapuys wrote the momentous tidings to his master that the House of Commons had passed an Act that the Pope shall have no authority in England. He adds : " It has not yet passed the Lords, but there will be no difficulty." In fact, under the imperious coercion of the Tudor King, Act after Act, framed by the policy and industry of Cromwell, passed through both Houses ; and in the course of one short session was swept away what yet remained of the papal power in England ; and that at a time when the judgment pronounced at Rome was not only not known, but probably not anticipated by Henry. Chapuys writes to the Emperor on the 4th April, 1534—

" The King has prorogued Parliament to November, at which time they are again appointed to complete the ruin of the Church and Churchmen, as I am informed on good authority ; and for a conclusion to their last session, the King has desired that those present should individually sign the statutes and ordinances against the Queen and the Princess, and the others passed in favour of his mistress and her posterity. This process of signing has been a thing unused hitherto, and has been resorted to, to confirm the iniquity of the ordinances, the future observance of which the King has reason to doubt.

" What the King has got passed against the Pope and authority of the Holy See he has not exactly required of them to confirm, but only conditionally, in case between this and the Feast of St. John it be in his power to annul it in whole or part ; which is a lure to induce his Holiness to consent to his divorce, and the King has no little hope of doing so both by the French King and the bravadoes he employs."²

¹ *Gardiner and others to Henry VIII.*—*Add. MS.*, 151, f. 192. B.M.

² Eight days after the news of the sentence had reached England, Henry VIII by letters patent ordered the Act to be put into execution, 7th April, 1534.

In his next letter the ambassador writes that he cannot 1534 express "the great pleasure and consolation the Queen has received from the news of the sentence, which I sent her." For 12 April Rome had spoken at last : in a Consistory, held on the 23rd March, sentence was pronounced in favour of the Queen of England ; out of twenty-two cardinals present, nineteen decided for the validity of her marriage, and three only—Trivulzio, Pisani and Rodolphi, proposed a further delay. The court of Rome seems to have had no illusions as to the possible effect of the sentence upon the fate of Katherine of Arragon—the Pope, after signing it, remarked that he feared he had signed her death-warrant ; and the Cardinal of Jaen, writing the next day to Charles V, says : "The Queen is happy to have heard the sentence in her lifetime. If she suffer injury in her person or life, as many wise people fear, she will receive the crown of martyrdom in heaven."

The King had declared the Pope to be only Bishop of Rome ; an Act of Parliament had pronounced the marriage between Henry and Katherine unlawful and null, that between him and Anne Boleyn lawful and valid ; the King's issue by the first marriage was, of course, excluded from the succession ; that by the second was made inheritable of the crown ; to slander the said marriage was declared high treason. The severance was all but complete ; the less Henry hoped for a decree in his favour the more he had affected to despise the papal judgments and to disown their validity. He sent Heath, afterwards Archbishop of York, to the Lutheran princes of Germany to get support in his struggle with the Pope, but there was no mistake as to the unpopularity of his measures in England, nor of the temper of the people. Sir John Gage, his vice-chamberlain, a wise and experienced soldier, rather than stay in a court so greatly altered, and the moral atmosphere of which was becoming intolerable even to men who were not squeamish, resigned his office, and retired, with the consent of his wife, into a Carthusian monastery. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who had been one of the first agents for promoting the divorce, now expressed his open regret that he had ever been appointed to fill such a responsible position. But, whatever might be

Chapuys,
3 Jan.

1534 said or done, there was no pause in Henry's proceedings. No new bishop was to pay anything to Rome ; he was not to procure bulls from the Pope ; he was not to be presented to the Holy See, as heretofore, or to acknowledge any responsibility to it whatever.

As to the displeasure and discontent of the people, Henry took his measures with a bold directness and stubborn resoluteness, characteristic of the despotic power he contrived to exercise over the wills, as well as the acts of his subjects. Chapuys reports to the Emperor—

17 Feb. “ . . . Twenty days ago, the King said to the Marquis [of Exeter ?] that the trust the Princess had in your Majesty made her obstinate, but he would bring her to the point, as he feared neither the Emperor nor any other if the Marquis and other vassals were loyal, as he thought they would be ; they must not trip or vary for fear of losing their heads, and he would keep such good watch that no letters could be received from beyond sea without his knowing it.

“ Besides his trust in his subjects, he has great hopes of the Queen's death. He lately told the French ambassador that she could not live long, as she was dropsical, an illness she was never subject to before. It is feared something has been done to bring it on. . . . Two days ago the King ordered 30,000 bows to be made and stored in the Tower. The rest of the ammunition has been put in order, and guns have been placed on the top of the Tower commanding the city. This has made many persons muse. . . .

“ The Queen has not been out of her room since the Duke of Suffolk was with her, except to hear Mass in a gallery. She does not eat or drink what her new servants provide. The little she eats in her anguish is prepared by her own chamberwomen, and her room is used as her kitchen. She is very badly lodged. . . . ”

The place held in the affections of Englishmen by Reginald Pole, at this time of discontent with the King and his doings, is shown in the letter of a naval captain, John Borough to Lord Lisle [Deputy of Calais ?] It is dated Venice, 20th February—

R.O. “ Master Powle, my lord Montague's brother, has been here. I perceive he is a great friend of yours. He took his pastime one day in our ship, and for the love he bore you I made him such poor pastime as I could, insomuch that the Duke of Venice sent to enquire what the matter did mean. There was never gentleman

out of England more regarded for his learning and wisdom than is 1534 Master Powle in these parts, the which may be a great joy to all his friends."

It will be remembered that Chapuys had written to Charles V in the previous September, advising him to make use of Reginald Pole in settling the affairs of England; and informing him that the Queen and the Princess would willingly accept a marriage between the latter and Pole. On the 4th August, 1534, the Emperor received the following letter from Martin de Cornoça, from Venice. The writer sends information of importance from England, where he spent some years of his youth. Is sure the Emperor wishes to remedy the injustice done to his aunt. There is now living in these parts a great English personage named Reynaldo Polo, of the blood royal, of the illustrious house of Clarence. He is the son of the Countess of Salisbury, governess of the Princess of "Norgales" [North Wales?] the Emperor's cousin, is thirty-five years of age, very learned, prudent and virtuous. Cornoça believes that the Emperor, with such an instrument, will be able to prevail in his affairs with England without much fighting or bloodshed.

The King has tried hard to gain Pole's assistance in the divorce, but he would not defile his conscience, and wrote a work to the King in the Queen's favour. . . . Reginald's elder brother is Lord Montague, who is much beloved for his virtues. His sister is wife of the son of the Duke of Buckingham. He is related to most of the great families, and is connected by indissoluble friendship with all the Queen's friends. The whole of Wales is devoted to his house. . . . The earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury are also devoted to Pole's family, and could put 20,000 men into the field. Sends a drawing of his arms. Speaks of his many virtues. If he were to go to England in its present troubled state, on account of the Queen and the faith, who can doubt that, with a little favour and help, he would be able to put the affairs of the kingdom in a good state, and that he would be received by most of the people as if he had come from heaven? Thinks that he alone could do more than 40,000 foreigners, as they

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would come for destruction, but he for the safety of all. It would be a pious and famous deed to help such a man in preserving a kingdom oppressed by a harlot and her friends, and in re-instating the Queen and the Princess.

The King is suspicious of Pole's family on account of their title and their wealth (although the crown has usurped the greater part of the latter), their fidelity to the Queen, and on account of Pole's absence. Does not know Pole's mind about all this, but thinks he would not be wanting in the delivery of his country from tyranny. Recommends the Emperor to make some agreement [*partido*] with him.¹

The Emperor sent the above letter in cypher to Chapuys; ordering him to obtain information as to its statements. After deciphering it Chapuys replies that he had no need to make enquiries about it, as he had already fully enquired into the subject—

3 Nov.

"A year ago I wrote to your Majesty substantially the same thing, advising you to draw the said Reynold toward yourself, by friendship, if possible, or otherwise, as it was easy to do. I wrote also that he came of such a good race, besides his grace of person and singular virtues, the Queen knew of no one in the world whom she would like better to marry the Princess; and nothing is more certain than that for the consideration mentioned in those letters, the people, finding that your Majesty assisted, would immediately declare themselves, especially as there are innumerable good personages who hold that the true title to this Kingdom belongs to the family of the Duke of Clarence . . . and perhaps this might somewhat incline the Queen to the project [of invasion] to take away all scruples, both conscientious and otherwise. . . . Besides the friendship and alliances mentioned in the said letter from Venice, it must not be forgotten that Lord Bargaen [Abergavenny], father-in-law of Lord Montague, a great and powerful noble, has much occasion to be displeased, because heretofore his goods were taken away without reason. . . .

"Assuredly things generally are in such a condition that at the least army that your Majesty could send, everybody would declare himself for you, especially if the said Lord Reynold was in it, whose younger brother [Sir Geoffrey Pole] is often with me, and would be oftener, but that I have dissuaded him on account of the danger

¹ Add. MS., 28,587, f. 7.

he might incur. He does not cease, like many others, to beseech 1534 me to write to your Majesty of the facility with which this King might be conquered, and that all the people looked for nothing else. I have said nothing to him about his brother, except that long ago I told him that he ought rather to go begging his bread than come back to this trouble, lest he should meet with the same treatment as the Bishop of Rochester,¹ or worse. This, he said, he had written to him several times, and made his mother write to him also."

The subject of these letters was quietly pursuing his studies at Padua and at Venice. The events occurring in England could not but stir to the depths a nature as affectionate and devoted to his country and his King as Reginald Pole's, and from this time forth a shade of mysticism and aloofness from the things of the world became perceptible in his character, and it appeared as if he deemed it impossible that an earnest man should devote himself to any but the highest studies of divinity and theology. His own helplessness to afford a remedy to the heart-breaking acts succeeding each other in England, drove home the sense of the vanity of all earthly things, and forced him to turn his mind more and more to that which was transcendental. Not that his sense of humour ever forsook him, any more than his indomitable habit of looking at the best side of things, of hope unquenched by the bitterness of sad experience. The clear judgment, the quickness of wit, clothed occasionally in gentle raillery, or acute irony, remained undimmed, and his conversation was the delight of all who approached him. "Having much experience of the world," says his biographer, Beccatelli, "with a beautiful manner, *con bella maniera*, he knew how to entertain each person, and did so. And among other things, I never knew a man who had so many fine maxims, *bei motti*, and comparisons as he; they seemed to flourish on his lips without the slightest affectation; and the same may be found scattered through his writings."

It has been observed of Pole that he had many points of resemblance with another great English cardinal, of more recent times—Cardinal Newman; especially that he could

¹ The Bishop of Rochester was a prisoner in the Tower.

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claim to having lost few friends during all the changes of his life, and that the loss of an old friend had ever deeply grieved him.¹ Another point of resemblance was the love of companionship, which made Newman unwilling to take even the shortest stroll unaccompanied, and which in Pole created those friendships with Gaspar Contarini and Alvise Priuli which deserve to rank among the famous friendships of history ; and, in a lesser degree with the chief representative men of his time —for to mention his friends was to name the first, in moral and intellectual worth, in whatever place he might find himself. When he returned to Italy he found all his old friends, and made several new ones, such as Gabriele Trifone,² Marc Antonio Genova,³ and other *literati*, those most intimate with him being the most renowned for their learning and virtue.

As for Alvise Priuli, a young Venetian patrician, whose two brothers were afterwards Doge, a gentleman of *buone lettere ed ingegno* ; so greatly did he appreciate the doctrine and goodness of Pole, that he never again separated from him, following him to his death, and surviving him but a little while. Beccatelli himself, Pole's future secretary and biographer,

¹ Zimmerman, p. 64.

² Gabriele Trifone, born in Venice, 20th November, 1470. His father was a senator of great repute, and ambassador to Louis XI of France ; his mother was Diana Pizzamano, his father's second wife. His love of retirement was joined to a profound piety, and on account of the latter the Bishopric of Treviso, and a little later the Patriarchate of Venice, were offered to him in 1524, but his modesty and desire for peace made him decline all ecclesiastical preferment. "Let others have mitres and cardinal's hats," he used to say, "*ruva mihi riguise placent in vallis amnes.*" Literature, politics and philosophy were the subjects of his discourses, his favourite form was the Socratic. He died at Venice, 10th October, 1549, aged 79. A bronze medal was cast in his honour after his death with the inscription : *Innocens manibus et mundo corde. Guiseppe Pavanello. Un maestro del quattro cento.*

³ Marc Antonio Genova, eminent in philosophy and medicine, the son of a great family, whose love of learning induced him to give up his life to it, and who became lecturer of philosophy at Padua. Born in 1491, he died in 1563. He married Beatrice del Sol. He wrote *Liber de Anima, Libros de Coelo*, against Antonio Bernardo Mirandola. He was a famous physician and received great honours from the Venetian Republic.—Vedova : *Biografia degli Scrittori Padovani*, p. 457.

arrived at the University of Padua in 1532, the year of Pole's 1534 return.

In the month of October, 1534, Reginald Pole wrote to *Poli Epp.* Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras, that he was going to Venice I, 417 expressly to enjoy the company of two men, Bishop Theatenus [Caraffa] a most holy and learned man—*vir sanctissimus, et doctissimus*—and Gaspar Contarini, a Venetian patrician, men in whom Sadoleto would delight, if he knew them. To which the other replied that he knew and venerated them both, though he had never seen them. In them, Reginald Pole was seeking his firm and life-long friend, and the man who, in course of time, was to change from a friend to one of his few great enemies.

We have given one or two of Gaspar Contarini's letters when Venetian ambassador at Rome; and the Republic had previously sent him, though only thirty-seven years of age, as the fittest man to undertake delicate negotiations, to Charles V at Worms in 1520, when he was trying to pacify that province, much disturbed by the enterprises of Martin Luther. Contarini's fame as a statesman was as great as his reputation for learning and moral worth, his experience of politics and of courts being second to that of none of his contemporaries. He knew England, having passed through that country in 1522 on his way from Flanders to Spain. Having helped to make peace between the Pope and the Emperor in 1529, he returned to Venice, where he was held one of the chief officers of the Republic.¹ Seventeen years older than Pole, the latter regarded him with much the same respectful love and admiration with which young Alvise Priuli regarded Pole—as teacher and master, while Contarini was never satisfied with his own writings until they had been approved by Pole. How their intercourse helped to complete and perfect the character of both, their letters bear testimony.² Beccatelli, who was

¹ Ludovico Beccatelli. *Vita del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini.*

² The life and character of Gaspar Contarini have been exhaustively studied by Casa, Dittrich, De Leva, Pastor, Briegen and many others, especially in Dittrich's *Register und Briefe des Cardinals G. Contarini* (Braunsberg, 1881), and his *Gaspar Contarini, Eine Monographie.*

1534 Contarini's secretary for seven years, says of him that he was never contentious in disputation, but ever gentle and courteous, never chary of communicating what he knew, but willing to share it with all, saying *habentis dabitur*; so modest in conversation, that if he heard an improper word, he blushed like a young girl; nothing avaricious nor caring for money, but great in his charities, supporting young scholars and very zealous for justice.

It is easy to conceive with what a sense of refreshment and delight Reginald Pole, wounded and sore with the conflicts he had escaped from, sought the presence of a man so entirely after his own heart, and familiar with all those public affairs in which he had hoped to play an honourable part in his own country.

In the fiery Neapolitan, belonging to one of its most illustrious families, Gianpietro Caraffa, Pole found a man consumed with zeal for the reform of the Church, an ardent patriot, who had known Naples free, before the French invasion; who, it was said, had been taken by force by his father from the Dominican monastery at Naples, in his eighteenth year; and had then been sent to Rome to the care of his uncle, the celebrated Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa. His great talents and his iron will had carried him through all the stages of the learning of the time, in theology and languages, including Greek and Hebrew, to the wonder of all who knew him. The abuses and luxury of the court of Leo X had confirmed him in his zeal for reform, and when in 1507, as a young bishop of thirty-one years of age, he took possession of the See of Chieti in the Abruzzi, he carried out a drastic reformation of his diocese. So also, in the Council of Lateran in 1512 he was urgent for a thorough reform of the Church. Leo X sent him to England the following year to collect Peter's pence, and in 1516 to the Netherlands and Spain. In the latter country Caraffa's own zeal was quickened by the sight of the efforts and successes of the Spanish Church reformers.¹ When Bishop of

¹ Brown points out (Vol. VI, Preface, p. viii-xi,) that it is a mistake to attribute Caraffa's enmity to Spain and the house of Hapsburg to the vexations he received at the Court of Charles V. On the contrary,

Theatino in the kingdom of Naples he founded the strict order ¹⁵³⁴ of *Theatines*, which was approved by Pope Clement VII in 1524. The members could have no private possessions, and subsisted upon alms given to them in return for their prayers.¹ Reginald Pole's own thirst for learning and for the good of the Church could not but bring him into close communion with the learned ascetic, the uncompromising reformer, Caraffa, his senior by nearly a quarter of a century.

A man of a different and more congenial type was Gregorio Cortese, Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, no whit inferior, writes his biographer, to Contarini, Pole and the other great men who adorned the Sacred College in the time of Paul III. Born at Modena in 1483 of a noble family, his father died when he was three years old, and he was brought up by his mother, a lady of the house of Molza. Ordained priest in 1506, his love of study and seclusion took him to the Benedictines of St. Giustina at Padua—who were beginning to call themselves Casinese to denote their union with Monte Casino—going from there to their monastery of Polirone in the diocese of Mantua, as being more remote. Cardinal Giovanni Medici tried to get him away from there, but Cortese declined to leave in “a very beautiful letter full of grave and solid reasons.” He was elected abbot of Lerino in 1526, then of San Pietro in Perugia, and finally in 1532 of the important abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice.²

In the beautiful gardens of that cloister, all the weighty problems of the day were discussed by the most learned men of Italy.³

Bruciolli, in the preface to his “Dialogue upon Moral-Theology,” tells us how, going one morning early to visit

the fiery Neapolitan was a *persona grata* in Spain, and his deep distrust of the Emperor dates rather from the plundering of Rome in 1527, and Charles VI's mild and ineffectual measures against the German heretics, which he held to be impolitic and unstatesmanlike.

¹ J. B. Tussius in *Annal Theatin*, etc. Caraffa had founded a house of Theatines at Venice, and was living with them during Pole's stay in that town.

² S. R. G. Cardinalix: *Monachi Casinatii*, Padua, 1574.

³ Dittrich: *Contarini*, p. 214.

1534 the lord abbot of San Giorgio—that honour of sacred letters
—and hearing that he was not well—

“ Tempted by the pleasant season and the early hour, by the beauty of the spot, I asked them to open the door of their most lovely garden ; and one of the brothers having done so, while the singing of the birds filled the heavens, I perceived *il Signor Reginaldo* [Pole] at the entrance of the little wood in earnest talk with Theogono, bidding him follow virtue with all his strength, as the sole conqueror of fortune, the only scourge of vice, which renders men equal to the immortals . . . and so I came away unperceived.”

Cortese combined thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin and complete theological learning with great tact and experience in public business. For this reason, his Order entrusted their most important affairs to him, and in 1542 he was raised to the purple. While Caraffa was for using strong measures with the heretics as the only means of recalling them, Pole, Cortese, Contarini and others desired to try mild methods of conciliation. All were alike agreed that the work of reform must be begun in earnest.

For the time had come when the reformation from without and the reformation from within were at work simultaneously and side by side—though not hand-in-hand. The men who, beginning with justifiable and perfectly legitimate condemnation of the scandals and abuses in the Church, had gone on to attack her doctrines—generally ending by calling the Pope Antichrist, and Rome Babylon—were opposed by those who, while recognising and bewailing the scandals and abuses, set themselves to remedy them from within, to dispel the clouds which the frailty of human nature had suffered to gather round the bride of Christ, to tear away the brambles which had entangled her feet. But not to one of them did it appear possible to admit that the promise *non praevalebit* could be called in question.

Their efforts culminated in the Council of Trent; on the other hand, the men who hammered at the Church from without raised as many sects as there were leaders in their various camps, and the unity of Christendom became a thing of the past.

Upon his return to Italy, Pole had again taken Lazaro ¹⁵³⁴ Bonamico into his house, and his own absolute subordination of all other study to that of theology and divinity is strikingly brought out in an exchange of letters between him and Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, with regard to Bonamico. The University of Padua had appointed the latter chief professor of Polite Letters, an employment his patron thought unworthy ^{Poli Epp.} of him. He writes to Sadolet from Padua that Lazaro ^{I, 408} "required something more elevated than to explain the precepts of speaking from Tully's orations; or those of husbandry from Virgil's *Georgics*." Pole adds that he had laid those studies aside, in order to give himself wholly to such as were suited to the exigencies of his country and the common cause; and he now perceives that the latter are so imperious as to demand the whole man. On this account Lazaro is lost to him in every other respect but that of an easy and pleasing companion, but he has never dared to open his mind to him on the matter; especially as Sadolet, in one of his letters, had exhorted Lazaro to continue in his present station as highly honourable to himself, and of great utility to the youth of Italy. Pole urges Sadolet, therefore, to do a signal service to both him and Bonamico by taking the latter "from the benches of the rhetoricians and restoring him to philosophy, from which he is now a truant." He says this, not forgetting the first purpose of his letter—that Bonamico should join him in his theological studies, but because "if he applies himself to genuine and real philosophy in such a manner as to live according to her prescriptions, it would not be long before he came over to those studies I recommend." With exquisite good breeding, Pole adds, "as we live in the same house it would be more desirable to have the same studies"; yet if that cannot be, he would be pleased to have them as close as possible; but he has never dared to open his mouth to Lazaro on the subject, unless it was indirectly, in order to come to his real sentiments.

To Sadolet, equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, there appeared something excessive in the way in which Pole urged an application to sacred literature, as tending to exclude

1534 Dec. all others ; and this time he held his ground. In his reply, after complimenting his friend on the generous ardour which always carries great minds on to what is most excellent, he candidly admits that he is under no small concern to perceive that he made so light of attainments which are of such real importance, that even those of a higher nature could not subsist without them—

Poli Epp. I. 418. " And because I have been twice charged by you on this head, this seems a seasonable place to give you my opinion briefly upon it. You would have the study of what concerns us, as Christians, preferred to all others ; and in this I readily agree with you. Why then do we employ our time in other sciences, and particularly in philosophy ? Because we cannot finish a building without laying a foundation and raising the walls. And if it be asked, what time and attention are to be employed about these . . . the answer is ready, that it is the business of a prudent economist to take care of the preservation and welfare of the whole family . . . and so to temper the care of the whole, that the more valuable parts be chiefly looked to. Theology, considered as a science, would not subsist without philosophy, and neither could gracefully discharge their respective duties if they were unprovided with language. . . .

" If fitness in the manner of expressing ourselves might be overlooked, the same reasons might prevail on us to lay it aside in our gestures, in our voice and countenance ; by all which persons of an ingenuous education are distinguished from others. These advantages, though not absolutely necessary to attain to the chiefest good, yet conduce to it, and have this effect, that several by this means come better informed to the pursuit of it : and it is much to be feared if we only retained what was of mere necessity, and rejected everything else, instead of becoming equal to angels, we should cease to be on a level with men. . . ."

No man, he continues, who refers all the privileges he enjoys to God, their author, and employs them to His glory, need fear to be deluded by vain-glory, or diverted from the pursuit of true happiness. As to Reginald's assertion that theology engrossed his attention so as to allow him no leisure for anything else, he tells him ingenuously he is at a loss in what manner to take such a declaration : for if those things only were to be learnt in which our faith and trust in the Divine goodness and veracity are concerned, the writings in which these points are contained are neither voluminous nor

obscure : that the Gospels alone contained the most complete 1534 information on these heads. . . .

No one ever dreamed that those great men of the Greek and Latin Church who first illustrated the tenets of Christianity could ever have done it with such success if they had been destitute of these succours : and as to their common friend, Bonamico, he had never, indeed, thought it necessary to encourage him in the study which Reginald had enforced, as he already had a high veneration for it, and readily granted that sovereign excellence was not to be attained unless to the various endowments he was master of he added the most noble and necessary of all.

This seems to have been the end of this amicable and learned controversy, so typical of the discussions dear to the erudite of the sixteenth century, and of which special notice is taken by their French contemporary, Bunel, who had the reputation of having revived in France, under Francis I, the eloquence of the time of Augustus. In a letter to his friend Selva, he states the question in debate, and after weighing the arguments on both sides, seems to incline in favour of the Englishman. Bunel had come to Venice with the French ambassadors, and in the same letter records the satisfaction he had received from becoming acquainted with Pole's happy temper and unfeigned probity, and observes of Sadoleto that though there was no kind of science in which he did not excel, he was wont to say that Plato and Aristotle, who had confessedly the lead in philosophy, were languid and flat in comparison with St. Paul.¹

That Pole's strong bias towards sacred learning was the result of his sad and disappointing experiences, and in no way obscured his strong common-sense appears in the instance mentioned by Quirini : his friend Gabriele Trifone had made a rash vow to enter religion, and not to read the classics ; and it was Pole who obtained a dispensation from the Pope absolving him from both promises.

Vol. I,
Cap. 4

¹ Phillips, Vol. I, p. 111.

CHAPTER VIII

1534 THE sorely troubled life and reign of Pope Clement VII came to an end in the month of September, 1534, and Cardinal Farnese, in a Conclave which only lasted a single day—12th October—was elected to succeed him, taking the title of Paul III. The new pontiff was a strong man and a determined reformer, intent upon assembling the General Council, which the troubled state of Europe had rendered impossible in the time of his predecessor.¹

Chapuys,
13 Oct. In England it was hoped that a change of Popes would bring a change in the King's attitude towards the Holy See ; but when the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Exeter ventured to suggest, on the news of Clement VII's illness, that the King would make no difficulty as a Catholic prince in obeying the new Pope, " he answered that no one should mock him by advising such a thing, for he would have no greater regard for any Pope that might be chosen than for the meanest priest in his kingdom."

Clement VII did not live to see what a difference the sentence of Rome in her mother's cause was to make in the *status* of the Princess Mary in the eyes of Europe. Her legitimacy assured, Francis I did not hesitate to send an ambassador extraordinary, Admiral de Brion, to Henry VIII to urge the conclusion of her

¹ Pietro Balan, in his *Storia di Clemente VII*, justifies that Pope against the accusation of not seriously desiring a General Council, or the reform of the Roman Curia ; showing how he had appointed a Commission, of which Giberti, the illustrious *Datario* and Bishop of Verona, was a member, for the express purpose of reforming the clergy of Rome. " If the work commenced under such favourable auspices failed to produce its full effects, the fault cannot be attributed to lack of good will in the Pope, but to the political complications which disturbed his Pontificate. The same Clement addressed breves to all Christian Princes, exhorting them to make peace, in order that a General Council might be held for the reform of abuses."—G. B. Pighi : *Gianmatteo Giberti, Vescovo di Verona*, Verona, 1900.

marriage with his son, the Duke of Angouleme. Henry's 1534-35 mortification was extreme: that his own ally should treat all his elaborate acts and deeds, and those of his servile parliament and convocation, his divorce and repudiation of his wife and daughter, his marriage with Anne Boleyn and her coronation, as matters of no importance whatsoever, his whole laborious edifice fallen at a touch like a house of cards, was intolerable; and wounded vanity took refuge in incredulity. His brother of France was jesting, or the ambassador was speaking his own mind, not that of his master; and it required three audiences, and the production of Francis I's instructions under his own seal, before the offended ambassador could obtain credence. And Henry then dismissed the proposal as to Mary, offering the infant Elizabeth, aged fifteen months, instead. “And not trusting,” writes Chapuys, “in the oath he had forced people to take about the validity of his last marriage and the succession,” Henry caused a severe statute to be passed, inflicting a penalty of death and confiscation on whosoever should call the Queen and Princess by the said titles, or speak against the second marriage, “at which the people are in great fear.” And on the 15th January, 1535, the King's new title of Supreme Head of the Church was, by a decree of Council, incorporated in the King's style, and, so far as regards external form, the revolution was complete.

Chapuys,
19 Dec.

“But,” as Dr. Gairdner remarks, “all would have been to little purpose if the King had not been prepared to vindicate his authority by something more than declarations and enactments, and the next seven months were to behold a series of appalling executions which completely subdued in England all spirit of resistance, while abroad it filled the minds of Romanists and Protestants with horror and indignation.”¹

Chapuys had pointed to Reginald Pole as the fittest person for the Emperor's purpose, when urging him to interfere in defence of the Queen and her daughter, and he could now send Charles V assurances from some of the chief men in

¹ Preface to Vol. VIII of *Letters and Papers*.

1534-35 England that they were ready to help him if he would make an invasion. Lords Darcy, Hussey and Northumberland had approached Chapuys independently, and Lord Darcy, at the end of December, had sent him a handsome sword as a present “ which I fancy was to indicate indirectly that times were ripe *pour jouer des couteaux.*” Lord Sandys, who was believed to be one of the most loyal, as he certainly was one of the most valiant of Henry’s captains, pretended illness as an excuse for going to his own place in Hampshire ; but before he went he sent a message to Chapuys saying he regretted times were such that he could not invite him to his house, and charging him to let the Emperor know that he had the hearts of all the kingdom, and that the people were so alienated that they would offer very little resistance to any attempt of Charles to apply a remedy to their disorders.

Chapuys,
1 Jan. The Duke of Norfolk himself, Anne Boleyn’s uncle, was discontented and indignant with Anne, “ who had addressed such shameful words to him as one would not address to a dog, so that he was compelled to quit the chamber.”

Charles V was in no way disposed to make use of Reginald Pole, a marriage between whom and the Princess Mary would mean the withdrawal of England from within the sphere of his all-embracing political activity and influence ; so he wrote a letter to Chapuys praising him for his wisdom and discretion, and sending him a copy of a letter showing that he intended to promote the marriage of his own daughter with the Dauphin of France, and that of the Princess Mary with the Duke of Angouleme, “ for the peace of Christendom and resistance to its common enemies. On this subject you may speak, when opportunity occurs, for our justification, of the zeal we bear to the public weal.”

The zealous ambassador nevertheless pursued his entreaties, reporting a sermon preached before the King by Dr. George Brown, who had “ married the King and the Lady,” couched in “ language so abominable that it must have been prompted by the King or Cromwell, who makes the said monk his right-hand man in all things unlawful ” ; and urging the Emperor to interfere in time ; “ for as time goes on the King will deprive



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of their benefices, one by one, all whom he pleases, and give 1535 them to those who will seduce the people to his will."¹

Thomas Starkey had been Reginald Pole's chaplain or secretary in France and in Italy; he had now returned to England, where he appears to have remained in the service of Lady Salisbury, several of his letters being dated from her house in the Dowgate. He had kept Cromwell informed of all Pole's doings while abroad, and in his anxiety to curry favour with the King at the beginning of the year addressed to him "a little book of suggestions for the reform of the Commonwealth," an object which he sees the King has at heart, trusting that as Henry has had the wisdom to pluck up the root of all abuses—"this outward power and intolerable tyranny of Rome"—God will enable him to see the means for the extirpation of other like abuses. He has put the work in the form of a dialogue between two of the King's subjects, Thomas Lupset, "departed to the service of Him, as I trust, to whom all Christian hearts religiously here serve on earth;"² the other, "still, I trust, in life, Master Reynold Pole, of whose virtue and goodness, if he could have seen that thing by his learning which your most notable clerks in your realm and many other hath approved, your Highness should have had before this certain and rare experience, of the which thing also yet I do not utterly despair."

In the Dialogue,³ Lupset is supposed to meet Pole at Bisham, the ancient seat of his family, where he hopes the memory of his ancestors will stir him to consider the wants of his country, which cries to him for help. He demonstrates that no king ever had a greater zeal for the welfare of his subjects than Henry VIII, to which Pole agrees, and attempts to show what means are best for remedying the diseases and disorders in the state. The number, the healthiness of the population, the

¹ Dr. Rowland Lee had performed the marriage ceremony. Chapuys' mistake is interesting as showing the secrecy maintained on the subject.

² Thomas Lupset died in 1531.

³ The Dialogue was printed by J. M. Cowper, for the Early English Text Society, under the title *England in the Reign of Henry VIII*.

1535

energy with which each fulfils his allotted part, go to make up the happiness of a country. The ruler may be compared to the heart, from which rule and order flow, his counsellors are the brain, his soldiers the hands, and his peasantry the feet. The beauty of the political organism depends on the harmony of its members. An elective monarchy is the best form of government. Pole here enters into detail, bewails the diminution of the population of England, the conversion of arable land into pasture, and pleads with great earnestness for an elective constitution.

The source of all the evils which afflict modern states is hereditary monarchy, and the often-asserted and practically acknowledged principle that the King's will is the highest law. Under a virtuous prince, such a principle may have good results ; but when a ruler comes to the throne, not by reason of his merits, but by order of succession, the advent of a worthy sovereign becomes a matter of the purest chance. With great freedom, the kingly prerogative is called in question, and blamed as leading to the destruction of the laws and reversal of the statutes.

So far, Starkey may have made himself the echo of sentiments and theories he had heard expressed in arguments of controversial disputations between Pole and his friends in the lecture rooms of Paris and Padua, but Pole would certainly not have acknowledged as his the further statements put into his mouth—in favour of the abolition of the *Annates* and Peter's Pence, and the marriage of the secular clergy.

As a reward for his zeal, Starkey was appointed chaplain to the King, and charged with an important mission : that of obtaining from Reginald Pole an opinion in favour of Henry's new title of Head of the Church. He opened the redoubtable subject in a long letter, dated London, 15th February,¹ announcing his arrival, and reminding his correspondent that “ Since our first acquaintance there have been many letters written between us, and much commerce concerning the institution of our lives. I beg, therefore, that you will carefully

¹ *Harl. MS.*, 283, f. 131. B.M.

consider these words, for they concern the whole order of your life, to be led in this our country among your natural lovers and friends."

After announcing that by the "singular gentleness of Master Secretary" [Cromwell] he had been received into the King's service, Starkey continues—

"Shortly after his Highness called me to his presence, and asked me about you, your studies, and your opinion in his causes lately defined here. I answered, as I have always thought convenient to answer to a prince, that is, plainly to affirm what I know to be true, and to rehearse only by conjecture what I stand in doubt of. I therefore boldly affirmed your desire to do his Grace true and faithful service, but as to your opinion in his causes of matrimony and concerning the authority of the Pope. . . . I could affirm nothing plainly; but I said that as far as your learning and judgment would extend . . . all the power, knowledge and learning which you have obtained by the goodness of God and his liberality, you would gladly use to maintain what he had decreed by Court of Parliament.

"The King was not satisfied with this, but desired to know your sentence therein plainly, and commanded me to write to you that you should, like a learned man, consider these things, disregarding all affections and leaving possible dangerous results to the King's wisdom and policy; and declare your sentence truly and plain without colour or dark of dissimulation, which his Grace most princely abhorreth. He does not wish for a great volume or book, but the most effectual reasons briefly and plainly set forth. Consider how princely a request this is, and then I am sure you will employ yourself with all diligence and study to satisfy his desire, to which Mr. Secretary, whose loving goodness to you gives place to no man, also exhorts you."

After enlarging upon Cromwell's goodwill towards Pole, and his advice that he should return speedily to England, when he would have Cromwell "in stable and reverent love, such is his wisdom, and, in matters of State, his high policy." Starkey advises Pole to ponder the Levitical Law, etc., and concludes by warning him that—

"All the rumours which came to you in Italy from men of corrupt judgments, without discretion to judge between true religion and superstition, are utterly false; for although the King has withdrawn himself from the Pope's authority, he has in no point slid from the certain and sure grounds of Scripture, nor yet from the laws and

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ceremonies of the Church, which yet stand in full strength and authority; and so they shall, boldly I dare affirm, until the King and his Council think expedient to abrogate them, and substitute by common assent others more agreeable to this time and the nature of our men, and more convenient to our whole country. Nothing is done here without due order and reasonable mean. . . . If I had found the false reports there [in Italy] to be true, as that the King had slipt from the grounds of Scripture, the honour of the Sacraments. . . . I would never have sought to enter his service."

The above letter was followed by a second, still more explicit and urgent. Pole must leave "the prudent and witty policy" of his former writings to the King, and answer plainly the two questions as to the Matrimony and the new Title—¹

"The King does not ask your judgment on the policy of either of these matters. . . . Set these aside . . . Only show whether you would approve his first marriage, if it were to make, and why not. Thus weigh the thing in itself and fearlessly state your opinion. So you will honor God's truth and satisfy the King who lately said to me he would rather you were buried there than you should for any worldly promotion or profit to yourself dissemble with him in these great and weighty causes."

Starkey thinks Pole need fear no charge of inconsistency if he complies, "for as far as I can conjecture, you did affirm nothing in the cause, but only put before his eyes the dangers that hanged upon worldly policy. . . . Consult, if you think proper, Master Gasparo [Contarini], the Bishop of Chieti [Caraffa] and other learned men."

The purpose of the last piece of advice is difficult to conjecture, as Starkey can have had no manner of doubt as to the opinion of Contarini, Caraffa, and the other learned men of Italy on the case in question. He may possibly have hoped to furnish Pole with a loop-hole of escape, or to influence Henry himself by calling in the opinion of these learned and eminent men. Such were the missives which a special messenger brought to Reginald Pole, who for two years had lived in retirement and study at Venice, hoping to be left in peace, remote from taking any part in the misfortunes of his country, except to bewail them, as they increased from day to day.

¹ *Cleop.*, E. VI, 361. B.M.

Meanwhile, in England, Chapuys was only awaiting the 1535 Emperor's orders to effect the Princess Mary's escape from the country, which the Queen and he had determined upon, and which, he writes, he can easily accomplish at almost any hour of the night, by having a pinnace on the river, and two armed ships at its mouth—"if the King does not remove her hence." But Charles V was ready for no determined enterprise; in answer to Chapuys' information respecting Lord Sandys and the other Lords who had approached him, he wrote—

"We certainly perceive that the case is so extreme that there would 26 Feb. be more than need [to interfere] if the other affairs of Christendom permitted, and if we were not hindered daily, especially now, by the coming of Barbarossa to Tunis with all the naval power of the Turks, against whom we are compelled to prepare a powerful fleet, as you already know; besides the towns held by the King of France, and his preparations for war by land and sea, with the aid, of which he greatly boasts, of the King of England. And, notwithstanding the goodwill of the said personages and others in England, we do not see how it is possible for the present to remedy the mischief by force, as, in truth, we have more than just cause to do.

"For which reason we think it best still to temporise, entertaining the said personages in hope, and waiting to see if God will inspire the said King of England to repent (*à soi reduire*) or some good opportunity may arise to compel him."

The Emperor means to try and engender scruple and division between the Kings of England and France, "which would greatly conduce to the remedy of their affairs, and of all others."

Not content with writing to Pole, Starkey had written to Edmund Harvel, a gentleman in Pole's service, but who had lately been taken into that of Cromwell. He was, therefore, little else than a spy upon his master, although, like all who came near him, he appears to have regarded him with affection and respect: sentiments which breathe in every line of his answer to Starkey, dated Venice, 12th April, when, after thanking "Mr. Secretary for his favour and benevolence," he says he doubts not Mr. Pole will satisfy the King by his letters—

"And that he will consider that his virtue ought rather to be spent in his own country than here *in umbra*; but you know he delights more in study than life or glory, which always have been

1535

contemned by him. . . . I will not cease to exhort him to some other kind of life, instead of consuming his perpetual life in letters; and that his King, his country, and his friends may sometimes have his work. It is true that the sweetness of learning is so great, that with difficulty a man greatly inflamed with virtue can be withdrawn from study; but, between you and me and other, I hope we shall remove him from that ardent mind without any dubitation. . . ."¹

On the 12th April Pole wrote to Starkey to acknowledge his letters, and to say that he would comply with the King's demand; and Harvel wrote a few days later that his master was at work.

21 April

"The performance of his book will somewhat slake him, for his study is too fervent in that work. It will be a noble monument of his wit and virtue. The greatest discomfort he could have would be to have it imperfect, which he thinks he would do, if he did not finish it in this quiet life. In England his life will be converted to other enacting, and his friends and kinsmen will interrupt him. I doubt not the King will esteem him as his virtue and great love for his Grace deserves."

The "quiet life" of Reginald Pole was being spent in a house in the Santa Croce district of Venice, whence he removed to a palace on the Grand Canal between the Foscari and the Ponte San Barnaba. The Rezzonico palace, one of the three between the Foscari and the bridge, was not built until later; or we might please ourselves with the fancy that Pole dwelt, and wrote his most important work in a house, inhabited three centuries later by a great English poet, Robert Browning.

The terms in which Harvel writes of his patron's book show that Pole kept the text of it strictly to himself, being well aware that he was surrounded with spies: he also allowed it to be believed that he would go to England when his work was completed: for one of them, a man of the name of Lily, writes to Starkey to ask if he is to go with his patron [Pole] to England, or to remain in Venice.

22 April

On the 29th April, Richard Reynolds, a monk of the Carthusian monastery of Sion, the proto-martyr of Henry VIII, was condemned to death with the priors of the three charter-houses of London, Axeholm, and Bellevue; and Starkey,

¹ *Nero*, B. VII, 108. B.M.

probably at the King's desire, wrote an explanation of the 1535 event to Pole, that he might "stop any misreport."

"At the last Parliament an Act was made that all the King's subjects should, under pain of treason, renounce the Pope's superiority ; to which the rest of the nation agreed, and so did these monks, three friars, and Reynolds of Sion, though they afterwards returned to their old obedience. . . . Therefore they have suffered death, according to the course of the law, as rebels to the same, and disobedient to the princely authority, and as persons who, as much as in them lay, have rooted sedition in the community."

Starkey goes on to say that he had tried to prevail with Reynolds himself, but nothing would avail. "They themselves were the cause. It seemed that they sought their own death, of which no one could be justly accused. You may repeat this as you think expedient, to those whom you may perceive to be misinformed." He ends his letter with some good advice to Pole to temper his style, quoting from Scripture that "by purity of mind the light of truth is soonest perceived." Master Secretary bids him ponder this well : the uncertain fruit of secret and quiet study, which hangs for the most part upon the blind judgment of the reader and posterity, etc.¹

Before Starkey's explanation reached him, Pole had no doubt been made acquainted with the account sent to Rome of Reynolds' trial, and it is not difficult to imagine his feelings of wrathful compassion, of admiration and reverent affection, of shame that such things should be.

"When Reynolds was asked who held with him ? 'All good men in the Kingdom. As to proof of dead witnesses, I have in my Archives favour all the General Councils, all the historians (*scriptori*), the holy doctors of the Church for the last 1,500 years, especially St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory ; and I am sure that when the King knows the truth, he will be very ill-pleased, or rather indignant against certain bishops who have given him such counsel.' . . . After hearing of his sentence, he said with the greatest constancy : 'This is of the things of this world.' He asked for two or three days to prepare his conscience and die like a good religious man ; they answered it was not in their power, but in the grace of the King. He then said, '*Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium.*' "

¹ *Clopp.*, E. IV, 358. B.M.

1535

It would be interesting to know whether the news of the death of the Carthusians had reached Rome when, on the 20th May, the Pope held a consistory, and created seven cardinals, one of whom is thus described in the *Diaria Pontificum* : " John, Bishop of Rochester, kept in prison by the King of England." In either case the Pope, by this open act of honour and approval, testified to his regard for Fisher's sanctity and fidelity. He may have hoped that the red robe, symbol of the blood cardinals must ever be ready to shed in defence of the Church, might in this case be a protection from the wrath of the King ; and men held their breath to see what Henry would do, while Paul III recommended the new Cardinal to the good offices of the King of France, and explained that in raising the Bishop of Rochester to the purple, he did so in view of the General Council, to which he meant to call all the most learned men of the different countries of Christendom. Henry did not keep the world waiting long for his answer to the Pope's elevation of Fisher : on the 22nd June the new Cardinal's head was struck off on Tower Hill, and on the 6th July the same fate was awarded to Sir Thomas More, ex-Lord Chancellor of England.¹

Another of the seven cardinals created by Paul III on the 20th May was Gaspar Contarini, who, although a layman, was so distinguished in virtue and learning, that the Pope was determined to make him a member of the Sacred College. This promotion was to have a direct influence upon Reginald Pole's career, for Contarini, once established in Rome, was to exert himself in getting his friend there also, though against his will. Meanwhile Pole removed from Venice to Padua for the summer. Alvise Priuli had a country seat at Treville, in the Treviso district of Castelfranco, near Padua, and there Pole resided, dating his letters to Priuli, *ex villa tua*.²

Poli Epp.
I. 422

In an undated letter of May, to Priuli at Pavia, he announces his arrival the previous evening. He means to give up writing

¹ Three centuries later, under the pontificate of Pope Leo XIII, the Carthusians, Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More, received the honour of Beatification. See Appendix D.

² *Gloria, Territorio Padovano*, Vol. I.

during the summer, but cannot forbear thinking of the thing 1535 he is to write about. [His answer to Henry VIII.] He will imitate the ant in collecting during summer for winter use. ¶ He would be glad to have Sadoleto's book on Philosophy and desires Priuli to ask Lazaro [Bonamico] to send him the Commentaries of Proclus on Euclid's first book, with MS. notes. Cannot write more, as dinner is waiting. . . . "As you know the hour, I need not write the day." On 26th May he writes again, "*ex villa tua Trevilliana*," that he is fatigued with writing letters all day to his friends in England, but as Priuli's servant is about to leave, must acknowledge his delightful letters received last night. Does not well know what to write. If he praised his correspondent's kindness, he would reply that he had done nothing for Pole, but only for Christ. Thanks him, therefore, in Christ's name, though he declines the goods offered. . . . "Our Flaminius has written, asking me to Verona, to spend a few days with that good Bishop [Giberti]." Means to comply, as he has often promised, and hopes Priuli will join him.

One of Cardinal Contarini's first acts, after establishing himself at Rome, was to write to the Emperor Charles V, 5th June, 1535, to the following effect: He has known by report for many years, and by continued and familiar conversation for many months, the Englishman, Rainaldo Polo, great by his noble birth and descent from the blood royal, but greater still by his virtue, learning and religion. Seeing that England and the King are deceived by error and have separated from the Church, he has determined to assist them, not by arms, but by peace and persuasion. The bearer, a gentleman of Pole's, will explain his method of action.¹

At the same time the nuncio in France reported to Rome the French King's anger after the execution of the Carthusians, and the imprisonment of Fisher and More. He told the English ambassadors their master wished him to do things against his conscience: but they must not think the French would do anything against the Church, but would rather defend it.

¹ *Add. MS.*, 28,587, f. 323.

1535

Reginald Pole's merits and claims were thus once again pressed upon the Emperor's attention, and by a man who, from personal experience, as well as from universal reputation, he knew to stand in the first rank of European statesmen. Contarini had been Venetian ambassador at his own court, and had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the peace between Clement VII and himself. Charles knew the desire of the much afflicted Queen of England with regard to Pole, and Mary's own willingness to have him as her consort: and Chapuys, who had twice urged him to make use of Pole, had approached the subject a third time, though, like a prudent courtier, he did so indirectly. Sir Geoffrey Pole, "younger brother of him about whom your Majesty once received letters from Venice," had told Chapuys he wished to go to Spain; "which I dissuaded, as the service he would do your Majesty was less than nothing, at the cost of the injury he would bring upon himself and his friends, especially as the matter could not be kept secret."

25 May

But the more authoritatively and forcibly Pole was recommended to Charles V, the more that monarch seems to have determined to set him and his claims aside. It is probable that the dream of universal sovereignty, which some years later possessed him, had already come into shape; the new world—as much of it as had been discovered—was his; Spain, Austria, the Netherlands acknowledged his sway; his brother was King of the Romans, his wife sister of the King of Portugal, his sister wife of Francis I; while in Italy, the Holy League, with Clement VII at its head, had but checked, and not stayed his encroachments in the north, the Kingdom of Naples remaining his undisputed possession. In his letter to Chapuys of the 26th February, he had stated his secret intention of trying "to engender strife and division between the Kings of France and England," while at the same time, through his ambassadors to Francis I, he was pressing on the marriage of his daughter with the Dauphin. In fact, Charles V's tortuous policy might have been framed to verify Wolsey's old epithet of *bis-linguae* "double-tongued"; and it was no part of his scheme to free England, the Church,

and the Queen and Princess from the oppression and tyranny 1535 of Henry VIII.

His expedition against Barbarossa, the same year, was completely successful, and set free, it is said, no less than 22,000 Christians, who had been held as slaves.

Henry VIII and Cromwell, while apparently despising foreign opinion, were not wholly indifferent to it ; and, through Starkey, Edmund Harvel was asked how the execution of the four Carthusian monks had been taken in Venice. He bluntly *Nero, B.* replied : “It was considered to be extreme cruelty, and all *VII, 93* Venice was in great murmuration to hear it. They spoke a long time of the business, to my great despair for the defaming of our nation, with the vehementest words they could use.” How the news of the fate of Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More was received by the Venetians we know from Pole himself in his *Apologia* to Charles V that they were “so affected with the news and circumstances . . . that they could not refrain from weeping : and as to myself, who write this at so considerable a distance of time . . . God is my witness, that involuntary tears fall from my eyes, which blot out what I have written, and almost hinder me from going on with the subject.”

These last instances of Henry VIII’s brutality served to turn men’s eyes the more towards Reginald Pole ; and we find the Bishop of Faenza, nuncio in France, writing to Cardinal Palmieri after Fisher’s death, bidding him remind the Pope “that Reginald Pole, a relation of the King, but of the White Rose, is at Padua. Of great learning and virtue, but now in a low state and ruined, because he would not consent to the King’s disordered and impious appetites, or write in favour of his cause. If the Pope would give him Fisher’s hat, besides the other advantages, it would seem to the people of England a Christian and worthy revenge against the King.”¹

The King was becoming impatient at Pole’s delay in obeying his order to give his “sentence” on the royal supremacy and matrimony, and Starkey writes to him in July, urging him to make haste, and “not to be like those here who stubbornly

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,714, f. 896.

1535 repugn to the common policy," and again advises him to "examine history and Scripture."¹

Pole had returned to Venice when the news of the late events in England reached him ; added to which came the tidings of the dangerous illness of his brother Henry, Lord Montague. Bernardino Sandro, one of his household, informs Starkey that " Il Signor thinks certainly that he is dead, but tries to hide his grief," and at the same time speaks confidently of Pole's return to England. Another of Starkey's correspondents in Pole's house was Richard Moryson, who, by his own account, would have perished of misery if the kindness of Mr. Pole had not rescued him " from hunger, cold and poverty."

Poli Epp. Two persons only, Cardinal Contarini and Alvise Priuli, were in Pole's confidence with regard to his book. In answer to a letter of sympathy from Priuli on the tragedies in England, *I, 425* he writes : " Grief, I perceive, makes you eloquent, though it is not grief, but piety to God and love for me, that your letters declare." He dislikes to speak, write, or do anything about the matters referred to in their correspondence, but awaits an opportunity which, he trusts, God will soon supply.

Ibid., I, 426 A month later, 24th September, he writes again that if he could hope to resume interrupted work as easily as to despatch what he has begun, he would have gone to Priuli without waiting for two letters to stir him up. But Priuli must consider what a work he has in hand, of which he has himself approved.

He is determined not to leave off until he has made an end of it. It is twenty days since he began, he has been hard at work the whole time, and has scarcely even reached the principal matter. Is anxious to defend Peter's bark, not only against the piratical attacks now made, but against any conceivable ones.

We get a picture of the order of life in his Venetian household in another letter from Bernardino Sandro to " Thomas Starky, Chaplain to the King," showing how every detail they could learn was set down by the spies around him, and at the same time how well he preserved his own secrets—

¹ *Cleop.*, E. VI. 356.

" . . . The cook is dead, and '*il Signore*' has given me the 1535 office of butler (*di dispensar*) which he had held for many years. He has also given me a book of Basilio to write, which is almost printed, and I am collating it with texts in St. Mark's [Library].

We have kept open house for all this time. '*Il Signore*' has given three or four banquets to the French ambassador. M. Gasparo and M. Matheo Dandolo were here continually after dinner, and walked with '*il Signore*'. M. Lazaro [Bonamico] Lampridio, Poero Boëmo and Priuli come to our house to lodge, as if it were their own. Priuli stopped a whole month, and has great love for my lord.

" We are all tired of this way of living. While we were at Santa Croce, he came to stay there, and never ceased till he drew '*il Signore*' to his house at Padua, and finally made him give up his house. . . . I have not been out of Venice since you left, but to-day I am going to Padua to be with the others. It is expensive enough to keep house here, but much more to move about. Some ill may come of it, at least to us poor servants. . . .

" The Bishop of Verona sent the other day to '*il Signore*' 250 gold crowns, praying him to accept them to buy horses to visit him at Verona. '*Il Signore*' has sent them back, promising to go and stay a few days with him. . . . I do not write about the taking of Tunis [by Charles V] as the news is known to all the world."

" VENICE, 21st October.

" . . . We have a fine house on the Grand Canal, between the house of Foscari and the ferry of St. Barnabas. . . ." ¹

Another of Pole's household, George Lily, writes ten days later to Starkey that he spares what time he can for his studies. Servants are scarce, and they are obliged to pay attention to their master's wishes, not their own. They are settled in Venice as of old. Their master, as Starkey knows, prefers this air to that of Padua. Lily was wearied at Padua by having to accompany his master out of doors, as is the custom there. "Here, one rower relieves us of all the trouble." Wrote Starkey a letter of congratulation on the recovery of his patron's brother [Lord Montague] . . . asks for news of the said person's son, his patron's nephew.

Lord Montague, upon his recovery to health, had been instructed by Cromwell to write "a comfortable relation of the continuance of the King's favour" to his brother, upon

¹ *Nero*, B. VII, 97. B.M.

1535 which the latter writes to Cromwell that though he is well assured "he never deserved otherwise," he cannot but account it "a singular comfort, the time being such that I might have feared some alienation"—
 R.O.
 28 Oct.

"I beg you will do me the still greater favour to assure His Highness of my readiness to do him service at all times, for I count whatever is good in me, next to God, to proceed of his Grace's liberality in my education, which I esteem a greater benefit than all the promotion the King ever gave to any other."

Another of Starkey's correspondents, evidently of a higher rank than the two servants whose letters we have given, John Friar, writes to him from Padua, 1st December, 1535—"Lazarus noster vivit et valet." Pole is studying divinity, "despising things merely human and transitory. He is undergoing a great change, exchanging man for God." And Harvel, still convinced that Pole's "vehement study" will produce a book that will satisfy the King, adds the information in a letter of 6th December that on the death of the Duke of Milan the Duchy had passed peaceably into the Emperor's hands and "it is thought he will keep it in his own dominion." And on the 28th December he once more declares he thinks Pole will recompense his slackness by a work which will be an eternal monument to his genius and virtue. "He keeps it secret to himself, for he wishes the King to be the first reader." Harvel hears that Starkey is also writing, and trusts time will "bring forth many fair flowers in both their gardens."

When Chapuys heard of Henry's command to Pole, he at once took alarm, and wrote to Charles V's minister, Granvelle, 18 Dec. "Would that the King had done it to hear the simple truth, and not to have a pretext for injuring Pole, who is one of the most virtuous persons in the world, and will do a great deal when there is any talk of putting affairs here right."

Two books had been sent from England to Pole, one by Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and the other, *de vera Obedientia*, by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. *Poli Epp.* Writing to Cardinal Contarini, 1st January, 1536, Pole says the I, 428 books were sent to educate him in the opinions which the King wishes him to follow. The Pope's authority is most impugned

by those sworn to defend it. Whatever his opinion may be 1536 he is not allowed to be silent. He bears this necessity of writing the more willingly, as even if they bid him to be silent, in the present state of things he does not know whether he should comply. There is nothing in their books to deter even a man of moderate understanding from replying, as the Cardinal will see by the book of Bishop Stephen, which Pole sends him.

On the 31st January, Pole sends the first portion of his *Poli Epp.* work to Contarini, asking him "to put off the friend," and to I. 43 read it like an enemy. Is sending the portion about the Pope's authority, and will not cease to work at the rest. How hard he was working we know from Harvel's letters to Starkey ; "his extreme study breaketh him much, especially in these sharp colds which have reigned here [at Venice] many days. . . . Mr. Pole has great virtue and eloquence, with prudence and judgment, as no man that liveth more" ; and Harvel does not doubt that his writing will be grateful and admirable to all virtuous men, especially to Starkey, who delights in him so much.

Contarini, upon reading Gardiner's book, expressed the opinion that it was written with the highest art, but that the arguments were weak, to which Pole replies 8th February, *Ibid.* I, quoting the proverb about dice—the better the player, the 431 worse the man. He thinks such books refute themselves, but to support his own and the Church's opinion by plain and plausible arguments is no easy task, and needs assistance, time, and leisure. Again, on 4th March, having sent his *Ibid.* I, refutation of Sampson's book by Priuli, who was going to Rome, 434 he writes that he fears he has transgressed the bounds of modesty by giving the Cardinal the trouble to read it, and asking him to correct it. His excuse is, the cause he advocates is not his, but Christ's. He does not mean to reply only to the King, but to refute an adversary who defends the opposite. He thinks also of the people, who must not be led astray by pernicious edicts and books. They are not Athenians, but Englishmen, who cannot be persuaded without the use of what is irrelevant. Asks him to cut out what he thinks unnecessary.

Contarini's letters are unfortunately not extant ; Pole

1538 probably destroyed them as soon as read, to keep the secret of his own work from his spies; but we know by what follows that the Cardinal had objected to the bitterness of Pole's words to the King. Pole replies that he anticipated the remark, but flattery has been the cause of all the evil. He concludes by asking Contarini to keep Priuli until he has seen the whole work, and to send his opinion by him.

Pole Ep. I, 437. Pole wrote the same day to Priuli: If the Emperor's opinion about English affairs was certain, a reason might be found for his [Pole's] going to Rome [where Charles V was expected] without exciting much suspicion, and perhaps he could afford some aid in those affairs. He is pleased at the Cardinal's approval of his writing on the primacy, and notes his admonition that he had spoken too bitterly of the King in the other part, which he wrote unwillingly. He thought it necessary to show him his faults, and who else will? Wishes that by the loss of all his goods he could secure that the King would read those passages; but directly he finds that his fame is treated disrespectfully he will cast away the book and rage against Pole and his friends. Soft words are of no use, for gentleness and dissimulation have driven him on to this madness.

No remonstrance will be of any avail until some calamity or adversity has caused him to fear, and then, if the remedies applied do not affect him, they will at all events affect the people. Pole writes the book, not so much for the King's sake as for theirs, and believes that unless he is expelled from the Church he will never remain in the Church. If he had been shut out from the Church when this matter was first begun in Rome, he would still be in the Church. Pole does not understand the object of the delay, unless the priests are waiting all to be driven out by the King, or put to death, in doing which he is by no means slow. . . . Will mitigate the bitter expressions about the King if no good will be sacrificed by doing so. Sends the commencement, and another part of the book, which he wishes no one to see but the Cardinal and Beccatelli [Contarini's secretary].

So anxious was Pole to preserve the secret of his book, that he demurred to Contarini's request to show a part of it to Paul

III, lest, as he writes to Priuli, it should become known in 1536 England that he had sent his book to the Pope before sending it to the King. In the same letter, he records the news he has received from England under date of the 25th February, that ^{Poli Eppe} I, 442 three bishops have preached about the Pope's authority, and that Cranmer said the Bishop of Rome was Antichrist ; many of the opponents of the new doctrines are in prison. He hears from Naples that if the Queen, the Emperor's aunt, had not died, the King would already have been anathematized. Why should the Church's interest depend upon the life of one woman ?

Pole wishes Contarini would show the Emperor what reward it would merit of God to defend the Church ; if he wrested Asia from the Turks, and allowed England to fall from the faith, he would not deserve well of the Church.

His book is finished and he will send it by the next courier. He will follow the Cardinal's advice and omit what will render him odious and suspected, ending the book with the argument about the Pope's authority ; though he does not mind being odious to the King, if he perseveres in making himself odious to God. . . . All the treasures of the churches in England have been taken to the King in London. Hopes Priuli will return after Easter. . . . He intends to spend Easter at Padua.¹

¹ In two interesting letters from Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, to Cardinal Contarini, dated 16th February and 8th March, 1536, he bestows great eulogy on Pole, finding the highest nobility and the most consummate learning allied in him. "Our illustrious Reginald Pole, in the affliction of his soul [after the martyrdom of Fisher and More] bears himself with great equanimity, to the ardent admiration of all ; and is getting on with his pious, learned and truly Christian work, of which he has sent you a part. I have never seen *in eo genere* anything better written, in the style which is his own ; the whole work full of gravity and excellent reasoning. He had some thoughts of getting it printed ; but considering that he ought not to omit treating any of the putrifying sores of that tyrant, it seemed to me that he would only be hurting himself, and doing no good to others. . . . It seemed to me that the opening, and first part of the book should be softened, so as to conciliate the King's mind ; and that having read the opening, he would not throw it away, all the more that Pole greatly laments over More and Fisher, than which nothing could be more galling to the King. . . ."

1536 After fourteen months' hard study and labour, Reginald Pole's most important work, *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*, every word of which he had written with a full sense of responsibility and of peril, was finished, and there remained nothing but to despatch it to the King, at whose express and repeated command it had been written.

CHAPTER IX

IN Pole's letter of 3rd April, quoted in the last chapter, he 1538 refers to the death of Queen Katherine of Arragon, and wonders why on the life of one woman should depend the interests of the Church ? Why her death had stayed the promulgation of the bull of deprivation against Henry VIII ? The Queen's death, in the preceding January, had happened so conveniently for the King, that it is not surprising he was strongly suspected of having secretly brought it about.

"It is not easy," writes Dr. Gairdner, "for the present generation of Englishmen to realise the change effected in their country, when the Pope's supremacy was abolished and the royal supremacy over the Church was established by Act of Parliament." By what strong coercion that change was enforced, the *Letters and Papers* of the time bear witness, but the consequences of that severity were themselves disquieting, and there is good reason to believe that Henry VIII was never more deeply harassed by anxiety than during the six months following the death of Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More. At home he had no opposition to fear ; a few further martyrdoms occurred shortly after that of Sir Thomas More, but severity had done its work, these remorseless executions had made resistance out of the question, and none but some solitary friar here and there dared still to preach the primacy of Peter, or some other doctrine denounced as seditious or unscriptural.¹

The peril to the King lay outside. What if he should be declared to have forfeited his kingdom—if the Emperor and the King of France were to prove willing to put into execution the sentence of deprivation, which was a dead letter without their co-operation ? Henry's hope of safety lay with Francis I. We have seen that on the death of Sforza, Duke of Milan, the Emperor had seized upon the Duchy, with the intention of

¹ Gairdner, Preface to Vol. IX.

1536

keeping it. To recover those fair possessions, which had once been his, Francis was ready either to join the Emperor in a crusade against Henry VIII, or to aid the latter, notwithstanding his outrageous crimes. The Papal Legate in Paris was assured that the King was equally ready to act against the Turk or against England, if he might have Milan ; but Charles V was not prepared to pay so high a price, and all Francis would do was to send the Bailly de Troyes to England with the papal brief, and to see if he could bring the unruly King to reason. Henry was visibly dejected after reading the letters ; it was all very well to throw contempt upon papal authority, but when his most trusty ally gave warning that he might have to cast him off, things wore a different aspect.

Like the Turk, to whom he was often compared, Henry VIII was secure from attack because the Christian princes of Europe could not agree among themselves. The proposed bull of deprivation was not forthcoming. The Pope could not issue it without the Emperor's support, the Emperor could not promise aid unless he was sure of Francis ; and so delay went on, while people in England as well as Reginald Pole at Venice, wondered why the Pope and the Emperor did not proceed. It was the opinion not only of Chapuys but also of the Bishop of Tarbes and the Bailly of Troyes, the French ambassadors, that a war against England would make the people rebel against their rulers.¹

Charles V's motive in attacking England would be to liberate and defend his persecuted aunt and cousin, whose existence thus became a political inconvenience and an obstacle beyond endurance to Henry VIII, who gave vent in private to his real sentiments in words of fearful meaning.

Nov.,
1535

Lady Exeter, whose husband was a member of the King's Council, came twice secretly, and the second time in disguise, to Chapuys to inform him, probably at her husband's instigation, that the King had told some of the confidential councillors that he could no longer remain "in the trouble, fear and suspense" he had so long endured on account of the Queen

¹ *Letters and Papers*, Vol. IX, No. 566.

and the Princess, and that they should see, at the coming ¹⁵³⁶ Parliament, to get him released therefrom, swearing most obstinately that he would wait no longer. At her second coming, the Marchioness further told Chapuys that the King, "seeing some of those to whom he used this language shed tears, said that tears and wry faces were of no avail, because, if he lost his crown, he would not forbear to carry his purpose into effect."

"These things," adds Chapuys, not unnaturally, "are too monstrous to be believed; but considering what has passed and goes on daily . . . and the fact that the concubine, who long ago conspired the death of the said ladies, and thinks of nothing but getting rid of them, is the person who governs everything, and the King is unable to contradict her, the matter is very dangerous.

"The King would fain, as I have already written, make his Parliament participators, and even authors of such crimes, in order that, losing all hopes of the clemency of your Majesty, the whole people should be more determined to defend themselves when necessary."

Whether Henry, with all his overbearing tyranny, would really have succeeded in extorting from Parliament their consent to the execution of his true wife and daughter was never put to the test; although that he meant to attempt it was the firm belief, not only of some of the Council, but of Queen Katherine herself, who in letters of the 13th December—the last she ever wrote—eloquently represented to the Emperor and to Dr. Ortiz, her agent in Rome, the extreme necessity of getting the Pope to act immediately in the matter.

On the 8th January Queen Katherine died. The opportuneness of her death at this time to Henry VIII and to Anne Boleyn, and several circumstances surrounding it, not only aroused the suspicions of Chapuys, of her own physician, and of the man who embalmed her body, only eight hours—by the King's express command—after her death, but aroused a feeling of grief and indignation throughout Europe.¹

¹ The opinion of the Queen's physician, on the report of the man—not a surgeon—who conducted the autopsy, is not a scientific opinion, and modern science tells us that the appearances described are perfectly compatible with a theory of natural death—and compatible also with

1536

When Henry VIII heard of Katherine's death, he and the Boleyns gave vent to the most indecent joy. "God be praised," he exclaimed, "we are now free from all fear of war!" The next day he clothed himself in yellow from head to foot, danced with the ladies as if mad with delight, and exhibited the infant Elizabeth in his arms to the whole Court, whose title as his legitimate daughter he seemed now to think fully established.¹

Henry had spoken truly when he said that his wife's death had saved him from all fear of war. Charles V had long been preparing to strike, whenever he could strike with safety; not that he wished to quarrel with England, but the dishonour shown to his aunt reflected on himself. The Pope and the Consistory had at length passed the bull of deprivation, but its publication was deferred until the Emperor's arrival in Rome. The Queen's death at once put Henry at his ease, for the cautious Emperor in fact suggested through his ambassador that perhaps a renewal of amity, such as Henry suggested,

a theory of poison. The fact that the King had forbidden the physician to be present at the embalming, which was carried out in the presence only of the chandler of the house and one servant, is more significant than the amateur surgeon's declaration, made on the peril of his life, to the Queen's confessor, the Bishop of Llandaff, that the appearance of the internal organs seemed to him suspicious in the extreme. (*Chapuys to the Emperor.*) The impression abroad when the news of Queen Katherine's death became known can be seen in a letter from Harvel to Starkey of the 5th February: "The news of the old Queen's death was divulged here more than ten days ago, and taken sorrowfully, not without grievous lamentation, for she was incredibly dear to all men for her good fame, which is in great glory among all exterior nations. *Hic palam obloquuntur de morte illius, ac verentur de puella regia ne brevi ma [trem sequatur.]*" Having couched in Latin the opinion of Venice as to the manner of the Queen's death, and its fears for her daughter, Harvel goes on: "Men speaketh here *tragice* of these matters, which is not to be touched by letters. As far as I can see we have stirred up great hatred almost everywhere. . . ." *Nero*, B. VII, p. 105.

¹ Dr. Gairdner points out that Hall, who never sees anything discreditable in Henry's conduct, writes as if only Anne Boleyn had been guilty of this indecency: "Queen Anne," he says, "wore yellow for the mourning." Anne's father and mother did not refrain from saying it was a pity the Princess Mary had not kept her mother company. (Gairdner, Preface to Vol. X.)

might now be more readily effected. Charles V did not show 1536 a spark of indignation at his aunt's death (though he certainly believed her to have been murdered) any more than he had shown at her long ill-usage, against which he had mildly expostulated.¹

Reginald Pole had heard the rumours set abroad, probably by Henry himself, as to his speedy reconciliation with Rome. "The rumour increases," he wrote to Priuli on the 8th March, *Poli Epp.* I, 440 adding that before matters are settled he wishes Cardinal Contarini to give him an opportunity of expressing his opinion upon them, not for his own benefit, but for the honour of the Pope and the benefit of the Church. And a few weeks later he writes again : "The ills of England are those of the Church ; *Ibid.* I, 449 the only hope of remedy lies in this meeting of the princes." He urges Priuli to use his influence with the princes "to obtain help for our evils." The next words testify to his fears : "The courteous answer of the Emperor to the English ambassador, when he asked for a renewal of the ancient friendship, is likely to increase rather than diminish these evils." Charles V had intimated to Pole through some of his friends—"Martin and Sigismund"—that he would like to have his opinion on English affairs "which his Majesty told Sigismund he was expecting at Rome, and that he then intended to occupy himself only with remedying the ills of England." It would be difficult to send one of his own servants or Sigismund without causing great suspicion to the King of England: so Pole sends copies of the letters and instructions for Priuli's advice, and commits the affair to him.

According to a statement in Quirini, the Emperor's sentiments towards Reginald Pole found expression in his orders to his ambassadors to urge upon the Sacred College to prevent Pole's marriage with the Princess Mary: a statement which harmonises perfectly with Charles V's attitude towards Pole and towards England.²

¹ Gairdner, Preface to Vol. X, p. xiii.

² Quirini, Vol. I, Preface, *Caput Ultimum*.

1536

Upon hearing of the Emperor's arrival in Rome, Pole writes again to Priuli that he hopes matters will be settled. *Poli Epp.* "But oh for an Ambrose against Theodosius." Contarini is the man, set him to work; and Pole quotes certain letters of St. Bernard which are applicable to the matter; but war appears imminent [between the Turks and the Emperor] which will not assist the cause of religion. *I, 451*

Pole's own work in the cause of religion, his book on the Unity of the Church, had been ready some time, but he hesitated to send it to the King, at whose command it had been written. The criticisms of Contarini and Priuli upon the severity of some of its passages, doubts as to the effect it might have upon the King, and above all the fear that Henry's wrath might fall upon his kinsmen and friends in England, in default of himself, all contributed to make him refrain from letting it out of his own hands. The members of his household, in their letters to Starkey, while continuing to declare that his book will be "a glory to the country and to posterity," are bound to admit that he will let no one see it.¹ Two circumstances finally put an end to all hesitation: the loss of several pages of the MS., precisely those which pressed most heavily upon the King's crimes, and which Pole feared had been pilfered by one of Henry's spies in order to be sent to him, and the death of Anne Boleyn.²

On the very day of Katherine of Arragon's funeral, 29th January, the awful secret was divulged to Chapuys that the King, who had hardly spoken to Anne for weeks, had said in strictest confidence to some of his familiars *that he had married her under the influence of witchcraft and sorcery*, for which reason he considered the marriage null; he believed he might take another wife, which he gave to understand that he had some wish to do.

From that moment the secret became a matter of court gossip. Sir Geoffrey Pole told Chapuys how at dinner Stokesley, Bishop of London, had been asked if the King could

¹ *Harvel to Starkey*, Vit. B, xiv, p. 299. B.M.

² The missing sheets were discovered some months later among Cardinal Contarini's papers in Rome.

abandon Anne, and had warily replied that he would give 1536 his opinion to no one but the King himself ; and a few weeks previously Lord Montague, after bitterly complaining to the ambassador of the disorders of the time, had said that Cromwell and Anne were on bad terms, and that some new marriage was spoken of. Three days after the latter conversation, Anne was sent to the Tower, and her trial and execution, and that of her five associates in guilt, were carried through within a fortnight. Not content with putting her to death, Henry VIII ordered Cranmer to pronounce his divorce from her on the ground of " affinity " through her sister, Mary Boleyn. Chapuys, who by this time was accustomed to Henry's enormities, cannot repress an expression of surprise, in his report to Granvelle, that the King should not have refrained from thus blackening himself in his eagerness to humiliate the woman whom he now hated as passionately as he had once adored her. The alleged pre-contract with Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, Chapuys goes on to say, would have been a more decent ground and plea.¹

8 July

The verdict by which Anne, Lord Rochford, Smeaton, Weston, Brereton and Norris were condemned may have been as little in accordance with modern notions of legality and justice as those passed on many other victims of Henry VIII's tyranny. The papers concerning Anne's trial are lost or

¹ The plea of " affinity," although surmised by that most accurate of historians, Lingard, was so carefully concealed from public knowledge, that it remained unknown until the Archives of Vienna revealed the despatches of Chapuys. " Even in the record of the judgment the place which they [the grounds of nullity] ought to occupy is supplied by the phrase 'quos pro hic insertis haberi volumus.' "—Wilk., III, p. 804 ; Lingard, Vol. V, p. 36.

Chapuys says, in his letter to Granvelle: " The marriage between the concubine and the King was invalid, he having carnally known the said concubine's sister ; on which ground the Archbishop, a day or two before the said concubine's execution, pronounced the sentence of divorce—of which, as you know, there was little need, when the sword divorced them absolutely. It would have been more honourable to have alleged that she had been previously married to another [the contract with Percy], but God has been pleased to reveal still greater abomination, which is the more inexcusable, as ignorance could not be alleged either of the law or of the fact."

1536

destroyed—there is reason to believe, by order of Queen Elizabeth—and the question of her guilt with regard to the more heinous charges brought against her must for ever remain “not proven.” On the other hand, her own previous conduct and reputation were the chief witnesses against her in the eyes of Europe, and her fate was generally supposed to be well deserved.

She met that fate not unwillingly, and with the dignity of penitence and resignation. She spent the most part of the last two days of her life in conference with her confessor ; the last night, “houseled and assoiled,” prostrate in prayer before the Host, which, at her petition, had been placed on a temporary altar in her room. To the person against whom she had most offended she made what reparation lay in her power ; kneeling before Lady Kingstone, wife of the Governor of the Tower, she asked her, as a last favour, to throw herself in like manner at the feet of the Lady Mary, and beseech her to forgive the many wrongs which the pride of a thoughtless, unfortunate woman had brought upon her.¹

As soon as Anne’s death became known to Reginald Pole, he determined—looking upon her as the prime cause of evil—to despatch his book to the King. Choosing Michael Throckmorton as a safe and trusty messenger, and ordering him to deliver it into no hands but the King’s own, he also entrusted him with a letter to Henry, telling him that he had been informed by letters—

R.O. “ . . . first of your chaplain, Mr. Starkey, and afterwards of Mr. Secretary, of your Grace’s pleasure that I should declare to you my opinion touching the Pope’s supremacy, with other articles, and to state my reasons. I have done so, accordingly, in a book which I send by the bearer. How it will satisfy you, He only knows in whose hand are the hearts of kings.

“ If you wish further information of my purpose, I refer you to the bearer . . . Venice, 27th May.”

Pole, moreover, gave Throckmorton a paper of instructions, to be shown to the King, and to the following effect : His

¹ It is known that Lady Kingstone shortly afterwards applied for and obtained permission to visit the Princess, doubtless in order to deliver that last message of Anne Boleyn.

intention in writing the book was the manifestation of the ¹⁵³⁶ truth in the matter about which Mr. Secretary wrote, whose letter he took as a commandment from the King ; otherwise he would never have set pen to a book in so little hope of persuasion, and with such a likelihood of not being the best accepted.¹

In the books sent to him, on the contrary point, he found the truth "marvellously suppressed and cloaked, and all colours that could be invented" set upon the untrue opinion. He saw also that sore and grievous acts followed upon the same, and that unless the truth was purely set forth, it might turn to the undoing of the King, and destruction of the quietness of the realm. This made him use all the wit and learning God had given him to endeavour to express the truth and declare the qualities of the acts that followed "of the sinister opinion. . . ." He believed that the King was allowed by God to fall into these errors, as He sometimes suffers those who are in His favour, that they may the better know where they have their true light and safeguard. David and Solomon fell, and Pole trusted the King would be recovered to higher honour and grace than ever, as David was when the prophet showed him the truth.

There is not only peril before God, but also in this world danger might happen if the King continued "in this sentence," so different from other Christian princes ; for his people cannot be quieted by these innovations, and it pertains to other princes to defend the laws of the Church. That the danger might not be unknown, he has brought together in the book the reasons why other people or princes might be justly instigated against his Grace. Whoever reads the whole book together will see that its "vehemency and sore expressions" are for the purpose of saving the King "from great dishonour and peril both in this world and that to come."

Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, had been Pole's intimate friend ; he had protested, at the same time as Archbishop Warham, against the Royal supremacy, and Pole thought he

¹ *Cleop.*, E. VI, 334. B.M.

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had remained of the same opinion since. To him, therefore, he refers, asking that for the better understanding of his own “opinion and sentence, he would desire the King to appoint some learned and sad man to read over the book and declare his judgment, being bound with an oath to show his judgment without affection”; and suggests that it be shown to the Bishop of Durham.

After declaring that his purpose was to keep the book secret, and that Throckmorton is to explain how that purpose was frustrated [by the supposed theft of part of the MS.], “this you may declare by word of mouth having the whole matter;” Pole expresses the hope that the King will take as a favourable admonition of God the detection of the iniquity of her who had been the original cause and occasion of all these errors and dangers, and will follow the advice of those whose conscience and fidelity to the King caused them “against their own private wealth and great danger” to dissent from this matrimony. If the King will accept this warning to return to the unity of the Church, it will be taken for one of the greatest miracles that has been shown for these many ages, and the most certain sign of special favour that ever was shown from God to any prince.

“Now all Christendom calls for a General Council, and the King must either with dishonour and damage flee to obey thereunto, or with more danger answer there such causes as are laid to him. If he return, no Christian prince would appear there with more honour. The innovation he has made in the Church is the occasion of ruin of the fairest member of the Church of God. If God made him turn, his fall will be the happiest fall that was unto the Church these many years, which may be a ready and high way to the reformation of the whole. The end will be, in every man’s opinion who marks the whole process, that God suffereth his Grace to fall, to make him rise with more honour to the greater wealth of his own realm and the whole Church.”

The paper is headed: “These shall be your instructions following; this same to be shown to the King’s Highness.”

Throckmorton left Venice on the 27th May, not without some slight uneasiness as to his own safety in carrying such

hazardous matter ; and he begged his master, in case he should be raised to the Cardinalate—of which there were apparently rumours afloat—that he would keep the fact secret until Throckmorton had got safely out of England again. 1536

The book itself, generally known by its abbreviated title, *De Unitate*, was the work on which Pole spent more time and care than on any other, and which is truly described by Dr. Gairdner as “nothing but an honest answer to the King's own request—

“ Pole, in fact, was a little too honest, even for the best of those experienced Italian friends who would fain have maintained the authority of the See of Rome by the wisdom of the serpent, blended with a dove-like inoffensiveness towards all great potentates, even when it was necessary to reprimand them.”¹

Had the great potentate in this instance asked the writer's opinion for his own edification, and with a mind in the slightest degree open to conviction, the book might have had some effect in bringing him to a sense of his own wrong-doings, by showing how his crimes were regarded by honest men generally, and by his own faithful kinsman in particular. Pole could not but remember that his candid expostulation and letters to Henry six years previously had not only been well received, but had almost succeeded in changing the King's purpose with regard to the divorce. He knew that Henry was surrounded with evil counsellors, and he also knew how great was his appetite for fame and glorification, how tender the vanity, especially the theological vanity, which possessed him, and that, once convinced of the peril in which those attributes stood in the face of Europe, the King, out of his own self-love, if inaccessible to the nobler sentiments to which Pole appealed, might be induced to change his course.

The work is in Latin, divided later into four books with chapters of various length.² In the first chapter, Pole says he is ordered to write about the Pope, but hardly knows how to begin : he declares his love of the Church and his gratitude

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XII, Preface to Part I, p. xxxv.

² Several passages have already been quoted on pp. 25, 71, 76.

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towards the King ; he is ordered to write freely, and yet fears that he will incur Henry's wrath if he obeys—

“ Those who have tried to teach you, you rewarded with death ; those who came to heal you, were put to death ; so what chance have I, with my exposition of the truth and offer of my remedy ? ”

At the same time Pole will not relinquish the hope that the patient who has killed all his attendants, who would not listen to the holiest men, will lend an ear to the reasonings of a son.

Chapter II maintains that the King never can be head of the Church ; it is a perfect novelty in theory, and in practice has led to the unrighteous plundering of the churches in England. Nor can any proof of that supremacy be deduced from Peter I, 2, 13.

Chapter III scours the discursive and pointless arguments of Sampson, Bishop of Chichester's, book, written expressly in defence of the King's title as head of the Church—

“ I have received your champion Sampson's book. Sampson has a very long lance ; the introduction to his book is extremely long. Armed with this disproportioned weapon, he no longer appears as Samson, but as Goliath, to challenge the sons of Israel, the children of the Church. Sampson is no honest foe ; he wishes to catch me craftily. Why does he so lengthily insist upon the honour due to Kings ? Nobody denies it ; but he would have him honoured in an extraordinary fashion—the Church's supremacy is the iron point to his long lance. Sampson is a priest who denies his master ; he is a Judas. He has sold himself for a small price, he wished for the bishopric of Norwich, and only received that of Chichester. Sampson is no Hercules, but he can play the part of Cacus ; he can drag Christ's sheep into the King's cavern by their tails ; but the sheep may bleat, and Hercules may awaken.”

In Chapter IV Pole urges that it is a shameful thing in a theologian to ignore Christ's coming, and the kingdom He established, and to suppose that there is no higher power than that of an earthly king.

That the rule and government of the Church do not come within the jurisdiction of earthly power, but appertain to the priesthood is proved from many passages of Holy Writ and from the testimony of history, in Chapters V and VI ; and

the two last chapters maintain that priests do not depend ¹⁵³⁶ solely upon kings, but also upon a far higher authority. If this was true in the early centuries of Christendom, how much more so is it in a fully organised Church. The English people could not hand over the spiritual supremacy to the King; England is but a part of the Christian commonwealth, and cannot be allowed to dethrone the Pope, Christ's true vice-regent, and set up the King in his place. This would be the legitimation of revolution, and the justification of all schisms and sects in the Church.

In Book II the succession of the Popes from St. Peter is proved by the witness of Scripture and of the Fathers, and Sampson's contention is examined—that if St. Peter were to return he would regard the papal claims as condemnable, and would not recognise bad popes as his successors. Pole replies—

“ If a bad pope is no successor of St. Peter, if only those pastors are legitimate who have the virtues of the Apostles, the Church has already ceased to exist, for who could compare in sanctity with the Apostles? But even if Sampson's words do not go so far, and he is content with ordinary virtue, he would make the regular succession depend upon chance. Among ten bishops, one is generally unworthy; why, therefore, is the apostolic Sampson so unwilling that there may have been bad popes; why would he make St. Peter point to them as impostors, and as not having been his successors?

“ Sampson speaks of the servitude of the English Church, and the heavy yoke that Rome had laid upon her; but if one asks, what freedom does the English Church enjoy at present? then he, and those who agree with him, keep silence and sigh, and dare not speak of it. No words are necessary, the facts speak for themselves, and make it clear that the Church in England, under its new head, has in three years' time seen itself more taxed and has suffered greater burdens than under all the popes for many centuries past. This has befallen those who have cast away, not only the Pope, but Christ Himself.”

The second chapter contains a clear and beautiful exposition of the Biblical proofs of the primacy, and a smart rebuff to Sampson's argument that St. Peter never took upon himself nor thought of such a primacy, and never acted upon it, not having

1536 received it. Pole shows the want of logic in Sampson's conceptions, the defects in his historical knowledge, and the servile sense in which he refuses to accept tradition. Chapters III and IV demonstrate how Christ appointed Peter to be the chief pastor of the Church, and there are few direct allusions to the King. The whole book might serve as a model of solid and comprehensible demonstration.

The Third Book is directly addressed to Henry VIII, and begins by expressing the fear that Pole's arguments in favour of the papal supremacy and against that of the Crown have perhaps been useless—

“ Who would think of pouring costly wine into a barrel which had long been empty, and would not first see to the cleansing of the barrel ? Such a barrel is thy mind, oh King, inaccessible to the truth, for all good ideas have run out of it, and have left only a sediment of wrong notions behind. I have made the mistake of trying to persuade you of the truth before thinking of the cleansing of your mind, stopped up with false notions, and incapable of receiving the most healing truths, which I attempt to pour into it. I must, therefore, first entreat you to prepare yourself to be a worthy recipient of the truth. But how can I obtain this, when you aspire to possess the truth in such excess that you can impart it to others, and how can you, who teach others, learn from anyone ! As I hear, men ask you, as if you were an Apostle, for counsel in spiritual matters and take your opinion. I can only lament that you do not see in what darkness you find yourself when you think you can interpret the word without having the spirit of God—that you should imagine God had called you to build up the Church in England.”

In Chapter II Pole goes into the details of the unhappy inclination for Anne Boleyn, and of Henry's tardy scruples of conscience after twenty years of married life, which we have already quoted ; and the destruction of the unity of the Church, the creation of a National Church, above all the assumption of the title “ Head of the Church ” are fearlessly denounced—

“ Are titles given for nothing, or for less than nothing, that men should call you, the robber and persecutor of the Church, the ' Head of the Church ' ? Your father was a penurious man, but even he

founded a few monasteries for the care of the poor ; but who 1536 can cite any good deed of yours ? What are your public works ? Pleasure-houses, built for your own gratification, ruined monasteries, wrecked churches, their possessions confiscated to the Crown. . . .

" You have destroyed your nobles on the most frivolous pretences ; you have filled your Court with worthless men, to whom you have yielded everything up. But what shall I say of the butcheries ; of the dreadful executions which have made England the slaughter-house of the innocent ? The holiest and most spotless men, for the new crimes invented by yourself, put to death in the most horrible and unheard of manner.¹ The gracious Bishop of Rochester, the unparalleled More, the learned Reynolds, and so many others were the victims of your senseless and wicked fury. In their bloody death no torment was spared to them nor any insult to their religion. All nations mourned when they heard of those frightful tragedies, and even now, after so long a time, tears, as I write, come to my eyes. And you are the man who holds that the Pope, on account of his moral deficiencies, cannot be head of the Church."

Pole then exquisitely applies the parable of the vineyard [Isaiah v] to Henry VIII, who with his own hand has removed the landmarks, pulled down the walls, filled the vineyard with thorns, hardening his own soul against the dews of heaven, the Divine mercy. But he will not deal in riddles—

" What surer hope is there for your kingdom, and for your personal security, than the general accord as to yourself and your succession ? And who but yourself has undertaken to trouble that accord ? What have you done, during the past three years, but set everything to work to rob your own daughter, who for twenty years has been recognised as your heir, of her rights, and to make her appear as a bastard ? What father ever tried to deprive his rightful daughter of her inheritance, and to give it to the child of a concubine ?

" The King, your father, was perhaps too careful to remove all hindrances to his children's succession, but he was not far-seeing enough to expect that you would be ready to put obstacles in the way of your own children. Oh, if your father could come again ; if he could see me, the sister's son of him whom, notwithstanding his entire innocence he sent to death, merely because he stood too near the throne, and might in time become an obstacle in the path

¹ Pole refers to the hanging, drawing, and quartering of the Carthusians and other martyrs.

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of his own progeny ; if he could see me, me, I say, the son of that house from which he feared danger, defending his succession ; while you, his son, are wickedly striving to destroy it, how would it appear to him ? ”

The fourth chapter, which bears the title “ More, a Witness against the King,” is one of the best parts of the book, and shows Pole’s masterly power as a historian. More was a man after his own heart. The praise of More was gall and wormwood to Henry VIII. Very moving is the apostrophe to England, after the description of More’s execution—

“ Oh, my beloved country, what were thy feelings at the sight of the condemnation of this man ? Didst thou know how great a loss had befallen thee in the punishment of this man ? Yea, if England knew what an ornament, what a helper she had lost in him, she would mourn more than a widow for her son, an army for its leader. He received many great benefits from his country, but many more from God. What had he, that he did not return with interest ? The greatest of England’s scholars, unsurpassed in wisdom and in learning, he filled all honourable posts, not so much for himself as for others ; he benefited all, and was like the good soil, which produces fruit a hundredfold. . . .

“ Oh, overwhelming power of divine comfort, oh Christ, thou only consoler of souls in their great anguish, Thou leader of our lives, and pattern of all virtues ! How did thy scholar tread in thy footsteps ? What do the words prove which More spoke before his execution but that heavenly comfort abode with him ? Yea, England, those words alone suffice to prove that not only did Margaret Roper lose the dearest father, but thou the worthiest and best of thy sons.”

The next two chapters point to the spread of heresy as a consequence of Henry’s conduct—by assuming the primacy of Peter he has made himself the mockery of all men, and has brought everything to the ground. The seventh chapter is a bitter denunciation of the King as a greater enemy to Christendom than the Turk, and a warning that he may be called to account by foreign interference ; that the monarchy is not the possession of a dynasty, but an office that may be taken away from the unworthy.¹ In the sixteenth century,

¹ Dixon remarks that if a king misbehaved himself, according to the belief of the time in England, a rebellion was the best remedy. Vol. II, pp. 448-461.

Pole's opinion that kings might be deposed for misconduct¹⁵³⁸ was everywhere prevalent, and gives point to his energetic indignation—

“ Is England another Turkey that it is to be ruled by the sword ? Englishmen before now, when they were oppressed, have divided the state against the King ; they have brought him to account for reckless expenditure, have set him aside for the violation of the constitution. In bestowing the crown, they reserved the right to preserve their old freedom, and to keep an eye on the administration. Who maintains that all property is the King's ? Thou, oh my country, art all ; the King is only thy servant and thy instrument. Renew the old spirit within thee, and friends will not fail thee. The Emperor, the greatest of monarchs, will not refuse his help. Were he already in arms against the Turk, and on the point of setting his rule upon the Bosphorus, I would follow him and cry aloud : ‘ Turn thy sails, and pursue a worse enemy of the Faith, and a greater heretic than may be found in Germany. My oppressed country calls thee, oh Cæsar, and had she not waited for thee, she would already have shaken off the tyrant.’ ”

Then comes an appeal to the King of France, in the name of his attachment to the Holy See, to stand no longer by this man, whose crimes have separated him as completely from Christendom as the sea separates his island from the rest of Europe—

“ Finally, I turn to thee, oh Henry, as thy friend, thy physician, thy former favourite. I say to thee, repent, return, make good thine unheard-of misdeeds. In contrition lies the hope of man. I am thy Nathan, be thou my David.”

When Pole was engaged on the fourth book, he wrote to Priuli : “ I am exhorting the King to penitence and am trying to show its sweetness and its efficacy. If God deigns to fill my own heart with the true spirit of penance, I do not despair of making it grateful to others. Do you, therefore, help me with your prayers.”^{Poli Epp. I, 440}

In this spirit the whole of the last book is written, with extraordinary energy and pathetic affection and yearning—a supreme last effort to bring the King back to the ways of justice.

Such, in brief outline, was the *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis.*

1536 It had been written reluctantly, at the express command of Henry VIII, and was the fearless answer to his questions, made as man to man, as kinsman to kinsman, by one who was the King's equal—according to many, his superior in blood, his true and faithful subject. As to the opportuneness of sending this outspoken indictment to such a man as Henry VIII, opinions will always remain divided ; but few will hesitate to recognise the single-hearted devotion and earnest, faithful love which underlie its severest denunciations.

CHAPTER X

ON the 8th July, Michael Throckmorton returned to Venice 1536 with letters from Henry VIII and Cromwell. Pole wrote on that date to Cardinal Contarini, saying that the King expressed *Poli Epp.* I, 455 himself as not displeased with what he had written, but as their opinions differ on many points, or rather in everything, desires him to return, that he may communicate with him ; Cromwell writes urging him to come as quickly as possible. He is answering this with a plain refusal, unless the King first returns to the Church. He adds that Cromwell is sole governor, that he hears good things of the new bride [Jane Seymour] ; that he despairs of England, and expects to hear again from the King when he knows that he will not return.¹

Henry VIII might dissemble his fury, in the hope of getting Reginald Pole within his reach ; but the latter, comparing himself afterwards to the fox who had seen many animals go into the lion's cave, but none come out again, was not to be lured by fair words. It was plain to his friends that it would be fatal to obey the King's summons, and Contarini, writing *Ibid.* I, 463 to him on the 12th July, reports a conversation with the Pope on the subject. On telling Paul III that the King wanted Pole back in England, "the good Pope asked : ' And will Reynold go ? ' " to which Contarini replied : " Not if he is wise." The latter entreats Pole to be prudent, and not to run into manifest and fruitless danger. He goes on to say that it is the Pope's intention to summon various learned men to Rome this winter—Italians, French, and Spaniards—to consult about the future Council, and his Holiness intends to call Pole—even against his will—to Rome. Contarini rejoices

¹ The date of the above letter is given in Quirini as 8th June, a mistake which has been followed in *Letters and Papers*, Vol. X, No. 1,093. But in a letter of 24th June, Pole informs Contarini that he has had no news of his book. Henry VIII's letter to Pole bears the date of 30th June.

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that he will thus enjoy his company next winter, and perhaps the following summer.

Pole's "plain refusal" was couched in the following terms to Henry VIII, dated "Venice, 15th July,"¹ acknowledging the King's letters of 30th June, "so that I learn by your Grace's letters (but much more by Mr. Secretary's, stirring me more vehemently, and most of all by the bearer of both) you expect not a letter, but me in person." There is nothing Pole more desires, but the King himself alone prevents it; for to come to him would be "temerariously" to cast himself away; seeing that, ever since the King cast his love and affection upon her whose deeds have declared she never loved him, every man is a traitor that will not accept him for head of the Church of his realm. This law enforced "with so sore severity" against the best men of the realm, suffering the pain of traitors, who throughout their whole lives had been the King's most faithful servants—this law, against which is the whole process of the writer's book, is a sufficient impediment to his coming.

Had he been sick in bed when the King's message arrived, he would have run through fire and water to obey, had not this cause forbidden it; except he should be accounted a traitor of his own life, which he is bound to keep to God's pleasure, and not temerariously to cast away.

As to explaining the book, he thinks he made it so plain that it could not be misunderstood, and that if one thing be lacking it is what he cannot give—

"That is, an indifferent mind in the reader; such a mind to the reader as I had when I writ it, delivered of all affection but only of the truth, and your Grace's honour and wealth . . . never was a book written with more sharpness of words, nor again more ferventness of love. My whole desire it was and ever shall be that your Grace might reign long in honour, in wealth, in surety, in love and estimation of men."

After reminding the King that the book was written at his express command, and that he who defends his acts augments

¹ *Cleopatra*, E. VI, f. 328. B.M.

his dishonour, he exclaims : " And here is all the difficulty in a ¹⁵³⁶ prince. Who will tell him his fault ? And if such a one is found, where is the prince who will hear him ? " But God has provided the King with a faithful subject in a safe place, where he may speak at liberty, and by prompting the King to ask his sentence, has given him the opportunity. Pole urges the madness it would be in a wounded man, when the surgeon " draweth his knife to cut the dead and superfluous flesh according to his craft," to cry out against him as an enemy. He points out that as God has rid the King

" of that domestical evil at home who was thought to be the cause of all your errors, and with her head, I trust, cut away all occasion of such offences as did separate you from the light of God " ; and moreover, " hath given you one full of all goodness, to whom, I understand, your Grace is now married. . . . Wherefore, this is the time, Sir, to call to God that He will not suffer you to let pass this so noble an occasion . . . that your ancient years now growing upon you, you may finish your time in all honour and joy."

If Pole's book had wrought Henry VIII to fury instead of to repentance, its advent had spread grief and consternation among his family and friends. No one was more dismayed than the royal chaplain, Starkey, who hastened to excuse himself to Cromwell, and to explain away his former optimism concerning Pole's opinions, at the same time protesting he thinks it hard that he [Starkey] should be suspected of " maintaining popish follies." At the same time he wrote with much heat to " Master Pole," indignantly declaring—

" If you will mark my nature, my deeds, my duty, you may ^{R.O.} perchance partly feel how your bloody book pricketh me, and how sorry I was to see him whose honour I am bound to tender much more than my life, so irreverently handled. . . . Leave fantasies . . . and you will find the King's heart is much sooner won than lost. . . ."

Reginald Pole believed that his friend Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, had remained in the same opinions which had prompted him publicly to declare against the new title of " Head of the Church " in 1532 ; but the events of the last four years, the fate of Cardinal Fisher and his fellow-martyrs,

1536 had shaken Tunstall's constancy, and Pole's reference to him as the "learned and sad man" who should read his book and declare his opinion thereon called forth, instead of the support the writer expected, a panic-stricken torrent of reproach and vehement exhortation. It had made him cold at heart to learn that two quires had got lost, and he urges Pole to endeavour to recover them, to burn them and the rest of the work, for his own honour and that of his noble house.

R.O. The value of the arguments by which Tunstall proceeds to defend the King's title may be judged by the following: "You propose to bring the King back to the Church by penance, when your proof that he has receded from it rests only on common fame." After quoting Scripture, Nicholas Cusa, and others in support of Henry VIII's pretensions, the old friendship for Pole breaks out: he will do his best, since the book has come to the King's hands, that Pole's plain fashion of writing—as of a ghostly father—be taken in the best part; but he implores Pole not to addict himself to the opinions of his book, and warns him of the discomfort it will be to my lady his mother to see him swerve from his Prince, and also to my lord his brother.

The alarm of Lady Salisbury and of her sons was real; their indignation against Reginald was official. The letters of Lady Salisbury and Lord Montague were written to show to the King's Council, by whom they were despatched to Venice. And if the former's letter be curiously examined, it almost excites surprise that it should have passed muster with the Council; Lady Salisbury begins by sending God's blessing and her own to her absent son, though her trust to have comfort in him is turned to sorrow: to see him in his Grace's indignation. She charges him "to take another way and serve our master, as thy duty is, unless thou wilt be the confusion of thy mother." The blame all through is hypothetic, and she ends by saying she will pray God to give him grace to serve his prince truly, or else to take him to His mercy. She and her son were perfectly at one in their hearts as to the nature of that true service, and a tender smile no doubt played round the latter's lips as he read his mother's words;

much the same smile with which his elder brother, two years 1536 later, may have read the noble words addressed to him in the Tower—

“Son Montague, I send you God’s blessing and mine. The greatest gift I can send is to desire God’s help for you, for which I perceive there is need. My advice in the case you stand in is to endeavour to serve your prince without disobeying God’s commandments.”¹

The original work which caused such commotion was probably seen by few eyes save the King’s own, Tunstall’s, Moryson’s, and Cromwell’s. The summary, or list of statements contained in it, in Moryson’s handwriting, preserved in the Record Office and endorsed: “Abbreviations of a certain evill-wylded man . . . wryt against the Kynge’s doings,” was doubtless prepared to be shown to those who were to be informed of Pole’s “treason” without being made aware of what he had said of Henry’s crimes. No man, least of all Henry VIII, could have endured to make public such a laying bare of his own delinquencies. As to Pole himself, we shall see how chivalrously, and against what provocation, he kept his promise to let none but the King and those to whom the King chose to show it have cognisance of his treatise, sent in MS., to be placed in Henry’s own hands.²

At the King’s command, Lady Salisbury and Lord Montague had written at once to bid Reginald come home; and he, in a tender letter to his mother, to which her letter quoted above was the answer, and wherein much can be read between

¹ *Cott., App. L. 79. B.M.*

² One or two of the severest strictures were omitted in the MS. sent to Henry VIII, no doubt at the representations of Contarini, Priuli, and Giberti. But Froude’s surmise that Pole inserted them at a later period is groundless [Vol. II, p. 447]. A copy had remained in Cardinal Contarini’s hands, and, as we shall see later, was printed without Pole’s knowledge or consent. Zimmermann’s suggestion [p. 90] that the MS. at the Record Office was an expurgated copy prepared by the King’s order, to be laid before the Privy Council is not, however, probable, as the water-mark on the paper shows it to have been made in Venice. Moryson’s abstract was doubtless the document that was made use of to prove Pole’s “treason.”

1536 the lines, reminds her that she had from his earliest youth dedicated him utterly to the service of God—

“ This [dedication] now, Madam, in my Master’s name, I require of you to maintain. . . . Let not this injury [withdrawing him from God’s service] be ever found in you towards my Master and yours. . . . but touching yourself and me both, commit all to His goodness, as I doubt not your ladyship will, and shall be to me the greatest comfort I can have of you.”¹

A few days after this letter was written, its writer was summoned to Rome. Contarini had read to the Pope Pole’s letters describing the effect produced by his book in England, and Paul III had expressed a strong wish to see him, desiring that he should come, even against his own will. His Holiness will lodge him in his own palace, where he will be in safety; and at Contarini’s suggestion has also called abbot Gregorio [of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice] to Rome, so they will spend a happy winter together. Contarini at the same time regrets, though he shows no surprise, that Pole’s book should not have made Henry VIII recover from his folly—to think of a man of such talent, who has so frequently upheld the Church, trying to rend it in twain!

Poli Epp.
I. 464

Next day, 19th July, the Pope wrote the breve summoning Pole to Rome, with a view to the General Council. Pole’s doctrine, nobility, probity and learning being well known to him, the Pope desires that he should represent the English nation. The heat of summer has somewhat abated, which will be in his favour, and the breve ends by desiring his attendance in virtue of holy obedience—*in virtute quoque Sanctae obedientiae, tibi hoc mandamus.*

Ibid., I.
467

To a faithful son of the Church like Reginald Pole, there could be but one answer, and he makes it with all simplicity, not disguising his wonder that the Pope should have singled him out, when he has hitherto avoided all public responsibility. He will be glad to co-operate, to the best of his ability, to the happy issue of so necessary and arduous an undertaking as a General Council, though he distrusts his own qualifications.

¹ *Cott., App. L. 79. B.M.*

He will come at the time appointed ; one thing, however, 1536 much disquiets him—the displeasure which he foresees this journey will give a Prince to whom he has all the obligations which a subject can owe to his king, or a child to his parent ; he cannot, therefore, think of this journey without great anguish—

“ For though the prospect his [Henry’s] life now yields be ever so unpromising, yet when I call to mind his princely dispositions and the expectations he raised in his happier years. . . . I cannot cease to hope but those early seeds of virtue will again rear their heads and bud forth to His glory who is the author of them.”¹

Pole was as open with the King as with the Pope. Four days after writing to Paul III, he sent a copy of the papal breve to Cromwell, and in a very remarkable letter to Tunstall, dated 1st August, “ written in a place in the country beside Padua, *Cleop., E. VI, 337* where I lay this hot season,” he tells him that the Pope is holding a congregation of learned men of every nation in Rome this winter to prepare for the Council, and has desired Pole’s presence, binding him to come by the authority he derives from Christ. In this letter he answers, one by one, Tunstall’s arguments against his book, showing their futility and fallacy—

“ I think you have not thoroughly read my book because, in alleging some things, . . . you allege things that cannot be found there ; and, secondly, you offer reasons against my opinions, which I have answered already. . . . As to my vehemence, you say I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them. I make no plagues, but discover those made already. . . . I have spent a great part of my book in magnifying the Sacrament of Penance. What other salve would you have ? In this I spent twenty sheets of paper, not putting one sharp word, but endeavouring, by word and example, to show what comfort, honour and wealth was hid under that sharp name.

“ If God would give his Highness to shed but one tear of pure penance, he would say all the pleasure and comfort that ever he

¹ “ Were other proofs wanting, this alone verifies what Manutius [*Epist. ad Saulium*, I.] says of Reginald, ‘ that his mind was pure from all ambition and malevolence, and that his countenance and discourse were a perpetual index of the candour and uprightness of his intentions.’ ”—Phillips, Vol. I, p. 154.

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had from childhood, or the whole world could give, were not to be compared to the sweetness thereof. . . .

" He has done all he could to make the two greatest powers on earth his enemies, viz., the Pope and the Emperor. Yet those who gave him the best counsel have been cut off by the sword for their right opinions. Was it not time to cry out, to set before his eyes the wounds he has made in his own soul, to show him how to recover himself with honour ? Here is all my sharpness."

As to the two quires that were lost, Tunstall may comfort himself : they have since been found in another book. As to Tunstall's advice to burn the originals, if the King cannot stand the acerbity of his book (which, if he would, all were turned to sweetness), he is willing to examine, and separate the matter from his person, leaving the verity of it to stand.

Poli. Epp. I, 470. We find Pole's opinion of Tunstall in a letter to Contarini, dated Ravelone, 4th August. After replying to his friend's exhortation not to go to England, that he knows it would be insane to place himself in Henry's hands, or go to a place where the law punishes with death an opinion dearer to him than life, he says of Tunstall—

" If I may trust his own letter, I was never more deceived than in the zeal I thought he bore to religion ; for he opposes my, or rather, the Church's opinion, on the Pope's authority, which he wishes wholly to abrogate. . . . You would not easily believe how they dread the book being published."

Pole then turns to a pleasanter subject—

" The day before receiving the Pope's letter, our abbot [of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice] was here with me, with whom when I had spent two days most agreeably, our monk Mark [a Benedictine] arrived, who will remain while I am here. You know what a delightful place this is, especially with two such companions. The abbot left us on receiving the Pope's letters [summoning him to Rome]. I hear he will take his journey in the beginning of September. I cannot be ready so soon, expecting letters and my servant [Michael Throckmorton] from England, but will delay no longer than is necessary.

" Please take care of that part of my writings which you found among your books after Priuli's departure, that they should not get into anybody's hands, and be published."

It was so tremendous a thing in the sixteenth century for

a subject to disregard the summons of his sovereign to return 1536 to his country, that the issue was watched keenly on all sides. What fate Pole would meet with if he returned was plain to the clear-sighted Chapuys : "The King will make a cardinal of him like the Bishop of Rochester," he wrote to Granvelle, "by reason of a book he has written in favour of papal authority." A few days previously, referring to rumours that Cromwell was to marry the Princess Mary, he says he does not believe them, and is sure she would not consent to such a marriage, nor to any in the realm, "unless it be to Master Reynold Pole, who is at Venice, or to the son of Lord Montague."

While Pole, in the peaceful monastery of beautiful Ravelone, "My paradise, *in montibus Euganeis*," as he dates a letter to the Bishop of Verona, was waiting for Michael Throckmorton's return from his second errand to England, the news he received from thence was sufficiently disquieting ; although the fact of the death of the young Duke of Richmond, Henry VIII's natural son, who, as Chapuys writes, "the King had certainly intended should succeed to the Crown," had greatly improved the Princess Mary's position. "Thank God, she now 3 Aug. triumphs," enthusiastically exclaims Chapuys, "the dangers are laid which made her a paragon of virtue, goodness, honour and prudence. I say nothing of beauty and grace, for they are incredible."

The ill news Pole received are related in a letter to Cardinal Contarini, dated Venice, 31st August. He first thanks his friend for an invitation to stay with him in Rome, saying he would like to live with him for ever, but that he must wait sixteen more days for his messenger, in case there has been some delay ; that he will then start with the best possible conductors for his journey—the Bishops of Verona and Chieti [Giberti and Caraffa] ; Verona will take him the best way, through Tuscany, and his only regret is that "our Abbot" [of San Giorgio] cannot accompany them, as the Archbishop of Salerno expects him in Umbria. He goes on to say that he hears from the English ambassador in France [Wallop] that in England—

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I, 479

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" Some nobles are condemned to extreme punishment ; and he¹ who had begun courageously to vindicate the Pope's authority in Ireland, and had afterwards surrendered to the King on a promise of pardon, has been condemned with his four uncles ; also a brother of the Duke of Norfolk for secretly marrying a daughter of the late Queen of Scotland, has been condemned to death along with his wife. . . .² But I rather think that in these cases the King wishes an opportunity of showing mercy, and that is why judgment has been passed upon them ; for their deaths would be so unjust as to create intolerable hatred, the Irishman having relied on a public promise, and the others being condemned only on an *ex-post facto* law. We shall soon know."

Reginald Pole's inveterate optimism was at fault : as was to be proved abundantly in the near future in England, a public promise of pardon could not stand between a surrendered rebel and the King's wrath ; Fitzgerald and his five uncles, the latter perfidiously captured at a banquet and three of whom had never joined the rebellion, were beheaded in London the following year.

The set of articles on religion drawn up by Convocation had been sent to Pole, and he writes of them as follows in the above letter—

" I have also received some printed articles of religion, in English, in which I find nothing much at variance with the Catholic standard, except that their authority is ascribed to the King in the title—a thing of which it is difficult to say whether it be more foolish or impious. They treat of the Sacrament, Invocation of Saints and Purgatory, much after the old manner. The mercy of God has protected the faith of the people."³

After waiting the time he had appointed, Pole set out from Venice on his way to Rome ; and at Verona was overtaken by Throckmorton with the letters from England. Their contents and their effect upon him are best described in his own words to Cardinal Contarini, dated Siena, 10th October—

¹ Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, rightful Earl of Kildare.

² Lord Thomas Howard and Lady Margaret Douglas. The lady was pardoned ; Howard was kept in the Tower.

³ Ingard, Vol. V, p. 82.

"The more numerous and the more terrible the letters are which I receive from England as to the King's disposition towards me, the more needful it is that I should trust for my safety entirely to *Poli Epp.* the Pope, by whose authority I incurred the King's displeasure. . . . I, 483 The King certainly thought that those letters would prevent my going, if anything would ; and he was right, but that Divine grace maintained me in my resolution. Of these letters, one was from Cromwell, written in the King's name, full of all kinds of threats ; a second from Tunstall, endeavouring to show at great length that I was more bound to obey the King's summons than the Pope's ; a third, which moved me deeply, was from my mother and my brother, written in such a miserable strain that I almost succumbed.

"I certainly had begun to change my plans, as they so earnestly besought me not to go on this journey against the King's will, otherwise they would renounce all the ties of nature between us. I did not see how to avoid this blow, aimed at my very vitals, except by a change of plan, for which I intended to ask leave of the Pope, nothing doubting his kindness ; but I was dissuaded by those two excellent Bishops [Verona and Chieti]—in whose company you know I am—saying that my perseverance would redound all the more to the glory of Christ, when neither the King's threats nor the love of parents could make me swerve.

"I therefore sent back the messenger to the King. . . . and I gave such an answer that he might easily see no threats of man would prevail with me in this matter. I also answered the letter, or rather volume, of Tunstall with a no less long oration. I did what I could to satisfy my relations, and dismissed the messenger at Bologna.

"I send this by a messenger that you may understand my danger, and confer with the Pope how I may be protected from the snares of my enemies, for they will now certainly do their utmost to remove me."

Pole's surmise was justified ; from that time forward Cromwell's threat in the above-mentioned letter, that the King's arm would prove long enough to reach him wherever he might be, was in pretty constant attempted execution ; although, no doubt much to Henry's chagrin, it as constantly failed in its fulfilment.

It is not easy to divine Henry VIII's motive in the attack he had made upon his absent kinsman, in his self-imposed exile, and who, ever since his departure from England, had rigorously abstained from meddling in public affairs. The King could not hope that the moral support which a favourable

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opinion from Pole would have given to his campaign against the Church would be forthcoming ; he knew very well that he was inaccessible to a bribe, and the argument of the axe and the rope which had cowed and terrified men at home into tacit and even active participation in the royal schemes, was useless in the case of a man safely out of its reach. It is more probable that Henry designed to obtain some expressions of opinion which might be used against Pole at some future time ; even if the frightful plan was not already forming itself in his relentless mind, which was to be carried into effect three years later.

Beccatelli Pole arrived in Rome in October, and was received with great honour by the Pope, who gave him a lodging in his own palace. Cardinal Contarini, needless to say, had been the instigator of the summons ; and from that time forth Pole's life was to be a life of incessant active toil, and only at rare intervals would he be able to return to the seclusion which he loved. His colleagues in the task the Pope had appointed of preparing the ground for the intended Council, were all great and virtuous men of learning, but it seems clear that he, the youngest and the only layman among them, was almost from the outset placed in a leading position.¹ The Bishops of Verona and Chieti, Gregorio Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore, Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, Federigo Fregoso, Archbishop of Salerno, were, with Contarini, Pole's intimate friends ; and the two remaining members of the commission—Cardinals Simonetta and Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, who had fled from Henry VIII's persecution, were men of equal learning and integrity.

¹ Thus we find that when the Abbot of San Giorgio objected to Contarini's suggestion that the members of the Commission should set down their opinions separately on each subject of debate, he turned to Pole to get the procedure altered ; suggesting that although the candour of all was such that they would judge of each other's performance with as great impartiality as of their own, it was better to avoid anything which might prejudice the perfect harmony subsisting among them ; and if Contarini wished to make an experiment of the abilities of his colleagues, it might be done with less risk, by proposing different subjects to them.

It was Cranmer who informed Henry VIII of the appointment of the Commission, quoting, in a letter to the King, dated Knoll, 18th November, the words of a former servant of his own, John Blanket, now in the service of Cardinal Ghinucci—

“ The Pope has summoned many prelates about the Council, among them Reynold Pole, who is well received . . . and the Pope will probably make him a Cardinal. The Pope has given him lodgings in his own Palace, and sets more store by him than by any of the other great men there for this matter. They be all singular fellows, ever absenting themselves from court, and desiring to live holily, as the Bishops of Verona and Chieti, the Archbishop of Salerno, and Sadoletus, Bishop of Carpentras.”¹

The idea of Reginald Pole being raised to the purple was highly displeasing to the King, and Starkey was directed to admonish him that it had been signified to his Grace that “ the bishop of Rome ” had named him to be a cardinal. It R.O. would be very dishonest to take such a place with an enemy of the King and the realm—

“ If you follow that way no one will receive so much hurt by it as yourself. We should be glad to hear that by the utter refusal thereof you should express that love towards his Highness which you professed in your last letters. In doing this we doubt not you will please God and your Prince, and in doing the contrary offend both, and declare yourself open enemy to the King and his realm, as in such case he must and will accept you.”

Events were meanwhile working up in England which were to bring Reginald Pole into a foremost place in the eyes of the statesmen of Europe. Chapuys had reported in July how lamentable a thing it was to see a legion of monks and nuns who had been chased from their monasteries, wandering miserably hither and thither, seeking means to live ; and several honest men had told him that, what with monks, nuns, and persons dependent upon the suppressed monasteries, there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live.

As yet not half the work could have been done, as those monasteries only whose revenues were under £200 a year had been attacked. In the North of England these proceedings

¹ *Harl. MS.*, 787, f. 18. B.M.

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were regarded with a spirit of sturdy indignation, which dared not show itself elsewhere. The Canons of Hexham, when the Commissioners appeared, had fortified the house and prepared to defend themselves. The common bell of the town and the great bell of the monastery were rung ; then a canon, named the Master of Ovingham, appeared in armour on the leads, and declared there were twenty brethren in the house who would die before the Commissioners should have it. They had a charter under the great seal of Henry VIII himself, and they thought it not for the honour of the King to give forth one seal contrary to another. The Commissioners thought it prudent to withdraw.¹

On the 3rd October, at Caiston, in Lincolnshire, 20,000 men assembled under Makerel, abbot of Barlings, and declared they would pay no more money, and the alarm-bell was rung. Lord Hussey, commanding the district, forwarded to Cromwell the letters he had received from the insurgents, writing at the same time that he could not rely upon his forces to resist them. They entered Lincoln on the 6th and were expected at Newark by the night of Sunday, the 8th, and they sent Sir Edward Madison and John Hennage to the King to state their case. There is no reason to doubt the loyalty of these rebels ; they were satisfied that all would be well, if only the innovations in religion were disowned, the suppressed monasteries restored, heretical bishops like Cranmer, Latimer and others banished, or delivered up, along with the chief political mischief-makers, such as Cromwell, Rich [Chancellor of the Augmentations] and one or two others, to the mercies of the Commons.²

Yorkshire began to stir on the 9th October, and when the Duke of Norfolk, who had been hastily sent to quell the rising, reached Doncaster, he was met by a deputation of lords and gentlemen at Pomfret, who soon convinced him that the rebels were much more capable of setting him and the royal forces at defiance than he and the royal forces were to defy

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XI, Nos. 504, 533-4, 536-9, 552-3, 567-8.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Nos. 568, 585, 848, 860.

them. There was nothing for it but to make an agreement 1536 with the rebels, publish the King's pardon, and dismiss them to their homes.

The whole story of the famous "Pilgrimage of Grace," as the rising was quaintly called, is told in all its pathos—as it had never been told before—in the *Letters and Papers* of that date ;¹ it must suffice us to give the impression it made abroad. In the *relacion* laid before the Emperor on the 22nd November it is stated that the Duke of Norfolk, Talbot [Earl of Shrewsbury], the Marquis [Exeter], the Earl of Rutland, and other captains had gone to speak with the men of the North.

"They never did anything more prudent, otherwise they would have placed the King's life and estate in great danger. All the nobility of the Duchy of York have risen ; they number 40,000 combatants, and among them 10,000 horse. They are in good order, and have a crucifix for their principal banner. The Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy are with them. The King blames the latter more than any man. Norfolk and his colleagues do not wish for a battle ; they are all good Christians, showing tacitly that the demands of the insurgents are lawful. . . . It is thought the Duke of Norfolk has gone to court, as much for his own justification as to assist the ambassadors from the men of the North.

"Their ambassadors desire that their demands may be authorised by Parliament, so as the better to curb the King ; that henceforth Parliament may be kept in the ancient way ; that all pensioners and officers of the crown may be excluded. They intend to procure a remedy in Parliament for the Princess's affairs and other things, especially that the King shall not take money from his people except to make war on France and Scotland. The instructions to these ambassadors were signed by most of the gentlemen.

"The King's determination is not yet known. It is feared that his arrogance, and the persuasions of those who govern him, will prevent him from granting the demands, and also that he congratulates himself that the King of France has promised to come and help him with four or five thousand men."

Here, for the fifth or sixth time, the name of Reginald Pole is brought prominently before Charles V—

"The men of the North are able to defend themselves, and their number will probably grow from day to day, but they have little

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XI and XII.

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money, in which the Pope ought to help them. If he has determined to send Master Pole, it can easily be done, because he is at present in Rome. . . . If the Pope would send Reginald Pole with funds, matters would be remedied in a moment, especially if some musketeers were sent over, as there is great need of them.

"The ambassadors have departed ; the King said he would rather lose his crown than be so limited by his vassals. He has sent the Duke of Norfolk and the Admiral [Sir William Fitzwilliam] to corrupt the men of the North. It is more likely that they will be taken, and it is conjectured that they would not mind it, if they could allow themselves to be taken without reproach.

"The King brags that if the insurgents persist, he will go against them in person ; and five or six ships are being prepared."¹

The same opinion regarding Pole was simultaneously expressed in France. The Bishop of Faenza, the papal nuncio, writes on the 26th November to Rome—

R.O.

"As to Signor Raynold Pole, I should think he could do service to God by going to England whenever any insurrection may arise. Affairs being quiet, he could not go without manifest danger. Wallop, the ambassador here, a great friend of Pole's, told me his master has a suspicion that his Holiness may make Pole a Cardinal to spite and harm him [the King].

"If his Holiness keeps him ready, in case of insurrection, to be sent to England, he could do much among the people there, who are mostly alienated, if not from the King, who indeed seems to stand in some estimation, as being rather good-natured (*assai buono di suo naturale*), at least from all his Ministers, who, for what they impiously think their own advantage, do not scruple to bring their master to this blindness and misery.

"It might be well, too, this gentleman [Pole] being in such estimation, that he should disseminate, especially in England, some of his compositions to strengthen the people in their opinions, and call the others to the right road. However, you know the needs of England better than I, and can well advise his Holiness. . . ."

A few days later, the nuncio writes to Monsignor Ambrogio from Mélun, 4th December, that Cardinal du Bellay has told him the conflagration in England has somewhat abated, but is not extinguished, and they can raise a greater when they please. The Grand Master [Anne de Montmorency] thinks his Holiness can easily publish the censures in England by means of the Englishman [Pole] now in Rome, who has great

¹ *Add. MS.*, 28,589, f. 101. B.M.

influence there, and that the people in the end will kill the King, if he persists in his errors.¹

These statements of the French ministers throw considerable doubt on Henry VIII's boast that Francis I was coming to his aid with 5,000 men. James V of Scotland was at that moment in Paris for his marriage with the Princess Madeleine, the King's daughter, which took place at Notre Dame on the 1st January, 1537, and the nuncio speaks in the highest terms of his filial devotion to the Apostolic See.

At the approach of Christmas, the Pope, having it in his mind to make a promotion of Cardinals, the thought came to him of elevating *Signor Reginaldo* to that dignity, by reason of his great qualities, his nobility, and the interests of the kingdom of England. Having communicated this thought to Cardinal Contarini and other persons, they greatly applauded it, especially the Imperial ambassadors, who solicited the promotion, either because they considered it would turn to the advantage of the Emperor—enabling him, with the authority of the Church and of Pole, more easily to change the government of that kingdom (*più facilmente . . . voltar il governo di quel regno*)—or because they had it at heart to see him enter the Church, to remove the opinion held by several, that Mary, the King's daughter, might some day marry him; for the knowledge she had of him, and the love she had borne him since childhood.

Reginald alone modestly opposed the Pope's intention, freely representing to his Holiness that this was not the time to make him a Cardinal, as it would deprive him of any authority he might have in England, making him appear too closely bound to the Pope's interests, and bringing his relatives into manifest peril. He therefore entreated his Holiness to leave him in his present condition, until some better occasion occurred for honouring him with that dignity, which he very highly esteemed. The Pope appeared satisfied with his reasons, and promised to defer the promotion; but whether by the will of God, or the practices of the Imperialists (*ma volontà che*

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,715, f. 310 b. B.M.

1536-37 *fosse di Dio ò pratica d'Imperiali*), when the Pope was in Consistory he suddenly changed his mind, and sent Monsignor Durante, his *cameriere secreto*, to Signor Reginaldo's apartment, to tell him that in virtue of holy obedience he must prepare himself to receive the cardinalate at once, and to give him the tonsure. "I was present," writes Beccatelli, "when Monsignor Durante appeared, with the barber behind him to make the tonsure. The less my good lord expected such a thing, the more it confused him, and he showed by his face that it gave him little pleasure; but because time pressed and there was no room for reply, *tanquam agnus coram tondenti* (like a lamb before the shearers) he showed himself obedient; and, on the 22nd December was made Cardinal by his Holiness with eleven others, among whom were the Bishop of Chieti [Caraffa], Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, Carpi and others."

Poli Epp. II, 2 The new Cardinal, to whom the Pope made a pension of 200 scudi a month, took his title from the ancient basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus on the Appian Way,¹ and many were the congratulations he received; but we find his own feeling on the subject expressed in his answer to the letter from Doge Andrea Gritti and the Senate of Venice: He has heard with a touch of sadness the congratulations which have poured upon him on his promotion to the cardinalate, for the voice of his own country was silent. But when Laur. Brogadeno brought the congratulations of Gritti and the Senate, it was like the longed-for voice of his own country, since he has spent nearly the greatest, and certainly the best part of his life with them.

If the longed-for voice of his own country was silent in the matter of congratulation—for those who rejoiced with him, numerous though they doubtless were, could not speak on

¹ "The Basilica was founded A.D. 759, and is of singular interest and renown. There, behind the high altar, still stands the actual episcopal throne, from which our English benefactor and saintly patron, St. Gregory the Great, had read his 28th Homily; and in this sacred Basilica had been held the actual Council presided over by that Pope in person. In it still remain the two very ancient *ambones* with an artfully wrought marble Pascal-candle stand. . . . Here Pole was solemnly enthroned—taking formal possession of his church—according to rule and custom."—Frederick George Lee, D.D.: *Reginald Pole: An Historical Sketch*

peril of their lives—the voice of official condemnation rang out 1537 instantly and loudly. The occasion could only be met by Tunstall and Stokesley, Bishops of Durham and London, in a joint letter to the misdemeanant, whom they accuse of O.R. having been seduced by the fair words and promises of the Bishop of Rome. "For vain-glory of a red hat you make yourself an instrument of his malice, who would stir up rebellion in the realm." And after discussing the question of the Supremacy at considerable length, they end by urging him, for the weal of his soul, to surrender to the Bishop of Rome the red hat by which he seduced him from his duty to his sovereign.

Starkey, of course, delivered himself of a long and argumentative letter, and even the King's Council wrote to him, from Greenwich, 18th January, 1537, that his writing and proceedings showed an "incredible ingratitude towards the King and country, and such unseemly and irreverent behaviour as no mortal enemy could have contrived and forged the like." It may be gathered that his purpose is to slander the King and, by setting forth untruths, to provoke his subjects to think otherwise of his most virtuous proceedings than appertaineth. *Ibid.*

Pole had offered to meet any persons Henry VIII might choose to send, in some neutral place; so the Council go on to say that they perceive by his last letters that there is a little spark of love and obedience left in him; so they have urged the King to grant his petition of discussing the matter in Flanders, if he will go there of himself without commission from anyone, and on hearing where he is, they will ask the King to send persons to meet him. They pray that he may bring an indifferent mind to receive the truth, and to recant his extreme folly.

In dignified and sorrowful terms, Pole replied that he was R.O. pierced to the heart to find that men who knew him could ^{16 Feb.} suppose that his acceptance of the purple was an act of enmity to the King. As for his book—

"He that should reprove me should show that I have untruly described the King's acts. Then before whom, my good lords, do I destain the King's honour? Never confessor desired to be so

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secret as I desired to be in that book. I have been now many months in Rome, and daily with the Pope, where men might think my book might have no ungrateful audience, and have often been desired of him for the sight thereof, and yet have kept it close. Yet what withholds me from printing it, but that I tender the King's honour more than some others would ? . . .

" As to my coming to Rome, I have always maintained the Pope's authority, and it would be strange if I did not obey. You write that this opinion of mine is but a fantasy. If I differed from you in the feat of war, . . . you might bid me hold my peace. But I, who have spent all my life in learning, wherein you have not had much practice, might surely rather desire you in this point to credit me, than force me to agree with you. . . .

" The Pope, seeing me nothing slack to serve God and the Church, as there be three great matters disturbing the Church, viz., the war between Christian princes, heresies, and the expected attack from the Turk, made me *Legatum ultramontanum a latere*. You have written, that if I will come without commission or dignity into Flanders, you have licence from the King to send thither elect persons to confer on matters of religion. I have obtained from the Pope that either in France or in Flanders, wherever suits you, I may entreat with you, if you will entreat with a Cardinal and a legate. Now whether you will use me, or let others take the whole of my services, lies with you."¹

If there was one man more than another who owed gratitude to Reginald Pole, it was Richard Moryson, who when sick of fever and want in Venice, had been rescued from destitution by him. But Moryson was now in Cromwell's service, and his pen was ready, indeed eager, to use itself against his former benefactor. Writing to Cromwell about the printing of his book, *Apomaxis*, he exclaims, " Other men have but tickled the Pope, I have so pricked him that men shall say I know how to anger popes. Would it were the answer to Mr. Traitor Pole's book."

At the same time it seems clear that all who were in favour of reversing the recent doings of Henry VIII looked towards Italy and Pole, and according to a letter from Peter Vannes,²

¹ This letter to the King's Council is erroneously given in Quirini [I, pp. 179-187] as addressed to Parliament :—" *Apologia Reg. Poli Ad Angliae Parliamentum.*"

² Peter Vannes, afterwards Latin Secretary and Dean of Salisbury.

dated from Rome immediately upon Pole's election, after 1537 saying that the latter had petitioned the Pope to pass him over, he adds: "News afterwards came from England, as I have heard, dated the 29th ult. [November] in which the Pope was requested by the insurgent people to create the said Pole a Cardinal, and send him as Legate to England."

CHAPTER XI

1537

THE elevation of three members of the Papal Commission for the reform of the Church—Pole, Caraffa, and Sadolet—to the cardinalate, was a token of the Pope's approbation of their labours. Paul III had shown himself from the first anxious for reform, and for the assembling of a General Council, which the disturbed state of Europe, and the war between the Emperor and France perpetually hindered.

Under these circumstances, the Pope appointed the commission to enquire into the question of ecclesiastical reform, which, as we have seen, began its labours in the month of October, soon after Reginald Pole's arrival in Rome. After daily conferences, under Contarini's presidency, held in his own palace, the result was presented to the Pope in the spring of 1537 in the shape of a report entitled *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia*, drawn up by Pole, and signed by all the members of the commission: Cardinals Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet and Pole, the Archbishops of Salerno and Brindisi, the Bishop of Verona, the abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, and "Frater" Thomas, Master of the Sacred Palace.

The very names of such men inspired confidence, and the Pope had been well-inspired in his choice of them, if he really desired to have the abuses corroding the heart of the Church laid bare.¹ Sadolet had written soon after his arrival in Rome to his friend Pulleo, that he hoped their labours would have a result, not only worthy of this best of Popes, but

¹ "It is repeatedly said that the Popes of that period were averse to reform, fearing its effect upon the Roman Court; but the publication now in process of the Pontifical registers is a solemn refutation of the accusation. The Constitution *De Reformatione Curiae* of the 13th December, 1513 [Hergenröther, *Regesta Leone X*, No. 1,736] alone suffices to prove how seriously Pope Leo X desired the reform of the Court of Rome."—G. B. Pighi: *G. M. Giberti, Vescovo di Verona*, Verona, 1900.

efficacious for the calamities of the present time; Christ's ¹⁵³⁷ Church appearing in such peril, that if some remedy be not speedily found, its overthrow seems inevitable.¹ And Sadolet's speech before the commission on the reform of the Curia and the clergy is a very model of trenchant and fearless criticism, not to say denunciation.²

Even as plain-spoken was the weighty *Consilium*, proving, as the famous Soto had already shown, not only that the evils were recognised in Rome, but that there were not wanting men who were deeply troubled at the abuses which had crept into the high offices of the Church.

First of all, the measureless exaltation of the papal power by servile counsellors is deplored, who have sought to prove, on unstable grounds, that the Pope is the possessor, and not merely the custodian of all benefices.

The Vicar of Christ ought not to use the power of the keys committed to him by God for purposes of gain, and it is incumbent upon him to take care that his lieutenants—bishops and priests—should be worthy of their office. Numberless evils flow from the great carelessness with which sacred offices are bestowed—the contempt of the spiritual state, the neglect of the worship of God.

After all the abuses, down to the neglected and dirty appearance of some of the officiating clergy in St. Peter's, have been enumerated, with a directness of language which reminds us that the commission had employed the pen of the writer of the *De Unitate*, the report ends with the confident hope that under Paul III's pontificate, God's Church will emerge cleansed, and beautiful as a dove, to the perpetual honour of his name: “Thou hast taken the name of Paul; thou wilt, we trust, follow the example of St. Paul. He was chosen to carry the name of Christ to the heathen; thou, we hope, art chosen to make that almost forgotten name live again in the hearts and works of the heathen, and of us churchmen; to heal our disorders, to bring back the sheep to the fold, and to turn

¹ Sadoleti: *Opera Veronae*, 1737, I, p. 227.

² Dittrich: *Contarini*, p. 355.

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away the anger of God, which we have deserved, from our heads.”¹

Pope Paul III appears to have been perfectly ready to undertake the mighty task laid before him, of eradicating abuses which had been the slow growth of centuries ; but it was viewed with misgiving and alarm by the majority of the Roman Court. ² The conservative party in the Sacred College

¹ See Appendix E. It seems almost incredible that a paper of this nature, a confidential and official report, was allowed to be made public. It was printed in Rome by Antonio Blado in 1538, and immediately re-published by the Protestant press at Strasburg, with a preface by the Lutheran, John Sturmius, in the shape of a letter to the papal commissioners. Richard Moryson translated it into English the same year, with the title, *Epistle sent to the Cardinals and Prelates that were appointed by the Bishop of Rome to search out the abuses of the Church* [Berthelet, 1538].

“ A later copy, in the British Museum, formerly belonged to Cecil. The title-page has his signature, ‘ Guglielmus Cecilius, 1540,’ and there are marks and words underlined, and some few observations from his pen in the margin. It is interesting to note that what struck the statesman as a youth were just the points which could be turned against the temporal claims of the Roman See. . . . Cardinal Sadoleto, on receiving a copy of Sturmius’s letter, replied in kindly terms. He had, he declared, a high opinion of Sturmius, Melancthon, and Bucer, looking on them as most learned men, kindly disposed, and cordially friendly to him. He looked upon it as a peculiar characteristic of Luther to try and ‘ overwhelm all his opponents with shouts and attacks.’ He speaks of the great piety of Clement VII, from personal knowledge. His wars were, he said, rather the work of his adversaries than his own [de Consilio, ed. J. G. Schelhorn, 1748, p. 91].”—Gasquet : *The Eve of the Reformation*, p. 97, ed. 1905.

² Frebonius [1701-1790] affirms in his *De Statu Ecclesiae*, I, Cap. 9, that the Consilium was not viewed with approval by the Popes, and that Paul IV, who, as Cardinal Caraffa, had been one of its chief authors, prohibited and condemned it. “ Nothing,” writes G. B. Pighi, “ could more clearly prove the writer’s lack of good faith. Not only was the Consilium printed by Blado in Rome in 1538, but reprinted by Grabbius in his *Collectio Conciliorum*; by Nat. Alessandro in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and in many other collections, without incurring a word of censure. The prohibited editions were those with more or less scurrilous comments, notably one by Martin Luther, and another published in 1545 by the apostate Vergerio.”—G. B. Pighi : *G. M. Giberti, Vescovo di Verona*, p. 154. An edition, printed at Tubingen in 1555, is in the British Museum. It bears on the title-page the words, *Dicunt et non faciunt*, and blames Paul IV for not making the reforms he had urged as Cardinal of Naples.

regarded it as an almost revolutionary measure, which it would 1537 be most difficult to reduce to practice, however admirable it might be in theory; while the unfortunate view was taken that it would justify the Protestant reformers, and appear to Christendom as if done in imitation of them.

Many earnest and well-meaning cardinals, whose spokesman was the Archbishop of Capua, Nicholas of Schomberg, a Dominican of rare merit, who had been raised to the purple by Leo X, were convinced that the moment was not opportune; they represented to the Pope that the reform was a measure of such high importance that it should be undertaken by the concurrent authority of all the national Churches, rather than by the papal authority alone, and advised a delay, until it could be referred to a General Council. To this Cardinal Caraffa replied, urging the immediate necessity of the work, which could not be deferred under pain of mortal sin; where the path of duty was plain, it would be wrong to hesitate through fear of possible evil consequences.¹

The truth of the last statement was abundantly proved by the fact that the *Consilium* fell at once into the hands of the Protestants; and was repeatedly published by them as a proof, in the words of the Lutheran, Sturmius, addressed to the commissioners—"that we did not dissent from you without great and just causes."

It is probable that Cardinal Pole had left Rome when the *Consilium* was presented to Paul III; although Bellarmin's assertion, that it was not handed to him until after Pole's return from the English legation, is disproved by the fact that Cardinal Schomberg, the chief opponent to the promulgation of a bull embodying the suggestions of the commission, died in the following September, several weeks before Pole's return to Rome.

The story of Pole's first legation must now be told. Upon the news of the formidable insurrection in England, Paul III determined to send him there as legate. He had been urged to do so by the men of the North, those Pilgrims of Grace who

¹ Pallavicini: *Hist. Con. Trid.*, Lib. 4, Cap. 5.

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had carried all before them so completely, that only three men of consequence among the Yorkshire Catholics, the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Ralph Eure, and the Earl of Northumberland, who lay sick to death in his manor-house of Wressill, had held out against them. It is true that on the 6th January news had been sent from Paris of the free pardon and the fair promises granted to the insurgents, and their consequent disbandment, the nuncio adding that Henry VIII had been obliged to give in, as the people would easily have changed again, and he had no means of forcing them : " Fear, and the inspiration of God, by Cardinal Pole's persuasion, may bring him back to the right path. I know this will please the Pope better than force."¹

The nuncio is holding back the papal censures for a better opportunity, and is also detaining the nuncio to the King of Scotland, until he hears further, and " because if England does not listen, it will be a manifest sign that his heart is hardened, and that fire is necessary for such a wound." The nuncio having gained much favour with the King of Scots, and being a man of talent and courage, he will be able more easily to carry on practices in England, and encourage those good people.

Sir John Wallop, the English ambassador, appears to consider the Scots very hostile ; and the French court seems inclined to help them against England, of whom they show little fear, as they could set a great number of Scots, at little expense, on his flank.

The nuncio to Scotland, mentioned above, was John Anthony, Count Campeggio, who was the bearer of a letter from Paul III to James V,² announcing the despatch of Pole as legate " to the people of England." He hopes James will support him ; Campeggio was also the bearer of a sword and hat, which according to custom the Pope had blessed on Christmas night, to give to some worthy Prince, and which he sends to the King of Scotland.

Similar letters, dated Rome, 15th February, were addressed

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,715, f. 320. B.M. *Faenza to Ambrogio*.

² James V was at Rouen.

by the Pope to Francis I and to Queen Mary of Hungary, 1537 Regent of Flanders, saying he was sending Pole to confirm the piety of those in England who wished to remain in the true faith; and asking help and support for his legate.

As for the Emperor, his shifty policy is reflected in a letter to him from his ambassador in Rome, Count Cifuentes, who, after announcing Paul III's intention of sending Pole to the insurgents with some money, adds—

“ I have not encouraged the project, on account of your Majesty's orders, and only said that if his Holiness was determined to do it, the embassy of the said Mr. Pole should be as secret as possible; because he was for publishing it. He replied that he would make it so, as by secrecy Pole could more easily come to where the insurgents were. I write this because if he goes, it will be through your Majesty's dominions, and you can send instructions to Flanders, as to whether he shall be favoured publicly or secretly.”¹

Henry VIII had received Robert Aske, the captain and envoy of the men of the North, at the beginning of January, with great apparent cordiality, promising to visit York in the coming spring, when he would have Jane Seymour crowned in the Cathedral, and would listen graciously to the complaints of his obedient subjects.² This, according to the nuncio in Paris, was a good proof that the King's affairs were in a bad way, and that if Reginald Pole were at least on the frontier, he would inflame the people better than any other. The King of England is not loved in France, and they expect to learn some day that he has been killed—

“ His ambassadors still talk of the marriage [between the Princess Mary and the Duke of Orleans], but here they distrust that King's impiety and inconstancy. To remedy everything would be a good work for Pole.”

The arduous task to which Reginald Pole was appointed in a secret Consistory held on 7th February, was accepted by him ^{Poli Epp.} II, with full consciousness of its difficulties. In a letter to the Pope, after saying that the determination he had long ago

¹ *Add. MS.*, 28,589, f. 178. B.M.

² Robert Aske, a lawyer, belonged to an old Yorkshire family. The date of his birth is uncertain. He was Captain of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

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arrived at, to expose his life for his Holiness, had now become a duty, by the favours and honours done to him ; he first desires the Pope's prayers for his country and himself, and then sets down what occurs to him, leaving the Pope to judge. Expedition is necessary, as a response to the manly and Christian demonstration those people are making. If any news comes to necessitate an alteration of his commission, it can be sent after him by letter, it being very necessary to have time to act before the Parliament, which is spoken of, meets [at York].

The emissary of the Pope in the cause of religion should be assisted in his journey through France and Germany so that there may be no check or delay ; and for this the Pope should summon the ambassadors of the Emperor and of France and get them to write to their princes about it, telling them also that the Pope takes the occasion of Pole's going to urge them to peace [Charles V and Francis I were at war] and to declare the preparations of the Turk ; also to urge the matter of heresies, and speak of the Council. . . . His bull as legate must be very ample and honourable in word and faculty, to show the honour done to England. He might have a general brief to the whole kingdom, which, being public, the King would rather be pleased with than annoyed. . . . Is he to write to the King, Queen, and Princess, and in what terms ? Thinks that what is desired in England is that the King should restore everything to the state in which it was before he made these disorders.

R.O.

The goodwill and peaceful intentions of both Paul III and Pole are still further emphasized by Michael Throckmorton's report to Cromwell the day after his return to Rome.¹ During his errands to England Cromwell had taken him into his service and had sent him back to Pole as a spy, an office Throckmorton was too honest a man to fulfil to his new employer's satisfaction. Dating from "St. Peter's Palace," he says he has found his master in very strange apparel, and has communed with him with the best persuasion he could imagine about his commission

¹ Beccatelli, in his *Vita*, says how eager Pole was to persuade the King to return to the Church rather than to use force against him.

and acceptance of the cardinalate without the King's permission. If the King will return to the limits of the Church and remit his new style, Pole will obtain of the Pope a revocation of his cardinalate, will become a hermit, or take any strait condition the King may name, will never come to England, will burn his book, and use all his gifts to promote Henry's honour and good fame, and the quieting and establishing of his Majesty in his realm. "He spoke with fervent stomach and undissembled heart." He leaves in two days, and takes Throckmorton with him. The latter trusts the King will not object to his going. Will use the time in trying to persuade him, at least to some part of his commission. Great men are not lightly persuaded, and he especially. Throckmorton is loath to leave him, for his rare virtues and good life.

Writing the same day to Richard Moryson, he says that if the King sends any one to Flanders, Pole would prefer Cromwell, if he will come.

Pole left Rome on the 14th February. The Bishop of Verona, Gianmatteo Giberti, had been appointed to accompany him, in a private character, as being a *persona grata* to the King of France, and who had also been so to Henry VIII, when legate to England in 1522. We have spoken of this learned and pious prelate's ability and prudence, of his strait friendship with Pole, who greatly trusted in his experience and good will. Alvise Priuli, Pole's *fidus Achates*, of course accompanied his patron, and Francesco della Torre, Giberti's secretary, and Bartolomeo Lombardo, a Veronese philosopher and *littérateur*, were among the party.¹ Contarini had sent his secretary, Beccatelli, the first day's journey with them, and on his return with the news that the Cardinal had felt rather indisposed, Contarini, in an affectionate letter exhorts him to be careful, and says he writes this because Beccatelli tells him

¹ When Francesco della Torre was asked, after Giberti's death, if he would write the bishop's biography, he replied that it was too great a task to write the life of such a man, spent entirely in heroic and Christian acts, gifted by God with supernatural intelligence, perfect judgment, piety towards Him and charity towards men. Such a life would be the pattern of a perfect bishop.—G. B. Pighi: *Gianmatteo Giberti*, Preface.

1537 Pole was sometimes rather unwilling to obey Verona's advice as to his food, and the eating of fish. [It was the beginning of Lent.] Let him beware of doing anything but what Verona and Priuli recommend.

Pole's Epp.
II, 19
20 To this, in a delightful humorous letter, dated Bologna, *Ibid.*, II, 20th February, Pole asks why, having set Verona over him, whom he has always obeyed, Contarini now tells him to obey Priuli as well? He complains of Verona's severity; even Pole's horse resents it, for he threw Verona, who was riding him the day before yesterday; but no harm was done.

To be serious, he is now well and strong, and has never failed to continue his journey every day since leaving Rome. Since nothing certain was fixed about the meeting of that Parliament [*Conventus*] on which all depends, when Throckmorton left England, and the asperity of winter, which lasts long there, may scarcely permit them to meet before Pole is come to those parts where one may best treat those affairs, there seems less difficulty in the shortness of time than in the want of health and of horses.

Ibid., II, 23 Contarini was still doubtful as to whether his friend would use his dispensation from fasting, and wrote a second time, backed by a command from the Pope. Pole, in a letter from Piacenza, declares that no one, save the Pope, has more authority over him than Contarini, then why write twice on the same subject? He has obeyed Verona, and is now well and strong. His only fear was that what was good for his body might hurt the souls of others, and that he might give scandal by his good living. . . . P.S.—The rest of his companions have gone out to see the town, and he is left alone in the house, for, on account of those golden shackles which Contarini knows of, he could not so well go out.¹ He continues—

"That I have undertaken a great and difficult affair, no one sees more clearly than myself; but this prospect does not frighten me. It appeared, indeed, so very intricate to some of my friends,

¹ The legation was generously entertained at Siena by its bishop, Cardinal Gio. Piccolomini; and at Piacenza by the Vice-Legate of that town.—Pighi: *G. M. Giberti; Vescovo di Verona.*

who have the highest reputation for prudence, that they made no 1537 difficulty of saying publicly they could not but admire my courage, and, if they had cared to speak out, they would have said my rashness. Others again blame my simplicity, in suffering myself to be drawn into an affair equally troublesome and hazardous. . . . I shall make no reply to my objectors, but say many things to myself, and to you, my friend, also, which is the same as to think aloud."

The rest of the letter is wanting : it would have been interesting to know " the many things " Pole had to tell his second self concerning the task before him. One thing he had rightly foreseen : the probability that Henry VIII would betray his promises to his people. The fear is expressed in Pole's letter to Paul III—

" The case is very possible that the King, in order to appease the general discontent of his subjects, may promise to redress their grievances, without any design of doing so ; and, when the danger is over, may proceed, at different times, and on several pretexts, to punish the leaders with death. If the nation on this account should desist from further thought of relief, or want means to pursue it, some proper person should be appointed to keep up their resolution, and a sufficient fund allowed for that purpose."

The "golden shackles" which Pole was guarding when writing to Contarini from Piacenza represented the sum—wholly inadequate, as the Emperor afterwards remarked—devoted to the above purpose. Inadequate also was the ^{Poli Epp.} II, 28 travelling allowance of 500 pieces of gold made to the legate. He writes from Lyons, 24th March, that unless Contarini can get the Pope to increase it, it will appear to the world that what Pole has done has been done most imprudently, not to say most foolishly. Other legates had warned him that the sum would have to be supplemented with his own money, but nothing of his fortune is left to him, and he can only look for help from the Pope.

Pole had been deprived by Henry VIII not only of his pension but of the deanery of Exeter and his other benefices. What amount of revenue his relations were still able to remit to him, must have been very small and precarious. So far as the King

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could accomplish it, his kinsman was henceforward a penniless man.

At Lyons, Pole received the news that his forebodings had proved true, that Henry VIII had in fact used his royal word of pardon but to gain time to assemble his "Armeye Royale," a force strong enough to fall upon the disbanded people, "for the utter extinguishment of these traitours, their wives and children, with fire and sword accordingly," to use his Majesty's own words in his orders to the Duke of Norfolk.¹ Norfolk was accused of lukewarmness in the royal cause, because he appeared to shrink from betraying the pardoned insurgents ; but he was told that the King's command was sufficient, and was bidden to "esteem no promise" he had made to the rebels, nor to think his "honour touched in the breach and violation of the same."² With what feelings Norfolk, the head of the Catholic party, prepared to destroy the Pilgrims of Grace, and to glut the royal appetite for judicial slaughter, does not appear ; but his own life depended upon his obedience to the master whose temper he knew, and whom he was determined to satisfy and appease. The wretched country people, "poor caitiffs," as he himself called them, were mercilessly dealt with : "dreadful execution" was his object, and he expressed regret that he could not find chains enough in the country to hang the prisoners in ; ropes must serve for some. He flattered himself, however, that so great a number put to death at a time had never yet been heard of.³

Although Lord Darcy and Robert Aske, after the King's pardon, had been mainly instrumental in putting down Sir Francis Bigod's rebellion, they were treated as he was. Lord Hussey, who, in former days with Darcy, had sought through Chapuys to induce Charles V to come to the assistance of Katherine of Arragon and the Church in England, was tried, with his old friend, at Westminster on the 15th May, and executed on Tower Hill on the 30th June. To these must be

¹ State Papers : *Henry VIII*, I, p. 505.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 518.

³ Gairdner, Vol. XII, No. 498.

added Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen 1537 Hambleton, Sir John Bulmer, George Lumley, Nicholas Tempest, William Thurst, Abbot of Fountain's, Adam Sudbury, Abbot of Gervaux, the Abbot of Rivers, William Wold, and several others of lower rank. Most of them in vain produced their certificates of free pardon, and proved conclusively that since their submission at Pontefract they had taken no part in any new movement against the King's authority. One woman was comprehended in the slaughter—Lady Bulmer, “a very fayre creature and a beautiful,” was burned at the stake at Smithfield.¹

By such means did Henry VIII bring to subjection the independent men of the North, reducing them to the cowed and humbled state of the commons of the South, of the nobility, and of the servile clergy who registered the acts of his spiritual authority. It was not solely by the weight of his overmastering tyranny that he gained his ends, but by a combination of ferocity with statesmanship as able as it was unscrupulous.² In his foreign policy he was equally successful. The height to which the genius of Wolsey had raised the power of England, Henry had been clever enough to maintain ; a task facilitated by the almost chronic state of war between the Empire and France—to each of whom it was easy to hold out hopes of co-operation, thus keeping both eager to stand well with him ;

¹ *Wriothesley's Chronicle.*

² With regard to the answer made by Henry VIII to the just and reasonable demands of the men of the north, Dr. Gairdner remarks : “ In such a case he was his own prime minister. The Duke of Norfolk wrote to Darcy that the King had taken very great pains with the reply, writing it out with his own hand, and making no creature privy thereto till it was finished. The answer he made was that of a skilled tactician. Some of the complaints, he said, were so general that it was difficult to meet them ; but as to the Faith, if it was the Faith of Christ and the Church, if it was the Church of England, he had done no injury to either. All that he had done was according to law, and for the benefit of his subjects. As to Councillors of noble birth, how came they to think that there were more at the beginning of his reign than now ? There was no foundation for such an opinion. In any case it did not become subjects to appoint a Council for their King ; but if they could prove the disloyalty of any of his present Council, he would proceed against them.”—Vol. XI, Preface, p. xxxviii.

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and his daughter's hand was still, as it had been since her birth, the chief counter in his game of politics, which amply explains why that hand, so often tendered, was never bestowed. At this moment he was negotiating with the Emperor for Mary's marriage with Don Luis of Portugal, Charles V's nephew, and with Francis I for a match with the Duke of Orleans. Mary was illegitimate by Act of Parliament, but since Rome's decision in favour of her mother, Europe disregarded that, and it was an understood thing that her marriage would be preceded by another Act, reversing the first. This fully explains what followed in the course of Cardinal Pole's legation.

18 Feb.

The interesting despatches of Rodolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza, nuncio in Paris, show not only how well disposed was the French court towards Pole and his mission, and how inimical towards the King of England, but declare the favourable attitude of the newly-wed James V, who was still, with his young Queen Madeleine, in Paris ; and whose jealousy against England was not appeased by his uncle's churlish refusal to give him and his bride permission to pass through England on their way home. Abbot David Betoun, the future cardinal, was with his sovereign, and showed himself so friendly that Faenza gave him the Papal Censures, which still remained unpublished, and which Betoun undertook to send across the border. James himself had promised the same, warning the nuncio not to let the French King know ; adding that it would be done secretly, as he did not yet wish to break openly with the King of England.

26 Feb.

Francis I and his Grand Master, Anne de Montmorency, were equally willing that the bulls of censure should be published in France, provided it were done so that Henry VIII could not blame them, "for they say they must not irritate him, especially at the present time." Now is the moment to make use of the Cardinal of England ; if he were here, he could safely cross into the island and join the insurgents, where they are now more powerful than the King.

The news that Henry VIII had turned the tables upon his trustful subjects must have reached France a few days after

the above letter was written, and it determined Francis I's 1537 course of action. So long as the insurrection was successful the French King would willingly help ; the moment Henry was in the ascendant, his tactics changed, to the point of betraying the ultimate object—if all other means failed—of Pole's legation. We have the very words of his instructions to the Bailly de Troyes, whom he was sending on a secret mission to England, letting it be given out to Faenza that it was solely to see what was doing there, “and to entertain” the English, and the nuncio adds that he has not been able to learn otherwise. Montmorency, at the same time, said he believed the King of Scots would not refuse to give Cardinal Pole passage with him into Scotland, if he wished to go thither—

“Please God he may arrive before they set sail ; for that would be much better than going to Cambray, seeing that the King of England does nothing but cut off heads, and do his worst to remain in his blindness and obstinacy.”¹

The French King's instructions to the Bailly de Troyes run as follows—

“10th March, 1537.

“. . . The Pope in consistory has created Cardinal Pole to be legate not only in England, but in all places which he shall pass through on his way thither . . . intending, if Henry will not return amicably to his obedience to the Roman Church and See Apostolic, to deliver to the Cardinal, through the merchants, a good sum of money, in order to give succour to the people against him, and so constrain him to return to obedience by force. If Francis can do anything, the King of England is to let him know. . . . The Bailly is to pray Henry to contribute aid by sea, according to the treaty. . . . As to the marriage between the Duke of Orleans and Princess Mary, the Bailly is to say what has been commanded to him. . . .”²

Pole had made no secret of his errand, except on the one point of using force if all else failed ; he had invited Cromwell to meet him in Flanders, and John Hulton, English envoy at the court of the Queen Regent of the Netherlands, in reporting to Cromwell, says that Pole is coming on a mission from the Pope to the King's Highness. The papal bull is explicit. It

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,715, f. 349.

² *Bib. Nat., Paris, MS., Camusat*, 13.

1537 appoints him legate to the King of England to exhort him to return to the Faith—

31 March "It may be that the enemy of mankind has such a hold upon the King that he will not be brought to reason except by force of arms. It is better, however, that he and his adherents should perish, than be the cause of perdition to so many ; hoping that the same people who lately took up arms to recall him to the Faith will do so again, if they see that the hope he gave of his returning to his right mind was illusory. Pole is to encourage them, in that case, to persevere until the King returns to the way of truth. . . ."

R.O. It was too late ; Henry VIII's vengeance had been too bloody and complete, for the embers of revolt to be fanned again into flame. The Duke of Norfolk, who was anxious to leave the North, assured the King, writing from Newburgh on the 2nd April, that no part of the realm was less to be doubted ; as to the danger of Mr. Pole's traitorous practices, they could not be so soon set on hand in those parts. As to the King of Scots, he was not to be trusted ; but were he to attempt anything, the Duke could return in time convenient.

Henry, however, was not so confident ; the knowledge that Pole, an Englishman of blood so near his own, was on his way, a legate sent by the Pope for the purpose of compelling him to return to his obedience, or to turn him off the throne, roused him to caution as well as to fury, and he did not make the mistake of under-estimating dangers which, if they had come to a head, would have been serious enough. So Norfolk, despite his remonstrances, was kept in the North, to be ready for the Scots, if, after James V's return, they should attempt that invasion on an excommunicated King than which, according to Betoun's assurance to Faenza, nothing would be more popular in Scotland. If peace could only be made at the same time between Francis and the Emperor, all would go well for Pole's mission. "Unfortunately," as Dr. Gairdner remarks, "it was the 31st March before the bull of legation was issued. Bigod's rebellion had been suppressed ; peace was not yet made between Francis and the Emperor, and nothing succeeded in the way it ought to have done."¹

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XII, Preface, p. xxxvii.

Francis I had sent a special messenger to England on the 1537 score of Pole's legation ; the Emperor did no less. When Cifuentes, his ambassador in Rome, had informed him that the Pope had asked for a safe-conduct for Pole, by Trent to Flanders and Germany, because he had heard the insurgents desired it, Cifuentes added—

"The legate will serve the Emperor, unless Verona prevents him, especially in the matter of the Princess, as he thinks matters may end in his marrying the Princess himself ; for which reason the Pope does not wish him to take any degree beyond the tonsure."¹

Although the question of his marriage with Mary must constantly have been brought before Reginald Pole, the above is the only direct intimation that he contemplated the possibility of it himself. He was then in his thirty-eighth year, the Princess was in her twenty-second.

So important did the crisis appear to the Emperor that his special envoys to England were two—Don Diego de Mendoza and Señor de Arbes. His instructions to them are interesting. Chapuys is to be complimented on the good service he has always performed, and they are to act in conjunction with him. They are to further the marriage with Don Luis of Portugal and to hinder the marriage with France ; and the abominable conduct of the French King is to be pointed out, in inviting the Turk to invade Christendom, and breaking off all negotiations with the Emperor, as soon as he was assured of the Turk's assistance. If the King of England is determined to constrain the Princess to some other marriage, she is to be consulted how to gain time ; and the ambassadors must see if it is possible to carry her out of England, in the way formerly talked of—

"As to expecting aid from the Pope by the going of Cardinal Pole, it is to be feared the Pope may excuse himself, or defer on account of the coming of the Turks. Moreover, the Cardinal may arrive too late, and there is little appearance that he is provided with money and men. Nothing can be founded on this until it

¹ Simancas : *Add. MS.*, 28,589, f. 216. The Bishop of Verona had been Clement VII's chief adviser at the time of the sack of Rome, and it might well be supposed that he had no great confidence in Charles V.

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is known that he has arrived, and is suitably provided, and that, through him or otherwise, the insurgents have overcome the King, or are determined to resist him to the last.

"The Emperor has accordingly written to the Queen Regent of Flanders that the Pope has asked him to assist the Cardinal in his enterprise, but the Queen must look well to what opportunity there is [*la disposicion que ay*] and how the King and his subjects stand, and to act accordingly, either excusing herself as regards the Cardinal's charge, or giving him assistance. They shall keep the Queen Regent informed of what passes in England."¹

This paper would in itself suffice to show that the sole rule applied by Charles V to all possible events was how to make them fit into his own schemes and purposes. As the chief ruler of Christendom, the head of the Roman Empire, two Popes had in vain urged him to reduce Henry VIII to order, and he was now equally deaf to any appeal to help the English Cardinal in the enterprise he should himself have undertaken—except in the event of its being assured of success without that help.

Poli Epp.
II, 30

Pole was meanwhile continuing his journey towards Paris; the question of finance was solved by the Pope cheerfully making him an extraordinary subvention—being unwilling to create a precedent by increasing the sum of 500 pieces of gold, usually given to ultramontane legates. In sending him this information, and advising him to use as much economy as is compatible with the dignity of his office, Contarini tells him he daily prays for the success of his mission, and that the universal Church may soon sing praises for the finding of the pearl that was lost, and the recovery of the beautiful sheep which had gone astray.

Contarini also gives news of their *Consilium*: that the Pope has begun the work of reformation by appointing four Cardinals, Simonetta, Ghinucci, Chieti and himself, to oversee and correct those things which have usually been expedited by the Datary. Almost all the Cardinals favour the reformation, and the consistory begins to change its appearance. Contarini adds: "I therefore have great hope (I never despaired) that our affairs will make good progress daily."

¹ *Add. MS.*, 28,589, f. 248. B.M.

The making of the ecclesiastical reforms by the promulgation ¹⁵³⁷ of a papal bull being considered inadvisable by the majority of the College of Cardinals, Paul III determined to call a General Council as soon as possible. He fixed upon Mantua and the month of June, but Contarini now reports with regret that the Duke of Mantua has been making difficulties, and demands 1,500 foot and 100 horse, paid by the Pope, as a guard for the town. "This will bring calumny upon us," he adds, "that we do not want a free Council." So the Pope has prorogued it until the Kalends of November, and the place where it is to be held is not yet fixed upon.¹

In a postscript Contarini says he has just received Pole's letters from Paris, with the account of the difficulties he has met with in his Christian mission. The cause of the Church must be committed to God, and whatever happens must be borne with fortitude.

We have seen enough of the disposition of mind of Charles V and Francis I to understand that Henry VIII had not much trouble in creating the difficulties to which Contarini alludes, although he was to fail in his passionate entreaties that the Cardinal Legate might be delivered into his hands. Francis I had shown some suspicion, which Faenza had allayed, that the coming of Pole through France had been instigated by the Emperor; and when, at the end of March, the two English envoys-extraordinary, Sir Francis Brian and Sadler, arrived ^{R.O.} at the French court, which was then at Amiens, the latter wrote to Cromwell that he hoped to be able to force the French King either to deliver this traitor Pole or else violate the treaty.

When Pole arrived in Paris, he was met by Monsieur de ^{10 April} Matignon with letters from the French King, expressing regret that he could not receive him. The Bishop of Verona, therefore, in the character of a private person, hastened to Amiens, where he had several audiences with Francis I, while Pole made his way more slowly towards Cambray; first writing to the papal nuncio at the French court, Rodolfo Pio, who

¹ The difficulties were brought about by foreign pressure upon the Duke of Mantua, who expressed himself annoyed that the Pope had fixed upon Mantua before consulting him.—Zimmermann, p. 117.

1537 had just been raised from the Bishopric of Faenza to the Archbishopric of Carpi. The legate regrets not being able to see the nuncio, but he has promised the King's messenger not to go near the court, and he blames the time when a king by nature most generous and by religion most Christian is compelled to deny an audience to a legate of the Pope. Pole knows he does so unwillingly, by the honours he received in journeying through the country and the assurances of the French ambassador at Rome, that his coming would be most welcome to the King, though there were some even then who predicted what has happened. . . .

*Poli Epp.
II, 33*

What more can he say than blame the injustice of that friendship towards one whom the King thought it necessary to gratify in this? for that friendship demanded that the most Christian King should lay hands upon an ambassador and legate of the Vicar of Christ, coming to him in the cause of Christ, and deliver him bound to a hostile king. Such a thing would be a violation of all the laws of nations, and the request was an insult to which he is astonished the French King could listen with patience.

In case the King of England should be at first unwilling to listen to Pole, he was taking with him one who had done much service for the King of England in Pope Clement's time, and whose good services Pole has often heard that King speak of—the Bishop of Verona—whose services to the King of France also, and singular virtues seemed to indicate as a most fitting assistant.

Since those distinguished counsellors of the King of England have persuaded him to write to Francis I that Pole is a traitor, he demands judgment of the King of France on the matter; and trusts the time will come when he may show all Christian princes what kind of traitor he is.

Those who have persuaded a king by nature religious, observant of the institutions of his ancestors, modest, benign, and liberal, to desire honours never before imagined by kings, alter dogmas, rob churches, overthrow monasteries, vex the ministers of the Church, and, lastly, to slay those who were the greatest ornaments of the island (not Rochester and More

only, but all the rest who have been murdered); those who have persuaded him to write these letters, such as a thief would scarcely write to a thief, those are the traitors.

We see by the nuncio's reports the impression of disgust aroused by Henry VIII's attempt to get Pole into his hands. "That ribald Winchester—as he calls Stephen Gardiner, the English ambassador—having done against the legate all those offices which one can expect from devils rather than from men, has spoken so high, that he has put the French in fear of losing the King of England." And again a few days later, 21st April, he says the new ambassador, Sir Francis Brian, has arrived at Amiens to make a last effort to get the legate into his hands, and bring him to England, "into the catalogue of the martyrs"—

"Not having succeeded, he is very desperate and as discontent as possible with the French, and bragging that if he found him [Pole] in the midst of France, he would kill him with his own hand—and similar big words. This shows clearly the mind of the King, and that they fear him [Pole] more than anything else from Rome."¹

The King and Queen of Scots were still in France, at Rouen, on their way to the coast and to Scotland; but the nuncio's plan that Pole should sail with them could not be carried out, with Henry VIII so openly against him. Betoun, who was at Amiens, informed the nuncio by James V's order, that the ecclesiastical Censures had been sent across the border into the hands of the insurgents, which was another reason why the King could not take Pole with him, the Scots not wishing it to be known that the Censures were published by their means.²

Although Gardiner had spoken so high to the French, he

¹ *Add. MS.*, 8,715, f. 361. B.M. Writing some years later to Secretary Paget, Gardiner alludes to his own efforts to persuade Francis I to deliver up "the traitor Pole" and not regard the safe-conduct he had granted him. At last Francis I told him, he had "no skill in princes' honours" with "such gestures," that Gardiner was "fain to proceed in another way."—Gairdner, Vol. XX, 11, No. 749.

² If the Censures ever arrived in England, it was too late for their publication to be ventured upon. There is no evidence that they were ever published in England.

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had not spoken high enough to please his master, and among the numerous urgent letters written by Henry VIII to his ambassadors is one in which my lord of Winchester is ordered, under pain of incurring the King's displeasure, to "make his purgation" of having told the King of France, as reported by the French ambassador in London, that Henry would be satisfied if Pole were sent out of his dominions instead of being handed over to the English envoys. Brian is also blamed for having gone to Gardiner before going to the King of France; his presence might have "quickened our good brother" against Pole. Brian is to see Francis I every day, and to tell him Henry is much surprised to learn of the pompous receiving of Pole into Paris. He desires his envoys to enquire by all means into the mystery of Pole's sudden departure from Paris, and to have "good spial upon him wherever he be, if he remains on this side the mountains."¹

The Emperor was at Valladolid, so it was to his sister, the Queen Regent of Flanders, that Henry VIII's imperative demands were made, through John Hulton, his agent at her court. He did not venture in this case to ask for the delivery of Pole's person, but that he should either be forbidden to enter the Emperor's dominions, or, if already there, should receive admonition to "avoid within the time limited by the treaties." Mary of Hungary had received her brother's orders, and the news from England was of no doubtful significance, so she had no alternative but to submit. She received Hulton in presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Liège, Erard de la Marck, and other members of her Council, and, after reading the King's letters, said she knew of the legate's arrival at Cambray, but had no information as to his further movements. If he had any legation for her from the Pope, she could not avoid hearing him; and when, a few days later, in presence of the same persons, Hulton pressed her to know if she would observe the treaties, declaring that admitting Pole as a legate was a dangerous plea, she changed colour, and before he ended his address she was in a heat, "having gotten much choler,

R.O.

Ibid

¹ *Add. MS.*, 25, 114, f. 257.

and in that I could perceive she swet," writes Hulton in a letter ¹⁵³⁷ to Cromwell, dated Brussels, 28th April. He adds that "Guisnes pursuivant," whom he had sent to keep spial on Pole, has returned with the information that he is lodged at the Abbey of Mobbrey (*sic*) at Cambrey, in the sub-prior's lodging, and has no English, that could be perceived, in his service, but twenty Italians and Frenchmen, and six mules. He is said to be waiting for a safe conduct to England, and wishes to speak with the Cardinal of Liège. Three of his servants came to Brussels last night, but Hulton has no knowledge of them yet."

Cambrey was neutral territory, and immediately upon his ^{Beccatelli} arrival—after a journey made perilous by the disturbed state of the country, full of soldiers of the French and Imperialist armies, who scoured the confines of Picardy, Flanders, and even the frontier of the English pale—Pole wrote to the Archbishop of Liège for a safe conduct to the Regent's court. The arrest of his messenger by the Governor of Valenciennes, who sent him back with the information that no one could pass without consulting the Queen Regent, quickly enlightened Pole as to the state of affairs, and he could only express his regret to the Cardinal to find that the bearer of letters to the Queen's chief councillor should be prohibited from going to the court.

Two of the Emperor's ambassadors, the one in England ^{Poli Epp.} _{II, 41} [Chapuys] and the other in Rome [Cifuentes] had urged the Pope to give him this legation, and nothing had been done without their counsel. Count Cifuentes and Dr. Ortis, who had been Queen Katherine's agent in Rome, and was now the Emperor's proctor, almost compelled Pole against his will, to take his journey through France. The sum of the letter is to explain his mission, and to get the Cardinal of Liège's assistance. He adds that he fears spies and betrayers, of the former of whom he has had experience within the last few days; which would indicate that "Guisnes pursuivant" had done his work clumsily, or that Pole's attendants were well on their guard.

Henry VIII could ill brook a partial success; it was not

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enough to have compelled the King of France and the Regent of the Netherlands to the hitherto unheard-of step of refusing audience to a papal legate ; so long as Reginald Pole was alive and free, the King could not live content, and any means were good to attain his ends. A letter to Gardiner and Brian, dated Greenwich, 25th April, makes his purpose plain, and also shows how he used personal apprehension as a fulcrum for moving his servitors to his will ; for he begins with the ominous reminder that Gardiner has not yet purged himself from the charge of saying that Henry would be content if Pole were driven out of France. He must now, therefore, suggest to Francis I (telling him, however, that he has no command to do so,) that as Pole is at Cambray, a place which, though neutral, France has a certain interest in, and which is not far from the English marches, he should do what he can to get Pole expelled from it—

“ And for as much as we would be very glad to have the said Pole by some means trussed up and conveyed to Calais, we desire and pray you to consult and devise between you thereupon.”

If they think it feasible, Brian shall secretly appoint fellows for the purpose.¹

The thing was soon planned, and Sir Thomas Palmer, porter of Calais, wrote to Cromwell, apparently on the 6th of May, that he would start next day for Flanders, on the pretence of buying a horse, and would get half-a-dozen persons to meet him at Gravelines. His real object may be divined from a subsequent letter to Lord Lisle, Deputy of Calais, in which he writes—

“ The man you wot of doth not come out of his lodging, nor intends not, as I can learn ; for I take the French King too much to be his friend, which I trust he will repeat at length.”²

This failure is alluded to in a letter from Cromwell to Gardiner and Brian, dated Hampton Court, 18th May, telling them the King is not inclined to advance money for Pole's apprehension, seeing that the matter has got wind, and Pole

¹ *Add. MS.*, 25, 114, f. 262.

² Gairdner, Vol. XII, Part I, Preface, p. xxxix.

is warned to look after himself ; but if they can induce those ¹⁵³⁷ to whom they have already broached the matter to do it for some reward in case of success, the King will make good their promise.¹

The insecurity of Cambray was manifest, but notwithstanding Pole's urgent appeals to the Queen Regent, not only to allow him entrance into the Emperor's dominions, but to give him audience, “for never had legate been so used,” he was detained there until the end of May, when the Queen sent an honourable escort to conduct him to Liège. While at Cambray, he wrote a letter to Cromwell, which needs a word of explanation : the Bishop of Verona, on his journey from Paris to Amiens, had turned out of his way to have an interview with Gardiner and Brian, both of whom he had formerly known, or rather, with a gentleman deputed by them to meet him. Verona had declared the Pope's good will and his only desire to cure Henry VIII of error. As to Pole, the gentleman, whose name Verona does not give, was very discreet, and seemed inclined towards him, speaking of him most gently. As for his mission to the King of France, the briefs of his Holiness would show that Pole was chiefly sent to him in order that through his friendship with Henry VIII, he might interpose and make a good settlement. Verona, in a second interview, promised to see if Pole would send copies of the briefs into England, as the ambassador's messenger declared that the King was ill-informed, and much inflamed against the Cardinal by this his coming.

“When I am with the Cardinal,” writes the Bishop, “we will examine the briefs, and, as I think they contain nothing but what would go to remove this bad impression from that poor gentleman—‘quel povero signore’ [Henry VIII] it can do no harm to send them to him, and to write to him ; so as not to omit clutching at every straw. . . .”²

Instead of sending the briefs, Pole, upon Verona's return to Cambray, wrote to Cromwell, offering to send that bishop

¹ Add. MS., 25, 114, f. 265. B.M.

² Borghese MS.

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to England, who had declared himself well content to go, and who would express the Cardinal's mind further. Pole's letter shows cognisance of Henry's attempts to get hold of him, seeking his undoing "in ways never heard of against any that bear that person, that I do at this time." And if he is still determined to procure the King's honour and wealth, what could be a surer token of affection? The King, to get him into his hands, would violate both God's law and man's, and disturb all commerce between country and country. Pole was more ashamed to hear of it, out of regard for the King's honour, than indignant that when he was coming, not merely as ambassador but as legate—the highest embassy used among Christian princes—a prince of honour should desire another prince of like honour—"Betray thine ambassador, betray the legate, and give him into my ambassador's hands." Even pagans would have thought this demand abominable.

He has made the King privy to all his acts since his first coming to Rome—

"Being there when the time was troublous for the King in his realm, letting them [preventing] the sending forth of the censures, which might a caused more trouble, and sending at that time my servant to offer my service, to procure by all means his honour, wealth and quiet. . . . This rebels be not wont to do."¹

Poli Epp.
II, 46

The Cardinal's report to the Pope before leaving Cambray is a masterly review of the situation, touching upon the significance of the French King's refusal to see him, and how much the adversary's power is to be feared, when it could compel the most Christian King to do such a thing, and that unwillingly, for he commanded that Pole should be received in Paris with the honour usually shown to legates. When his messenger was turned back at Valenciennes, although the Governor alleged the necessity of war, when Pole heard that an English ambassador had a little before come to the Queen's court, he believed that the same reason which induced the French King to send him so quickly out of his realm compelled the Imperialists to deny him entry into their country. If he

¹ *Cleop.*, E. VI, 349. B.M.

was doubtful at first, the efforts he has made during thirty days ¹⁵³⁷ show it too well. The Cardinal of Liège sent a message, pointing out the dangers by which Pole was surrounded rather than any way out of them (for not even in this city is he safe from treachery), but promising him safety if he would come into his province. This was what Pole wished, but he saw no way of doing so with dignity, for Liège advised his coming in disguise. At last, after eleven days, his envoy returned with this message from the Queen and the Cardinal: that the Queen would immediately send men to conduct him to Liège, and when there, the Cardinal promised everything which could be desired for his abode.

What is most to be feared, as regards Pole himself, is that when men see these princes acting against custom, and against their own wishes, rather than displease this enemy, they may attempt, for his satisfaction, not to drive Pole from France, or exclude him from Flanders, but to get rid of him entirely. He has no fear of the French betraying him, but, if princes stand in awe of his enemy, their example may incite others to gratify him who seems to desire nothing more than Pole's blood, especially in a place so near England, where scarcely a day passes without reminding him of some of the dangers to which he is exposed.

Paul III had already intimated to Cardinal Pole that the affairs of England offering no opportunity of action, he would do well to return for the Council of Mantua—which had not then been prorogued. Pole agrees that the cause which brought him seems hopeless, the popular tumult which favoured it appeased, the leaders in the King's hands, and no prospect of the promised Parliament at York.

These seem the reasons for his revocation, and he then enumerates the reasons for remaining where he is, in which we see the noble tender nature of the man yearning over his oppressed country. First, the very cause for which he came, the evident necessity of the Pope having someone always here, ready for any occasion which may arise, for if the thing is delayed until the present generation transmit their opinions to their children, England will be forever lost to the Church.

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In the province of Liège are places where he could live in safety, and since this tumult has been so easily assuaged, another could be as easily raised, especially if there is hope of a leader being provided from a place of safety near at hand.

Of course, if he remains, the King of England will make still greater efforts to take him. Philip of Macedon said that he could take any castle to which he could send an ass laden with gold, and there are many ass-loads shown against Pole, for they boast that they would give 100,000 golden pieces to have him alive or dead. In conclusion, Pole—to whom the red robe was a reality—declares that he has no fear; he leaves it to the Pope, and will obey him in all things.

Vatican
MS.

In a letter of the same date, 18th May, to the Papal Secretary, Ambrogio, Pole insists on the advisability of his remaining at Liège, where it can be done in honour and safety. It is important to show that the cause is not abandoned, and not to extinguish the hope which those poor good men will have as long as they know that Pole is here; also, in order not to lose any opportunity. He has sent his letters to England through the Venetian ambassador, as the English envoys would not accept them.

The King of England seems so insolent after his success in subduing the realm, and even in commanding other realms, that Pole hopes for nothing, especially as his cruelty increases with his success, and will increase still more when he thinks he has driven Pole away with a breath, because if the latter's presence did not trouble him, he would not rage as he does against him.

In England, Pole was proclaimed a traitor, a price of 50,000 crowns was fixed upon his head, and it is said that Henry VIII offered to the Emperor, in exchange for the Cardinal's person, an auxiliary force of 4,000 men during his campaign against France.¹

Pole's departure from Cambray and arrival at Liège were

¹ "The Cardinal of Liège told Pole that the King of England offered the Council of Flanders, of which he was a member, 4,000 foot, and their pay for ten months, if they would deliver Pole into his hands." —Beccatelli: *Vita*.

announced by John Hulton to Cromwell in the following terms, 1537
from Brussels, 26th May—

“ The traitor was allowed passage last Sunday, when he left R.O. Cambray, accompanied beyond the limits by the Bishop of that See, and conducted by the Bishop's men that night to Bousshyn, next day to Bovey, and thence to the Abbey of Awre belonging to the Cardinal of Liège, where he remained last Friday.”

The ambassador duly remonstrated with the Queen, and it is plain to be seen throughout his correspondence with what repugnance Mary of Hungary and her Council went through the part forced upon them by the Emperor. When Hulton repeated his complaints a few days later, he reports that the Queen “ appeared somewhat chafed,” and the Cardinal of Liège at the same time exclaimed there were but two things he cared for : “ to save his soul for God, and his honour for the world.”

CHAPTER XII

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WITH Cardinal Pole's departure from Cambray, his legation may be considered to have come to an end, and with the legation to England that also for peace, for the question of heresies and for the Council, of which he was to have treated with Francis I and with the Regent of the Netherlands. His mission had ended in failure—one of those failures which redound more to the honour of the vanquished than of the victors. Had he arrived in England before the turn of events, it seems clear that his purpose was to place himself with the men of the North, and in the free Parliament to be called at York he would have come to terms with the King.

He would then have made good his words, of showing the princes of Europe "what manner of a traitor" he really was. He meant to serve and save his country with and through the King—without him, if Henry's obduracy had proved invincible, which his intimate knowledge of that monarch's character did not lead him to apprehend would be the case. Henry VIII knew how to give in before stress of circumstance. Pole was fully as determined as the insurgents had shown themselves in their demands that the evil advisers should be removed from the King's Council. As Dr. Gairdner observes—The King can do no wrong, but his Ministers may—has always been the doctrine of the English constitution, and it was by no means a pedantic fiction in the days of Henry VIII.¹ The men of the North were loyal, and Reginald Pole's whole correspondence, private as well as public, is the standing memorial of his single-minded patriotism and loyalty; and the disproof of the charges of ambition and even of pretendership which have been lightly brought against him.

Pole arrived at Liège at the end of May, the obstruction placed in his way having caused him, as he rather ruefully remarks, to arrive much tempest-tossed, and having taken forty days to accomplish a two days' journey. The Cardinal

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XI, Preface, p. xvii.

of Liège treated him with great honour, much to Hulton's 1537 displeasure, whose spies brought him word that Pole had been pontifically received, and lodged in the old palace in the city, *Poli Epp.* II, 61. and that the Cardinal had made him a present of 3,000 guilders. Hulton sums up his report to Cromwell, dated Brussels, June 3rd: "They take him there for a young god. He cometh but little abroad, nor he will not speak but with very few." *R.O.*

Pole, as we know, wished to remain at Liège so as to be within reach of the "poor good men" of the North, though the slenderness of his hopes of giving them courage must have come home to him with the news of the judicial slaughter of Lords Hussey and Darcy and their fellow-victims to Henry VIII's betrayal of his kingly word.¹ He lingered, therefore, subject to the Pope's commands, and Contarini, while approving his reasons, tells him he fears that by lurking in a corner he would do but little service to the Holy See and *Poli Epp.* II, 58. expose himself to more danger. He advises Pole, therefore, to choose a middle course, neither hurrying away ignominiously, nor hiding himself too long.

The English envoy at Brussels was not less ready than the ambassadors to France and the deputy of Calais to gratify the King's desire for the making away of Cardinal Pole. One incident is preserved to us in Hulton's own report to Cromwell, and also in Pole's correspondence, and is doubly interesting as a specimen of the Cardinal's methods of dealing with men, and of the leniency of his disposition.

A Welshman of the name of Vaughan, having fled from England for manslaughter, was to be introduced into Pole's service through a certain renegade, Henry Phillips, who was acquainted with Michael Throckmorton, Hulton promising him

¹ "Most of the sentences were executed at Tyburn on the Friday in Whitsun week, May 25th. Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 30th June, and, as a warning to the districts where they had committed their so-called treason. . . . Sir Robert Constable was hung in chains at Hull, Aske at York, and Lord Hussey was beheaded at Lincoln. . . . Within nine months after the first outbreak in Lincolnshire, the King had more than recovered his authority, shaken just for a moment by the outcry against his revolutionary proceedings." —Gairdner, Vol. XII, Part II, Preface, p. iii.

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a free pardon for his offences against the law and a large reward. Happily, letters from Hulton to Vaughan were intercepted and carried to Pole, who received the would-be assassin, when admitted to his presence, with the greatest kindness, saying : "As I am informed, you be banished out of your native country as well as I," adding he rejoiced to see a Welshman, as his grandfather [Richard Pole] came out of Wales. He told him that he had his full number of servants, but if Vaughan came to Italy when he was there, he would be glad to take him. He further informed him—no doubt for the benefit of his employers—that Sir Thomas Palmer, Peter Mewtas, John Wingfield, Francis Hall, Hulton and others were sent to these parts to destroy him. He finally desired Vaughan to go to Antwerp [where he doubtless knew that Hulton was then staying] and learn news, and gave him a crown-piece. In recounting the incident to Contarini, Pole mildly remarks that Vaughan, either getting wind that his letters had been intercepted, or being conscience-stricken, left the city before it was light. In another letter, referring to his friend's advice not to remain hid, he humorously points out that his enemies, by their messengers and spies everywhere around, celebrate his abode and watch his every track, so that it would be easier for an army to lie hid than for him.

Pole Epp. II, 64
Ibid. II, 68

The correctness of Pole's information is borne witness to by the fact that Hulton's only comment when giving the above list of names, is to say he "must have been informed by one Anthony, sent in espial by Sir Thomas Palmer."¹ It is pleasant to think that their very spies sometimes helped to thwart Pole's enemies.

Not only indirectly, but directly too, Cardinal Pole let Henry VIII and Cromwell know that he was aware of their attempts upon his life. In a very remarkable letter to Cromwell upon the refusal of Gardiner and Brian to receive his letters, remarking that "if this be a new fashion of handling

¹ *John Hulton to Henry VIII*, Antwerp, 17th June, R.O. Sir Geoffrey Pole had found means to warn his brother through Hugh Holland, a late servant, of the attempts upon his life.—*Examination of Hugh Holland*, Nov., 1538.

princes' affairs, it is likely to provoke men to change their 1537 loving minds to the King," he adds that after the demonstrations of Henry's agents to his undoing he could not preserve R.O. 19 May his love for him "were it not holpen above nature." He frankly adds that "he does not fear him, and never did," and much less in this cause if he had all the power of the whole world in his hand. Once again he declares his love for the King, and would not doubt to show it in the cause for which Henry takes him for his enemy, which is his legation.

We have seen that the letters were conveyed to England by the Venetian embassy, and Pole concludes that if Henry will read them they will testify to the writer's mind towards him. If it is rejected, Pole "will be justified, if the conclusion is not to the King's pleasure."

The hint conveyed in the last sentence is further emphasized by Throckmorton in his report to Cromwell of the 20th August, R.O. in which Pole is designated throughout as "this man." When he left Rome he was violently urged to leave his book in the Pope's hands for its publication, and it is to be feared that it and the censures will be made public if "this man" is constrained to declare after what fashion he rebels against his Grace, and as he is now revoked to Rome it will be hard for him to refuse his consent to the publication "for the great confidence they have therein, more than in all the rest." On his return, in fact, hangs the divulgation of the censures, the putting forth of the book, and sending new ambassadors to Christian princes. Throckmorton also declares that the diligent procurement of his ruin by the King's agents is well known to "this man," who yet continues in the same love and constant mind to the King's honour and wealth that he has hitherto shown, and it makes men the more marvel to see the King bent rather on his ruin than on a reconciliation.

The publication of the *De Unitate* was what Henry VIII dreaded above all things, and this was no doubt the reason why, having so far failed to murder Reginald Pole, he began to think of negotiating with him. Pole, indeed, seemed to bear a charmed life; not only did no man succeed in taking it, notwithstanding the enormous reward offered, but we find one

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after another succumbing to the personal influence which was so potent upon those who came within its reach—which made Vaughan leave Liège before break of day, which caused Anthony to give him the names of those who were seeking his life, and which made Throckmorton so devoted to him as to incur his English employer's furious displeasure.

Cromwell's answer is a curious specimen of his style and language in addressing a subordinate with whom he is angry. Throckmorton is treated as an utterly abandoned scoundrel for really serving his master, and not properly acting his part as a spy; he is accused of "sticking to a traitor," to this "silly Cardinal," with whom he works treason. Then comes the terrible threat of vicarious punishment, of hitting Pole through his relations—

R.O.

" If those who have made him mad persuade him to print that detestable book, he will be as much bound to them as his family are like to be to him. Pity it is that the folly of one brainsick Poole, or, to say better, of one witless fool, should be the ruin of so great a family. . . . And you know the King can make him think himself scarce sure of his life, although he went tied to his master's girdle. Ways enough may be found in Italy to rid a traitorous subject.

" Amongst your pretty news, these are very pleasant, that the wily bishop of Rome means to make lamentation, and desire all men to pray that his old gains may return to him."

Cromwell refers to the proclamation of a three days' fast, and special prayers for the return of England to the unity of the Church lately published by Paul III at Pole's suggestion.¹ Cromwell gracefully continues—

" Paul popeth jolly that will desire the world to pray for the

¹ The suggestion had in the first place been made to Pole by an English student at Louvain, who also wished some book might be written showing from Scripture and the Fathers the difference between papal and royal supremacy, to confute those in England who have set themselves to corrupt and darken the truth. In forwarding the letter to Contarini for the Pope's perusal, Pole modestly takes shame to himself for not having discussed this thing with the Pope before, as prayer is more powerful than censures or curses [*execrationes*], or any of the schemes he had thought of. If prayers have been a great aid against the Turk without, much more ought they to be against the Turk within.—*Poli Epp.*, II, p. 73.

King's apeynement [sic]. After the wiles he hath practised these 1537 three years, shall he not now be thought holy to cast away his weapons and fall to his beads?

"Of the General Council I need say nothing. All know the difference between a General Council and an assembly of ambitious manciples; a General Council begins a day after the Greek kalends."

Then comes a vicarious threat to his correspondent—

"Michael, if you were either natural toward your country or your family, you would not thus shame all your kin; the least suspicion will now be enough to undo the greatest of them. . . . I can only desire your master and you to acknowledge your faults. God send you as you shall deserve, either to come to your allegiance or to a shameful death."

Cromwell, who was now a baron and a knight of the Garter, made no idle threats; Sir George Throckmorton, Michael's brother, was committed to the Tower on the 15th October, a few weeks after the above abusive letter was penned. Sir Geoffrey Pole, on the same day, went to court to show his loyalty, but the King refused to see him.

To stop the printing of Pole's "detestable book" was Henry VIII's main object in determining to send two of his chaplains, Dr. Nicholas Wilson and Heath, to confer with him at Maestricht, for although their instructions bid them declare R.O. "to the said Pole his miserable condition and the great clemency of the Prince," and urge him to come home and desire forgiveness, Henry and Cromwell must have been well aware of the futility of such a message. The main purpose appears in the order to get Pole to send "the minute of his frantic book" to England at once. The envoys are expressly commanded to call him no "other name than Mr. Pole, nor in their gesture give him any pre-eminence, but to show him that they hold him in the less estimation for his vain title."

These instructions were never made use of, as Hulton's announcement of Pole's departure from Liège reached London before the envoys could start.¹

Paul III sincerely regretted, as he wrote to Pole on the

¹ Dr. Nicholas Wilson had been presented to the Deanery of Wimborne Minster in June, "void by the forfeiture of Reginald Pole."

1537 30th June, having sent him into so many dangers, though he knows that his only concern is for the public cause, and that he is unmoved by his personal peril. The Pope summons him back to Rome, as there are at this difficult time many things he wishes to consult him about.¹ Contarini reports the Pope's satisfaction with Pole's letters—showing them to Cardinal Farnese, as examples of good letters, and expressing fears for the writer's safety, whom he considers a precious treasure (to quote his own words) to be preserved for better times.

Poli Epp.
II, 70

Nothing can more clearly show Paul III's esteem for Reginald Pole's sagacity and respect for his judgment than the fact that although he was anxious for his return for three reasons—the indignity of remaining in Flanders doing nothing, the fear of inconveniencing the Cardinal of Liège by too protracted a stay, and the Council indicted for the Kalends of November—upon receipt of Pole's letters of the 21st July saying that his own judgment and the course of events in England urged him to stay where he was, the Pope made Contarini write and tell him that he was free to go or to stay as he thought best. But with *Ibid.*, 82 Pole to hear was to obey, and he was already on his way Rome-ward when Contarini's letter, dated 12th August, reached Liège.

Ibid., 88 It was not much easier to get away than it had been to come into Flanders. There was absolutely no hope of going through France, the French King having said he had been pressed with too much ill-will by their adversary for allowing the former passage. Verona was sent to consult with the Cardinal of Liège, who had entertained them nobly for several months, and he provided as well as he could against treachery, spending three days in consultation with the guides about the route to be taken.

Quirini,
II, civ The order of life led by the legate and his household while at Liège is described in a letter from Priuli to Beccatelli dated 28th July—

“ In the morning everyone remains in his room until an hour and a half before dinner, when we assemble in the private chapel

¹ Baronius, xxxii, 455.

for the recitation of office. The Bishop of Verona is our master of 1537 ceremonies. After Office, we hear Mass, and dine at midday. During dinner there is reading from St. Bernard and conversation. On leaving table, the Bishop of Verona generally reads a chapter of Eusebius: *De Demonstratione Evangelica*. Then some two hours pass in agreeable and useful talk until an hour and a half before supper, after which we sing Vespers and Compline, and the legate, who finally allowed himself to be persuaded thereto, every alternate day lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul, beginning with the Epistle to Timothy, to the great satisfaction of Giberti and of everyone. Oh, how often I have wished you and the worthy Bishop of Fano¹ were with us to hear this holy man's exposition, so full of spiritual unction, reverence and sound doctrine, that I could wish for nothing better.

"I do not think that my affection deceives me, and from the crumbs I have gathered I shall be able to give you a good idea thereof, if it shall please God that we meet again. Shortly after the lecture comes supper; then we boat on the river, or walk in the garden for a couple of hours, when topics agreeable to these noble lords are discussed. We miss you and the Bishop of Fano daily, at a time which is being spent in so useful and pleasant a manner, and we thank God for the many mercies vouchsafed to us. How often has the legate repeated to me: '*Certe Deus nobis haec otia fecit . . .*' and he always adds, 'Oh, why is not Cardinal Contarini here?'"

Pole left Liège on the 22nd August, riding solemnly through R.O. the city, reports Hulton to Henry VIII, giving his blessing to the people with a cross borne before him and other ceremonies. The Cardinal of Liège accompanied him out of the town, as did the papal nuncio, and it was given out that he would remain at Maestricht for a chapter to be held there on the 3rd September. This, however, was to elude his enemies, and he made no stay in that town, but was conveyed through the Bishop of Utrecht's country "clean out of the common way," reports Hulton.²

¹ Cosimo Geri. This firm friend of Reginald Pole died in the prime of life a few weeks later, before Pole reached Bologna on his homeward journey, where he had hoped to meet him.

² Writing from Bruges, 2nd September, Hulton announced to the King: "A pardon has come from Rome which requires men to fast three days and be shriven and houselled the fourth, which day is kept here this present Sunday."

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Pole had found a man after his own heart in the Cardinal of Liège, ardent for the reformation of the clergy of his province, though, as we find by Pole's letters to him after his return to Rome, he met with rebellion in the course of his labours. As for the Bishop of Verona, Pole wrote of him in terms of touching eulogy to the Pope, modestly alleging Giberti's example as

Poli Epp. the source of his own courage under the attempts of his enemies.
II, 46

He suggested that Verona should accompany him to Rome, which that worthy prelate, who had reduced his diocese—which he called “his spouse”—from a state of deplorable corruption to a model of good order, successfully resisted.

Trent was reached at the end of September, and there Pole *Ibid.*, II, 89 received the letters which had missed him at Liège, leaving it to his own decision as to whether he should remain in Flanders or return to Rome. Writing to Contarini “from Bovalona, a town of the Bishop of Verona's, not far from Hostilia in the plain of Mantua on the bank of the Po,” as he describes it, he says that there is now nothing for him to do but hasten on to Rome, and that the delay in the letters shows it was God's will he should return. In passing through Verona he had been glad to meet Contarini's brother Thomas, and Matthew Dandolo, who had flown there [from Venice] to embrace him.

The Bishop of Verona will leave him at Ferrara, whither, and to Ravenna, he is proceeding by water. Priuli, like another Achates, never leaves his side.¹

Chigi MS. On Friday, 18th October, the Cardinal of England was solemnly received in a special public consistory on his return from his unsuccessful mission. The Cardinals met, and accompanied the legate *ad capellam magnam*, and he gave an account, in consistory, of his legation.

In December, scarce two months later, peace was made between the Empire and France, an event which, six months earlier, would have made Charles V in all probability, and Francis I most certainly, the active supporters of the mission they had so successfully obstructed. To Henry VIII, who

¹ The Bishop of Verona, with his secretary, Della Torre, finally reached Verona at the end of October.

had exercised all his ingenuity to prevent the peace, it was a 1537-38 cause of the greatest displeasure and alarm, coming though it did after he had crushed the power of his commons and seen the departure of Reginald Pole out of Flanders.

With his return to Rome, Pole's work in the cause of reform began again, and in an interesting letter to his friend Camillo Orsini,¹ dated 14th January, 1538, he describes the Pope's efforts in the cause of peace and of reform. The demands of Duke Gonzaga having rendered a Council at Mantua impossible, the Venetians had been induced to offer Vicenza; but fresh obstacles were raised again, and this time by the German bishops, under the inspiration of Charles V.² Pole tells how the Pope has ordered him to give Orsini the good news of the unexpected peace, and as for the holy war [against the Turk] the Pope will spare no expense to assist the Venetians, treating them as his own children.

After delivering the Pope's message, Pole gives his friend an insight into his own feelings: it was a consolation to find Orsini's letters when he returned, hungering for spiritual food, from his perilous legation beyond the mountains, and his disappointment at not finding him at Verona. At that time he was in grief and confusion; the Prince, for whose salvation he had put himself in danger, having contrived everything for his ruin, and so influenced the princes through whose provinces he must pass, that one expelled him from his realm and another refused to admit him.

Pole was appointed one of the nine Cardinals, commissioned

¹ Camillo Orsini was at this time commanding the Venetian troops in Dalmatia.

² The General Council. Extract from a letter of the Bishop of Modena, nuncio at Vienna, 30th October, 1537:—"The delay of the Council, though justified, does not give satisfaction, and it is doubtful if the prelates of Germany will come on the 1st May, as they wish to have a provincial Council, and agree among themselves without the Pope. The Emperor's agents say wickedly that the Pope is the cause of all these wars and evils, even in the matter of Faith, and of the Council not having been held. The King of England's invective against the Council is everywhere read, and greatly alienates everyone against the Pope. It has again been printed in Germany."—Laemmer: *Mon. Val.*, p. 190.

1538 by Paul III to attend to matters touching the Council. The six Cardinals who had been on the papal commission for the reform of the Church were members of the new commission, the Cardinals of Ostia, Sabinus, and Cesarini making up the number.¹

1535 A more personal matter was awaiting Reginald Pole's attention on his return to Rome. During his absence, the Pope had obtained from Cardinal Contarini the manuscript of his *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, and had of his own authority caused it to be printed by Antonio Blado. The number of copies were few, and Pole, chivalrously true to his word, collected all he could possibly lay hands on, and destroyed them.²

Poli Epp. When, in the month of May, the Pope went to meet the Emperor and the King of France at Nice, in Pole's words to Camillo Orsini, "to preach the gospel of peace to those princes," he took the Cardinal of England with him, and it must have been a curious sensation for Pole to find himself in all the honours with the two monarchs who had treated him, however reluctantly, so scurvily a few months previously. Contarini also accompanied Paul III, and as Beccatelli was at that time his secretary, we have his description, as that of an eye-witness, of that memorable meeting. The Pope had taken Pole "as one whom he held in no little honour."

18 June " I remember that on arriving at Nice, the first time the Emperor visited the Pope, who lay at a monastery outside the town, when the College of Cardinals went out to meet him, as the custom is, he immediately caused Monsignor de Granvelle to enquire for Cardinal Pole, whom he desired to see and to speak to, well-knowing his value, and the obligations he lay under to him, for his constant defence of the cause of Queen Katherine, the Emperor's aunt.

" I was also present when Cardinal Pole went to Villafranca to visit his Majesty, who at once left his other visitors and his business,

Handed
me a
copy

¹ Baronius, xxxii, 484.

² So completely was this done that the beautiful copy in the Grenville collection at the British Museum is the only one known to exist. "This edition is one of the rarest books known" (Vogt). After Henry VIII's death a pirated copy was published by a bookseller in Germany, which induced Pole to give a correct edition of it himself.—Lingard, Vol. V, p. 43, note.

and received him as affectionately as if he had been his brother, 1538 conversing with him for a long time."

After the Conference of Nice, the Pope and his court returned to Rome, but Beccatelli tells us that Cardinals Pole and Contarini remained some little time in Lombardy.

At the Pope's entreaties, the Emperor and the King of France had agreed to a ten years' truce, and Paul III had embraced the opportunity to sound the disposition of the two monarchs relating to the conduct of the King of England. Both led him to hope that if he would publish the Censures, they would send ambassadors to England to protest against the schism, would refuse to entertain relations of amity with a prince who had separated himself from the Church, and would forbid all commercial intercourse between their subjects and the English merchants.

The Pope was perplexed by the opposite opinions of his advisers, for while some condemned the suspension of the Censures as inconsistent with the honour of the pontiff, others continued to object the impolicy and disgrace of publishing a sentence without the power of carrying it into effect.

Pole spent the summer at Venice and at Priuli's villa at Treviso, near Padua. It was a time of study and repose, occasionally molested by the spies and would-be assassins who were his more or less constant attendants, but made happy by his intercourse with Bembo and Contarini, with Priuli, of course, with Lazaro Bonamico and Gabrieli, professors of the University of Padua, and other men who joined in his pursuits; St. Augustine and St. Basil being particularly mentioned as being almost always of the company. While there, he heard of the arrest and committal to the Tower of his younger brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, in the month of August.¹

¹ Thomas Theobald, an English student in Italy, wrote to Cranmer, 16th August, 1538, that Pole would remain at Venice until the meeting of the Council purposed to be held at Vicenza, that the Emperor and the King of France had shown greater friendship towards him than to any other at the conference at Nice, and that his exhortation to them "was a great occasion of their accord" [*Nero*, B. VI, p. 148]. The

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✓ Henry VIII appears to us, during the year 1538, as a monstrous tyrant puffed up with success, inebriated, and yet not sated with slaughter, and at the same time as the most acute and wily of politicians, arming at all points to meet the difficulties threatening him at home and abroad. He purchased the connivance of his great nobles by sharing with them in a part of the spoils of the monasteries, the dissolution of which was being ruthlessly completed, gunpowder being called in to insure the more rapid demolition of those great monuments of the piety and genius of preceding generations of faithful men. "England sat weeping," says Camden, "to see her wealth exhausted, her coin embased, and her Abbeys demolished, which were the monuments of ancient piety."¹ And at the same time the King posed more boldly than ever as the champion and guardian of the Catholic Faith. In the *Articles* he compiled, and still more in the work entitled *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man* he earnestly refuses salvation to all persons out of the pale of the Catholic Church, merely substituting himself for the Pope as supreme head, which caused Francis I to exclaim: "The King of England gives dispensation like his Holiness, and I believe will soon want to say Mass."²

✓ All this did not prevent him from actively pursuing the policy which for some years had been his, of assiduously cultivating good relations with the German Protestants—a body of men with whom he had little sympathy—in the prospect of material aid from them in case of a coalition of princes against him, a contingency which the new-found amity

same man wrote to the Earl of Wiltshire on September 12th, giving news of Pole's movements, and to Cromwell from Padua on 1st October, relating the doings of one Harry Phillips, sometime student at Louvain, when he betrayed "good Tyndall" [translator of the New Testament], and who had come to Venice, sent by Cromwell it was supposed, to destroy Pole. They [the Cardinal's friends] thought the King would expect Pole, when he heard that his younger brother was in the Tower, to publish his book, "which they reckon he [Henry VIII] fears more than all the world besides." Pole has caused Phillips to be prohibited from remaining in Venetian territory [*Nero*, B. VI, p. 132].

¹ *Introduction to the Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 5.

² Gairdner, Vol. XIII, Part I, No. 678.

between the Emperor and the King of France appeared to 1538 render almost inevitable. In view of the General Council, the Protestant princes were ready to make common cause with him. His manifesto in contempt of the Pope's authority to summon such a Council was so popular in Germany, that besides being reprinted in Latin, it was translated three times into German and obtained a wide circulation.

Ambassadors, of whom Henry hoped Melanthon would be one, were invited to England in the spring and cordially received and entertained; but they were obliged to return to their own country in August, without having arrived at such an agreement in matters theological as they and the advocates of the new doctrines in England, of whom Cranmer was chief, fondly hoped for.¹

With the Emperor and the King of France, Henry VIII carried on his old astute policy of stirring up jealousies and suspicions. His own hand was now at the disposal of his policy, and he proposed to France that he should marry Mary of Guise, the young widow of the Duke of Longueville.² The fact that she was affianced to his own nephew, James of Scotland—whose wife, Madeleine, had died within six months of her marriage—did not appear of any importance to Henry; who persecuted her with his suit for five months, and finally betrayed his chagrin by refusing her permission to land at Dover and pass through England on her way to join her husband.

Charles V's jealousy was alarmed at Henry's attempt to procure a wife in France, so overtures were made to him for a marriage with his kinswoman, Christina, widow of Sforza, Duke of Milan, while the match between the Princess Mary and Don Luis of Portugal held good—so far as negotiations were concerned. But Henry VIII did not trust solely to his policy, however crooked and subtle and double-faced it might be; he looked well to the defences of his country, the garrisoning

¹ The German envoys were Burkhard, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, Boyneburg, Doctor of Laws, and Myconius, Superintendent of Saxe-Gotha. Melanthon did not come.

² Jane Seymour died in October, 1537, a few days after the birth of her son.

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of his fortresses against foreign intrusion, while keeping a watchful eye on all those powerful and great families within the realm who, it might be suspected, disliked his proceedings.

The ferocity of the King's proceedings increased with the progress of the year, beginning with the burning of Friar Forrest, the Franciscan who had been Queen Katherine's confessor, for declining to relinquish his habit without the Pope's permission ; while, to show his orthodoxy, Henry had two German Anabaptists burned for heresy. Thomas Miller, Lancaster Herald, was put to death at York in August for having bowed the knee to Robert Aske and endeavoured to pacify the rebels, for which imaginary crime he was tried a year and a half after it had been committed. With him suffered Henry Litherland, Vicar of Newark, and Robert Moreby, a monk of Fountains Abbey, with sixteen smaller offenders.

The events of September included the solemn farce of the trial and burning of the bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the citation of a man who had lain 250 years in his tomb, to appear in court and answer to a charge of treason ; the court seated solemnly at Westminster, after the thirty days—allowed by canon law—had been suffered to elapse, and, as the saint did not put in an appearance, judgment would have been given against him in default, had not the King of his special grace assigned to him a counsel. When the Attorney-General and the advocate of the accused—with what feelings we may be allowed to wonder—had made their speeches, Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, was pronounced guilty of rebellion, contumacy and treason, his bones to be publicly burned, the offerings which had been made at his shrine, an accumulated treasure of enormous value, adjudged the personal property of the reputed saint—and here we find the key to proceedings which might appear the result of pure dementia—forfeited to the Crown.¹

¹ In November, Henry exercised in person the judicial function attached to his supremacy by presiding, clad in white silk, at the trial of Lambert, a London schoolmaster. When the prisoner threw himself on his Majesty's mercy : " Then," said the King, " thou must die, for I will not be the patron of heretics."

Such atrocity and sacrilege filled Francis I with horror, 1538 and notwithstanding all the blandishments of Henry VIII, there can be no doubt that he was perfectly sincere in wishing for a thorough understanding with the Pope and the Emperor to bring his old ally to his knees. When the news reached Cardinal Pole at Rome, he wrote earnest letters to Granvelle ^{Poli Epp.} II, 120 and to Charles V's confessor, urging the bad news from England, and begging the help of the Emperor.

By the end of the year, Henry VIII appears to have reached that stage in a tyrant's career when the sentiment of fear lends its own sinister colour to his crimes, the rampart of heads never appears high enough, the stream of blood wide enough to ensure security, and he strikes again and again, and still in vain; for the phantoms and fearful shapes moving in the plain beyond loom all the more threateningly, strike how he may. In December the King aimed an appalling blow at the most illustrious heads in the kingdom, sending his nearest kinsmen to the scaffold on charges as flimsy as those upon which Buckingham had been sent to his doom twenty years before.¹

On arriving in Paris the previous year, Cardinal Pole had been seriously alarmed by a rumour that his elder brother, Henry, Lord Montague, had been sent to the Tower, and the Bishop of Verona, on his mission to the French court at Amiens, had made special enquiry of the English ambassador's agent, who was able to assure him that it was not the case.

Henry VIII was never precipitate; perhaps the extreme of passionate ferocity was never more closely allied with self-preserving caution than in him: it was not so much that he kept within the limits of the law, as that by cunning and

¹ "If anyone living in happier times be disposed to wonder at all this injustice, and how it could safely have been perpetrated on prominent men in a high-spirited nation like the English, he must remember that the merits of the case were not at all clearly or fully set before the public. The mode of trial always bore hard upon the accused, and if the people at large suspected, as they did, that all was not perfectly equitable, matters of State were not theirs to pry into. They could only compassionate in silence the victims of oppression."—Gairdner, Vol. XIV, Part II, Preface.

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intimidation he made those limits stretch to the embracing of his most lawless acts ; the form of voluntary surrender was kept up in the dissolution of the monasteries by bribes and threats, and the warning of the judicial slaughter of the obstinate ; a deep cunning lurked even in the buffoonery of the mock trial of St. Thomas à Becket. The King had the great art of making all the estates of the realm, all the powers of the constitution his accomplices and sharers in the responsibility of his acts.

To bring down so noble a quarry as Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, his cousin-german, and near in succession to the crown,¹ and, as the Poles, representing the royal house of Clarence, more than ordinary circumspection was necessary, and Henry VIII acted accordingly. He had confided to the French ambassador long before that he meant to exterminate the house of Montague, but he made no sign until his measures were ready, and we find Montague taking part in the ceremonial of the Christening of Prince Edward on the 15th October, 1537, and on the 12th of the following month he, with Lord Clifford, attended the Princess Mary as she rode from Hampton Court to Windsor as chief mourner at the funeral of Queen Jane Seymour.

Informers, accusers, and false witnesses of low degree were always easy to find, but in this case something more was necessary, and Sir Geoffrey Pole, younger brother of Montague and of Reginald Pole, has been truly called, in a special manner, the victim of the tyranny of Henry VIII. Exeter and Montague had been patterns of circumspection ; however much they disapproved of the new measures, they had recoiled from nothing, and had carried out the King's behests unflinchingly, at whatever cost to their principles and judgment. Exeter had actively aided Henry VIII in his divorce proceedings ; he had acted as commissioner of array in the western counties, and in October, 1536, had helped the Duke of Norfolk against the Pilgrimage of Grace, hastening from Yorkshire

¹ Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter [1496?-1538] was the son of Sir William Courtenay and Catherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV.

to put down the rebellion in the West of England in 1537 ; ¹⁵³⁸ at the King's request he had acted as Lord Steward at Lord Darcy's trial.¹

So also with Montague ; devout Catholic though he was, he had nevertheless been on the special commission in April, 1535, before whom the Carthusian martyrs were tried, and again at the trial of Sir Thomas More, though his position there, like that of the other lords, was merely honorary, the practical work being left to the judicial members. When the King received Reginald Pole's *De Unitate*, Montague had made the most open and explicit avowal of his loyalty to the King, and his disapproval of his brother's boldness. He and Exeter had been among the peers before whom Anne Boleyn was tried.

To convict two such men—whose lives had been conspicuously loyal—of treason, special methods were certainly needed, and at least one witness whose name would carry weight, and impose silence on the incredulous. Sir Geoffrey Pole, an impulsive nervous man, who appears never to have been very strong in his head, was accordingly sent to the Tower on the 29th August, on the charge of having corresponded with his brother, the Cardinal, without showing his letters to the King.² For nearly two months Sir Geoffrey lay in prison, and on the 26th October began that series of seven examinations and fifty-nine "interrogatories" by which, under promise of pardon and threats of the rack, the unhappy man allowed accusations against his brother and Lord Exeter, Sir Edward Neville and others, to be wrung from him, while remorse and horror at what he was doing drove him twice to attempted suicide.³

A careful perusal of his answers, in which he was careful

¹ Exeter cordially disliked Cromwell, and assumed an independent attitude towards him. His wealth and intimacy with the Poles readily enabled Cromwell to point him out to the King as a danger to the succession.

² *Gayangos*, VI, I, No. 7.

³ Sir Geoffrey's wife, who was herself examined by the Council, wrote to warn her brother-in-law that her husband was driven to frenzy, and might be made an instrument for their ruin.

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to accuse himself as well as his victims, fails to discover a shadow of real evidence against any of them. Sir Geoffrey confessed that he "liked well" the proceedings of his brother the Cardinal, and disliked the proceedings in "this realm," wishing "for a change of this world, without meaning any hurt to the King." He brings no other accusations than these against his brother, Lord Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville: they disliked this plucking down of abbeys and innovations in religion; he had heard Neville say he trusted this world would amend some day; they said no word against the King's person. Nor do the lesser witnesses, servants, dependents, terrified women, give anything more damaging than that Lord Montague had been heard (by some person unknown) to say it were a meet marriage for Reynold Pole to have the Lady Mary, the King's daughter. After the Northern rebellion, and Henry VIII's failure to keep his word as to the promised Parliament at York, Montague had said: "In times past King's words had been believed, but nowadays they be used [to deceive]. Wherefore, if the Commons do rise again they will trust no fair promise nor words." [Examination of Jerome Ragland, 28th October.] R.O.

Scraps of conversation, in the case of Neville—who seems to have been a jovial soul—a snatch of song, the fact that Montague had all Sir Thomas More's books and took great pleasure in reading them, nay, even the fact that Cardinal Pole, three years previously, had made him a present of a horse, and had written advising him to bring up his son himself in activity, were facts alleged to bring about their condemnation. Ragland deposes that when he told Lord Montague that Peter Mewtas, of the King's Chamber, had been sent into France to get rid of Cardinal Pole, Montague had replied he knew that well enough.¹

¹ Lady Exeter [Gertrude, daughter of Lord Mountjoye] in her examination deposed to Sir Edward Neville's saying in her garden at Horsley that Peter Mewtas was gone over seas to kill Cardinal Pole. She had also heard him say in the said garden that he trusted knaves should be put down and lords should reign some day. Neville was Montague's uncle by marriage, brother of Lord Abergavenny (6th November, R.O.).

Hugh Holland, a former servant of Sir Geoffrey, admitted 1538 that he had been sent by the latter to Cardinal Pole at Cambray, to warn him of the designs against his life. The Cardinal had said: "And would my lord Privy Seal so fain kill me? Well, I trust it shall not be in his power." Pole had added: "Commend me to my lady, my mother, by the same token that she and I, looking upon a wall together, read this—*Spes mea in Deo est*, and desire her blessing for me. I trust she will be glad to have mine also. . . . Commend me to my lord, my brother, by this token, *In Domino confido*, and to my brother, Sir Geoffrey, and bid him meddle little and let all things alone."

We find a grim comment on the Cardinal's forewarning message to his younger brother in a letter to Lord Lisle,¹ Captain of Calais, from his servant, John Husee, in London. On the 28th October Husee writes—

"Sir Jeffray Pooll was examined in the Tower by my lord Admiral R.O. [Earl of Southampton]. They say that he was so in despair that he would have murdered himself, and has hurt himself sore. Please keep this secret as yet."

On the 4th November Exeter and Montague were committed to the Tower, and Castillon, writing from Chelsea to Montmorency, says the King had long ago told him he meant to exterminate the house of Montague, to which Cardinal Pole belonged, and which was still of the White Rose. "Few noblemen are secure in this country," adds the ambassador, and he doubts not but some scrimmage may ensue—*qu'il n'en advienne quelque micmacque*.²

Sir Edward Neville was committed to the Tower the following day, and Lady Exeter a few days later; while Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, and Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, were sent down to examine the venerable Lady Salisbury in her house at Warblington, and to remove her in custody to

¹ Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward IV.

² In the Inventory of Exeter's possessions and estates we find mention of his household; besides gentlemen and gentlewomen, 103 servants. Many are noted as good musicians, the last is William Tremayle, the fool. Several are described as good wrestlers.

1538

Fitzwilliam's house at Cowdrey. The commissioners declare in their report to Cromwell that though they "travailled with the Lady of Salisbury all day till almost night, entreating her well both sorts, sometimes with doul and mild words, now roughly and asperly, by traitoring her and her sons to the ninth degree, yet would she utter nothing, but maketh herself clear." They have never seen nor heard of a woman so earnest, so precise as well in gesture as in words "that wonder is to be." In her answers and declaration she behaved herself so, "in all things sincere, pure and upright," that her examiners are forced to the conclusion that she knew nothing of any treasonable practices, "or else she is the most arrant traitress that ever lived."¹

In their next report they describe her as more like a strong and constant man than a woman; she has been so earnest, vehement and precise that they think it waste of time to press her further.

At this stage of the proceedings, Henry VIII left London, and one Robert Warner, announcing the fact to Lord Fitzwater, son of the Earl of Sussex, and that the lords in the Tower are like to suffer for Lord Montague's brother, an arrant traitor who is with the Bishop of Rome, adds the pleasing information that at his departure from Westminster, the King, "thank God, was never merrier."²

R.O.

The panel has been preserved of the men chosen to send Exeter, Montague and Neville to their death, *i.e.*, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cromwell, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Essex, Derby, Rutland, Sussex, Huntingdon, Hertford, Southampton and Bridgewater, the Lords Dacres of the South, Dacres of Gillesland, Morley, Cobham, Maltravers, Grey of Wilton, Clinton, Mountjoy, Sandys, Windsor, Wentworth, Burght, and Mordaunt—twenty-six peers, and after each name is written "cull"—*culpabilis*.

The trial took place on the 4th December, and the indictment shows that the treason consisted in the approval expressed by the prisoners of Reginald Pole's conduct: that they, like false

¹ Cotton, App. L, 77. B.M.

² Titus, B. I, 140. B.M.

traitors, favoured, promoted and confirmed the said Reginald 1538 Pole in his traitorous proceedings, viz., denying the King's spiritual supremacy, and assuming the dignity of a Cardinal to the Roman pontiff. At divers times, Montague had said to his brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole : "I like well the doings of my brother the Cardinal, and I would we were both over the sea, for this world will one day come to stripes." He had also dreamed that the King was dead ! Lord Exeter was accused of saying : "I like well the proceedings of Cardinal Pole, but I like not the proceedings in this realm, and I trust to see a change in this world."

Montague was condemned to death on the same day, Exeter on the day following, and they were both beheaded on Tower Hill on the 9th December. "They had been so linked by God," wrote Cardinal Pole in after years to Edward Courtenay, "in sincere affection throughout their lives, He would not at the last hour allow them to be separated, both dying together for the same cause, which was that of God, the most noble and glorious of any."¹

The thought of the anguish Cardinal Pole would feel when he heard of the fate of his brothers—for Sir Geoffrey, for form's sake, was included in the condemnation—drew the following savage expression of pleasure from Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, to Cromwell—

"HARTLEBURY, 13th December.

"Blessed be the God of England, that worketh all, whose minister ye be. I heard you say once after you had seen that furious invective of Cardinal Pole [the *De Unitate*] that you would make him eat his own heart, which you have now [I trow] brought to pass, for he must needs eat his own heart, and be as heartless as he is graceless."

After another attempt upon his own life, by trying to suffocate himself with a cushion, and reduced to such a state that his wife, in her petition for his release described him as being "as good as dead,"² Sir Geoffrey Pole received Henry

¹ *Reginald Pole to Edward Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter*, Trent, 2nd October, 1553. St. Mark's Library, Venice.

² Foley : *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, III, 790-91.

1539 VIII's free pardon on the 4th January, 1539—but the King could not restore to him his peace of mind.

It is not surprising to find the French ambassador writing almost with passion to Montmorency : “ Now is the time for Francis I to gain more glory than any of his predecessors ! ” The time could never be more favourable on account of Henry's inhuman cruelties, which ought to make him the enemy of all Christendom. “ There are no greater hypocrites in this world than he and his milord [Cromwell]. ” True, there would be a fight, but it would be less dangerous than ever it was before, for the people are inconceivably discontented.

And the following day, 31st December, after repeating information received from Cromwell to the effect that Lord Exeter and the Poles had intended to chase the King out of England, Castillon repeats that he knows no more strange and hypocritical persons than Cromwell and his master.¹

¹ *Add. MS.*, 33,514, f. 9. B.M.

CHAPTER XIII

ALTHOUGH the news of his brother Geoffrey's arrest must have 1539 prepared Cardinal Pole for what was to follow—however monstrous the principle on which men could be put to death for the crimes, or supposed crimes, of their relations—he could but wait in silent suspense for what would befall. During his stay at Venice and Padua he saw a great deal of Friar Peto, who had so boldly and prophetically spoken to Henry VIII in his sermon at Greenwich, and then escaped abroad, and who remained at Padua after Pole and Contarini returned to Rome in the month of October. Pole was a poor man now, but so far as his means allowed he continued to exercise the hospitality he had always loved.

Contarini attended the Pope to Ostia in November, and wrote from there to Pole—

" Although we return to Rome the day after to-morrow, yet to *Poli Epp.* describe our life, and not to let the Venetian ambassador go without I. 141 letters to you, I write these few lines. ¶

" Four days ago, before sundown, we reached Raspatum, the weather being unpleasant, with a north wind blowing. Next day we went to a town which they say was a dwelling-place of Lucullus, for Raspatum without doubt was his town. There are traces still of a town which the inhabitants call Licollum. Yesterday we came hither through the midst of the plain. By the way, our good old man (*i.e.*, the Pope) took me apart and spoke to me *de reformatione compositionum*, saying he had read before daybreak a little tract which I had written (I have hitherto not mentioned it to you, because I was almost in despair, and thought it should rather have been hid than produced), and discussed the matter with me in such a Christian way, that I have again conceived great hope that it will do good, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the spirit of the Lord. If you think fit, tell the Cardinal of Chieti [Caraffa] and the Master of the Sacred Palace, and let them keep the thing to themselves." *Vale cum Priolo ac reliqua familia in Domino.* Ex Ostiis Tiberinis, 11th November, 1538.¹

¹ In a letter of 9th November to Mark, [Armellini] a monk of St. Justina, Padua, Pole mentions his daily companions, Priuli, Federicus Lombardus, and Bernardinus [Ochino ?].

1538-39

Soon after Contarini's return to Rome, Pole, who as yet had only the tonsure, received the four minor orders at his hands, on the 21st or 22nd November. It may have been about this time, the date is uncertain, although of the fact there seems to be no doubt, that Pole built the little chapel on the Appian way, close by the Church of Sta Maria in Palmis, better known as *Domine quo Vadis*. Receiving his title from the Basilica of SS. Nereus and Aquileius on the Appian way, and distressed to find that the famous church of *Domine quo Vadis* was falling into ruins, Pole erected the modest little chapel, which still stands at a stone's-throw from the church—which he had not the means to restore, but of which he wished to perpetuate the memory. His task was made easier by the fact that the ground was the property of the English Hospice, of which he was patron.¹

Paul III was a kindly man, and when he heard of the arrests in England, he no doubt remembered with compunction how unwillingly Pole had left his life of retirement at Padua, and had only come to Rome at the Pope's express command "in virtue of holy obedience," alleging the danger which might ensue to his relations at home; how he had tried to avoid his elevation to the purple. So when, soon afterwards, Cardinal Pole asked for an audience, the Pope refused it, saying he had received such distressing news of Pole's family, that he could not bear to look him in the face.

But private grief could not stand in the way of public duty : among all the living victims of Henry VIII's cruelty, Pole was the only man who might hope to be instrumental in freeing his country from such intolerable oppression. The Pope was determined to publish the Censures if the Emperor and Francis I, in their new-found amity, would confirm their assurances at Nice, and for this purpose decided to send Pole

¹ The Church is now restored, and in its turn the little chapel, memorial of Cardinal Pole's piety, is in a neglected condition. The legend of "Domine quo Vadis ?" dates back to the time of Origen [Orig. in *Johan*, tom. II]. Egisippo relates it ; it is mentioned in the Acts of SS. Processo e Martiniano ; and among the Fathers of the fourth century, St. Ambrose held it for authentic [*In Aux.*, ed. I, tom. IV]. —Armellini : *Le Chiese di Roma*, 2nd edition. Pole's title was changed to that of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin in 1540.

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Pope Paul III & Cardinal Pole.



on a fresh legation to Charles V, who was at Toledo, and then 1538-39 to the court of France.

In his instructions to Pole, the Pope orders him to urge the Emperor, on account of the impiety and ferocity of the King of England, to undertake the reduction of his realm to the true religion, and no longer to suffer that King to rage with impunity against God and his saints. The Pope had prepared a new bull, and published it in Rome, renewing the execution of the bull of 30th August, 1535, which had been suspended in hope of Henry's amendment; and in the confederacy he and Pole were anxious to bring about, resort to arms would in all probability have been unnecessary. All that was wanted was to treat as outside civilization a tyrant who had shown himself utterly regardless of all human ties and of all religious sanctions. Had England been effectually isolated in the way Paul III intended, and as Pole was directed to press upon the Emperor, by the prohibition of all commerce, Henry's subjects would have been unable to endure the situation, and Henry himself would have been compelled to make peace with the Church, and atone for past transgressions as the only condition for retaining the throne. If the two leading princes of Christendom could have agreed in this line of action, England would have had a very uncomfortable neighbour north of the Tweed, and Henry would have found himself, like his predecessor King John, compelled by a papal interdict and a foreign invasion, aided by his own subjects, to rule over the latter more like a Christian prince.¹

At the same time, the Pope created David Betoun, Abbot of Arbroath, and Bishop of Mirepaix in France, Cardinal with an express view to his publishing in Scotland the bull of excommunication against Henry. He, moreover, appointed Latino Juvenale on a special mission to James V and to Francis I, instructing him to speak "with due warmth of the public cause in England . . . showing how his Holiness is grieved to see the total ruin of such a kingdom, and how indignant he feels at the impiety of the King."

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XIV, Part I, Preface, pp. xii-xiv.

1538-39 Before leaving Rome, Pole wrote a letter of congratulation to the new cardinal, in which occurred the prophetic reminder of the obligation, which all who are adopted into the Sacred College lie under, of being prepared to lay down their life in the cause of truth : that the very colour of their dress, should other reminders be wanting, was sufficient to awaken in them a sense of this engagement, and if the prophet's question, *Why is thy garment red?* was put to them, the answer should be ready from their actions rather than their words, and that he made no doubt that this would be the case with Cardinal Betoun. Pole begs the cardinal to command him to the King of Scots, for though unknown to him by face, he is not a stranger in blood, and in devotion to his interests gives place to none.

Ibid. II. **142** Pole left Rome on the 27th December, and to avoid Henry VIII's hired assassins he travelled as a layman and with few attendants. He wrote to Contarini from Bologna on the 6th January, that in spite of the bad weather and deep snow he is getting on as fast as he can, and rides every day. Beccatelli has received them most hospitably at Bologna, and when they reach Piacenza they will take a day's rest for their own sake and for that of their horses. "At no time," he adds, "have I ever felt the cold so much in the Appenines."

At Piacenza, where he arrived on the 9th, he found letters awaiting him announcing the condemnation of his brother Montague to death, and there he also found Giberti, Bishop of Verona, who had hastened to meet him, to give him sympathy in his grief and all the aid he could on his journey. True to his constant habit of gratefully acknowledging and reporting to Rome the kindness accorded him, Pole does not forget, in his own affliction, to mention the good offices and liberality of Verona and of the nuncio at Piacenza, Del Monte. Here, the messenger overtook him, with Paul III's autograph letters to the Emperor and the King of France, declaring that he meant to proceed against Henry VIII by spiritual arms, and desiring their aid, at least in forbidding commerce and recalling their ambassadors from that impious tyrant.

Beccatelli, who attended Pole on this legation, states that

according to the Pope's instructions, after accomplishing his 1539 mission to the two monarchs, the Cardinal was to proceed to some convenient place in Picardy or Flanders as Legate Apostolic, and await events.

Pole took Carpentras on his way, so as to see his old friend Cardinal Sadolet, who was filled with admiration at his constancy under the heavy blow he had just received, resigning himself to the will of Heaven, and discoursing on his misfortunes as if he seemed only concerned for the public calamity. Sadolet writes : " Hearing of the disasters of his family, and the cruelty of a merciless tyrant, I must have sunk under my grief, had not his virtue and wisdom, who was most concerned, supported me."¹

Barcelona was reached at the end of January, after a journey rendered difficult by the asperity of winter and the state of the roads, and there, finding his horses tired, the Cardinal, to save time, took post with only four attendants for Toledo, leaving the rest of his suite to follow in easy stages. When he arrived at Toledo, towards the middle of February, he found that the King of England had been beforehand with him.

Never, perhaps, had Henry VIII displayed greater powers of cunning and intrigue than after the grim executions of his kinsmen, to which was added one, if possible, more wanton still—that of Sir Nicholas Carew, his Master of the Horse, one of the most eminent men in the kingdom, who was sent to the Tower on the last day of 1538 on the charge of having carried letters and messages to Katherine of Arragon and the Princess Mary. Henry felt the necessity of blackening the memory of his victims—not only by ordering a book to be published containing proofs of their pretended treason, by reports of compromising " copies of letters " found after their death, and vehement accusations that they had intended to take his life and his son's—but by making Parliament take a posthumous share in their death.² Thanks to Cromwell's manipulations, he

¹ *Sadoleti Epist.*, I lib. 13 and I lib. 14.

² The book was written by Richard Moryson, and entitled : " An invective against the great and detestable vice, treason, wherein the secret practices and traitorous workings of them that suffered of late

1539 had never had "a more tractable Parliament" than that which assembled in 1539 and which passed acts of attainder against the living and the dead, against Exeter and his fellow-sufferers, against two ladies, the Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Salisbury, and against the object of Henry's special alarm and hatred, Cardinal Pole. To these were added two children, the son of Lord Montague, and Exeter's son, Edward Courtenay.

Cruel and tyrannical as Henry's proceedings had been hitherto, this involved a further stretch of despotic power. According to a tradition preserved by Coke, he asked the opinion of the judges beforehand whether anyone could be attainted of treason in his absence without being called upon to defend himself. He was told it was a very dangerous question, but that Parliament could no doubt do anything, and the attainder would be good in law.¹

This was enough for the King's purpose. One sweeping bill of attainder did the business, in which the dead and the living were alike included—not merely such recent victims as Exeter, Montague, Neville, and Carew, but men like Darcy, Hussey, and Bigod, and all those implicated in the Northern rebellion two years before—refugees abroad, like Reginald Pole and his trusty Michael Throckmorton, John Helyarde, Thomas Goldwell and Friar Peto—and prisoners in the Tower, including the two ladies above named. The whole session was of two months' duration, during which Parliament had done all it was required to do. It had virtually given the King power to make penal laws himself. It had branded with treason all who opposed his proceedings—especially Cardinal Pole and his mother, making the former feel, more painfully than ever, that though he himself was comparatively safe, the life of his parent was forfeited to an unjust law, and might be taken whenever it pleased the King.

are disclosed." The book sets forth the "treasons" of Henry Courtenay, late Marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and Edward Neville, and inveighs particularly against Reynold Pole for his ingratitude to the King. Printed by Berthelet, London, 1539.

¹ *Coke's Institutes*, IV, p. 37.

In religion, a severe statute had been passed for uniformity ¹⁵³⁹ of doctrine, which there is no reason to doubt was generally approved at the time, however hard to put in practice afterwards. All this shows that the King required extraordinary powers to cope with a very serious crisis. That the Pope and Cardinal Pole were his chief danger was recognised in scores and hundreds of manifestoes. In commissions for musters, for seamen, in all sorts of letters and missives, liege subjects were informed that "the most pestilent idol"—or it might be "the cankered and venomous serpent, Paul, Bishop of Rome," was endeavouring, by the aid of that arch-traitor Reginald Pole, to stir up other princes to invade and lay waste the realm. And on what pretext? Why, that the English were heretics, when the action of Parliament showed very distinctly that they were not. Already, probably before Parliament met, some skilled sophist had drawn up what may be called an "official account of the Reformation," in which it was suggested that the bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury were not really burned; and not only declaring that the doctrine of the Church of England was pure, but vindicating all the King's most tyrannical proceedings as absolutely in accordance with law and justice.¹

With regard to his foreign policy, Henry VIII was equally alert, carrying on his old system of fomenting jealousy between the Emperor and Francis I all the more astutely for the new good understanding between them;² and making most energetic preparations for war, especially for defensive warfare. All officers in command of garrisons were sent to their posts. Commissions were appointed in each of the maritime counties to keep careful watch wherever an enemy might land. Inquiries were made as to the number of ships in every port, and general musters were determined on throughout the Kingdom.

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XIV, Part I, Preface, XVI *seq.*, and Nos. 401, 402.

² On the 10th January, 1539, a Treaty was agreed upon between Charles V and Francis I, binding themselves mutually to make no new alliances, agreements or accords with the King of England (whether for marriages of himself, the Princess his daughter, or the Prince his son, or any treaties whatever) without mutual consent.—*Add. MS.*, 21,382, f. 137.

1539 The easily excited detestation of the foreigner and angry dread of invasion in the hearts of his subjects responded to these efforts, and the spirit of the people was all that the King could wish. At the same time, Henry complained to the French ambassador, Castillon, that in France, as he was informed, he was reviled as a heretic and a tyrant. This was a bad return for his friendship for Francis, and the ambassador knew there had been no innovation in England, except what concerned the Pope's authority, and one who punished traitors by law did not deserve to be called a tyrant. The treason of the Marquis of Exeter and his two accomplices had been fully proved since their death by certain copies of letters between him and Cardinal Pole. As Chapuys observes, in reporting the above information imparted to him by Castillon, the testimony of "young Pole" not having sufficed, "*à l'usage de Carinthie* these men want to try the case after execution, and that, I think, is the reason why the King, and Cromwell also, intimated to the French ambassador that the above-mentioned copies had been found."

Lans., II,
297

Writing to Montmorency on the 16th January, Castillon fully describes all Henry's proposals to him for breaking the amity between Francis and the Emperor, offering to go and see the former himself. "It is not for my own sake," he pleads; "I desire nothing in Italy. I wonder he does not think what we might do, if we were together!" The Pope had obtained the cession of the Duchy of Camerino from the young Duke of Urbino, so Henry VIII seizes on the pretext to urge the French King to help the Duke of Urbino against the Pope, and to get Milan for himself, with the help of the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, etc. Castillon, whose opinion of Henry and Cromwell we already know, presses to be recalled. He sends with his letters a copy of the King's book about the death of Exeter and Lord Montague: *J'entends que c'est leur procès fait après leur mort.*¹

According to Juvenale's report of his mission, Francis I was unmoved by Henry's wiles; he told Juvenale that since the

¹ *Add. MS.*, 33,514, f. 11. B.M.

conference at Nice, he had several times prayed the King to 1539 return to the obedience of the Church, but seeing him do worse every day, he held him for a heretic and a schismatic, and was ^{Vatican} content to let the bull be published, and to obey it, if the ^{MS.} ^{21 Jan.} Emperor would do the same. Two letters, he suggested, should be obtained from Spain, one to the Imperial ambassador in England, the other to the Queen Regent of Flanders, giving orders that both ambassadors—of the Emperor and of France—should take leave of the King upon the same morning, and that the bull should be published and obeyed. As for a truce with the Turk, Francis offered, if the Emperor approved, to get one for five or six years, which he fully believed he could obtain.

In consequence of the alliance between their masters, Chapuys and Castillon were in each other's confidence, and the latter declares himself ready to swear that Henry VIII has used the very same language to him, to dissuade Francis from amity with the Emperor, that he is now using to the latter. If they find the Emperor immovable, they will return with similar addresses to Francis. "I am told," continues Castillon, "if this King be abandoned by France and the Emperor, he will enter into the Protestant League, and do his best to bring in the Duke of Juliers and the Duke of Bavaria." He is also, the ambassador hears, sending money to the Duke of Urbino. "He is so slow to disburse," comments Castillon, "that I can hardly believe he has done it." The letter ends with another petition to be recalled. He has to do with the most dangerous and cruel man in the world, and if he be left until the King discovers that he has nothing to hope from Francis, Henry will do him some ill turn, even though his own ambassador may serve as a hostage for Castillon; "for he is in a fury, and has neither reason nor understanding left."¹

Henry VIII was doubtless in a fury, and as regardless of the rights of nations, should it suit his purpose, as Castillon suggests; but if by "reason and understanding" we may read the spirit of guile and intrigue, the ambassador was wrong in his estimate of his mental condition.

¹ *Add. MS.*, 33,514, f. 13. B.M.

1539

Less directly concerned than France, Spain and Scotland, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, Charles V's brother, was as desirous as any that the Censures should be published and "that most unworthy King made to suffer every just evil—*ogni giusto male.*"¹

All, therefore, depended upon the Emperor. Sir Thomas Wyatt was ambassador in Spain, and had not a very pleasant time; the Inquisition, he complained to Cromwell, troubled him about his opinions, and he devoutly wished the preachers would stop discoursing about "the burning of the bishop's bones" and preach instead of "His Grace's grave proceedings against Sacramentaries and Anabaptists," of which Cromwell had informed him. The news had arrived of the condemnation of Exeter and the Poles with three of their servants [Crofts, Holland and Collyns] but no particulars, so he is evidently at a loss what to say on the subject. When, upon this, arrived the news that Cardinal Pole was on his way to the Imperial court, Wyatt protested energetically against his reception, receiving the answer from Charles V that if Pole were his own traitor, he could not refuse audience to the Pope's legate.²

Charles V was the last man to allow himself to be swayed by matters of sentiment; but when, on the 15th February, he saw standing before him, in the person of Reginald Pole, not only the greatest living victim of the tyranny of Henry VIII, but the right and fitting instrument ready to his hand by which that tyranny could be brought to nought, his own cousin, Mary Tudor, and the Church in England rescued from peril and from ruin, it is hard to believe that he felt no stirrings of ruth and indignation within him. But if any such generous impulse crossed that calculating mind it was at once dispelled, and Pole was not left in doubt as to the insuccess of his mission.

Cardinal Wolsey had bluntly called Charles V *bis-linguae* [double-tongued]; Cardinal Pole, in milder phrase, conveys much the same impression when he writes to Cardinal Farnese from Carpentras, 25th March—

¹ *Letter from Cardinal of Brindisi, Nuncio at Vienna, to Cardinal Farnese, 28th Jan. (Vatican MS.)*

² R.O., St. P., viii, 155.

" It is difficult to understand the Emperor's mind fully. It may 1539 be learned more readily by conjecture than by his express words, especially to me. At first, he did not seem pleased at my coming ; R.O. then, at my departure, he thanked me for it much by his Council, promising it should bear fruit both to the public and to my own benefit."

Pole's letters from Toledo to Cardinal Farnese, Papal Secretary, had been—no doubt purposely—delayed in transmission ; but on arriving at Carpentras, after a disappointing sojourn of fifteen days at the Imperial court, he repeated their substance in the above letter,¹ by which we find he had been able delicately to convict the Emperor of vacillation, if not of double-dealing when, upon Charles telling him the Censures should not have been published in Rome without seeing the way to execute them, and that he could not, for many reasons, forbid commerce with England, Pole appealed to the papal nuncio, Poggio, whether he had not, with Granvelle's consent, written to his Holiness that the Emperor, with the French King's concurrence was prepared to forbid commerce ? " The answer was Yes, and that they had said even more . . . and yet I could not gather that at present, more than at any other time had he [Charles V] any intention to break with that King."²

Charles used the old arguments—the Turks, who, though they never appeared to hinder him from warring with France, were always the ready excuse for not interfering with England—the Lutherans, who, he declared would rise in aid of Henry because of the alliance between them. The Emperor had doubtless some inkling, though he did not mention it to Pole, of the overtures for a marriage between Henry VIII and the daughter of the Duke of Cleves. And when Pole urged that there need be no war and no bloodshed if the embargo on commerce was duly carried out, he replied that he could not prevent commerce without force of arms. In vain did Pole skilfully combat these arguments openly with the Emperor, and still more emphatically with the Council, he sums up

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¹ This document has lately been acquired by the Record Office.

² Nichole Perrenot, Seigneur de Granvelle, was the Emperor's chief minister.

1539 that he cannot penetrate the Emperor's reasons. It may be the Turks ; it may be the Lutherans—

" But I could not move him to manifest himself openly against the King of England, nor could I clearly understand the reasons which restrain him, which perhaps are fears that if he shows himself willing to make this enterprise the other princes may think he wishes to usurp that kingdom, and therefore thinks it better to wait until invited by them rather than to invite them. Or perhaps it is, as the Councillors said at my departure, that his Majesty expects to settle the affairs of the Lutherans and sever them from the assistance of England, which they showed him they could do in six months. . . They will be able then with more security to attend to that enterprise. It may be that one of these reasons may move him, but I can affirm nothing, and leave it to his Holiness to judge and to instruct me. I have written to Granvelle reminding him of my words to him by mouth :—viz., ' for the love of God let him take care that, with this their proceeding, they do not, without wishing it, give a greater wound to the See Apostolic than could the King of England with all his malignity.' And this will be the case if they do not obey the Censures already published ; to which they replied, when I was at court, that they would find a remedy, asking this favour of his Holiness, to defer the publication for some time, which, in my judgment, would have to be done by letters public like the Censures."

One point did the inscrutable Emperor make clear—that the enterprise was not to be undertaken independently of him ; for when Pole expressed his opinion that upon the Emperor's refusal he would be forced to turn to the King of France for the remedies for England, which would perhaps displease the Imperialists—so they must reflect they would only have themselves to blame—the Council instantly replied they knew Francis I would not act alone. Pole then declared that the King of France with the King of Scots might be ready for the enterprise, and if they undertook it, the Emperor could not in honour refuse it. To this he received a reply which was in effect an ominous warning, showing that Charles V did not encourage him to go into France, and that he might be the occasion of doing more harm to Christendom than good to England if the means he used were not in great concordance of the Emperor and the French King.

The low-voiced impenetrable Emperor had his own views

concerning England, and a breach with Henry VIII had as 1539 little part in them as any intention to allow Reginald Pole to set foot in that island—as to this he and the King of England, from motives however different, appear equally determined.

The warning conveyed by Charles's Council was not lost upon Pole; he answered that if in his going into France there was danger of breaking the union between their Majesties, he would never be an instrument to that—

"I was not a Milanese or Florentine exile—of whom I have heard that to return into their own country they will turn all the rest of the world upside down—but I was not seeking to enter into my country if the cause of God, and not my own, did not lead me. . . . I was sent to both [Charles and Francis], hoping that, with their consent, this cause might be attended to, and might be the occasion of their closer union. And I told them that by the success of my negotiations with the French King they would every day see my sincerity better."

Under these circumstances, Pole determined to return to Carpentras, and there await further instructions from Rome, and information as to what reception he would meet with from Francis I. He therefore sent Parpaglia, abbot of San Saluto, Turin, one of his gentlemen, with letters to the King of France, and thus explains his motives in the above despatch—

"I did not wish in so important a matter to go too far, and compromise my own life and the honour of the See Apostolic as I did when I went into Flanders; especially as I learn, from those who know the King of England's practices in France, by how many means he procures my death, and chiefly in that kingdom, where he has more ways and methods on account of its nearness to his country.

"This private reason would not delay me if I saw I could benefit the Holy See, but this I do not see, . . . for if the King, following the Emperor's example, or for some private reason, also refused to publish the Censures and forbid commerce, it would, without doubt, be a great wound to Mother Church, and bring those afflicted people of England to the lowest despair; making the enemies of God and the Holy See more insolent than ever. On the other hand, if the French King showed himself as ready against the King of England as the Emperor shows himself hesitating, it would be a hindrance to the union of these two princes, on which the salvation of Christendom depends. . . ."

1589

Pole ends this long and important letter—

“ I hope his Holiness will take in good part this my stay at Carpentras, considering the cause that has moved me to it. God knows my principal object is the honour of God and of the See Apostolic, and therefore I have stopped in the territories of his Holiness, a place opportune both for Spain and France for every occasion of benefiting England. . . .¹

“ I seem in a good port, in which to restore myself after the many labours of this journey of the body, but much more of the mind. And it is still greater consolation to have found Cardinal Sadolet, a person of such rare qualities, desirous of succouring my wants, from whose sweetness and humanity I find much comfort. I will avail myself of it as long as it shall be his Holiness's pleasure, always prepared to do what I can to aid that afflicted Church in England, or elsewhere.”

Poli Epp.
II, 146

The same day Pole wrote to Contarini that no doubt the latter longed for a letter from him as much as he longed for one from Contarini. He commends his friend's criticism of Sadolet's book, *De Substitutione Ecclesiae*, and also the way Sadolet has received it. Sadolet, however, and they all are grieved that though the book has only been shown to a few, parts of it have been reported erroneously as if they introduced new dogmas. Such a slight to one of the pillars of their order is unendurable, and he asks Contarini to defend the book. He feels in this house as if in a safe port after a storm, and Contarini has no need to be told how he has been received, knowing the lord of it. To tell, however, what has driven him to these shores when his course lay elsewhere is a long story, which he refers to *Ludovicus tuus* [Beccatelli] who will also relate the progress of the cause so far. Will only write that, from some years' experience of all kinds of causes, he has learnt that none are more difficult to obtain than those that pertain to God and religion, although men daily pray to God that His will be done.

At Carpentras, Pole received the news that his old friend, Pietro Bembo, had been raised to the purple;² and in writing

¹ Carpentras was near Avignon, and in papal territory.

² In a Consistory held on March 24th.

his congratulations says he abstains from the words of exhortation Bembo wrote to him on his promotion, as it would ill become him, who is but a boy in age in comparison, to admonish Bembo of his duties. He is enjoying a happy leisure at Carpentras with Bembo's old colleague, Sadoleto, once more closely joined with him, both in love and in rank.

Bembo's answer is amusing : he writes from Padua, 22nd *Ibid.*, II, 205 May, that where Pole writes that he dares not admonish an old man like him, it seems more impudent that he should have dared admonish so distinguished a man as Pole. He has looked up the copy of his letter to see what he really did say, and thinks it was rather eulogy than admonition. The Pope has given him leave to spend the summer at Padua, and in the autumn he will go to Rome with the more pleasure as Pole and Sadoleto will be there.

Among the authors and promoters of attacks upon Pole's life, as alluded to in the above letter to Cardinal Farnese, it is rather startling to find Sir Thomas Wyatt, the English ambassador to the Emperor. "That an English ambassador," observes Dr. Gairdner, "was capable of planning murder may seem strange to twentieth-century readers—still stranger when we reflect that he was one of the pleasant Court poets of the time. But the evidence of the fact hardly admits of a doubt."¹ In a letter to Cromwell, written entirely in cypher, dated Toledo, 18th March, Wyatt states that he had despatched Rudston a few days before Pole's departure ; he regrets the latter suddenly changed his route, and travelled another way. He then speaks of another "practice" offered him for Italy when "the partie" returns thither. It seems much to the King's service, but Wyatt cannot express it in writing, so asks to be recalled.²

As a matter of fact, Wyatt was recalled in consequence of this letter, and returned secretly to England in June.

Other letters, from the nuncio in France and the Imperial ambassador in Rome, throw more light upon the subject, stating that Pole had changed his route to escape the snares

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XIV, Part I, Preface. pp. viii-x.

² Vesp., C. VII, 24. B.M.

1539

laid for him, and especially an English exile [Rudston ?], who had been promised pardon if he would kill the said Cardinal.

It is not surprising to find Paul III expressing disappointment and displeasure to the Imperial ambassador, Aguilar, at Charles V's withdrawal from his former assurances ; and when Aguilar approached him on the subject of pecuniary aid for the expedition against the Turk, the Pope let it be known that he would grant the *medios fructos* for the enterprise against England. The Pope, moreover, determined to send his nephew, Cardinal Farnese, to Charles V to make a last effort to bring him to unite with Francis I—who was really willing—to bring the English King to terms, “not by force of arms, but by forbidding commerce.” At the same time, the Pope made Cardinal Contarini write to Pole that he not only approved his conduct, but was almost surprised at the presence of mind he had shown in the business.

Poli Epp.
II, 156

As for Francis I, Parpaglia returned to Carpentras with letters to Pole from that king and Montmorency, saying that Francis would do as much as the Emperor in furthering the Pope's intentions ; the King went further, and expressed his approval of Pole's object, and that the Pope would always find him ready to promote the weal of Christendom—in accordance with what the Emperor would do on his side.¹

So ready, indeed, was Francis, that Aguilar reports to the Emperor from Rome, 24th April : “The Pope and the French King concur so readily in using rigour against the King of England” that he is compelled [according to his instructions] to urge “that things must be done gradually, and with dexterity.”²

In England, Henry VIII and Cromwell, seeing that Pole was received by the Emperor and was going to France, and probably no better able to fathom Charles V's mind than were the Pope and his legate, were anxiously engaged, in Cromwell's words, in “looking to their defences,” and in taking every possible step to meet the difficulties of the situation, rendered conspicuously greater by the actual withdrawal of both the French and Imperial ambassadors, their posts remaining vacant for some

¹ *Spanish Cal.*, V, II, 222.

² *Add. MS.*, 28,591, f. 114. B.M.

little time. And it shows that Castillon was not a specially nervous man, when we find Chapuys himself uneasy as to how he is to get away in safety from the formidable Henry's court and country. He sent a verbal message to the Queen Regent of Flanders "fearing the follies of that country," requesting the Queen to detain Wriothesley, the English ambassador, on some plausible pretexts, until his arrival. All the ports being closed, his messenger had considerable difficulty in getting out of England.¹

During Pole's first legation Henry VIII had contented himself with denouncing him and demanding his surrender through his ambassadors. Now, he wrote himself to Charles V and Francis I. The letters are instructive—with the graceful allusion in the first to Pole's grief at the loss of his kinsmen—particularly if we bear in mind that no evidence of anything in the shape of treason had been brought against Exeter and his fellow-victims. To Charles V, he wrote from Westminster, 13th February, that he hears that Cardinal Pole is on his way to the Emperor to sow discord. While weeping crocodile's tears, he will shed, if he can, the venom of his viper nature. He is a traitor to the King, and both before and after taking the red hat, has instigated other traitors to conspire the destruction of the King and the Prince his son, and the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters. He prays the Emperor, therefore, to show him no favour, but banish him his dominions.²

At the same time Henry sent Wyatt what he calls "a pretty book," published against the Marquis of Exeter and Lord Montague, showing that they had meditated his ruin for the past ten years as "disclosed by Sir Geoffrey Pole, Montague's own brother, and openly proved before their faces."

By the time, 8th March, that Henry wrote to Francis I, he had received Charles V's assurances that he would not act against him, in fact, Cardinal Pole had left Toledo before the English King's letters arrived there. He was therefore able, while denouncing Pole, to announce that "our good brother the Emperor" had sent him away dissatisfied, and had declared

Ribier,
I, 401

¹ Council of the Regent of Flanders, *Spanish Cal.*, VI, I, No. 43.

² *Harl. MS.*, 282, f. 67. B.M.

1539 his intention not to violate his treaties with England because of the papal censures. The letter ends with renewed thanks to Francis for having refused to receive the legate "the last time he presumed to enter" his dominions, and with a request to arrest him and his servants, Throckmorton and Branceton—an Englishman in the Emperor's service, whom Pole had occasionally employed as a messenger—and to send them under guard to England at Henry's expense.

Harl. MS. 282, f. 50 Notwithstanding the Emperor's assurances, Henry VIII did not hesitate to take the bold step of arresting the Flemish and Spanish ships in his ports "on the bruit" as he instructed Wyatt to inform that monarch that his navy was "addressed" to make a sudden invasion of England and "in the midst of it, Monsieur Chapuys, the Emperor's ambassador, alleging only the Queen Regent's commands, required license to depart." Wyatt is to show the Emperor that he ought not to marvel at the arrest of his ships, "but consider how much more he would have done in like case." Henry also determined to abandon the negotiations, which had long been fictitious on both sides, of a marriage with the Duchess of Milan; Wyatt is therefore instructed to say that the King has perused the letters mentioning the necessity of the Bishop of Rome's dispensations, etc., and he shall tell the Emperor that the King and the Bishop of Rome are on such terms, that there can be no further treaty.

Vitell B., xxi, 86 A few days after the above letter was written we find one from Cromwell to the King, informing him that the Duke of Cleves is going to send a portrait of his daughter Anne by his painter, Lucas Cranach, and that everybody praises the lady's beauty, both of face and body. "One said she excelled the Duchess [of Milan] as the golden sun did the silver moon."

While Henry VIII thus showed his hand with regard to a Protestant alliance, he drew upon himself a sorrowful rebuke from Melancthon¹ for his insistence upon the Six Articles of Doctrine—Transubstantiation, Celibacy of Priests, Vows of Chastity, Auricular Confession, Private Masses, and

¹ Melancthon's letter is dated Frankfort, 1st April. *Cleop.*, E. V, 244.

Communion in one kind—to be held under pain of high treason—which proclaimed his orthodoxy to his own subjects and to the whole world.

And the list of the “musters” fill sixty-six printed pages, while a new French ambassador—Marillac—arriving in England in April, at once sends detailed accounts to his court of the formidable preparations of the King of England against invasion, and how a muster of between 50,000 and 60,000 men is to be made on St. George’s Day.¹

The crisis was over, the tension relaxed; a new ambassador, Dr. Maioris, Dean of Cambray—not indeed from the Emperor, but from his sister the Queen Regent—had arrived in England, and there was no news of Cardinal Pole’s departure from Carpentras. The people of England were gladdened, as Marillac reported to Montmorency in June, by the King’s declarations touching the Sacrament, being much more inclined to the old religion than to the new opinions—

“which are sustained only by some bishops who are little content at the refusal of their request to marry, in order afterwards to convert the property of the Church into patrimony and succession. . . .

“The King, who in some former years has been solitary and pensive, now gives himself up to amusement, going to play every night upon the Thames, with harps, chanters, and all kinds of music and pastime. He evidently delights now in painting and embroidery, having sent men to France, Flanders, Italy and elsewhere for masters of this art, and also for musicians and other ministers of pastime. All his people think this a sign of his desire to marry, if he should find an agreeable match.”²

One of the royal pastimes appeared to the ambassador “of R.O. poor grace and still less invention,” consisting in an aquatic combat of two galleys on the Thames, one carrying the King’s arms, the other the Pope’s and several cardinals’ hats—so Marillac is informed, for he would have deemed it contrary to his duty to be a spectator. The galleys fought a long time, and

20 June

¹ For a Grant in Aid. “We see both how and why the Bishop of Rome uses Pole, that most arrant and ingrate traitor, against the King and realm, as a post from prince to prince, to set them all against our sweet country, England.”—*Journals of the House of Lords*, E. III.

² Add. MS., 33,514, f. 22.

1539

finally the King's threw the Pope and the Cardinals into the water. Such spectacles and the constant employment of such terms as the following in ordering the London musters—

“ The cankered and venomous serpent Paul, Bishop of Rome, by that arch-traitor, Reynold Pole,” had moved foreign princes to invade England “ with mortal war, fire and sword to exterminate and utterly destroy the whole nation and generation of the same ”¹—could not be without the desired effect upon a loyal and patriotic people.

Meanwhile Cardinal Farnese, after a preliminary conference with Pole at Avignon, had gone to Toledo, for the double purpose of carrying the Pope's condolences to Charles V on his wife's death, and to induce him, if possible, to give a favourable answer to Pole's proposals ;² the latter remaining at Carpentras, as he writes to Contarini, looking after his own safety, more than ever assailed, as the abbot of San Saluto will tell him, “ by that tyrant,” Henry VIII.

Poli Epp.
II, ccxciii

Cardinal Farnese could get no other answer from Charles V than Pole had obtained, but he found him annoyed that the latter had stayed at Carpentras instead of going on at once to the French court. People would not know, he remarked, that Pole's life was in danger from Henry VIII's emissaries, and Francis I might ingratiate himself with the King of England, by saying he had refused to receive the legate. As Farnese wrote to Pole from Toledo, 21st June—

“ His Majesty's fixed opinion is that you should go to the King of France. I replied that . . . you could not now be sent to discuss that upon which the King had already given us his resolution, *i.e.*, as to sending a protestation to England, adding that if you heard from Monsignor de Torea that you could freely go to that court, you would satisfy the Emperor at all risks. . . . I hope shortly, on my return, to speak with you at Avignon.”

Charles V's entirely selfish policy was clear, and although he declared to Farnese that once he had settled the affairs of the

¹ *Archæologia*, XXXII, p. 30, 8th May.

² The Empress Isabella died 21st April.

Lutherans he would—with or without the King of France—fully ¹⁵³⁹ avenge the Holy See and himself, Granvelle admitted that his Majesty would not break with the King of England under present circumstances.

Cardinal Pole had taken the wise precaution of writing to the papal nuncio Torea in Paris to enquire if he would be received by the King of France. Not trusting his own judgment, the nuncio consulted the constable [Anne de Mont-^{Poli Epp.} II, ¹⁶⁴ morency], who frankly admitted that although his master was perfectly ready “to execute the matter” whenever the Emperor would do so, it would be unadvisable otherwise that Pole should come to France, both to avoid suspicion, and not give Henry VIII occasion to prepare himself. The nuncio’s own opinion is that “those here will not fail, if the Emperor is well-disposed.”

In forwarding Torea’s answer to Rome, Pole, as usual, ^{Ibid.} II, ¹⁶² declares himself absolutely ready to start for Paris, if the Pope wishes, adding: “Before I go, I must be provided with money, for I have not a farthing—*io sono senza un quattrino.*” Paul III did not impose so arduous and unnecessary a task upon his faithful servant, and Pole’s second legation failed as the first had done two years before.

Neither the arrest of his ships, nor the abandonment of the Milan marriage could, any more than zeal for religion or horror at Henry VIII’s atrocities, spur Charles V into breaking with that monarch. In his defence it may be said that he was vulnerable at many points of his vast empire, that the Lutheran princes with the aid of English gold would have been as dangerous as the Turks, with the latter of whom the Venetians, discontented with the small amount of support Charles had given them the previous year, were beginning to make terms; but nothing could give a clearer insight into his character than his insistent attempts to send Pole on a long and perilous journey, known beforehand to be fruitless—with its consequent humiliation to the Holy See—for the sole purpose of guarding himself from any possible advantage Francis I might take, in the eyes of Henry VIII, from a refusal to receive him. Such a glimpse into the Emperor’s mind almost justifies Cardinal

1539 Caraffa's severe estimate of him when, many years later, as Paul IV, he said to the Venetian ambassador, Navagero—

“ 11th April, 1556.

Ven. Cal., VI, 453 “ I knew this Emperor in 1513, when, by order of Leo X, I was sent ambassador to England, and I went to my legation by way of Germany. I then found him a lad of thirteen years of age, and on my return from England, by order of the same pontiff, I accompanied him to Spain. So long back as that time, *magnifico* ambassador, one discovered in him certain flowers of those fruits which have since savoured ” (and here exciting himself with extraordinary gestures, he continued), “ a thirst for domination, an insufferable pride, a contempt for religion—for we will ask you what other Emperor but Charles would have held Councils and so many diets with the intervention of heretics ? . . . Who would have dissembled so much for the purpose of reigning ? Who refused to acknowledge pontiffs, nay, kept them prisoners ? . . . He believes that your territory, that of the Holy See, and of the world, must be his . . . but what province ever fell into his hands that did not remain miserably impoverished . . . and in such a state that worse could not be imagined ? . . . ”

CHAPTER XIV

CARDINAL POLE spent six months at Carpentras. If it was 1539 a time of personal mourning and grave political perplexity and anxiety, it was also a time of studious leisure and refreshing intercourse with the congenial Sadoleto and the monks of the monastery of Montilii, where he and his household had taken up their quarters. It is impossible to do more than refer to his *Poli Epp.* ¹ III, 1 correspondence with John Cochleus,¹ concerning the latter's writings in defence of the Church against Sturmius, and the books in which he had "bravely hurled the darts of piety against the impious cruelty of the Pharaoh of England"; his correspondence with Cardinal Bembo, his efforts to obtain protection for some poor people against the Jews. The life he leads in the monastery he thus describes in a letter to Contarini—

" We are all well, thank God, and are staying with the friars, *Ibid.*, II, who are excellent company. . . . We study a little to pass the time; but he who studies most is Messer Alvise [Priuli], who spends the greater part of his time in the pursuit of philosophy and history. He also thinks of turning agriculturist, but rather practical than theoretical, to which he is invited by a most beautiful garden and a perfect gardener, belonging to these good fathers. . . ."

In a letter to Cardinal Farnese, he describes himself as sick in mind as well as in body; but as not having lost all hope of success. The Pope has recalled him to Rome, but he begs to be allowed to remain at Carpentras until the spring, both for the consolation of the poor people in England, who will be in despair if they see him turn back, and for his own repose.² *Ibid.*, II, He writes more openly to Contarini; he begs not to be recalled just yet. Among cardinals, as among others, those who have lost near relatives are allowed a time for grief, and he has lost almost all his in one moment, some by slaughter and some by captivity.

¹ Canon of Breslau.

² *Vatican MS.*, 15th August.

1539

Cardinal Campeggio, who was Bishop of Salisbury, had lately died, and the vacant See had been offered to Pole by the Pope. Referring to this, he continues—

“ I cannot but recognise the Pope’s goodwill towards me. If the affairs of the Church in England are restored, I could not fail to get a bishopric there except by my own fault ; but if things remain as they are, I do not see what advantage there is in being named to Salisbury more than to Antioch or Alexandria, and my adversaries would make my nomination a subject of calumny and ridicule. . . . I gave up all I had for the Apostolic See ; and if my adversaries see me compelled to fly to a dry bone of which they are eating the flesh, they will think themselves true prophets when they said I would leave all by leaving them, for they knew the court of Rome. Tunstall, indeed, the most learned of our men, and then a great friend, wrote by the King’s command nearly in these words : ‘ Thou leavest the certain for the uncertain ; trust me, they are deceiving thy simplicity.’ ”

“ I replied : ‘ If I walk in simplicity they cannot deceive ; but if in duplicity, and they deceive, I bear the due penalty of duplicity.’ I take the Pope’s intention to have been that as this bishopric in my country was void in the court, he would give me the first option of accepting or refusing it.”

Poli Ep. II. 191

With extraordinary pertinacity Charles V, as late as the 15th September, ordered Aguilar to press the Pope to send the legate to the French court ; and Paul III was actually induced to send one of his chamberlains, Count Montepulciano, to Spain, to excuse Pole’s “ tergiversation ” in not having gone to France. Montepulciano was directed to wait upon him at Carpentras on his return ; and Pole, not without some natural indignation, denies any “ tergiversation ” and insists that he was restrained by the service of the cause and the honour of the Pope ; and not through fear of danger, however evident, to himself. Since it seems he can be of no service, he would be glad to be allowed to retire from public affairs, and to settle at Carpentras, or somewhere in Italy.

Meanwhile he had been summoned to Rome, and was preparing to start, though he would be glad, he tells Contarini, to be spared the pressure of society at Rome. Even this little town of Carpentras annoys him, and he has taken refuge in a monastery, but this is solitude compared to that Theatre of

the World. Referring to the facilities Rome and its environs 1539 would afford to those who seek his life, he gives the following interesting details respecting Sir Thomas Wyatt's intrigues against it : Granvelle had informed him, when in Spain, that Wyatt had said in public that if the King of England would get Pole publicly proclaimed a traitor, and release him [Wyatt] from his embassy and commit the business to him of Pole's murder, with 10,000 pieces of gold, he would pledge his possessions in England—which were great—that he would in six months procure Pole's death, and he suggested Rome and its environs as most suitable for the crime. At first the Cardinal took these words for the rash and impious sayings of furious youth—*temere et impie dicta a furioso juvne*—but—mark the sequel—the ambassador was recalled, Pole was publicly proclaimed a traitor, and, at the time of writing, no one knew where Wyatt was.¹

Unable to reach Reginald Pole, Henry VIII wreaked his vengeance on him vicariously by condemning his mother to death, a sentence to be held over her head for nearly two years ; and Montague's only son, Henry Pole, little more than a child, was included in his father's attainder. The news had lately reached the Cardinal, and he refers to it as follows—

“ You have heard, I believe, of my mother being condemned to death by public council, or rather, to eternal life. Not only has he who condemned her, condemned a woman of seventy, than whom he has no nearer relation except his daughter, and of whom he used to say there was no holier woman in his Kingdom ; but, at the same time, her grandson, son of my brother, a child, the remaining hope of our race.

“ See how this tyranny has grown, which began with priests, in whose order it only consumed the best, then went on to nobles, and there too destroyed the best. At length it has come to women and innocent children ; for not only is my mother condemned, but the wife of that Marquis who was slain with my brother, whose goodness was famous, and whose little son is to follow her.²

¹ Wyatt had secretly returned to England, where the only notice of his arrival is a grant, 17th June, for the expenses of his journey.—Gairdner, Vol. XIV, Part I, No. 1123.

² Lady Exeter was subsequently reprieved, her son Edward Courtenay remained in the Tower fourteen years.

1539-40 Comparing these things with what the Turk has done in the East, there is no doubt that Christians can suffer worse things under this Western Turk. . . . Why is the Emperor less ready than other princes in such a cause?"

87

Beccatelli Pole left Carpentras, after his six months' sojourn, at the beginning of October, by way of Marseilles, Nice and Piedmont to Verona, where he had hoped to remain with his dear friend, Bishop Giberti, all the winter; but could not obtain leave to remain beyond the New Year, when he returned to Rome and was received with great love and honour by the Pope. He left behind him at Carpentras, wrote Sadolet to Cardinal Farnese, "a great longing for him, and an incredible renown for modesty, integrity and virtue."

Quirini, Vol. I, 66 While at Carpentras, Pole had written his famous *apologia* to Charles V—*Apologia Regi. Poli ad Carolum V Caesarem super quatuor libris a se scriptis De Unitate Ecclesiae*, with its stately opening—*Grave est, Caesar*,¹ a summary of his former book, and to which it was to serve as a preface, in case of its eventual publication. It has been truly described as "one of the most animated pieces that has appeared in any language,"² and is a short, masterly recapitulation of the tyranny, rapine and bloodshed of which England had been the scene during the last few years, while mournfully lamenting the change in the character of the monarch whose early virtues the writer extols, and whose kindness to himself in the past he gratefully acknowledges, as coming from one to whom he owes it that he can write at all. He describes the *De Unitate* in its several parts, and repeats that it was addressed to the King alone, and to no one else.

Pole then recalls his own late embassy to Charles V, and eloquently proclaims his deep sorrow at its fruitlessness, and his inability to agree with the Emperor's reasons. He laments,

¹ "Grave est, Caesar, homini non maligno contra alium quemlibet scribere, gravius contra eum, cuius honorem tuendum et dignitatem cohonestandam officia aliqua praecedentia, legum item et naturae praecpta tibi commendarunt; gravissimum vero omnium, ut ille Orator existimabat, ac periculosisimum contra eum scribere, qui possit proscribere. . . ."

² Phillips, Vol. I, p. 315.

“with expressions,” as Philip remarks, “to which nothing but sincerity could have given utterance, the fall of a King he loved and honoured, and for whose welfare, even in the midst of his disorders, there was nothing he was not disposed to undertake or to suffer.”¹

In conclusion, the princes of Christendom are urged, if they hope for victory in the East, to begin by succouring the afflicted Christians of the West; the overthrow of the King of England’s tyranny would be a more praiseworthy work than the overthrow of the Turk.

Although Charles V did not follow Henry VIII into schism, he more than once came perilously near taking upon himself the duties of a spiritual governor in addition to his temporal power, and of settling the religious difficulties among his subjects without the intervention of papal authority. Quick II, 157 *Pole Ep. 157* Pole heard with grief that the Emperor had determined to call a Diet at Nuremberg in October to settle the affairs of the Church, in presence of the ambassadors of the Emperor and the French King, when six Lutherans and six Catholics were to dispute—under a recent decree of the Diet of Frankfort—in which no mention was made of the Pope, or of anyone being present on the part of the Holy See.

Such attempts would hurt the Holy See more than the attacks of the King of England, and Pole fears that unless these private diets are stopped, there may arise a greater split in the Church than has been for ages. He heard of it first, he tells Contarini, from the nuncio when in Spain, and then from Cardinal Farnese. He knows Contarini likes ease, but his love for him cannot prevent him wishing that he, Contarini, may be put to this business, as most worthy and suitable for it.

To this his friend replied that his conjectures were the same *Ibid. II, 159* as Pole’s, and though he would deem it arrogant and rash to seek such dangers, he would think it impious to refuse them. The Nuremberg Diet proved abortive, and when, in 1541, the Diet of Ratisbon was held, it was no doubt in some measure

¹ Phillips, Vol. I, p. 316.

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due to Cardinal Pole's influence that Contarini was sent there as the Pope's representative and ambassador.

Pole spent the year 1540 in Rome, the Pope giving him a bodyguard to protect him from assassination, and he and Contarini were the chief and ardent workers in the cause of reform, gathering round them a phalanx of fervent men, several of whom became inmates of Pole's house. Bembo was now in Rome, and the daily familiar intercourse of the early days at Padua was resumed; while the arrival of Richard Pate, Archdeacon of Lincoln, added one more to the very few Englishmen who came into Pole's exile. Pate had been Henry VIII's resident ambassador with Charles V, and had been recalled to England, but escaped at night during the journey, and made his way to Rome, where he was cordially received, and when the bishopric of Worcester became vacant by the death of Cardinal Ghinucci, the Pope, who had never acknowledged Henry VIII's deprivation of Ghinucci, conferred it on Pate, who received full possession of it from Queen Mary in 1555.

The news from England continued to be appalling. The Abbots of Reading, Glastonbury and Colchester had been hanged, and in a pamphlet entitled "Treason," written against the abbots after their death, in which they are termed "a ragman's roll of old rotten monks, rusty friars," etc., the writer opines—

"I think verily our Mother Holy Church of Rome hath not so great a jewel of her own darling Raynold Poole, as she should have had of these abbots, if they should have conveyed all things clearly. . . . Could a man wish Poole greater wretchedness, who the longer he lives the greater his shame?"

Although Cromwell's advocacy of Anne of Cleves, and his reports that she was beautiful as the golden sun—with Henry VIII's consequent disappointment—are considered the grounds of his downfall, his power was at its zenith four months after the King's marriage with that lady. Anne arrived in England in December, 1539, and Cromwell was created Earl of Essex in the middle of the following April. Both marriage and repudiation of Anne of Cleves were part of Henry VIII's

crooked policy, and after her divorce in July, 1540, a Catholic ¹⁵⁴⁰ reaction set in and was maintained, but without any renunciation of the King's supremacy or acknowledgment of the Pope's authority. Before the divorce, however, Cromwell had been sent to the scaffold. The unlimited power his "tractable parliament" had put into the King's hands was used mercilessly against himself, and he was refused the benefit of a public trial before his peers. The court preferred to proceed against him by bill of attainder, a most iniquitous measure, but of which he had no right to complain, as he had been the first to employ it against others.

The Parliament of 1539-40 having done its work, and made the King a more complete autocrat than ever, was dissolved on July 24th. Two days after Cromwell's execution, three men, Barnes, Garrard and Gerome, were burned as heretics, and three others, Powell, Abell and Featherstone, were the same day hanged for denying the King's spiritual supremacy.

When Cardinal Pole heard of Cromwell's downfall and execution, a report reached him that his great enemy had made a sincerely penitent end, information which he hastened joyfully to communicate to Beccatelli. Further news throwing doubt upon the matter, Pole wrote again that he feared he was *Poli Epp.* ^{III, 62} wrong in writing of Cromwell's coming to his senses, for his last words, as printed, do not give the same impression as the narrative of those who told of his end and last words. "The judgment of men," he continues, "belongs to Christ, who knows the hidden things of the heart."¹

Among Pole's correspondents this year was Damianus Goes, *Ibid.*, III, a Portuguese living at Louvain, who wrote asking for a copy ³⁷ of the Cardinal's book against the King of England, to be sent him through the Portuguese ambassador. There had only been one copy of it there, which he had seen in the hands of an English Franciscan living at Antwerp [Friar Peto ?], an

¹ According to Phillips, Vol. I, p. 335, Cromwell had served as a common soldier in the Duke of Bourbon's army, at the sack of Rome, "and there initiated himself, by a suitable prelude, to that scene of rapine, sacrilege, and bloodshed, which he was afterwards to exhibit in his own country."

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upright and good man, who had shown it to the English ambassador, and it had been burnt. The writer comments on Moryson's ingratitude to Pole, returning contumelies for benefits, and ends with a prophecy that Pole will be the future King of England.

Poli Epp. In his answer, the Cardinal says he cannot understand how any copy of his writings had reached the hands of the person in question, as he has never published anything. As for Moryson, he reads his writings more with pity than anger, as they show the miserable servitude of his mind. He cannot guess upon what Goes founds the augury at the end of his letter, but Pole is ready to serve his country, and his other country, the Church, in whatever way it shall please God.

Some attempts had been made to procure the escape of Lady Salisbury from the Tower, in which Gregory Botolf had been implicated and for which his arrest had been demanded from the King of France by Henry VIII. The Bishop of Lavaur had written to Pole on the subject, and to inform him of Botolf's subsequent release. In his answer the Cardinal says the bishop's letter has rubbed old sores, adding—

“Would they were mine only and not those of the whole Church ! For what can be worse than that such impiety not only goes so long unpunished, but even rules with authority, so that from those whose vengeance he ought to fear, the tyrant dares demand material for practising his impiety and ferocity.”

As for his own grief, though he cannot but feel the separation from those whom by nature and by love he held closest, yet he cannot but rejoice that they were held worthy, that God permitted them to testify by their blood to the unity of the Church ; for the books written by their adversaries clearly show that dissension about things pertaining to religion first gave the Devastator of the Church occasion to hate them, and afterwards to put them to death. He is persuaded they now reign with Him who conquered death, and are less separated from himself than they were before.

In his letters to the Kings of France and of Scotland, Cardinal Pole sought to keep the former in the same mind with regard to the affairs of England, as he had found him at the Nice

conference; while he tried to protect James V from the 1540 attempts of Henry VIII to turn him against the Holy See.

He tells James that he rejoices God has preserved him from *Poli Epp.* the impiety of his neighbour, and that he threw into the fire ^{I, 172} _{III, 32} the books sent to him "by him who willingly allowed himself to be deceived," which were to give him Scripture authority for a defection from the Faith. As they persist, however, in sending him books from England, Pole offers an antidote—a book of his own, written some years ago, which he purposed to publish with James's sanction.

Unfortunately, the name of the book is not given, but it may have been the *De Unitate* or some earlier work written at Padua. There is an interesting reference to Cromwell as having been Henry's chief councillor, and how when the latter was distracted, and almost restrained from prosecuting his divorce, in a more dejected mood than usual (for Pole remembers those days), Cromwell, with the arts of the old Serpent, said he knew a way by which the King might get rid of his perplexity, and suggested that he should not let himself be bound by what was considered right in the schools, but make himself Head of the Church.¹

Pole, indeed, never varied, from first to last, in looking upon Cromwell as the chief instigator of Henry's schism.

Charles V had determined to hold a Diet at Ratisbon, to be promiscuously composed of Catholics and Lutherans, in order to put an end, if possible, to the religious dissensions which every day spread wider in Germany and threatened the

¹ The attempts to sever James V from his allegiance to the Holy See had been going on for more than two years, as we find in Henry VIII's instructions to Ralph Sadeler, of the Privy Chamber, sent in 1537 to the King of Scots. Although Henry knows James continues to regard the Pope as Vicar of Christ on earth, he hopes he will join to his simplicity the prudence of a serpent, and not let himself be merely led by his clergy. . . . He requests his good nephew not to be biassed by the false reports spread against him, nor to think otherwise of him than as a Christian Catholic prince. Henry warns James against Cardinal Pole, "who wanders about to publish a bull against the King opposed to all equity, humanity and reason. . . ." Many of James's professed friends have loved him only for the advantage they could get out of him. . . . Nobody loves him as his uncle does.—*Calig B.*, I, 52. B.M.

1540-41 Empire with the most fatal consequences. This time, the Pope was invited to send a legate, and Cardinal Contarini, the lover of peace and conciliation, the wise and learned politician and churchman, was chosen by the Pope for that important mission. The humility of the man is finely brought out in his letters to Pole during this legation ; although his character for wisdom, temper and learning was second to none of the age in which he lived, and though his years gave him a great superiority over his friend, yet he referred all the steps he took in this wise negotiation to his advice, opening himself to him in as full and unreserved a manner as if he had been accountable for his conduct to no one else.

Poli Epp. In Pole's first letter, dated Rome, 4th February, to Contarini, III, 13 after the latter's departure on the journey towards Ratisbon, which Pole "so desired him to take at this unseasonable time of the year," he expresses his wish for frequent letters, as he feels more melancholy than he expected at the prospect of Contarini's absence. We get a glimpse into the travelling customs of the sixteenth century in the remark that he is glad the Cardinal found the convenience of a litter, and the friend [Pole himself] who was against his using one is glad his advice was not taken.

Ibid., III, 19 Contarini reached Ratisbon in March, and wrote from there that the German princes were coming in with tortoise-steps. None of the Electors have arrived, and the Emperor, who has been away hunting, has come back in better health. By the 6th April, nothing has been done. A few princes have

Ibid., III, 20 come, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector of Mayence, the other Electors sending orators, so as not to delay the Council. After Easter, Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Treves, are expected ; Saxony is doubtful, and has sent the Count of Anhalt, who is a prince of the Empire. The Court opened yesterday, and Duke Frederick Palatine said a few words in the Emperor's name. Then Charles V's proposition was read, containing all that he had done since the last Diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, and stating that he had come to compose the religious troubles of Germany, and provide against the invasion of the Turks. As to religion, he wished the conference

already begun [at Worms] to proceed, but to be confined to 1541 fewer persons, and to be referred ultimately to the States of the Empire, to himself, and to the Pope's legate. Contarini cannot complain of being neglected, for all pay him much respect.

One of Reginald Pole's greatest friends in Italy was Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, and in all Contarini's letters he sends messages to her as well as to his special friends among the cardinals, and to the members of Pole's household. Vittoria's brother, Ascanio Colonna, had lately taken up arms against the Pope, and in the above letter Contarini says he has heard that the Marchesa has gone to Orvieto to avoid domestic troubles. He is grieved that her brother, otherwise prudent, should throw himself into these riots.

We know by a letter of Pole's that the Marchesa had left *Poli Ep. III, 17* nothing untried to recall her brother from the fury of war, and that failing to bring him to quietness, she had gone for rest to the nunnery at Orvieto, "where she so enjoys the company of the nuns, that she writes she seems 'to be living with angels.'"

With characteristic optimism Pole declares he never doubted Charles V's goodwill to settle the controversies of the Church, but gathers hope from his hopefulness, and he prays God to enable Contarini to succeed in his pious efforts to crush the Serpent's head.

Contarini had asked his friend to get him money from the Apostolic questor, as his private means could not suffice for all his expenses, and also to obtain the Pope's permission to retire to his diocese immediately after the close of his legation. Although Cardinal Farnese had exclaimed : "What, will he not report what he has done ?" Pole was easily granted both requests, and in conveying the answer to Contarini he cannot refrain from wishing that the latter could as easily obtain from the princes at Ratisbon the things he was asking for the public good : "That it may not be so often said of us : 'The children came to the birth, and there was not strength to bear them !'"

Cardinal Pole was at this time persuaded by his friends, on account of Ascanio Colonna's rebellion, to leave Rome for

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Capranica, reaching the place with trouble and danger on account of the bands of soldiery and some Englishmen of suspicious appearance who had lately appeared on the scene, but where his own people thought he would be safer than in Rome itself. He would not have left, however, had he thought his presence could be of use to Contarini. The latter's many powerful friends would, he trusted, leave no need for his own services.

Poli Epp.
III. 25

Contarini, by his conciliatory attitude and powers of persuasion, had good hopes that he would bring the majority in the Diet to an agreement upon faith, good works and justification, the foundation of Christian doctrine. He had enjoined Pole to keep the fact secret, and the latter in expressing his joy that the theologians were coming to this good result, regrets that the times are such as to require this secrecy. He dates his letter, "*In loco Caprarum* (for so Petrarch calls it in one of his letters, when he speaks of the pleasantness of the place), 17th May."¹

Meanwhile Cardinal Contarini was labouring at Ratisbon to find a formula on the great question of justification which would obtain the adhesion of the Reformers without departing from the teaching of the Church, and which, while relegating the question to the discussions of the Schools, would bring back the mass of the people to the old teaching and to the observances of the Church. The party, of which he and Reginald Pole were the chiefs, tried to minimise differences, to treat them as excrescences, and not as the logical development of the new learning. Theologians such as Butzer, Melancthon and others, were willing to accept the papal legate's proposals, in order to restore peace to their country ; but they feared, not without ground, that Luther would oppose all concessions, and that the two great pillars of Protestantism—the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse—would fight on Luther's side, as they looked for political advantages from the disruption of Germany.

¹ Petrarch calls Capranica, *Caprarum mons*. See Fracasetti's edition of Petrarch's letters, Lib. II, Ep. XII. *Vita di Petrarcha*, by Clemente da Ponte, 42. Capranica is a small town, between the lakes of Braciano and Ronciglione.

The chief hindrance was of a political nature. The Protestant theologians had too little influence, too little hold on the people, to venture upon expressing their own opinions against the will of their rulers. Their hands were tied beforehand. They were to give way on certain points, so as to avoid the reproach that through their fault they had made agreement impossible; a complete understanding was strictly forbidden them. Many Protestant theologians would have been glad to see the German Catholics less placable, and more ready to oppose the legate's efforts; but they, in fact, showed great moderation.¹

When Contarini had drawn up his paper on justification he sent it to Pole for his opinion, directing him to lay it before Cardinals Caraffa, Loreri [of San Marcello] and Fregoso. Pole's own verdict was that of enthusiastic approval. He congratulates the author, and expresses his only regret that he was at Capranica and not in Rome when the matter was brought up in consistory, both because he was the Cardinal best acquainted with Contarini's views, and because some said that he had left to avoid disputes on the question with certain great men. He had, however, sent Priuli, from whose report we find that *Ibid.*, III, although Cardinal Caraffa had demurred at the term "inherent justification" and other expressions as vague and wanting in precision, all three cardinals had agreed in the opinion that the article admitted of a Catholic interpretation and could be accepted in a Catholic sense.

Poli Epp.
III, 26

Ibid., III,
p. xvi

To Pole, his friend's most daring expressions presented no difficulty; he had discussed the chief points with him beforehand, and heartily agreed in his interpretation of them.

"You always build on solid ground," he wrote.

"You always show yourself logical and clear in the development of the subject. The conclusions you draw are such that everyone must understand you. The examples from Holy Writ and from the Fathers are excellently worked out; all objections are refuted; I could have wished you had had cleverer adversaries, who would have given you the opportunity to prove your dialectical superiority."

¹ Zimmermann, p. 195 *seq.*

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Pole's triumph was premature. The opponents of the article pointed out, certainly with great moderation, what appeared untenable and ambiguous in its propositions, and in contradiction with the opinions of the greatest theologians. This reply moved Contarini and Pole to a renewed examination of the difficult question, and the former, as the result of his studies, composed a treatise on justification, which he sent to Cardinal Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua.¹ This effort to appease differences served as a renewal of conflict.

It must be remembered that the dogma of Justification was one of the first and chief doctrines defined by the Council of Trent, grounded on the words of St. James that "Faith without works is dead,"² and in condemnation of Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, with its far-reaching consequences. It is, therefore, not surprising to find pre-Tridentine theologians exercising a certain latitude of expression and of interpretation which would have been inadmissible at a later time. And it is as little justifiable to treat men like Contarini and Pole as leaning towards the Lutherans, for attempting to bridge over the difficulties between them, as it is to accuse them—as do party-writers like Hook—of in consequence for bringing their theories into harmony with their obedience to papal authority.³

Contarini's theory was a "private opinion," and treated as such in Rome, where, in certain circles, it was stoutly opposed; while many, out of respect for the worthy and estimable

¹ Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, was the son of Alfonso Gonzaga, and the celebrated Isabella d'Este. In Contarini's letters to him from Ratisbon, he complains of the opposition raised in the Diet against the settlement he had hoped to bring about. Not only on the question of justification, but on other important articles, it was impossible to bring the Lutherans to an agreement, and Contarini expresses his wonder to see the populace so much attached to the new doctrines. —See *Lettere Inedite del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini nel Carteggio del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga*. Edmondo Solmi, Venezia, 1904.

² "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead."—James ii, 26.

³ See Quirini, III, cci-ccxi, and an analysis of Contarini's Treatise by Laemmer, *Vortridentische Katholische Theologie*, pp. 186-97 (Berlin, 1858).

Cardinal, kept back their opinions and suspended their judgment. Cardinal San Marcello had provoked a discussion in consistory and sharply attacked Contarini's formula. Cardinal Caraffa's attack was more energetic still, which was specially wounding to Contarini inasmuch as a report had been spread in Rome and elsewhere that he and Muzzarelli, Master of the Sacred Palace, who had accompanied him to Ratisbon, had become Lutherans—Caraffa being named as the originator of the rumour.¹ Contarini, while admitting that the latter had acted in good faith, regretted that he had not set down his objections in writing when the paper had been submitted to him in the first instance. Their ancient friendship might have induced him to act thus, the more so that he had told Priuli the treatise could be read in a Catholic sense.

As the Diet of Ratisbon proceeded, it became clear that Contarini's formula was as little likely to be accepted by the Lutherans as to win unanimous approval from the Sacred College; and Charles V, seeing that the conference promised no better results than such assemblies—made up of conflicting elements—generally produce when the one side admits of no supreme authority, brought it to a close at the end of June. Cardinal Contarini returned to Rome, when Paul III evinced the high opinion he had of his labours, and his contempt for the attacks upon his orthodoxy, by receiving him with the greatest distinction, and immediately appointing him to the important post of Legate of Bologna.

It was at Capranica that Reginald Pole learned that Henry VIII had inflicted the greatest blow it was in his power to inflict upon him by putting his mother to death—a tragedy which must have been ever before his mind during her two years' imprisonment, and which was to increase in him that detachment from the things of earth in their horror and misery and that longing for a better world which had prompted him to exclaim—while at Cambray—that the King's emissaries who sought his life appeared to him “as if coming to help a man ardently desirous of rest to divest himself of his raiment.”

¹ Dittrich, p. 685.

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During the past year Henry VIII had grown very corpulent, the ulcer in his leg, which had troubled him for years, began to be dangerous again, and the consequent fretful condition of his temper showed itself in the usual way, the number of committals to the Tower becoming almost fantastic. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, two ambassadors, Sir John Wallop, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, accused of correspondence with the arch-traitor, Reynold Pole, Henry's own uncle, Lord Lisle, Deputy of Calais, and Sir Robert Palmer, Porter of Calais, who had been so ready, four years ago, to get Pole assassinated, were among the number sent to prison for various periods on the same charge. An abortive conspiracy, hatched by the exasperated men of Yorkshire, was discovered in April, and punished with the usual severity, Sir John Neville and the other ringleaders being put to death. Lord Leonard Gray and Lord Dacre suffered in June, but Lord Lisle was spared for the time.

The Yorkshire insurrection was apparently the pretext for Lady Salisbury's execution; for her martyrdom took place on the 27th May, a few weeks after it had been suppressed. Without any process, solely on the King's warrant under the Act of Attainder passed two years previously, the venerable lady, sixty-nine years of age, was put to death at an hour's notice. Well might the French ambassador Marillac, writing to Francis I the following day, call it "a case more worthy of compassion than of long letters." She was beheaded "yesterday morning before 7 o'clock, in a corner of the Tower, in presence of so few people that till evening the truth was still doubted." He continues—

"It was the more difficult to believe as she had been long a prisoner, was of noble lineage . . . and had been punished by the loss of one son, and the banishment of the others, and the total ruin of her house. . . . The manner of proceeding in her case, and that of a lord who was executed at the same time,¹ seems to argue that those here are afraid to put to death publicly those whom they execrate in secret.

R.O.,
29 May

¹ Presumably Lord Leonard de Clidas, formerly the King's Lieutenant in Ireland. Lord Leonard Grey was executed a month later.

" It may be added that yesterday all the heads which were 1541 fixed on London Bridge were taken down, in order that people may forget those whose heads kept their memory fresh, if it were not that this will people the place with new [ones]. . . ."

Chapuys had returned to England, as ambassador from the Queen Regent of Flanders, in the previous July ; and from his accurate pen we have a more trustworthy account than that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written at a later period, and which represents the saintly and dignified woman vainly refusing to lay her head on the block, and being chased round the scaffold by the executioner, sword in hand.¹ In the first place, there was no scaffold : Henry VIII's orders were peremptory and there was no time for its erection ; nor was it a likely thing that the venerable Margaret Pole would depart from the attitude of humble resignation which distinguished the last moments of all those who laid down their lives for their faith.

Chapuys, after recording the hanging of the Abbot of Croxton and two gentlemen [Lee and Thorne] in the North, says—

" About the same time took place the lamentable execution of the Countess of Salisbury at the Tower, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and about 150 persons. When informed of her sentence, she found it very strange, not knowing her crime ; but she walked to the place in front of the Tower, where there was no scaffold, but only a small block. She there commended her soul to God, and desired those present to pray for the King, Queen, Prince, and Princess. The ordinary executioner being absent, a blundering youth, *garçonneau*, was chosen, who hacked her head and shoulders almost to pieces. . . ."

Chapuys calls her " a most virtuous lady," adding—

" When her death was resolved upon, her grandson, the son of Lord Montague, who had been allowed occasionally to go about within the Tower, was more strictly guarded. It is to be supposed that he will follow his father and his grandmother."²

The French ambassador also refers twice to young Henry Pole as standing in danger of death, " though very young and innocent."

¹ *Kennet's England*, II, p. 227.

² *Spanish Cal.*, VI, I, 166.

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Silence then closes upon the boy's history. He cannot have been more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, for we find him coupled with Edward Courtenay in Cromwell's "Remembrances" of November, 1539, in ominous phrase: "To remember the two children in the Tower."¹

When Queen Mary came to the throne, and released and embraced "her prisoners" on Tower Green, only one of the two children, Edward Courtenay, grown to man's estate, was found among them. Henry VIII had used the word "exterminate" with reference to the family of which young Henry was the last hope, and it would not have been like him to have left his work incomplete. Whether some early morning saw a yet hastier and more secret execution—on the King's sole warrant—than that of Lady Salisbury, hurried through for very shame by all concerned, or whether the boy died of a more or less natural death in the Tower, will perhaps never be known. There was at the time, in fact, no one left to enquire. His mother, happily for her, had died before her husband's and her son's attainder, and the rest of his kin in England had perished on the scaffold, with the exception of his uncle Geoffrey, who had saved his own life at the cost of his honour.²

Beccatelli happened to be at Capranica, acting as Pole's secretary, when the letters arrived from England with the news of Lady Salisbury's death. According to custom, he was sent for by the Cardinal to receive instructions as to replying to the French, Flemish and Spanish correspondence, and observing an English letter, remarked: "There is one I cannot answer, not understanding it." And the Cardinal replied: "It is a pity you cannot read it, for the news it contains is good; until now I had thought God had given me the grace of being the son of one of the best and most honoured ladies in England, and I gloried in it, returning thanks to his Divine Majesty; but now He has vouchsafed to honour me still more,

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XIV, No. 494. A previous entry, 6th October, No. 427: "The Diets of young Pole and Courtenay . . . to know the King's pleasure therein."

² When Lord Montague's attainder was reversed under Mary, the Barony was left in abeyance, there being no heir male.

by making me the son of a martyr. That King, for her ¹⁵⁴¹ constancy in the Catholic Faith, has had her publicly decapitated, thus rewarding her for her many labours in the education of his daughter." "At these words," writes Beccatelli, "I remained as one dead, and he consoled me, saying: 'Let us rejoice, for we have another advocate in heaven'; and with these words he went into his private oratory, where he remained for the space of about an hour, coming out afterwards with his wonted serenity of countenance. Not that he did not love his mother, for he always spoke of her with great tenderness, while he was to her, as the saying is, as her right eye among her sons . . . but under the pressure of all his calamities, the purity of his faith and his great constancy shone like the diamond—*pareva che fusse di diamante.*"

The same spirit appears in Pole's own letters. His friends, far and near, hastened to express their horror and compassion and condolence, and in thanking the Cardinal of Burgos, he writes: "The more remote any natural remedy, the nearer ^{Poli Epp.} _{III, 35} is the aid of God." He has experienced this in the violent death of his mother, at the hands of him whom it least became (who thus slew the cousin of his own mother, and her whom, for the piety in which she had grown old, he once venerated no less than his own mother). The manner of death might be called base, but all who knew her will impute the baseness to him who slew her; for it cannot be base to suffer as Christ himself, apostles, martyrs, and virgins suffered. He will never fear to call himself the son of a martyr, which is more than any royal birth.

The Penitentiary of the English nation, Cardinal San ^{Ibid., III.} ₇₄ Marcello, had bidden him pray for the conversion of Henry VIII, and in thanking him for the exhortation, "worthy of his office of Penitentiary," Pole declares that if the doer of this wickedness is not past the benefit of prayer, and his own slaughter could bring about his conversion, he would wish it done forthwith.

CHAPTER XV

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MERCIFULLY for Reginald Pole, as the tragedy of his kinsmen's death had been immediately followed by the physical and mental activity and exertion necessitated by his legation to Charles V, so now the still deeper wound of his mother's fate was succeeded by his transference to a new and important sphere, which was to call forth all his powers of administration, rule and government on a scale hitherto unknown to him. At the end of August, Paul III determined to make use of the Cardinal's prudence and experience in public affairs—which he no doubt felt convinced could not now be employed, as he had hoped, in England—and feeling that the reputation of the Holy See was concerned in distinguishing a man who had suffered so much for his attachment to the Church, conferred upon him—without any solicitation on his part—one of the most honourable posts in the papal dominions, the government of Viterbo and the Province of the Patrimony.

The States of the Church were very considerable, both as to extent and situation, lying in the heart of Italy, bounded on the north by the Venetian territory and the Adriatic, on the east by the kingdom of Naples, by the Mediterranean on the south, and on the west by the dukedoms of Florence and Modena. Besides these dominions, the dukedom of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples and the principality of Avignon in Provence made part of the papal possessions. The governors of the several departments were appointed by the Pope, with the quality of legate or of a rank next to that dignity. The chief of these departments, next after that of Rome itself, was the Province of the Patrimony, the fair domain comprising the ancient Etruria which had been bequeathed to the Holy See by Mathilda, Countess of Tuscany, in the year 1115. It was bounded by Umbria to the north, by the Tiber on the east, on the west by Tuscany, and on the south by that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Tuscan Sea. Its greatest extent from north to south was about fifty Italian

miles, and something less from east to west. Its most important places, after Viterbo, were Civita Vecchia, where the papal galleys were stationed, the dukedom of Castro, the territory of Orvieto, Aqua Pendente, Bagnarea and Capranica. Viterbo, the seat of the governor, lies about forty miles north-west of Rome. The stately buildings, the monuments of several Popes, the public fountains and other works contributed to make Viterbo one of the most considerable cities of the States of the Church.

Pole's appointment bears the date of 21st August.¹ It met with universal approval. His modest bearing, united to his dauntless courage, had won him the affection and respect of the College of Cardinals ; it was said of him that in consistory he expressed his opinions with so much grace that he never offended those whom he contradicted—a thing, says Beccatelli, which could be said of few, even if of any other. Not only the cardinals, but the pontiffs showed their appreciation of the sweet and modest gravity of carriage which was never oppressive, but which inspired such respect that no one would venture, in his presence, upon any act or word unworthy of praise.

Paul III enhanced the value of the gift by the manner of its bestowal : letting the Cardinal know that he did not wish him to be too far away : that Viterbo was within an easy day's journey of Rome, so that he might, on a short warning, have his advice on any emergency : that in the choice of the post, among other considerations, he had consulted Pole's little relish for the manner of life he was obliged to lead in Rome, and therefore had provided him with a situation in which he might be beneficial to others without depriving himself of the advantages of privacy and retirement. In thanking the Pope for conferring upon him this legation, which sets him free from the hard lot of dependence, after having been deprived of his country, and all that was dear to him, by him in whose

¹ Consistorial Acts, 21st August, 1541 : " Creavit legatum Viterbiensem et patronimii Regum Polum, Angulum, cum facultatibus prout in literis."—*Brady's Episc. Succession*, II, p. 289.

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dominions he was born, Pole assures his Holiness that he will employ all the honour and emoluments he enjoys to the honour and service of the Pope—a promise which his splendid administration of Viterbo was amply to fulfil.

Pole left Capranica in the month of October to take up his new post ; his sojourn there had been marked by a fresh attempt upon his life by two Englishmen, who had travelled post from England for the purpose of killing him, and who made a full confession on being arrested. Pole would not suffer them to be put to death, saying that as the injury was personal to himself, he desired their lives might be spared ; and they were only sent to the galleys, "for no long time," writes Beccatelli.

Poli Epp. Two of the Cardinal's letters from Capranica deserve ^{III, 30} mention : one recommending the new Bishop of Worcester, Richard Pate, Henry VIII's late ambassador in Spain, to Contarini's good offices, and another which shows that all the waters of affliction poured upon it had not quenched his sense of humour. Cardinal San Marcello, who had been one of the chief adversaries of Contarini's paper on *Justification* in consistory, had written to congratulate Pole on his legation to Viterbo. It may be presumed that the latter had written at some length to San Marcello in defence of his friend's propositions ; for in thanking him for his judgment on his writings and expressing regret at his ill-health, he fears that *Ibid.*, III, the trouble of reading what he has written may have contributed ⁷³ to make the Cardinal ill, and begs him rather to forbear than do it at any risk.

So just, enlightened and equitable was Reginald Pole's government, that his province became a pattern of peace and good order—so much so, that at a later period some of his enemies actually adduced the very small number of executions during his administration as a proof of his negligence and indolence. To this accusation he made no other answer than that if, by the grace of God, the people placed under his care had remained good and peaceable, it should not be attributed to his indolence, but rather taken as a motive for thanking the Divine bounty that the people themselves bore testimony to his rule.

Although zeal for religion and the reform of abuses was his chief object, the distribution of justice and a careful watchfulness that the poor should not be oppressed by their superiors extended to every district under his charge. Finding the inhabitants of Bagnarea very averse to labour, he lent them a considerable sum of money, that they might set up a woollen manufacture, and betake themselves to something beyond basking in the sun, and warbling to a guitar.¹

Cardinal Contarini was legate of Bologna, so the two great friends were in the same occupation, and in constant correspondence with each other. Writing to congratulate Contarini on his appointment and referring to his work in Rome, Pole *Poli Epp.* III, 50 compares the tranquillity of Viterbo with the busier scene in which Contarini is playing his part; but what the latter writes confirms him in his opinion of his strength of character, which buoys itself up, where others are depressed and lost. The concurrent testimonies of the public have shown Pole that, however great his expectations, Contarini had surpassed them; and he sees in him the image of a truly Christian magistrate who, without regard to his own convenience, procures the safety and advantage of those committed to him, who has learned from his divine Master to show his affection to Him by the love and care he bestows on mankind.

How quickly Pole had brought his own new life into rule and order, is shown in the account he gives of it to Contarini less than two months after his arrival at Viterbo. It breathes the content of congenial tasks well accomplished—

“ The contentment I find in my present station is above anything I could have promised myself. And although a certain amount of business presents itself, it does not interfere with my plan of life, but rather improves and recommends it. I need not say anything of the administration of justice, with, I hope, benefit to those who stand in need of it. I can secure my morning hours for private study, and am careful to lay them out to the best advantage. All government business is deferred until after dinner, except in cases which cannot suffer delay, of which there are not many, and when they happen, do not take up more than an hour or two.

¹ Phillips, Vol. I, p. 348.

1541-42 "The rest of the day I spend in the good and useful company of Signor Carnesecchi, and our Messer Marco Antonio Flaminio. I call it useful, because of an evening Marco Antonio gives me and the greater part of the '*famiglia*' a portion of that food which does not perish, in such a manner that I do not remember ever having received greater consolation and edification. . . . If you were here, I should count it a paradise in this world. Everything else goes to my entire satisfaction. . . ."

The last words probably refer to Flaminio, and to the result of Pole's dealings with him. After their intimate connection at Padua, when Flaminio had been a member of Pole's household, he had gone to Naples, where he had fallen under the influence of Juan Valdes, and had returned to Rome much inclined towards his false opinions. Cardinal Pole was distressed at his friend's danger, but with rare discretion, taking no notice of what had happened, invited him to Viterbo, and soon won him back to the Catholic doctrine, to which he ever steadfastly adhered, dying eight years later in the Cardinal's house, in a very Christian manner. Pole was wont to say that besides being instrumental to Flaminio's happiness, he had rendered service to the cause of truth, by bringing him back to use his fine genius in its honour by his Latin and Italian writings.¹ The Cardinal, writes Beccatelli, whenever he found an honest man falling into a false opinion, for which others were ready to condemn him, strove to retain him by gentle means, and avoided irritating him with reprimand; being accustomed to say that the non-obstinate sinner should be won back to the right path by charity.

Poli Epp. Before the end of the year 1541, Pole wrote a letter to v. 115 Ignatius Loyola at Rome, dated 22nd December, expressing his regret at the recall from Viterbo of Maestro Nicolo Bobadilla, a member of Loyola's Society, who had been preaching, confessing and lecturing [probably in a course of Advent sermons] with much good fruit, by the grace of God, and the example

¹ Cardinal Pole's other guest, Carnesecchi, whom he mentions in the above letter, had a different fate. Although at that time he seems to have shown no signs of unorthodoxy, he lapsed into heresy later, and, after Pole's death, was beheaded for his opinions.

of his most laudable life. Pole's regret at losing him would 1542 be the greater, did he not know that he has been called to labour elsewhere, by the Pope's wish and for the good of the Church. He offers his services to Loyola and all his company, and begs them to remember him in their devout orisons.

In nothing were Pole and Contarini, and the Catholic party in Italy, more anxious to bring about a change than in the method of preaching, which still deserved Savonarola's severe strictures—

" The preachers resemble the singers and flute players in the house of the Chief of the Synagogue, who played and sang their mourning but could do nothing to bring the dead maiden to life again. So do these stand by dead souls now, and strive to awaken them by subtle expositions, and fine comparisons and citations from Aristotle, Virgil, Ovid and Cicero, or with the song of Petrarch and of Dante ; but they make such mournful music, that not only do they fail to bring dead souls to life, but go near to killing living ones."¹

Bembo brought a similar reproach against the preachers of his time, when he wrote : " What can I hear in a sermon ? Nothing but Doctor Subtilis striving with Doctor Angelicus, and at last Aristotle coming in as a third to decide the quarrel."²

At the Pope's request, Cardinal Contarini, on his return from Ratisbon, had drawn up an *Instruction for Preachers*, which was published by papal authority in 1542 under the title *Literae Pontificiae de modo concionandi*, and Pole also, by Contarini's wish, began a paper on the same subject, which unfortunately remained unfinished.³

The two cardinals and their followers were convinced that the simpler methods of preaching and expounding Scripture adopted by the Protestant reformers attracted many right-minded simple souls to the new learning ; while several abuses had grown up from an excessive reliance on exterior

¹ *Prediche sopra il salmo Quam bonus.* Venice, 1539, f. 55.

² *Ortensio Landi Parad.*, II, p. 29.

³ Quirini attributes the *Literae Pontificiae* to Cardinal Pole (Quirini, III, Praefatio, p. 74). Dittrich, however, shows Contarini to have been the author from the resemblance to his previously published work, *Instructio pro praedicatoribus*.—Zimmermann, p. 207.

1542 good works—on the observance of certain feasts, fasts, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, etc., but above all from the neglect of proclaiming “Christ and Him Crucified” from the pulpits.¹

They, therefore, welcomed the efforts of such zealous reformers as Ochino, Vermiglio, Flaminio and Carnesecchi, men of ascetic lives, whose predication wrought wonders among the people, and who went from town to town in a kind of triumph, working conversions. Only the good results were at first apparent—the renewal of piety among the people, the reform of vice and renunciation of abuses ; but not the danger to some of the preachers themselves, the germs of evil in the spirit of pride, the lack of charity and the tendency towards Antinomianism which before long made themselves manifest.

The attitude of conciliation and persuasion towards the holders of dangerous opinions of Pole, Contarini and those who thought with them, was at least as efficacious—for Flaminio’s case is cited as one of many—as the stern measures of repression which commanded themselves to Cardinal Caraffa, his Theatines, the Dominicans and others. They, perhaps, more accurately perceived the dangers of the situation, but their methods did not command themselves to the moderate cardinals, among whom we must count Pole’s fast friend, Sadoletto. On being requested to search out and punish the Lutherans in his province, he replied that he would use his best endeavours to prevent all such necessity—

“ The arguments I choose to make use of to convince the minds of those that err, though in appearance, and in the opinion of a common observer, they may seem to be less vigorous than the case requires, are in reality far more efficacious. For it is not a countenance armed with terror . . . but the exposition of truth itself, and, above all other methods, the lenity of a Christian spirit, which draws from misguided men that confession of error, in which the heart has a greater share than the tongue.”²

¹ The warning contained in Giberti, Bishop of Verona’s “ Constitution,” not to blush “ to preach Christ crucified to Christians ” (*Opera*, p. 51), shows that Luther’s dictum, “ Men are ashamed and afraid to name Christ in the pulpit,” was not void of foundation.—Zimmermann, p. 192.

² *Epist.*, Lib. 12, f. 442.

It is probable that Pole's disapprobation of Caraffa's ¹⁵⁴² measures, especially in obtaining from Paul III the bull, *licit ab initio*, by which the Inquisition was reorganised and the Holy Office established in Rome, contributed to the abatement of their ancient friendship, and to a divergence from the similarity of views with which they had worked together on the papal commission for the reform of the Church, in 1536. Cardinal Caraffa was president of the commission of the Holy Office, which took stern measures against the heretics in Rome and elsewhere, in the conviction that preaching and teaching were altogether inadequate weapons against the spread of heretical doctrines.

From this point dates the suspicion, jealousy and enmity of Caraffa to the younger Cardinal, which were to bear fruit at a later time, and on more than one occasion. Caraffa and his Theatines had already taken it amiss that Pole and Contarini, on the latter's return from Ratisbon, had interceded with the Pope on behalf of Pietro Martire Vermiglio, and obtained a removal of the interdict forbidding him to preach at Naples. The interdict had been issued on the denunciation of the Theatines; and they had been further scandalised that Contarini, when he met the Pope at Lucca, had visited Vermiglio at the monastery of San Frediano, of which he was prior, and had held a long conversation with him on the religious questions of the day. At that time Vermiglio's orthodoxy appeared above suspicion, and the two cardinals saw in him a pious and earnest man who entirely shared their opinions.¹

Cardinal Pole's household at Viterbo comprised in the first place his Vice-legate, Parpaglia, abbot of San Saluto at Turin, his faithful Alvise Priuli, Ormanetto and other persons of distinction who had followed his fortunes from no other motive than their attachment to his person, and admiration of his virtues. The "Viterbo Society," which he established, and of which he was a member, made up one of the rarest literary gatherings that ever flourished in Italy, or elsewhere,

¹ Schmidt: *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, p. 21. Zimmermann, p. 205.

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as befitted a circle of which Vittoria Colonna was the queen.¹ That great lady, the widow of Francis Avalos, Marquis of Pescara—who at her instances had refused the crown of Naples after winning the battle of Pavia, as inconsistent with his honour—the object of Michael Angelo's respectful adoration, the subject of his sonnets, a poetess herself and excelling in the learning of her day, is the one woman who appears in Reginald Pole's life in Italy as his intimate friend and correspondent.

She was more—older than Pole by many years, in her horror and compassion at his mother's death, she had adopted him as her son, and that close and tender relationship subsisted between them until it closed in her own death, Pole experiencing again the watchful loving care which distance, long before the severance of the sword, had hindered his own mother from bestowing on him. Another relationship still was theirs—that of spiritual father and daughter. On first coming to Rome in 1536, Pole had been quick to perceive that Vittoria was mistaking her duty, and injuring her health by the excessive observance of fasts, and every species of mortification of the flesh, until she had reduced herself to skin and bone, imagining that true religion and piety consisted in such practices. But Pole warned her that she was more likely to offend God by using such excessive austerity and rigour towards her body; reminding her of St. Paul's admonition to Timothy that *corporalis exercitatio admodum valet ad pietatem*, and that the Christian is bound to take care of the tabernacle of his body, until it pleases God to release him from it. "So that lady began to mitigate the great austerity of her life, and brought it, little by little, to a reasonable and honest moderation."²

¹ One of the chief books discussed and delighted in by the Viterbo Society was the *Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Gesu Christo crocifisso verso i Christiani* [Mantua, 1542], the work of a Sicilian Benedictine. It contained extracts from the 110 Divine Considerations of Juan Valdes; and had been amended in style—and probably in doctrinal points—by Pole's guest, Flaminio. So popular was the work that 40,000 copies of the second edition, printed in 1542, were sold in Venice.

² Ferrero-Müller: *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, App. I, *Processo di Pietro Carnesecchi*, 10th November, 1566.

Vittoria herself, in a letter to Giulia Gonzaga Colonna, 1542 Duchess of Traetto, records her obligations to Cardinal Pole—

"I, therefore, who owe the health of my soul and that of my body to his illustrious reverence—for the one through superstition, and the other through ill government, stood in peril—could not but wish, as your excellency can imagine, to be able to serve him, and I have never had the occasion to do so until now."¹

The date of this letter, 8th December, 1541, suggests that the service in question was the adoption of Pole as her son. That that adoption at once became public among their friends is shown by a letter from Cardinal Bembo to the Marchesa, dated Rome, 18th November, 1541 (evidently in answer to an invitation), saying that if his health were better, chains would not hold him from spending four days at Viterbo, now that her "son" is there, whose goodness and amiability would increase Bembo's pleasure.²

Vittoria had watched the labours of the Commission of 1536 with admiration and hopefulness, congratulating Pole and Contarini on having made such strong supports to the bark of Peter as would secure it from shipwreck, for which she thanked God. She had also shared in their regret that the effects of their labours had not proved as speedy nor as complete as they had intended, and she had brought her own influence to bear in the cause of reform, not without hope of success. She had sent word to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, son of Francesco Gonzaga and the famous Isabella d'Este—through the Cardinal of Ravenna—that he would soon hear news which would give him the utmost satisfaction, but the event proved contrary to her opinion and her hopes.³

The surreptitious publication, with its stinging preface by Sturmius, of the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* had greatly troubled Vittoria, as we find by a letter from a Roman gentleman, Ottaviano de Lotti, to Cardinal Gonzaga. He happened to be calling on her at the Convent of San Silvestro in Capite, in the winter of 1538—for according to the custom

Gonzaga
Archives,
Mantua

¹ Ferrero-Müller, p. 239.

² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³ Alessandro Luzio: *Vittoria Colonna, Revista Storica Mantovana*.

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of the time for widows, Vittoria dwelt in various convents in Rome and in the country—when Cardinals Pole and Contarini were with her. None of them could imagine how the Lutherans had got hold of the document, except through one of the printed copies sent by the Pope's orders to various cardinals and prelates, and on the Marchesa asking why the recommendations made by the commission were not yet being enforced, the two cardinals raised their shoulders by way of reply, knowing that she was intelligent enough to understand their silence.¹

The interest taken in religious questions reached its culminating point towards the middle of the sixteenth century : "Great personages and the most humble, princes and princesses, prose-writers and poets, men of the world hitherto little accustomed to think of such things, took part in the religious revival." The young Duchess of Urbino, hitherto occupied with dancing and amusement, now spent her time discussing the Bible and the question of Grace with Arici and with Agostino Stenchio, one of the greatest theologians of his day. Writing to Cardinal Gonzaga, she tells him that were it not for them, who discourse with her about the Scriptures and Free Will, until she does not know whether she is a Christian or a Jew, she would fall into melancholy.²

It seemed, however, that the spread of erroneous opinions, especially those of Valdes of Naples, who had lately died, kept pace with the revival of fervour, until, according to a

¹ Alessandro Luzio : *Vittoria Colonna. Revista Storica Mantovana.*

² Edmondo Solmi : *La Fuga di Bernardino Ochino.*

Cardinal Gonzaga's friend, Ottaviano di Lotti, relates his own experiences in a letter to Gonzaga, adding modestly—

"I know your Excellency will be no little surprised to find a reprobate like myself writing such things, but perhaps you will not wonder, knowing that the omnipotent God can do still greater things, not regarding my iniquity, but of His infinite goodness bringing me back from past errors; and whereas for many months I read lies about Christ, and wisdom according to the world, now I read the Scriptures, where I find the way to true happiness. And your Excellency cannot imagine the number of persons here who, leaving other studies, are giving themselves to Sacred Letters."—Gonzaga Archives, Mantua
Edmondo Solmi : *La Fuga di Bernardino Ochino.*

contemporary writer, "There did not appear to be a gallant 1542 gentleman, nor a good courtier, who had not some little erroneous opinion of his own—*qualche opinionetta erronea.*"¹

In this whirlwind of controversy, Vittoria Colonna kept close to Cardinal Pole, who deserved her encomiums. "I speak of all this with the most revd. Pole," she wrote in February, 1540, to Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, "his own conversation is always in Heaven, and he only regards and cares for the things of earth for the good of his neighbour."²

With the exception of a month spent in Rome at Whitsuntide, where he attended the consistory which raised his great friend, Gregorio Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, to the purple, Cardinal Pole spent the greater part of the year at Viterbo.

English affairs, and the hope that a General Council might not much longer be deferred, were subjects ever present to Reginald Pole. Henry VIII was again a widower, having sent Katherine Howard to the scaffold on the 13th February³; and war was brewing between him and the nephew he professed to love so dearly, James V of Scotland; while it had actually broken out once more between the Emperor and France. So anxious was Paul III for peace, that he determined to send Cardinal Contarini on a special mission to Spain, and Cardinal Sadoleto to Francis I. In writing to congratulate Contarini, Pole prays God may grant them the success all Europe is yearning for. Unfortunately, the Pope's efforts were fruitless, and the Council, which was to have met at Trent, was again postponed.

The fact that his hated kinsman was the governor of a large province, covering himself with honour as a wise administrator and a gentle ruler, seemed to increase, if possible, Henry VIII's thirst for his blood—a thirst so well known in diplomatic

¹ Caracciolo: *Vita di Paul*, IV; Cantù: *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, p. 347 seq.

² Ferrero-Müller: *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 187.

³ One of the ladies Henry VIII admired at this time was Anne Basset, daughter of Lord Lisle, ex-Deputy of Calais, and it was believed that owing to her attractions Lisle was let out of the Tower—a mercy so unexpected that the poor man, it is stated, died of joy.

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circles, that Chapuys, writing to the Emperor of the sudden arrival in London of two Italian gentlemen, who tried to ingratiate themselves with the King by saying they were on bad terms with the Pope, concludes : "but they will not get much reward for this, if they do not offer to murder Cardinal Pole."¹

These, or others, were found to make the attempt, which, like all such against him, failed of execution. Pole himself relates the circumstances in a letter to Cardinal Cervini [afterwards Pope Marcellus II].

" VITERBO, 25th July, 1542.

Poli Epp. ^{III, 99} " A certain Alessandro of Bologna arrived here this morning with two young Englishmen, who call themselves Flemish, and as Alessandro's answers varied, and he was recognised by some of my people as a cavalryman of the King of England, I am having him detained while I send word to your Eminence that enquiry may be made if Messer Francesco Casale had really, as this man says, ordered him to bring these young men for his service. I do not suspect them, as they seem simple youths, but I do suspect the man."

As Casale denied all knowledge of the man, except that he had been in his brother's service in England, or having given him any commission to get men for his service, Pole determined to send the three under escort to Rome, but took no further proceedings against them.²

When describing to Contarini, on first arriving at Viterbo, the contentment and pleasure he felt in his new and congenial life—Contarini's presence alone lacking to make it an earthly paradise—Pole had ended by saying that if he might judge of the future by God's dealings with him in the past, the happy time would not be of long duration, for he had ever found that some bitterness or other soon came to mingle itself with the cup of felicity. But he prayed God, and asked the help

¹ *Spanish Cal.*, VI, I, 2,397.

² At the same time, Paget wrote from Ligny, to Henry VIII, of a "Scottish man, James Melville," who had offered his services. He had gone to Rome, where he knows Pole and his companions. Thinking perhaps to entrap some of those caitiffs at Rome, Paget accepted his offer, and received "bynames" for Pole and his fellows.—R.O., S.P. IX, p. 75.

of Contarini's prayers, that he might ever be found ready 1542 willingly to accept whatever God might send. Less than a year after those words were written, they were fulfilled by the taking away of the man to whom they were addressed, whose presence almost made earth a paradise to his friend.

Pole's letter of congratulation on his appointment to the mission to Spain found Contarini at Bologna, and Beccatelli, who had for seven years been his secretary and intimate friend, writes thus of his last days—

"He was at his legation of Bologna, the summer being very hot, and his nephew, Dom Placid Contarini, a [Benedictine] monk of St. Justina at Padua—whom he greatly loved—having come to the monastery of St. Procoli in Bologna, the Cardinal told him, on account of the heat, to go to St. Maria del Monte, a place the monks had on a beautiful hill about a mile from the town, and he would join him there. I verily believe those days were among the sweetest his Eminence ever knew, saying Mass often, and being with his nephew and the other reverend monks, with whom he conversed on the subjects which lay nearest his heart. The weather being hot, he often went for his meals and for conversation to a terrace, *una logietta*, looking towards the south, with a magnificent view—all Bologna and its plain, with Modena and Ferrara in the distance."¹

The Cardinal caught a chill, and when Beccatelli told him he must get better to fulfil his mission to the Emperor, he replied: "I shall have to present myself before another Emperor, and a greater." A few days later, the 24th August, he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and he lies in the Contarini chapel of the beautiful Church of St. Maria del Orto, standing on the edge of the Venetian lagoon. Well might Cardinal Bembo say that in losing Contarini the Church lost its chief pillar and support, and the loss to Reginald Pole was incalculable.

The sudden severance of a friendship so close and intimate as that which had united the Englishman and the Venetian, ever since their first acquaintance had revealed them to each

¹ Beccatelli: *Vita del Cardinale Gasparo Contarini*. The works of Briegen, De Leva, Dittrich, Pastor and Braun, may be consulted upon Contarini's life and works, especially Dittrich's *Regester und Briefe*, Braunsberg, 1881, and Gasp. Contarini eine Monographie.



Cardinal Gaspar Contarini.

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other, renewed the pains of exile in the breast of the former. Alike in moral worth, in learning and in culture, with the same exalted aims and ideals, fellow-workmen in the reform of the Church of which they were the ornament and support, the superiority in age of the one was perhaps balanced by that of genius in the younger man, which the elder always so readily acknowledged. Never had their correspondence been more close and constant, even at the time of Pole's legations, than during the last reposeful few months, and its abrupt cessation must have required all Reginald Pole's trained fortitude to endure. His friends were many : Bembo, Sadoletto, Cortese, Giberti—without counting Alvise Priuli and those of his own household, among whom Beccatelli was henceforth to count. It has been truly remarked that the Sacred College never numbered more illustrious men than at this time, but with none of them did similarity of nature and sympathy of feeling make up so close a bond as that which renders the tie between Pole and Contarini one of the great and beautiful friendships of all time.

It is fitting that Vittoria Colonna's should be the pen to describe the effect of his loss upon Reginald Pole. Writing to condole with Sister Serafina Contarini on her brother's death, she says—

" Now no other spiritual aid remains to me than that of the most illustrious Cardinal of England, his only, intimate and most true friend, and more than son and brother. He feels this loss so much, that his strong and pious soul, invincible under so many afflictions, seems to have let him fall into greater sorrow than ever before. It is as if the spirit of consolation, which habitually dwells in him, were allowing him thus to suffer as a testimony of the afflictions of the just. . . .

" From Santa Catharina, Viterbo."¹

In saying that her only spiritual aid was now that of the Cardinal of England, Vittoria alluded to the sudden disappearance of Bernardino Ochino—son of Domenico Tommasini, an

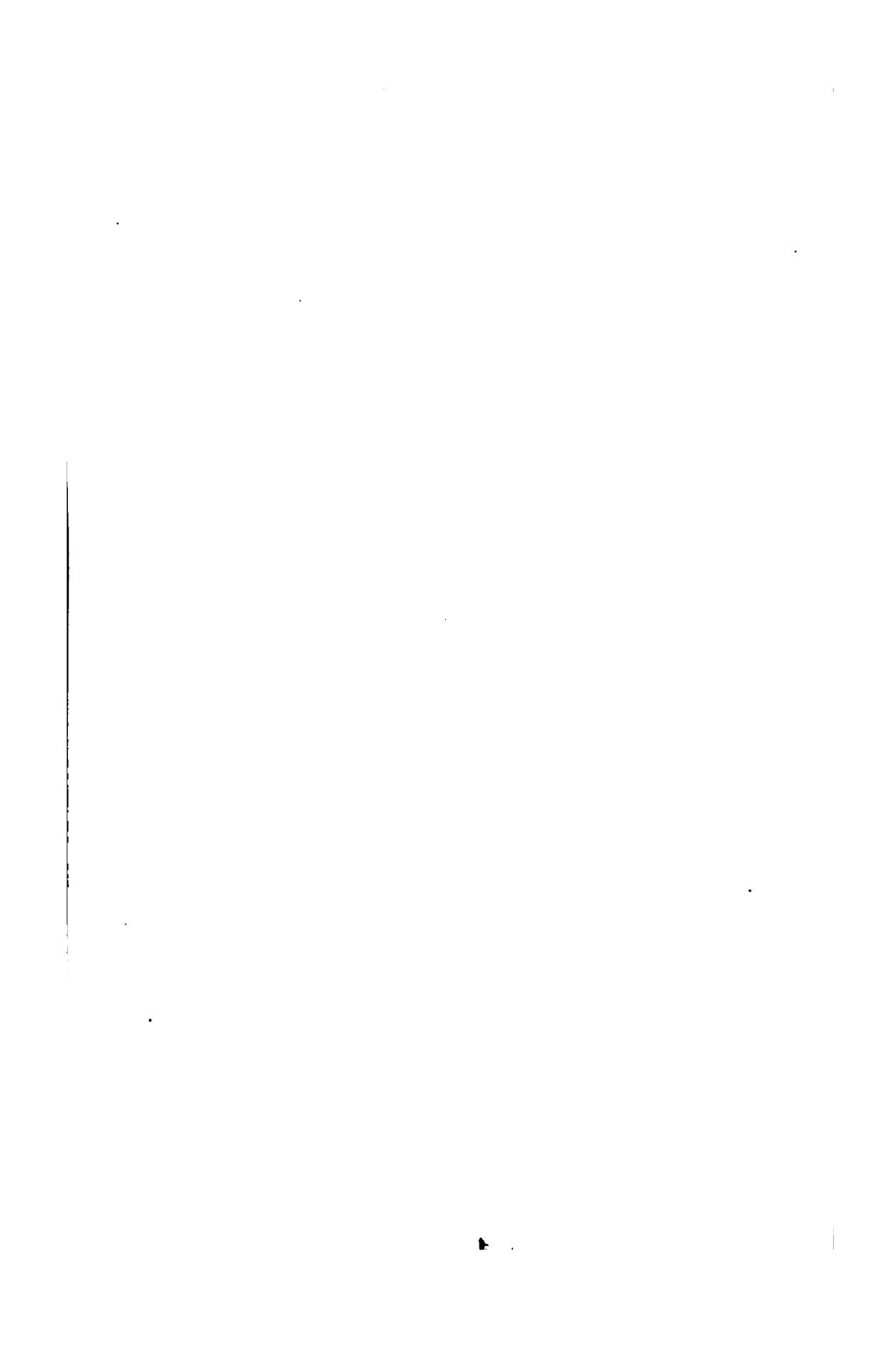
¹ Contarini's sister was Suor Serafina, a nun of the Convent of St. Clara of Murano. The Cardinal wrote for her his *Explanatio in psalmum "Ad te levavi."*—Edmondo Solmi : *Lettere Inedite del Card. Gasparo Contarini.*







Cardinal Gaspar Contarini.



obscure countryman of the district of Oca—who had entered 1542 the Capuchin Order, and had rapidly become the most famous preacher of his day. Bembo, whose opinion of preaching we know, could not praise him sufficiently, and when he appeared in Rome in 1534 and 1535 he rarely preached a sermon which was not attended by several cardinals, no other preacher comparing with him.¹ The Emperor Charles V was his constant auditor during his Lenten sermons in Venice in 1536, and said the friar preached so as to make the very stones weep. In 1540 he had adopted opinions on the question of justification which appeared to savour of unorthodoxy, but which in various forms were spreading far and wide.

While Mantua, Genoa and Rome were contesting for his presence, a fierce combat was going on in his own soul, which ended in sudden flight, all Rome the while expecting his appearance, and feeling certain that the friar would easily justify himself against the accusations brought against him, of being tainted with the heresy of Lucca.² He had in fact begun to preach against the doctrine of purgatory, against indulgences, ecclesiastical laws, fasting, etc.

When the news arrived in Rome that Ochino had crossed the Alps, it was at first received with incredulity, and all kinds of rumours spread—mortified ambition, disappointment at not having been made a cardinal, etc.³

Ochino passed through Verona in his flight, and Bishop Giberti strongly urged him to obey the Pope's mandate and return to Rome. He agreed to do so, and retraced his steps as far as Montaghi, near Florence, when he changed his mind, and turned back, first writing his famous letter to Vittoria

¹ Lotti to Cardinal Gonzaga: *Archives, Mantua.* E. Solmi: *La Fuga di Bernardino Ochino.*

² The town of Lucca was the most infected with heresy; "two hundred gentlemen and their wives," wrote Nino Sernini to Cardinal Gonzaga, "deny free-will, repudiate all prayers except the Pater Noster, forbid the Ave Maria, are of opinion that anyone can say Mass, and receive the Sacrament without confession."—*Archives, Mantua.* E. Solmi: *Fuga di Bernardino Ochino.*

³ Pietro Paulo Gualtieri, in his Diary, writes of Ochino's flight: "causam ambitionem fuisse puto."

1542

Colonna, dated 22nd August : "Christ taught me to fly, by His flight into Egypt and into Samaria ; so also did Paul tell me, when I was not received in one city, to fly unto another." Ochino's act struck sorrow and dismay into the hearts of Cardinal Pole, Vittoria Colonna, and all who had looked upon him, in Vittoria's words, as the great light of their day, which envy and malice strove to obscure, as the Pharisees had calumniated Christ Himself.¹

This blow was almost immediately followed by that of the flight of Peter Martyr Vermiglio, for whom Pole and Contarini had interceded with the Pope at Lucca the preceding year, answering for his orthodoxy, and conversing at length with him on the religious questions of the day.

Cardinal Pole was inclined to consider all men as honest as himself, until they were proved the contrary ; and although, as Beccatelli remarks, he was occasionally deceived by evil men who hid false doctrines under a mask of piety, bringing annoyance and vexation upon himself—from those especially who were always for repressive measures—he persevered in the large-hearted charity by which, in his own words, he tried to be all things to all men. His great battle was with the abuses which he never ceased to condemn, and which he, and all those who thought with him, held to be greatly responsible for the spread of false opinions among well-intentioned men ; he preferred the destruction of abuses to the punishment of those who were scandalized by them into error and disaffection.

But the fall of Bernardino Ochino, the great light of Catholic preaching in all Italy, was as the fall of Lucifer ; and with rebellion and heresy Pole could have nothing to do. Ochino

¹ "Ochino passed through Lombardy to Geneva, where he founded the first Italian church in October, 1542, where he preached against the efficacy of good works, against Purgatory, and other Catholic doctrines, calling the Pope antichrist, and Rome Babylon. Later on he fell out even with the heretics, became an anti-Trinitarian, and an advocate of polygamy. He visited Zurich, Strasburg, Augsburg, and England, where he was in great favour with the Princess Elizabeth, but on Mary's accession he had to decamp. He married, and died of the plague at seventy-seven years of age, in a little seaport town, after wandering from land to land."—Alfred Reumont : *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 207.

sent Vittoria Colonna letters and a book from Geneva in the 1542-43 following October. Cardinal Pole was away from Viterbo, but had advised her to send any communications from Ochino unanswered to Cardinal Cervini [afterwards Pope Marcellus II]. When, therefore, the packet arrived, the Marchesa sent it to Cervini with the following words—

“ The more I see of the actions of the most revd. lord of England, the more I perceive him to be a true and sincere servant of God : so when he has the charity to answer any of my questions, it seems to me that I cannot err in following his advice. And because he told me, should letters come to me from Fra Bernardino to send them to your most illustrious lordship without further answer, having this day received the enclosed letters and little book, I send them to you.

“ Santa Catharina [Viterbo], 4th December.”¹

The reason of Cardinal Pole's absence from Viterbo was that Paul III, weary of waiting for the assistance of the princes of Christendom for the holding of a General Council, determined to send three legates to Trent, in the hope that such a step would induce the Emperor and Francis I to give that co-operation without which a Council was impossible. The Pope's choice fell upon Cardinal Parisio, a celebrated legist, Cardinal Morone, who had lately been raised to the purple for his great services to the Apostolic See in Germany, and Cardinal Pole, whom he knew to be learned, prudent and benign, as well as beloved by foreign nations. This action of the Pope opportunely silenced the rumours in Rome, which Nino Sernini reported to Cardinal Gonzaga at the moment of Ochino's flight : “ Some little things (*qualche cosette*) are being said about Flaminio and the others at Viterbo with the Cardinal of England, at which good men laugh ; although some doubts are thrown on the writings of Valdes, who lately died at Naples . . . but, say what they may, those at Viterbo are held in the highest esteem.”²

Beccatelli

¹ The book was probably *Prediche di Bernardino Ochino da Siena*, printed at Geneva in the month of October. Ferrero-Müller : *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 256.

² Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, 2nd September, 1542.

1542-43 Before leaving for Trent in the month of October, Pole wrote a letter to Dom Placid Contarini, Benedictine of St. Justina at Padua, full of affection to Placid for his uncle's sake and of sage advice upon the question on which the latter had consulted him, viz., his trouble, now that from a simple monk he had been appointed cellarer of his abbey. "You monks are not called to serve Christ with voice and words, but in your lives and actions ; by those will you truly show if you have the Apostolic spirit." The whole letter is valuable as showing how deeply Pole had drunk of the monastic spirit.

R.O.
28 May

Poli Epp.
IV, 2

The three legates remained at Trent until the following May, the Pope going to Bologna on his way to Trent in the vain hope that Charles V would arrive there, "whose delays," wrote Harvel from Venice to Henry VIII, "are marvelled at." The Pope then revoked the legates, and Cardinal Pole returned to Viterbo.

Meanwhile James V and Cardinal Betoun had written to the Pope, asking him to use his influence with Christian princes to protect Scotland from unprovoked aggression. The only real cause why Henry VIII made war upon them, they said, was that James would not join him in his revolt against the Holy See, and take his part against his own father-in-law, Francis I. This, as regards the Pope, was equally the opinion of an English Calvinist at Constance, and of another at Strasburg, writing freely on these matters to Bullinger. It should be noted that if the Scotch invasion, which shortly afterwards took place with such unfortunate results, had proved successful, Cardinal Betoun and the Earl of Murray would have entered England at Coldstream, and laid the country under interdict.¹ The battle of Solway Moss was fought on the 24th November, 1542, and James V died at Falkland at midnight on Thursday, December 14th. His posthumous daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, was born in January, 1543, and Henry VIII at once determined to marry his son to the infant queen, and to demand, as her natural tutor, the government of the Kingdom. Francis I, however unwilling to quarrel with

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XVII, Preface, p. liii, 1,073, 1,218.

England, could not allow Scotland to be crushed, and the 1543 Scotch war was itself drawing England into a league with the Emperor against France, Henry VIII declaring war against Francis I on the 22nd of June. He married his sixth and last wife, Katherine Parr, at Hampton Court on the 12th July, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, officiating on the occasion.

Many of his subjects, laymen as well as clerics, were fleeing from England, and there is special mention made by Paget, English ambassador in Paris, and by Edward Raleigh from Malines, of George Dudley, son of Lord Dudley, who had sold his lands, and made his way to Milan, intending to join Cardinal Pole. He had suffered arrest in France, at Paget's demand, had escaped, and had been well received at Avignon by the papal legate, who had given him a mule and an escort for Trent. Raleigh determined that he must either be killed or taken : the first was difficult and unprofitable, as they would lose his confession, the second difficult also in a free country. So it ended in Dudley's imprisonment, probably for no long period, in the Castle of Milan. It was probably somewhat later, after Cardinal Pole's return from Trent, that an event occurred which must have stirred the innermost depths of his nature.

Sir Geoffrey Pole, since his release from the Tower, had been leading a miserable, conscience-stricken life. His manor of Lordington had been restored to him, and there are various grants to him, and to Constance his wife, recorded from time to time.¹ Henry VIII had kept his word to him, and even when, on one or two occasions, bursts of passion had brought him into conflict with the authorities, he was easily pardoned. After his mother's death, "he went about," says a contemporary writer, "like one terror-stricken, and, as he lived four miles from Chichester, he saw one day in Chichester a Flemish ship, into which he resolved to get, and with her passed into Flanders, leaving his wife and children." From there he found his way

¹ The last is a grant in June, 1543, to "Sir Geoffrey Pole, the King's servant . . . of the Manor of Grandisones (which belonged to Margaret, late Countess of Salisbury, attainted) out of lands in Dertford, Stone, Wylmington, Crayford, etc."

1543 to Italy, and threw himself at the feet of the Cardinal, saying he was unworthy to be called his brother, for having caused another brother's death. We can imagine with what tenderness Reginald Pole raised him up, and brought him to the Pope for absolution ; but it would have been dangerous to keep him with him, while Lady Pole and her children remained in England, exposed to the King's wrath, if he learned that Geoffrey was with his brother. The Cardinal therefore sent him to the Bishop of Liège, allowing him forty crowns a month to live upon.¹

¹ Gairdner : *Sir Geoffrey Pole*, Dic. Nat. Bio.

CHAPTER XVI

ALTHOUGH Reginald Pole spent his time, partly at Viterbo and 1543-44 partly at Rome, in the pursuance of his usual studies and the peaceful government of his province, the confused state of affairs in Scotland, and in Europe generally, was the occasion of various rumours concerning him. The Pope had sent Count Grimani as legate to Scotland, and had had an interview with Charles V at Busseto in the Duchy of Parma, Cardinal Pole being in attendance, "following the Bishop of Rome every-^{R.O.} where," reported Harvel from Venice to Henry VIII; and 12 Aug. according to other letters from the same source, it was Paul III's intention to send Pole to Scotland "with 4,000 Almains and as many Frenchmen"—rumours exceedingly disquieting, however unfounded in fact, to Henry VIII, whose sanguine hopes after the Battle of Solway Moss had been completely overthrown. The pledges of the Scotch prisoners had proved slippery, and unreasonable demands had only provoked an infinity of double-dealing. Arran, Governor of Scotland, had revolted to Cardinal Betoun, whom he had previously imprisoned; the infant Queen had been crowned, and finally, in December, 1453, the Scotch Parliament declared the treaty with England null for want of confirmation, and renewed the old alliance with France.¹

The Emperor, at his interviews with Paul III, had been as little amenable as ever to persuasions of peace with France, or interference to save Scotland from heresy; he was in fact meditating an active alliance with England against Francis I, in order to reclaim the Duchy of Burgundy; and when Cardinal Farnese, sent on a special mission of peace the following November, succeeded in making some impression on the King of France, he met with nothing but a rebuff from Charles V when he reached his court in the beginning of January, 1544.

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XIX, Part I, Preface.

1543-44

During Pole's absence with the Pope, Vittoria Colonna had had a dangerous illness at Viterbo. His letters to her no longer exist, but we can judge of their tenour by her answer. Her letter is undated, but the mention of the Cardinal's return, and of her own recovery, places it in July—

"I had the desire of going to God, and also of being obedient to my physician, having heard from your lordship that it so behaved ; but how those two desires could proceed from the same cause, I could not understand. Now, I thank God for having inspired your lordship to explain it so well in your letters, that that which I did out of obedience, I shall now do in order not to err ; and our Lord knows that I desire extremely to speak with your lordship, for no stronger reason than that I see in you an order of mind, which the mind alone can appreciate, and which always leads me on to such a plenitude of light, that I no longer feel my own misery ; when, with such high conceptions, it shows me the greatness of the world above, and our own baseness and nothingness, '*la bassezza e nihilita nostra . . .*' seeing ourselves and all created things serve only to this—to find ourselves in Him, who is all things.

"And if, by His grace, I am hastening towards Him, all the more do I need to speak with your lordship, not out of anxiety, or doubt, or disturbance . . . but because every time you speak of the tremendous sacrifice of eternal destiny, of the Divine love, you give the soul wings to fly towards its desired rest ; so that it is as if I spoke with an intimate friend of the bridegroom, sent to prepare, and call me to Him, to fortify and console me ; and the poorer creature I am, so much the greater is your lordship's humility . . . that condescends to me. So may you quickly and in good health be here . . . though your coming in these times gives me anxiety. . . .¹ May God guard you as I desire, and I kiss your hands for the remedies and the doctors' letters you had sent to me, but more for your own letters, and most of all for your coming, which, please God, may be joyful and secure. I say little of myself, for I cannot say I am quite well, in order not to contradict the doctors, nor can I say that I am not well : so I shall say only that I am much, much better, most of all in the consolation of your lordship's coming, which would be supreme, did I not fear the journey. The goodness of God protect you.

"From Santa Catharina, 15th July."²

¹ The constant attempts to assassinate Cardinal Pole always made his journeys a cause of grave anxiety to his friends.

² Ferrero-Müller : *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 263.

Although Reginald Pole was spared the sorrow of losing his ¹⁵⁴³⁻⁴⁴ adopted mother, the end of the year 1543 saw the loss of one of his best and most honoured friends, Gianmatteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, who died on the 30th December. Giberti had always shown a fatherly interest in Pole's temporal necessities, especially after Henry VIII had cut off all his English revenues, and this led him to leave him an annuity of 2,000 ducats on the Archbispopric of Granata.¹

On the 3rd May, the English fleet arrived at the Firth of Forth, and 6,000 Scots under the Governor and Cardinal Betoun gave way after an hour's fighting; Edinburgh was attacked, and sufficient damage done to prevent Scotland from giving trouble in the forthcoming war with France. Chapuys, who was as persistent in looking upon Reginald Pole as the possible saviour of England as Charles V was careful to obviate any such eventuality, expresses the opinion, in a letter of 12th May, that the French will rather send men into Scotland than make an attempt on the west coast of England as Henry VIII fears, "*unless they should have Cardinal Pole with them, by whose means affairs in this realm might be altered.*"²

The desire to propitiate the Protestants, and to get money from them for his war against France, was doubtless the reason of Charles V's unwillingness to further the calling of a General Council; while he summoned another diet, this time at Spires, in February, which was open to all the objections Pole had pointed out to Cardinal Contarini four years previously with regard to the Diet of Nuremberg—of attempting to settle religious affairs without the intervention of the Church. The Emperor succeeded in getting a large grant for the war, but the form of pacification accepted by the Lutherans gave great umbrage to the Catholics, and the matter was deferred, by a

¹ Beccatelli gives Pole's private income at this time as consisting of the 200 scudi a month attached by the Pope to his cardinalate, Giberti's 2,000 ducats a year, and an annual pension from the Emperor on the Church of Burgos, of another 2,000 ducats. He does not give the amount of Pole's revenue as Legate of Viterbo, perhaps because it was all spent, according to his assurance to the Pope, for the good of the province.

² *Spanish Cal.*, VIII, p. 91.

1544

joint decree of Charles V and the King of the Romans, to another diet to be held in October. The very attempt, however, to settle questions belonging to the faith without reference to the Pope, gave deep dissatisfaction at Rome.

Nor could Paul III refrain from severely rebuking the Emperor for making a league with a schismatic king. By a treaty signed in December, 1543, Charles V and Henry VIII entered upon a war with France in the following June, the English King crossing to Calais on the 14th July—an act which caused Lord Russell to write privately to Sir Anthony Browne that this was the fourth "voyage" he had seen the King make into France, "and yet he had not a foot more ground in that kingdom than he had forty years before."

If, on Charles V's side, the war might be considered necessary for the safeguard of his dominions, continually harassed by France, this could not be said for Henry VIII. He entered into it entirely on his own behalf, and for his personal grievance against Francis I, who had for several years withheld his stipulated pension; war was not in the interests of his country, which he pretty well drained of its resources—debasement of the coinage, etc.—in carrying it out. The Emperor was his ally at present, even against the Pope, and it was only from France and Scotland that he had anything to dread as to the enforcement of the papal excommunications.

The Emperor took St. Dizier on the 9th August, and Francis I soon afterwards made overtures of peace which Charles was inclined to give ear to. Nor could Henry VIII justly complain, as he had conspicuously failed to carry out his engagement of marching on Paris, telling the Imperial ambassador that Boulogne, which fell to him on the 14th September, was more important to him than Paris. Instead of helping his ally to carry the war into the heart of France—having secured Boulogne, he was secretly preparing to return to England.

By the treaty of Crespi, Charles V and Francis made peace, and the latter was free to turn all his attention to attempting to retake Boulogne, and to carry on a naval war with England; during which Henry VIII, who had repaired to Portsmouth,

had the mortification to behold a foreign fleet braving him to 1544 his face, and riding triumphant in the Channel, Dudley, Lord Lisle, High Admiral of England not venturing, with his much inferior force, to leave the harbour. But beyond a few descents on the coast of Sussex, the expedition had no other effect than to gratify the vanity of the French King.

Henry VIII was further infuriated by the persistent rumours —the wish, no doubt, in many cases being parent to the thought—that Reginald Pole was to be employed against him by the French. Not only did Harvel, from Venice, repeat his statement that Cardinal Pole was going into France, but added that Paul III was sending with him Alessandro Vitelly, one of his chief captains and 6,000 men to be employed against the King of England; not so much to annoy Henry, “as to expedite the General Council.”¹ Stephen Vaughan, English financial agent at Antwerp, wrote at the same time: “The French King trusts much in Reginald Pole, and during these wars always maintained a certain man with him at Viterbo, or wherever he may be, like a shadow—a Norman brought up in England.”²

We find no trace of any such schemes or intentions in Pole’s letters and papers; his only interference in English affairs at this time seems to have been an ecclesiastical one: a vehement protest to Paul III against a proposed appointment of some *Poli Epp.* man “who calls himself English” to the Archbishopric of ^{IV. 41} York. Pole desires, for several reasons, that such a base and deceitful ambition should fail, but mainly that, if it succeeded, nothing could do more to alienate the minds of those English who still retain some relics of devotion to the Holy See (though they dare not show it) and drive them to despair, to know that their archbishopric, especially that which is nearest to Scotland, is conferred at the will [*arbitrium*] of the Scots. Pole does not give the candidate’s name [Dr. Hilliard ?], while declaring that his attitude shows that he thinks more of himself than of retaining the devotion of the English to the

¹ *Harvel to Henry VIII*, Venice, 17th December, 1544. R.O.

² *Vaughan to Henry VIII*, Antwerp, 14th December, 1544. R.O.

1544

Pope. All points to the desire to steal their archbishopric from the English.¹

In Vittoria Colonna's letters we find a graceful allusion to some work in which she and Pole are engaged at Rome, telling Cardinal Morone that if the Cardinal of England could abate a little of his humility, and she a little of her arrogance, it would do better.²

During this period of peace and tranquillity, contrasting with the turmoil and religious disagreement in the rest of Europe, Reginald Pole was unconsciously preparing for one of the most important epochs, not only of his own life, but of that of the Church. Paul III's brief to Charles V in August not only reproached him for his alliance with a schismatic King, but also for endeavouring to settle religious questions in Germany without reference to the Holy See. And when, driven by force of circumstances, the Emperor made peace with France, a new nuncio was sent to him to urge the General Council; to point out that now France had a distinct claim on the Pope's sympathy in her war with an excommunicated tyrant, and that if his Holiness gave money to Francis I in such a struggle, he would be the less able to help the Emperor against the Turk. In the struggle perpetually renewed between them, the Most Christian King and the Holy Roman Emperor never scrupled to ally themselves, the one with the Eastern Turk, and the other with the Turk of the West, as Henry VIII

¹ Edward Lee, who had been made Archbishop of York in 1531, on Reginald Pole's refusal of the See, died 13th September, 1544. The King appointed Robert Holgate to succeed him—who was deprived under Mary—but, as in the case of Salisbury, another appointment was, at all events, contemplated at Rome, apparently at Cardinal Betoun's recommendation of Richard Hilliard. Pole, whose sentiment of nationality was strong, could not brook Scotch interference in English ecclesiastical affairs. There is a curious letter to Cardinal Betoun from "Monswer de Mollynys," dated "Parice upon Sane," 12th April, 1545, showing that Dr. Hellot [Hilliard?] whom he calls "Cardinal Powl's servant," had been presented by Mollynys to Francis I: "And all things be, as he has promysit, it wil cum wel. My lord, work your matter wisely and secretly as you can in Yrlande and in England. . . . The King has sent secret wrytings into both. . . ." R.O.

² Ferrero-Müller: *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 277, June, 1544.

was so often called. Nevertheless, when the treaty of Crespi ¹⁵⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ was signed, it was agreed that they would favour the meeting of the Council summoned to meet at Trent in the spring—an event as distasteful to the English King, however much he might affect contempt of Council and Pope, as it was to the German Protestants.

Meanwhile, the diet postponed from Spires met at Worms in December. Charles V was so ill with the gout that he could not be present, so his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, attended in his stead. This time a representative of the Holy See was invited, and Cardinal Farnese arrived two days after the Emperor, in the following May. The proceedings up to that time had, as usual, proved sterile as to any agreement between the contending parties ; the main controversy raging round the first two propositions laid by Ferdinand before the diet : how disputes about religion should be determined, and how peace could be preserved in the Empire. The Princes of the Augsburg confession, and the cities adhering to it, insisted that the diet was indicted chiefly on account of religious questions, and therefore that they should proceed with that business, and not refer it to the Council of Trent. And Luther's tract "Against the Papacy founded by the Devil," and other writings of his to the same purport, were freely circulated. But the decision of the majority was against them, in that, and in the question of a reform of the judicial Chamber of the Empire.

So serious did the consequences appear to the German Protestants, that the Elector of Saxony's chancellor, joining with the chancellor of the Landgrave of Hesse, and with James Sturmius, chief of the city of Strasburg, took counsel with Henry VIII's secret envoys, Christopher Mont and Buckler, feeling that they and the King of England had at least one common object—resistance "to the Bishop of Rome's tyranny." The Council was not going to be such as the Protestants demanded—a free assembly to be held in Germany—and, until they were assured of continued peace, they withheld even the money they had contributed against the Turk. The Emperor's arrival at the diet made little difference, and Cardinal Farnese,

1545

who was received with peculiar honour by Charles V, only remained nine days, departing abruptly disguised as an attendant on Count Madrucci, the Cardinal of Trent's brother. This manner of departure, considering the danger from the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Protestants, excited less surprise than that he had finished his business so soon.¹

The King of France also sent an ambassador, Grignan, with some churchmen of high standing, who had frequent conferences with the Protestants, and suggested Metz instead of Trent, so as to remove objections ; but it was the Council itself, more than the place that they disliked, and the Count Palatine called his subjects to arms. On the 10th June, Grignan addressed the diet, saying his master was quite agreed with the Emperor in supporting the Council of Trent. After this there was nothing left for Christopher Mont and Buckler to do, except painfully and repeatedly to solicit an answer from the Protestants, which was always expected and never came. They could only recommend a German captain for Henry VIII's service, or help to ease the passage of German mercenaries through the North of Germany. Further help against France they could not afford him.

The Diet of Worms, if it effected nothing else—except to prove that the men of the Augsburg confession would not submit their differences in religion to a General Council—very considerably delayed the opening of the Council of Trent, which had been summoned for Lady Day, 25th March.² Charles V had reverted from the project he had for a moment entertained, of using coercion against the Protestant princes, to further attempts at finding a *modus vivendi* ; and, again applied to the problem of making fire and water mingle

¹ Convinced at last that the Protestant princes would never submit to persuasion, Charles V, who had exhausted every conciliatory measure, turned his thoughts to the employment of force. If he could gain the Pope's adhesion, it would prevent the Bavarians, who had so often harassed him, from taking the part of the Protestants. This project, imparted to Cardinal Farnese, caused his sudden departure, that he might lay it before the Pope.—See Zimmermann, p. 224.

² See Gairdner, Vol. XX, Part I.

harmoniously, announced another religious conference to be 1545 held at Ratisbon. It is surprising that he should have chosen the time of a General Council, summoned with his consent, for setting his Catholic theologians to discuss with the Protestants questions of reunion at Ratisbon ; but, having done so, it was in his interest to postpone the opening of the Council, or, if that proved impossible, to put off the discussion of questions of dogma as late as might be.

The question of a General Council had been mooted since the days of Leo X ; and Paul III had begun his pontificate by reminding the cardinals of the solemn engagement they had all taken on entering the Conclave, that whoever was chosen Pope should call a General Council within two years of his election. He entreated them not to wait the expiration of the term, but, as the reformation of Christendom was to begin by the ecclesiastical order, to set such an example in their own persons as might edify the Church and silence the censure of those who had left her communion. He let no consistory pass, during the first eight years of his pontificate, without pressing the point, and, as we have seen, made several fruitless attempts to comply with his engagement. The peace, or comparative peace of Europe was essential to the holding of a General Council, and not until Charles V and Francis I had come to an agreement on the subject was there any possibility of its being held in the necessary freedom.

Nevertheless, the delays were often attributed to the Pope himself, as well as the slackness in enforcing the reform of the Roman Curia. As Sadoletto wrote to Pole, the second year of his government of Viterbo—

“ All that is blameable redounds to his dishonour whom we revere and love, and to whom we have the highest obligations. I will not descend to particulars, that I may not increase my own sorrow and renew yours. This must be evident to a common observer, that whatever goes amiss in Christendom is immediately imputed to us, and the readiness mankind shows in this accusation betrays the too general prejudice which prevails against us.”¹

¹ Sadoletto : *Epist.*, Lib. 13, Epist. 6.

1545

The town of Trent had been chosen by Paul III as being a free town, and subject to no sovereign ; so that those who dissented from the Church had no pretext for the fears under which they disguised their real aversion to appear before the Council. The Bishop, who was at once temporal and spiritual lord, was at this time Cardinal Madruzz, a German by birth. Trent had also the advantage of being situated on the frontiers of Germany and Italy, and of abounding with all kinds of provisions and merchandise. It was a large, well-built and healthy town, surrounded with high mountains, called by the ancients the Alps of Trent. No place could be more convenient for a General Council, being the centre, as it were, of Italy, Germany, and France.

The esteem in which Pole was held by Paul III is shown by the fact that while two of the three legates originally named for the Council, and sent to Trent in 1543—Parisio and Morone—were changed for Santa Croce [Cervini] and Del Monte (both of whom afterwards became Pope), Cardinal Pole's nomination remained unaltered.

Cardinals Santa Croce and Del Monte left Rome for Trent in March, but Pole did not travel with them, on account of fresh designs of Henry VIII upon his life. In his government palace at Viterbo, where every stranger coming to the town gates was challenged and had to give an account of himself, Reginald Pole was comparatively safe, surrounded by watchful servants whose devotion to him almost amounted to passion, in return for the kindness and thoughtful care for his dependants which had ever distinguished him. As Governor of Viterbo, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Beccatelli tells us, it was the same ; did the meanest of his servants fall sick, not only did the Cardinal have him well looked after by his own physician, but would go himself to cheer and comfort him. But on a journey, and travelling through various towns, the case was different, and it became more difficult to guard against treachery and assassination. Henry VIII, on his side, had entered upon a more definite plan than that of offering large rewards for individual attempts to destroy him. Three well-known Italian condottieri, Ludovico de l'Armi of Bologna,

Count Bernard di San Bonifacio of Verona, and Filippo Pini of 1545 Lucca, were engaged by Harvel, Henry's agent in Venice, and they in turn hired "many captains at great charge," looking as Harvel wrote to the King on the 1st March, for Henry's R.O. commands.

In the same letter he is, however, forced to announce that suspicions of their designs have reached Rome, and Ludovico's father has been cited to appear, on pain of 50,000 crowns, in his son's cause.¹ The following month Harvel acknowledges the receipt of £1,000 for the "King's Captains," their ostensible business being to raise Italian soldiers for Henry's service.

Paul III therefore gave Pole an armed escort of twenty-five horsemen [de l'Armi's "captains" seem to have numbered about twenty], with which he started in April by a circuitous route, one of his servants, as Harvel afterwards discovered, R.O. having travelled "feigning himself to be the Cardinal," with the 20 April other legates. Cardinal Cervini had sent Pole news of de l'Armi's movements from Bologna, and he safely made the journey to Trent, by way of Mantua, where Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga entertained him with great magnificence. Meanwhile Cardinal Ardinghelli, who managed all secret affairs of the papal government until his death in 1547, spoke to Francesco Venier, Venetian ambassador in Rome, about getting Ludovico sent out of the states of Venice, as he was suspected of designs on Pole's life, who had then arrived at Trent.

The secret intelligence department seems to have been well organised, for Ardinghelli was able to supply the following particulars to Venier, duly reported by him to the Council of Ten—

"He [de l'Armi] has a monthly pension of 50 crowns in time of peace, and 200 in time of war, from the King of England. He has eight captains, each of whom would receive 25 crowns. Some others receive stipends, including a Veronese, one of the Counts of

¹ Henry VIII's project was known to Chapuys and to Vander Delft, the Imperial ambassadors in England, two, if not three of the Italians having just been in London, and Charles V's secretary at Brussels also mentioned de l'Armi's project and his father's arrest.—*Spanish Cal.*, VIII, No. 33.

1545 Bonifacio, he also having four captains. The King of England, by detaining him in Italy, without obtaining any immediate profit thence, induces suspicion of some mischievous design."

Ven. Cal., V. 135 Three days later, May 8th, Venier sends further details, given to him by the Pope himself. Ludovico and his accomplices were ordered to make all possible preparations, but not to stir until the arrival of a gentleman of the King's chamber, despatched to de l'Armi with Henry's commands. The Pope also told Venier of the money sent to Harvel and distributed to the accomplices.¹

R.O. 30 April The princes through whose territories Pole passed took care that he should be well guarded from de l'Armi's band, the Duke of Ferrara giving him an escort by water as far as Ostiglia, upon which the Cardinal sent back the soldiers of his own guard. No one was so anxious about Pole's safety as Vittoria Colonna. She wrote to Cardinal Morone, urging him, as she knew Pole's trust in him, to exhort the latter to be careful, and especially to warn Priuli and Flaminio—who had gone with Pole to Trent—keeping them always in mind to use all possible diligence in keeping a most severe guard over him, remembering that God has chosen them out of all his other servants to watch over him.² Three days later she writes again, comparing Pole's legation to the Council, as sent by God, like Christ himself, to unite the Jews and the Gentiles, and say to them : *ipse est pax nostra qui fecit utrque unum*; all Pole's tribulations are certain witnesses to his inflexible faith, and every contrary wind fans the flame of his hope : "every opposition the world can make to his work, in the end, I always see that it only serves to make his divine charity burn and glow—

"in such wise, my lord, that I venture to say he has ignited in me some little spark of it—*qualche scintilla*; so that I do not suffer half the bitterness, that I should otherwise feel in all the difficulties and molestations which come upon me."

¹ Ludovico de l'Armi, after a chequered and stormy career, was tried and beheaded at Venice in May, 1547, for various crimes proved against him.

² Ferrero-Müller : *Carteggio de Vittoria Colonna*, p. 303.

After enlarging, in beautiful terms, upon all she owes Pole 1545 for his direction in her spiritual life, she continues—

“One great anxiety remains in me: that is that he may keep well and safe, and that God will leave him with us for a long time, remitting all, however, to His paternal providence; and as to what your lordship says about Ludovico [de l’Armi] I must tell you that I never feared him so much as that Bonifacio and the others he holds in his hands.”¹

She concludes by saying that she has just returned to her beloved convent of Santa Catharina at Viterbo.

Cardinal Pole had employed the leisure forced upon him by the delay of his departure for Trent in writing his *Liber de Concilio*, addressed to his two colleagues John Maria, Cardinal Del Monte, and Marcello Cervini, Cardinal St. Croce—a work which gives, in the form of eighty-six questions and answers, an exhaustive treatise upon General Councils. “A treatise which for perspicuity, good sense, and solid reason is equal to the importance of the occasion on which it was written; and shows at once the ease and reach of his genius, and the goodness of his heart.”²

When the three legates met at Trent, they found few bishops there. The princes and powers of the earth were by no means eager to promote the Council, the Protestants refusing to go to it, and Charles V, as we have seen, preferring to go on in his own way with his diet at Ratisbon. Mendoza, the Emperor’s ambassador, had already arrived and been received with great solemnity, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who seems to have been the only prince sincerely well disposed towards the Council, having also sent a representative. All the tact of the legates was necessary to keep the peace among the various ambassadors, Mendoza insisting on taking precedence of the Cardinal of Trent, as he represented the Emperor,

¹ Ferrero-Müller: *Carteggio de Vittoria Colonna*, p. 305.

² Phillips, Vol. I, p. 402. This work was inserted by Phil. Labb  among the *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.*, Paris, 1667. It was published at Venice, together with Pole’s *Baptism of Constantine*, and *Reformatio Angliae ex Decretis Reg. Poli*, in 1562, with a dedication to the Medici Pope Pius IV. *Pauli Manutii Aldis.*

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and consequently could only give place to the legates, who represented the Pope. The Spanish ambassador, the Count di Luna, had to have a special place assigned to him, because he would not rank below the French envoys, who insisted upon sitting next to the Emperor's, the Frenchmen declaring they would leave the place, and provide for the affairs of religion by a National Synod, if the Pope favoured the pretensions of the Spaniard. The matter was compromised : the French and Spanish ambassadors agreeing to appear alternately on public occasions, and so to avoid any future strife.

Mendoza's task was to mark time : he assured the legates, at the public audience given him in the great hall of Del Monte's palace, of his master's desire to assist at the Council in person, and excused him on account of his infirmities, and the affairs which required his presence elsewhere. He spoke of Charles V's zeal in summoning the Council, and of the involuntary obstacles which had hitherto retarded it, of the orders given to the Spanish bishops to set out with all expedition, and assured the legates they were already on the way. The legates replied that they had confidence in the Emperor's piety, and hoped he would refer all he did to the advancement of religion. Francis I wrote to assure the Fathers of the Council of his veneration, and his readiness to concur in whatever measures they should judge necessary for the good of Christianity.¹

Several months passed in these preliminaries. While the letters of the Imperial ambassador at Rome reflect the personal

¹ The learned Cochleus, Canon of Breslau, was one of Pole's constant correspondents at this time. Pole had expected him to come to Trent as representative of the Bishop of Eichstaat [Maurice von Hutten], and when he failed to do so, the Cardinal kept him informed, in a series of interesting letters, of what was going on, and also answered several of Cochleus' enquiries on points of dogma. In the first of these, Pole tells Cochleus that he has loved him ever since he read his book in defence of Fisher and More—*Defensio Johannis Ep. Roffensis et Thomae Mori adversus Richardum Samsoneum, Anglum* [with a letter of Pope Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael III from an old MS. in Cologne], printed, 1536. Pole thanks his correspondent for his reply to a verbal salutation, conveyed to him from Pole by the Archbishop of Armagh [Robert Wauchop.]

ill-will of Charles V towards the Pope, the despatches of the ¹⁵⁴⁵ legates at Trent show his obstructive attitude towards the Council. From their style we may safely presume that the latter were drawn up by Pole, the youngest of the three. ^{Quirini, Vol. IV, 26 May} Referring to the arrogance of certain persons, they declare : " It would be the world upside down : the Pope and the Emperor obeying, and the heretics commanding. The Pope had better abandon his See, and return the keys to St. Peter, than suffer secular authority to undertake the determining of questions of religion." To open the Council against the will of the princes would, however, be difficult : in the first place, the bishops of their countries would not come, and the Council could not be called Ecumenical ; perhaps its decisions would not be accepted ; " so that, in healing one wound we might make many."

The disheartening delays, and the consequent request of some of the prelates to be allowed to go away, are recognised as originating with the Emperor ; and in a cyphered letter the legates say they see themselves gently put off from one time to another : *trasportare dolcemente da un tempo nell altro.* Germany is dragging the affairs of religion and of the Council into as bad or worse a state than they were before ; if the Emperor will not declare his mind, nothing can be done. To open a Council concurrently with the diet would be dishonourable and dangerous ; to await the result, and keep the Council in suspense, appears equally difficult and hazardous. ^{26 July}

Nor were other dangers lacking : Ludovico de l'Armi, " rebel against the Holy See, and probably intent on taking the life of one of the legates," had appeared in Trent, Cardinal Del Monte having seen him from a window. The plague had also made its appearance at Rovere, near Trent ; so guards were set, and all precautions taken. At last, the legates were able to announce : " The Emperor consents to the opening of the Council," to the great joy of the prelates, and messengers were sent to recall those who had taken their departure. ^{18 Aug.}

The Council was opened on the 13th December, Cardinal Del Monte being elected President. In addition to the letters from the three legates to the Pope, announcing the auspicious

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event, Pole, as the only one who had been in the previous legation to Trent, wrote a private letter to Paul III, which rings with the satisfaction and joy of long-desired achievement.

Poli Epp.
iv. 34

The joint letter has congratulated his Holiness, and testified their common joy on the opening of the Council, at a time when the affairs of the Church seemed otherwise past remedy ; and Pole, who owes all to the Pope, cannot refrain from testifying his own delight by a private letter, which is all the greater as he felt the ignominy with which they, who were gathered here by the Pope's authority to celebrate it, were branded, when their detractors said in the words of Jeremiah, *Filiū venerunt ad partum et non est virtus ad pariendum.* Now that the gates of the Council are opened, that reproach of sterility will be taken from the Church.

Cardinal Pole's task was not altogether easy ; Del Monte, the President of the Council, a mighty canonist, was a somewhat hasty and passionate man, occasionally inclined to overrule his opponents without due consideration, and it was Pole's office to hold him back and temper his asperities with his own extraordinary sweetness and conciliation of manner. There were present four archbishops, twenty-two bishops, five generals of orders, the ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of the Romans ; those of France had been recalled. A general fast had been observed the previous day, and public prayers ordered at Trent and at Rome, and a jubilee granted to engage the faithful to implore the blessing and guidance of Heaven on the Fathers assembled on such an occasion.

The first general congregation was held on the 18th December, when the legates requested that the nomination of officers might be made at Rome, to which the Fathers consented, and in another, held on the 29th, a deliberative and decisive voice was allowed to Abbots, who were Heads of Orders. The question which lay nearest Pole's heart was the reform of the clergy. When the title was being vehemently and lengthily discussed—whether Sacred and Ecumenical or Universal—he reminded the assembled prelates that they should not seek their own glory, but God in all things. Any man who looked into himself would acknowledge how far he had failed in the exact

fulfilment of his duties. Many had seldom, if ever, visited their own churches, so that they were incapable of giving account of them. If any real good was to come of their synod, it must come from God and not from men. To those who really walked in the way of the Lord, such discussions were vain and useless, and it was a pity to waste time on unprofitable questions.¹

The question of pluralities was also a burning one with Pole, and in a letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, dated 11th January, he congratulated him upon having given up a bishopric he held in Spain ; for which Pole thanks God, reminding Gonzaga that he had suggested it to him at the consistory in Rome. He adds that not much has been done yet, except making the necessary regulations, and appointing deputations [committees] to enter into the questions of dogma, etc.

By a committee of the 22nd January, it was agreed that matters relating to faith and the reformation of manners should be jointly treated of, Pole laying stress upon the necessity of a simultaneous attack upon the questions of church reform and of articles of faith. Moral law, he declared, could not be separated from dogma. As God had given Moses two tables of the law, the first dealing with faith, and the other with morals, so Christ had sent His disciples to preach the Gospel, and teach morality ; where unblemished faith was found, there was no room for bad morals. The fulfilment of public duties was far weightier than private ones : a king must not only rule his subjects, but with true brotherly love care for and defend them ; just as the father of the family cares for his own, so must the King care for and instruct his people ; on bishops was laid the obligation, by word and deed to teach the Gospel to their flocks—let him who held two bishoprics resign one of them. This discourse made a profound impression upon the assembled Fathers.²

In the discussion of the question whether the precedent of the Council of Florence should be followed, of simply giving a

¹ Theiner, I, p. 40 ; Zimmermann, p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 42. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

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list of the canonical writings of the Old Testament, or of giving in addition, the grounds for their acceptance, Cervini and Pole voted against Del Monte, for the latter course. In the prolonged debates on the authority of Scripture, and the admission of tradition as a source of belief, Pole brought the discussion to a close with a defence of the Fathers, against the attack of the Bishop of Fiesole. He drew a fine comparison between the Church, as an army drawn up in battle array, to withstand the assault of Satan striving to sift men like wheat, and their adversaries, calling every doctrine into question ; he demonstrated the necessity of looking well to the weapons with which they girded themselves before entering into the fray. His expositions on the misuse of Scripture and tradition, on the method of preaching, and on Church discipline were also accepted with unanimous approval, so greatly were his piety and earnestness respected. "Of this," says Beccatelli, "I can cite myself as a witness, having served the legates several months as secretary."

25 March

His strenuous labours as legate did not prevent Reginald Pole from taking thought of his own subjects at Viterbo, when his interference was needed to strengthen the hands of his Vice-legate, Parpaglia, abbot of San Saluto. So we find him writing to Cardinal Farnese, at Rome, that his man in charge of the Rocca at Viterbo,¹ had kept certain prisoners of Assisi for many months by express command of his Holiness, expecting that they would not be taken away without his being fully paid for their keep. Now, by the importunities of the parties, he has been constrained to send them to Rome without being fully reimbursed. So Pole begs Farnese to see his man satisfied, and thus saved the expense of suing for payment.

Beccatelli cites an instance of the Cardinal's disinterestedness while at Trent. The sum of 4,000 ducats from his pension of Granata being paid him—which for some reason had been delayed—the Cardinal, having been able to live without them,

¹ The castle, restored by Paul III, who was in the habit of spending the summer months there.—Bussi : *Istoria della citta di Viterbo*, p. 309.

and having, as was his wont, no debts, not regarding the fact ¹⁵⁴⁶ that he was a poor Cardinal and away from home, distributed the whole sum among his *famiglia*, according to their rank and station. "And yet, when necessary," adds his biographer, "he exercised such magnificence as became his illustrious birth and quality."

Pole's intimate friendship with Vittoria Colonna must have brought him often into contact with Michael Angelo, but the only reference to the great painter we can find among Pole's correspondence occurs in a letter from the Bishop of Fano to Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Trent, 12th May, and which shows that not only did the Cardinal possess an important work by Michael Angelo, but that he was generously ready to part with it to a friend. The Bishop of Fano writes—

" My lord Pole, having heard that your lordship desired a painting of Christ by Michael Angelo, charged me secretly to find out if ^{Gonzaga Archives} such was the case, because he happens to have one from that painter's own hand, which he would willingly send you, but it is in the shape of a *Pieta*, although the whole figure is seen. He says it will be no deprivation to him, because he can get another from the Marchesa di Pescara. Will your lordship write to me about it. . . ."

It is pleasant to find that Reginald Pole, who, on his first journey from England, had been careful of his books and his virginals, was such a lover of painting, that he carried one of Michael Angelo's pictures with him on his travels.

We have an amusing instance that there were lighter moments, even at Trent during a General Council, in a letter from Pier Paolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, to Cardinal Gonzaga—

"TRENT, 5th March.

" The day before yesterday the Cardinal of Trent [Madruzz] gave ^{Ibid.} a ball for the marriage of a young gentlewoman of his family; he invited some bishops, and made a few of them dance, including Feltre. Del Monte and Pole took it in good part, *dai buoni compagni*, but St. Croce protested, and some acrid remarks have passed between him and Trent. At all events, it will be a scandal to say that bishops, old Fathers of the Council, have been skipping and dancing, *saliato e ballato*. And although they be lies, they will be reported to Rome."

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Those were primitive days, and dances were stately measures full of dignity, in which a bishop might figure without scandalizing Reginald Pole. The latter part of Vergerio's letter relates to a much graver matter: the debates as to his own exclusion, for erroneous opinions, from the Council. He writes that he was about to consult Pole, and would be guided by him. In the event, Vergerio was obliged to leave Trent.

2 Feb.

The opinion of the legates and of many of the assembled prelates was that the reform of the Roman *Curia* should precede the discussion of questions of dogma. The Pope's opinion was that the Council should begin with dogma, and go on to reform afterwards. The legates candidly tell Cardinal Farnese that when this was proposed to the prelates, many "turned up their noses" [*storcevano il naso*], and it was very badly received. They write emphatically—

"As to the Court of Rome, two things scandalize the world: its avarice, and its pomp and luxury. If those two causes were effectually remedied, the reform of the Penitentiary, of the Chancery, and of the Rota would follow. There would remain the principal point of the reform, the entrusting of churches to persons able and willing to serve them themselves, and not to confide them to mercenaries; unless this be done, all attempts at reform will be in vain."¹

In another report, the question of reform in the appointment of Cardinals is suggested, "who ought to be the mirror, example and pattern of the inferior clergy." The question of cathedral churches is mooted, and the necessity of bishops residing in their dioceses, etc., etc. A few days later the legates have the satisfaction to report that nearly all the bishops are not only willing to reside in their dioceses, but to preach and minister to the people entrusted to their care. In announcing that the question of the authority of Scripture, and of tradition, after

¹ The legates were much in earnest on the first question. Cardinal St. Croce wrote to Cardinal Maffei, asking to be forgiven if he spoke too freely; but as for the Court of Rome, he should like to see the Holy Father reform it himself, and not leave the question to the discretion of the Council. The reform of the Friars, and other matters, he would leave to the Council.—19th December, 1545. *Lettere del Cardinale Sauta Croce da Trento.*

passing through the Committee had come before the General 1548 Meeting, they say—

“ The session was held in great order, and peacefully, in the presence of many foreign gentlemen, from Venice and elsewhere. There were present the Cardinals of Trent and Jaen, the Emperor’s ambassador, about fifty-five mitres and the Generals [of religious orders]. Asked if all consented to the decree read from the pulpit as to the acceptance of Scripture and traditions, and on certain abuses, all answered *Placent*. Chioggia [the Bishop of Chioggia had been in opposition] alone said *Obediam*.”

Less agreeable tidings followed a few days later. Don Francesco di Toledo, the Imperial ambassador, had informed the legates that his master objected to questions of dogma being entered upon for the present, and asked them to take ^{4 May} the reforms only. The legates replied that they would submit the question to the Pope, and the ambassador intimated that unless Charles V’s wishes were respected, he would “ wash his hands of the whole business.” But Paul III had reached the limits of concession to the Emperor, and his answer was hailed ^{19 May} with joy by the legates. They hasten to assure him how much his prudence and greatness of soul had consoled them, and his resolution to go on in the straight way of the service of God. They are very serene in mind, and will obey his Holiness’s commands, though the general meetings, to judge by the last ten days, will be tumultuous and difficult to manage, since the will of the princes is not to be acceded to. The dogmas to be defended against the Lutherans are Original Sin, Baptism and Justification. To the Imperial ambassador’s request that they would wait for Charles V’s reply, the legates made answer that it was impossible to do so, for whatever that reply might be, it could make no difference.

Though they expected the next session to be stormy, the ^{28 May} legates, to show they were not afraid, invited the two Imperial ambassadors to be present, but neither of them came. Some of the Spanish bishops proposed to defer questions of dogma during the sitting of the Diet of Ratisbon, but were at once overruled, and the congregation ended *senza tumulto*.

Whether by a happy coincidence, or as a result of Paul III’s

1546 decided action, the Diet of Ratisbon brought its own unfruitful career to an end. The important event is thus reported by the English ambassador, Bishop Thirlby, to Paget—

“ RATISBON, 9th June, 1546.

R.O.
S.P., XI, 215 “ This forenoon, all the Catholics, as well as the Electors of Mainz and Treves, and the other princes and cities (of which only three came hither, Cologne, Aachen and Metz) approved that all matters touching the Faith are to be relegated to the Council of Trent, and the Emperor to be petitioned to induce the other kings and princes of Christendom to subscribe its decrees, to exhort the Protestants to it, and compel with arms such as are unwilling. . . .”

Charles V knew how to accept defeat, and he appears to have made no effort to reverse the decision of the Diet of Ratisbon, or further to obstruct the Council of Trent for the time being.

CHAPTER XVII

WHILE the Council of Trent, during the first half of the year, 1546 was employed in its work of defining doctrines, and reforming abuses—in decrees, of which a modern writer has said that they were worthy of being written in letters of gold—several important events had happened in Europe. Martin Luther died in March, the news, printed in Germany, reached Trent on the 20th, with the remark that he had been drinking and joking to the end—*bevendo e burlando fin' all' ultimo.*

In England, Henry VIII continued to receive from his agents abroad lively warnings of the danger of Cardinal Pole's dealings with France, and the King kept an anxious eye on the proceedings of the Council, of which the kinsman he had failed to kill was one of the presidents, and where Henry shared with Martin Luther the attention of the assembly as one of the two grave causes of danger to the faith of Christendom.¹

For ten years past a sentence of deprivation had been prepared against him at Rome, which might quite well have been carried out if the Emperor and Francis I had combined against him, or even if the one would have let the other act alone unmolested. But now, at the meeting of the General Council, which both Princes felt bound to respect, the case seemed far more critical ; and Henry was using his best diplomatic skill to tie the hands of the Emperor more firmly, while he proved his orthodoxy by forbidding Luther's books to be read in England. Francis I was already his enemy—

¹ On the 6th June the legates wrote as follows to Paul III—

" To us it appears that these two causes should be put forward first ; and being the greatest that have been in the Church of God for ages past, we think that the petition which will be put forward here by the proctor should be formulated at Rome, narrating the origin of the Lutheran Sect, its impiety and the fire lighted in Christendom ; and the wickedness and atrocity of the King of England. As it is to be published to all the world it is most important that such a process should be well grounded." A similar motion, in view of the dangers in which Scotland lay, was made by Archbishop Wauchop of Armagh on the 2nd June.

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whom the Pope was naturally inclined to favour, and it was with the view of keeping the command of the Channel, and making invasion hopeless, that he persisted in retaining possession of Boulogne, which Francis would have given a very large sum of money to recover, and which was costly to keep, while every man in his Council, as Thomas Hussey wrote to Lord Surrey, said, "Away with it." This was manifestly the best policy for an overburdened country, but not one of his councillors dared, as the above letter declared, raise his voice in favour of it in the King's presence.¹ On the 16th January, the treaty of Utrecht was signed between Charles V's ministers and Gardiner, Thirlby and Knox, Henry VIII's ambassadors.

The King had failed to get Cardinal Pole assassinated ; he was more fortunate with Cardinal Betoun. The act had been virtually agreed upon two years previously between Henry's agents and the "English party" under Lennox.² The agents knew that they might do it with the connivance of the King of England, and not go unrewarded. The deed was committed at St. Andrew's on the 29th May, and the Cardinal's two chief assailants, the young Lord of Grange and the laird of Brunstone received £50 apiece from the King.³ The news reached the Continent just after peace had been concluded between England and France, and that the deed had been done by the agents of Henry VIII was obvious in diplomatic circles. But even in those days, it appears extraordinary to find a man like Bishop Thirlby calmly writing from Ratisbon, 15th June, to Paget—

"I had almost forgotten to tell my gladness of your tidings of the Cardinal of Scotland. It is half a wonder here that you dare be so bold to kill a Cardinal."

Another bishop—Tunstall—knew of the design a year

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XXX, Part 2, Preface.

² "His highness reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it ; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that they be exhorted to proceed."—Tytler, V. 389. Lingard, Vol. V, p. 91.

³ *Dasent's Acts of the Privy Council*, I, p. 527. The payment of the laird of Brunstone was authorised on the 20th July.

previously, and forwarded letters about it. The act was well ¹⁵⁴⁶ timed for Henry's interests. France was on the point of making peace with England from sheer exhaustion, and Cardinal Betoun was the only man in Scotland who had done much to counteract designs on his country's independence. Moreover, the murderers of the Cardinal had possession of St. Andrew's Castle, and kept within it, as a prisoner, the son of Lord Arran, the Governor of Scotland. They had free commerce with England by sea, and it would tax the powers of Arran and the Scotch estates to dislodge them. So neither Scotland nor France was likely to be troublesome to Henry for some time, and the Emperor was his sure friend.¹

When Cardinal Cervini, in the month of June, introduced the debate on the question of Justification in the Council of Trent, he spoke of the difficulty of the subject, into the details of which former theologians had not entered with perfect fulness. Cardinal Pole thereupon pointed out that the more difficult the question, the more it behoved them, by their prayers, to supplicate the Divine assistance. He exhorted the Fathers to consult the Scriptures, carefully to examine the books of their opponents, and to separate the chaff from the wheat. As poison might be mingled with the most wholesome food, so did Luther and other heretics strive to mingle the true with the false; it was needful, therefore, not to judge lightly, nor without careful examination of all that their writings contained, nor reject it altogether as heretical; that would be to fall into the contrary error, as did Albert Pighius, who, when contesting Luther's teaching on Original Sin, approached the confines of Pelagianism.²

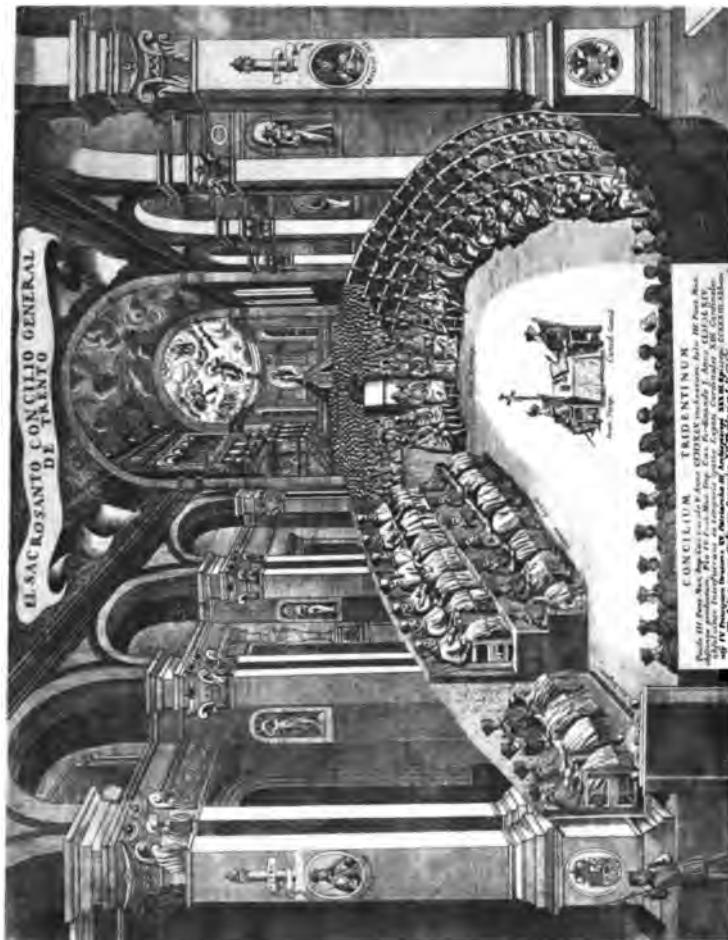
The legates at the same time wrote to the Pope that the importance of the Council with regard to dogma depended principally on the question of Justification; so they requested him to have it carefully studied by the ablest theologians in Rome, and their opinion sent to Trent as soon as possible.

¹ Gairdner, Vol. XXI, Preface.

² *Le Plat*, III, p. 431; Theiner, I, p. 162; Zimmermann, p. 231.

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*The Council of Trent 1545
from the picture in Trent cathedral.*

1546

A week later Cardinal Pole left Trent for Padua.¹ The health of all three legates had suffered from their labours and from the climate of Trent, Cardinal St. Croce having had a serious illness, and they had, in the month of March, represented to the Pope that their legation had lasted nearly a year, they were not well in health, and the Council now being in good progress, they would be glad to be recalled, and their successors appointed. Paul III had not seen fit to relieve them of their labours, and in June Cardinal Pole broke down entirely. The keenness of the air and the cold of Trent caused, in Beccatelli's words, "a descent" *una discesa* in his left arm, for which he could find no remedy, and he was advised, before it got worse, to go to Padua for the milder climate, and to consult the faculty there. With the Pope's leave, he therefore left Trent on the 28th June, reaching Priuli's place, Treville, a few days later. In announcing his arrival to his late colleagues, he says he is less tired than he would have been without the litter he had made use of the last two days.

Poli Epp.
IV, 188

"I will see what the change of air and quiet will do for me here, and if that does not suffice, I will go to Venice, or to the baths of Padua, to use that mud Fracastoro praised so highly. . . ."²

"July 13th.

" . . . As to my health, I am rather better than worse. . . . Yesterday two doctors came over from Padua, Monte and Frizimelica, and considered my case. They declared I had better look after it, for if I do not, and the mischief continues too long, I should be in danger of paralysis."

Poli Epp.
IV, 193

A month later, in reply to Del Monte's and St. Croce's entreaties that he would return to Trent, he wrote that he would be only too glad to do so, but was not fit. Besides the pain in his arm the left shoulder has gone wrong, and the left eye is so much affected that he is in a worse state than he was before. The Pope has ordered him to attend to his health.

¹ After Pole's departure, there only remained one Englishman Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, and one Scotchman, Wauchop, Archbishop of Armagh, on the roll of prelates at the Council of Trent.

² Fracastoro, the celebrated physician and poet, was a native of Verona. A statue was erected to his memory in 1561. *Thuani Hist.* Vol. I, p. 4.

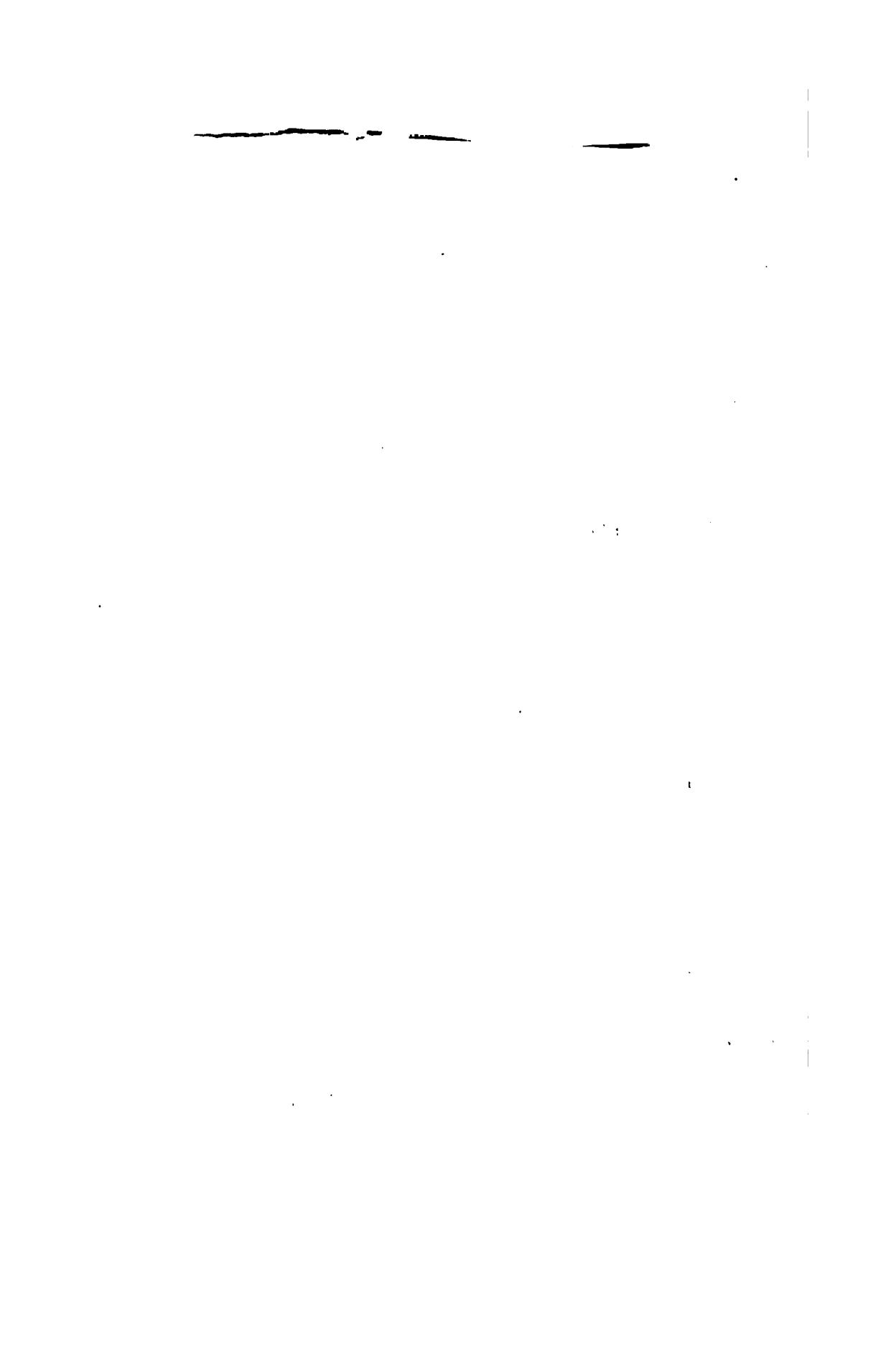
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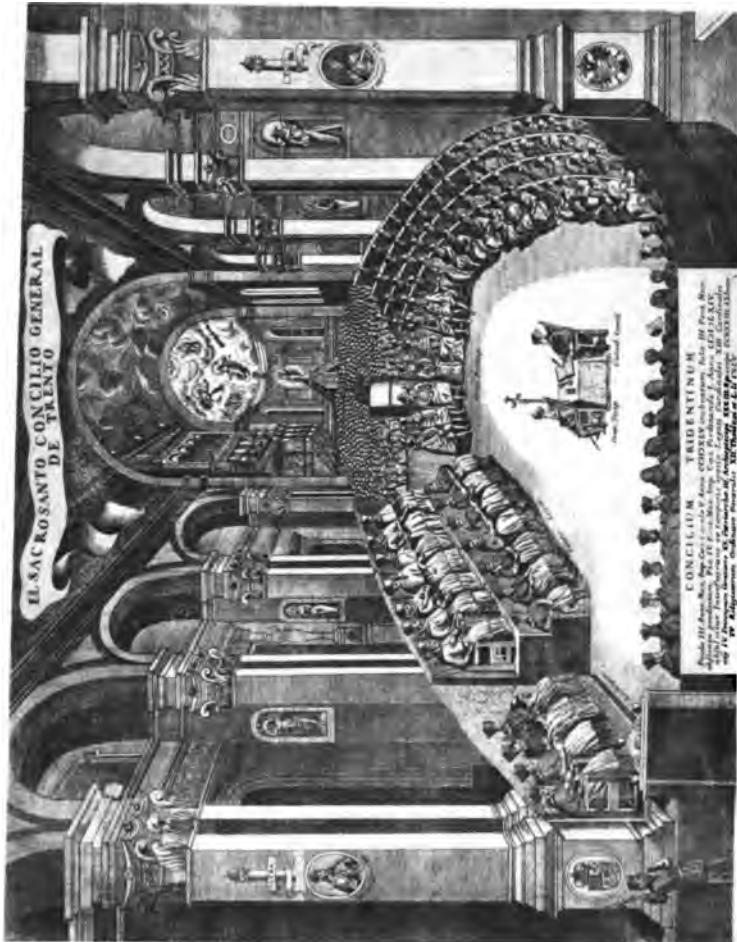
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The Emperor of Trent 1545
from the picture in Trent Cathedral.



Although the doctors said he was in danger of remaining 1546 maimed for the rest of his life, he would not put himself into their hands, nor begin the cure until he knew his Holiness's will.

The fact that his illness coincided with the debates on the question of Justification at the Council, furnished Pole's detractors at a later period, with a pretext for arraigning his orthodoxy on that question, pretending that he had simulated illness in order to leave the Council, and avoid revealing his opinion. Not only was his illness genuine and serious, his left eye remaining affected for the rest of his life, but he continued to take part, by his writings, and at his colleagues' request, in the discussions going on at Trent. The latter sent him the draught of the decree on Justification, which he returned—with a few minor alterations—by a Doctor of Divinity, Mariglia, a few days later. This decree, as it now stands, was found after Pole's death among his papers, written entirely in his own hand, and was published by his chamberlain, Henry Penning—furnishing a strong presumption that the Fathers of the Council judged that form the most proper to define, confirm, and explain the truths contained in it.¹ Nothing could more triumphantly prove his orthodoxy, or do more honour to his memory than that he should have been chosen as the particular instrument for declaring a doctrine so much contradicted by the innovators ; that the Council should have deferred to his opinion, with such a signification of their esteem.

To Vittoria Colonna, whose mind had been perplexed by the doctrine of Justification propounded by the New Learning, Pole had summed up his teaching in the words of advice : “ Believe as firmly as if your salvation depended on faith alone ; act as if good works were all sufficient.”

During his absence he had commended Vittoria to the care of a Cardinal whose name is not given, but to whom

¹ The treatise was published at Louvain in 1569. It is divided into two books : I—“ What is meant by the word Justification. And what degrees perfect justification and salvation hath in it.” II—“ How dangerous it is for a man to presume only upon God's mercy, and to do no good works.” The first book is divided under fourteen heads, the second under sixteen.

1546

there is a letter dated Padua, 17th September, containing Pole's thanks for his great Christian courtesy to the illustrious Signora Marchesa, who has been given by God to them both as a common mother. A few days later he wrote his last letter to Vittoria herself, dated Padua, 4th October, and beginning : " Most illustrious Lady and Most revered Mother." He thanks her affectionately for her letters, and assures her of his own well-being in Bembo's house and beautiful garden—

Ven. Cal., V. 79 " This I write to your Excellency as to my mother, to give you occasion to thank our common Father in Heaven. . . . I find with much greater distress than I ever experienced for my own infirmities, that you have been ill since August. . . ."

Paul III summoned Pole to Rome in October, and after a short stay at Viterbo, where he inaugurated, on the 11th November—in presence of the chief magistrates and notabilities of the town—a Philosophical Lectureship in the newly established college, he arrived in Rome on the 16th November.¹ Meanwhile, Charles V's war with the German Protestant League, and an outbreak of plague in the vicinity of Trent, made the continuance of the Council in that town very precarious, and the two remaining legates were anxious that it should be transferred to Bologna. In their letters to Cardinal Farnese they mention the frequent passage of troops through the town, the necessity many of the prelates would be under of going away, or that the Council might find itself locked up in Trent, with soldiers billeted upon its members. Paul therefore granted a commission which was read to the Fathers on the 11th March, when the motion of adjournment to Bologna was carried by a majority of thirty-eight to seventeen, the 21st April being fixed for the day of assembling there. This proceeding, as Pallavicini relates, so irritated Charles V that in a passionate speech he cried out against the Pope as " an obstinate old man, who would ruin the Church ; " the reason of his wrath being that Bologna being subject to the Pope would no longer be free, and that the Lutherans would no longer think of coming at all.

¹ Alfred von Reumont : *Vittoria Colonna*, p. 231.

Although Cardinal Pole's health was re-established, the 1546-47 Pope determined to keep him in Rome, instead of letting him go back to the Council, so as to have the advantage of his advice, and making continual use of his services, says Beccatelli, with regard to matters of faith and dealings with foreign princes, nearly all the despatches on such affairs being written by the Cardinal. "He did so with great ease, having accustomed himself from his youth to great beauty and facility in writing Latin, besides being most competent in all such questions, in all good faith and integrity."

Henry VIII had by now entered upon the last few months of his life and reign. His health was failing ; his huge body had become an almost inert mass, but his mind was active still. In the hope that in this condition he might be more open to thoughts of repentance, Paul III had made one more attempt—to which we may feel sure Reginald Pole was no stranger—to approach him in conciliation, through the good offices of the King of France. The Spanish envoy at the French court sent tidings at once to the Emperor that Francis I was trying to ^{Span.} _{Cal.} VIII, 290 reconcile the Holy See and the King of England, and that the Pope was employing a Venetian [Francesco Bernardo] who had taken part in the recent peace negotiations and was popular in England, where he still was. The Pope also sent Guron Bertano on the same errand. By the latter's letters to Roman Rome, we find him anxiously expecting the permission to cross ^{Roman} _{Trans-} ^{scripts} the seas which the French court had applied for, and when R.O. Henry VIII had granted it—arriving at the French Embassy in London with much secrecy—he was admitted to long conversations with Paget, whose close questioning "turned upon disputes which you can well imagine," wrote Selve, the French ambassador, to Francis I.¹

Bertano had an audience with Henry VIII, who, according

¹ Francis I seems to have acted in perfect good faith, and with a real desire to bring Henry VIII to terms with the Holy See. He wrote to him from Coudray, 24th July, 1546 : "In pursuance of what you said to my ambassador, I now send the gentleman whom you know [Guron Bertano ?] bearer of this, and beg you to hear him and credit what I have written to my ambassador to declare."

1546-47 to Paget's report to Selve, agreed to remit his affairs to the Council, provided that it was assembled in a suitable place, to which he could conveniently send prelates and doctors of his realm, and was called by authority of all Christian princes ; if it was held in France, he would not refuse to send thither. To this, Bertano could only reply that there had been no question of holding the Council in France, but only of sending men of letters on behalf of all Christian princes to settle matters with the deputies of the King of England. One passage in Selve's despatch of 4th August merits attention—

Corresp., No. 20 “ I will only mention one thing the gentleman [Bertano] said ; Paget told him it was not the Pope's fault that the King of England was not ruined, inciting you and the Emperor with offers of men and money, to make war upon him. When the gentleman would have denied this, Paget replied that he knew what he was saying, and that the Emperor had sent the King the Pope's letters about it ; (an act, Sire, which should scarcely conciliate the Pope with the Emperor, if reported to the Holy Father, as this gentleman told it me.) ”

What amount of sincerity there may have been in Henry VIII's declaration it is impossible to say, but the negotiations proved abortive, and on the 28th January he breathed his last “ and went,” in the words of Saint Simon, with regard to another monarch, “ to face the Eternal verities.” He had filled up the cup of his iniquities by the judicial murder of the most gallant noble in his realm ; the brilliant young soldier, the poet Earl of Surrey who had won and held Boulogne for the King, and was the finest ornament of his court, who was now sent to the scaffold on the flimsy pretence that on the shield embroidered at the back of his bed he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor.¹

Nor did Henry's ruling passion—so strong in death, that death alone could quell it—end even here. Urged on by the Seymours, Norfolk's deadly enemies, Norfolk himself, the man

¹ “ In an eloquent and spirited defence at his trial, Surrey showed that he had long borne those arms without contradiction, and that they had been assigned to him by a decision of the heralds. But the fact was taken as proof that he aspired to the throne.”—See the indictment in *Nott's Life of Surrey*.

who, of all others possessed the most powerful claims on the 1547 gratitude of his master—who had been the pattern of a supple courtier at the cost of his own honesty, good faith and conscience—was condemned to death by bill of attainder, there being still less evidence against him than against his son, the Earl of Surrey. Had not Henry died on the 28th, Norfolk's hoary head would have been struck off on the 29th, on Tower Hill, where he had been instrumental in sending many a better man.

Of Henry VIII's sentiments on his death-bed, nothing can be asserted with confidence. It is said that at the beginning of his illness he betrayed a wish to be reconciled with Rome, that Gardiner advised him to consult his Parliament and to commit his wishes to writing, while the other prelates, afraid of the penalties, evaded the question. He was constantly attended by his confessor, the Bishop of Rochester, and received Communion under one kind. Some accounts make him die in the anguish of despair, exclaiming: "All is lost"; others—notably a French account, which says he made *belle répentance*—represent him as making a devout and penitent end for his many grievous crimes.¹

When Reginald Pole received the news of the King's death, he at once wrote to the Pope, entreating him to send an envoy to the Emperor, to get him to make an effort to bring England back to the unity of the Church. He suggests, in two urgent letters, Cardinal Madrucci, Bishop of Trent, as the fittest man for the business, being a *persona gratissima* to Charles V. In the first of these letters we get a glimpse into the inner recesses of Reginald Pole's heart. For the first time for sixteen years he writes the words "King Henry." From the date of the beginning of Henry's course of tyranny, and of his own exile, Pole, in the innumerable instances in which he was obliged to mention him, always avoided his name. "He, who," occurs very frequently, as does the "King of England," "Your

Poli Epp.
IV, 38

¹ Lingard, Vol. V, p. 104. The Este Archives at Modena contain a veritable panegyric of the King, from the Duke of Ferrara's agent in London.

1547

Master," and every other form of designation ; but it was, as it were, impossible for him to frame the letters of the name which had once appeared to him in all the glamour with which the most loyal devotion, gratitude, admiration and love could invest it, and which had then come to symbolise the horror of cruel persecution, crime and bloodshed. Only when death had thrown its pall over that dual personality, do we find the first mention of " King Henry " in a letter of Reginald Pole's.

At the same time, Pole wrote to the Privy Council, announcing that the Pope was ready to send him to England, in the fatherly desire of suggesting " salutary measures, suited to the removal of our evils, provided they are accepted with the same dispositions with which they are offered." The letter contains several interesting points : The first, that several rumours having been spread abroad at the time of the late King's death, Pole was neither informed to whom the crown was devolved nor of anything concerning the state of the kingdom. He also alludes to the sufferings, not only of his own family, reduced to total ruin, but of many others who, being in the same straits, had had recourse to him. The bearer of the letter—whose name does not appear—was instructed to communicate what further Pole judged might be of use in the present juncture, but neither letter nor messenger were received by the Privy Council—a cavalier proceeding which contrasts with that of Henry VIII's Privy Council in 1536. But the sixteen executors of Henry's will, with Hertford and Cranmer at their head—to whom he had confided the government of his nine-year-old son and the kingdom—were nearly all men of the New Learning, and new themselves, raised to honours and office by the partiality of the late King ; and when Hertford's intrigues had succeeded in setting aside the chief provisions of the will, and getting himself appointed Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset, the triumph of the new doctrines was established.

At this time, the ambitious and wily Ercole II, Duke of Ferrara, was anxious to mate his fourteen-year-old son, Alfonso d'Este, with the Princess Mary of England, who was

in her thirtieth year. Cardinal Pole was personally acquainted with the Duke, who had received him at Ferrara, and protected him from Henry VIII's emissaries on his journey to Trent; but it is highly improbable that Pole knew anything of Ercole II's purpose, which perhaps only sprang into being after Henry VIII's death—his instructions to Bartolomeo Sala, whom he sent on a secret mission to England “to ask for the Princess Mary for his son, the Hereditary Prince,” bearing the date of April, 1547. Sala arrived in London on the 24th of that month, and his reports afford an interesting side-light on the state of affairs. He found strong rumours afloat that the Duke of Somerset intended to marry the Princess to his brother, Lord Seymour, who had just been created Lord High Admiral. Sala does not know what truth there may be in them, “except on account of Somerset's nature, apt to do good to himself and to his kindred.” Lord Warwick¹ entertained him lengthily the next day, giving Mary's age at twenty-seven—which Sala later on discovered to be thirty—and remarking that should she be too old, they had another princess, of fifteen, who might be more suitable.

Sala did his utmost to keep his mission secret, but he is *Ibid.*, compelled to report that “di Monte,” probably the resident Ferrara agent, is spreading it all over London that he has come about a marriage. When Somerset and Warwick had laid Sala's proposals before the Council, they took him into the gardens of Somerset's palace, and Paget, speaking in Italian, told him that for a Prince in his fifteenth year, they considered Mary decidedly too old; but they had another daughter of the King, fifteen years old, beautiful, wise and learned, who spoke several languages as well as English, and to whom the late King had left the same right of succession, and the same dowry as to the elder. If the Duke would ask for her, the government would be very well content. Sala answered, as he had done on several previous occasions, that he had no instructions except as to *Madama Maria*, and he doubted

Archives
Este
Modena

¹ Viscount Lisle, lately created Earl of Warwick, resigned patent of High Admiral to Seymour.

1547

whether his master knew of the existence of the younger lady. Sala remarks—all his letters are in cypher—that he has learned several things which he does not trust to writing, as they will be better told than written. He adds that the Princess Mary is in bad health, and little disposed to marry. This he also hears from Mary herself, in a message through Warwick—that her health disinclines her to marry, otherwise an alliance with Ferrara would have pleased her well.

10 May

At the same time, Elizabeth is again urged as a suitable bride for young Alfonso d'Este, "recommending her most strongly," writes the envoy, "and persuading me to exhort your Excellency to propose for her soon." Warwick offered Sala a horse as a present, and also threw out hints as to a marriage between Somerset's son and one of Ferrara's daughters. "To all which I listened," says Sala, "without making much reply." He sends an interesting summary of his observations in England—

"Madama Maria is greatly beloved by the people, and held in great reverence by all, as is plainly to be seen. Duke Philip of Bavaria wishes to marry her, and has been here several times, but she will not consent to have him, nor Monsieur de Vendome either; they say she means to have all particulars and information as to the character of the husband she takes, and to take counsel with persons in whom she trusts; it is said that she will accept no marriage without the express consent of the Emperor.

"She insists upon knowing the habits and customs, and especially the religion of any servant she takes, as happened a few days ago, according to what an Italian doctor—an old servant of the Queen her mother told me. The other daughter, they say, is illegitimate *secundum ius matrimonii*. The Earl of Hertford [Duke of Somerset] is a private gentleman, of low condition, '*di bassa condizione*' . . . he is not loved, but rather considerably hated. He is proud and haughty. He has several sons and daughters, but they are not worthy of your Excellency's blood."

Bartolomeo Sala left London with his mission unaccomplished, and we are left to speculate on Somerset's motives for his keen desire to send the young Elizabeth out of the country. He could not foresee that his own ambitions, together with his head, were to fall within five years' time, and he may have detected signs in Elizabeth's character which

were fraught with danger to his own schemes. There have 1547 been some great Duchesses of Ferrara, but Elizabeth would probably have eclipsed them all.

Soon after Cardinal Pole's return to Rome, he lost his earliest great friend in Italy, his kindly host of Padua in the days of his youth, Pietro Bembo, who died on the 20th January. Pole wrote of him to Cardinal Cervini that he hoped he was in eternal happiness—

"of which, through the Divine bounty, we may have good hopes *Poli Epp.* from the abundant signs seen in him. For the sake of our ancient IV, 31 friendship, and at the invitation of his family, I was with him the day before his death, and left him not without great consolation, seeing him so well prepared and disposed for that passage—with a truly pious and Christian courage. I tell you this, knowing how much you loved that most rare and worthy gentleman—*si raro e si da ben signore.*"

This loss was followed, in a few weeks, by the still greater sorrow of the death of his adopted mother, Vittoria Colonna, whose long malady ended fatally in the month of February. Her solicitous care for her adopted son did not end with her life. She left him, "for she loved him tenderly," writes Beccatelli, 10,000 ducats which she had in Venice; but the Cardinal would not take them for himself, and settled them upon Vittoria, daughter of Ascanio Colonna, who afterwards married Don Garcia di Toledo—"an act," observes his biographer, "which did him honour, and which few would have been capable of; but his soul was above all attachment to earthly possessions."

Pole had not much time to spare for grief; public affairs in England, as well as those in which he was more actively concerned, were full of anxiety. The open Protestantism of Somerset, Cranmer, and the party in power, now that they were freed from the heavy constraining hand of Henry VIII, somewhat disconcerted Charles V, who openly rebuked the English ambassadors. Cardinal Pole hastened to write to the Emperor's confessor [Father Soto] that he had heard with *Ibid.* IV, 24 pleasure that Cæsar lately received the English ambassadors with severe words on account of the religious novelties and

1547-48 impious decrees introduced and confirmed by the Council against the Sacrament of the altar.

But Charles V had let too many opportunities go by of defending the Church in England, and he was to find it no easy matter even to safeguard the religious independence of his much-tried cousin, Mary Tudor.

The Emperor also had his quarrel with the Pope ; he had greatly resented the removal of the Council from Trent to Bologna, and at the same time a serious misunderstanding broke out between him and Paul III as to the possession of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, claimed by the Pope as belonging to his—the Farnese—family, and by Charles V as a part of the Duchy of Milan, which he had annexed. He therefore sent an envoy with a protest to the Fathers at Bologna, and another, Don Diego Mendoza, to Rome. It was Cardinal Pole's task to reply to the latter, which he did in a masterly state paper, in which the Emperor's complaints and accusations were examined and refuted one by one.

Poli Epp. To the accusation that Paul III had been remiss in calling IV, 382 a General Council, he recounted all the Pope's steps in that regard—his legates waiting six months at Vicenza, waiting for the invited prelates who never came, owing to the wars waging between the Christian Princes, in which the Emperor had had so large a share, while the Pope had left nothing untried to reconcile them with each other. Mendoza had attributed to

- party spirit the resolve of the Bishops who were attached to the Pope to go to Bologna. Pole replied that if the ambassador meant to blame them for attachment to the Pope, and to praise those who had remained at Trent, he overlooked the fact that schism owed its rise to no other cause than a want of deference, in some of the episcopal order, to the Holy See. But if by prelates attached to the Pope were meant such as were ready to give into all his measures, right or wrong, his Holiness was unacquainted with any of that prostitute character, having no interest to consult, and no party to espouse but that of a common Father to the whole flock of which he was pastor.

As to what Mendoza had advanced of the illegality of the

removal, the Cardinal demonstrated that it could never be ¹⁵⁴⁸ so regarded by any equitable and rightly-informed judge, as the measure had been proposed to the whole assembly, and assented to by a large majority. The Council had met twice at Trent ; the first time few, if any, Germans came to it, though the legates, Parisio, Morone and himself, had remained there seven months. At the second meeting, when the Council was opened, and everything secured to favour its success, it was but too visible how few of that nation were present, and not even one of those who stood most in need of such an aid, and whose welfare was chiefly consulted.

The ambassador had uttered a kind of threat, in the Emperor's name, that if the Pope was remiss, the Christian causes should not want a protector. This drew the remark from Pole that it were to be wished Mendoza had been more cautious and respectful in his expressions ; but, however, his Holiness would use his best endeavours to comply with the duties annexed to his high station ; if he failed, he still comforted himself that the Emperor's vigilance would supply any deficiency on his part—as far as was agreeable to equity, and allowed by the laws of the Church, the decrees of the Fathers, and the consent of the world. So would each of them, in their respective stations, contribute to the public good and to the peace of Christendom.

This answer was read in a private Consistory, at which Mendoza was present, and then delivered to him in writing on the 1st February, 1548.

Charles V, not content with protesting against the translation of the Council to Bologna, soon after published the *Interim* or provisional edict, and, notwithstanding the Pope's opposition, caused it to be accepted by the Diet of Augsburg and by most of the Imperial cities. It was a formulary, in thirty-six articles, concerning matters of Faith and discipline, which was to have force till the General Council came to a determination on these heads. Two things in it were particularly displeasing to the Pope : the marriage of priests, which was allowed, and communion in both kinds, which was permitted where it had been introduced, and it gave him moreover great offence

1548

that a lay potentate should usurp the sacerdotal function and take on himself to regulate what concerned religion.

Even in Germany the *Interim* met with general condemnation from Catholics and Protestants alike, the former comparing it to the "Henoticon" of Zenon,¹ the "Ethectis" of Heraclius, and the "Type" of Constans. Among the protests which were at once published in all parts against the *Interim*, that which appeared at Rome was the most important. The English Cardinal was desired to lend his aid on this occasion also to the labouring cause of religion, and having finished his answer to Charles V's protest, he was placed at the head of a commission of prelates appointed to refute and set forth the evil tendency of the Emperor's formulary. His time was thus taken up, partly with what concerned the general welfare of Christendom, and partly with his government of Viterbo; nor did he forget his own country, of which he had become—through Henry VIII's slaughter of the kinsmen within his reach—the most illustrious personage in blood, as well as in universal reputation. Except young Edward Courtenay, a prisoner in the Tower, Reginald Pole was now the nearest male relation, on the father's side, of the boy king.

Undeterred by the non-success of his previous attempt, he sent his trusted servant, Michael Throckmorton, to England, to remonstrate on the incivility with which he had been treated, and to point out the dangers of the situation, especially if the Emperor broke with England on account of the changes in religion. Throckmorton failed to obtain an audience, but received an indirect answer from Protector Somerset that any letters the Cardinal might write privately would be fully considered, and that any emissary he might choose to send into France or Flanders to speak for him would have a passport sent him to come to England.²

¹ The "Henoticon" was an edict of union for reconciling the Eutychians with the Church, issued by the Emperor Zenon, at the instance of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 482. It was zealously opposed by the Popes, and was annulled by Justin I in 518. The orthodox party triumphed, and many heretic bishops were expelled from their sees.

² *State Papers, Dom. Edw. VI*, Vol. V, No. 9.

Nor did Pole fail in his private activities and kindness : 1548 writing to Cardinal Gonzaga, who was Regent of Mantua during his nephew's minority, to obtain the privilege of publishing Cardinal Bembo's writings for Carlo Gualteruzzi, for whom he, as Bembo's literary executor, had already obtained it from the Pope. Messer Carlo has incurred the cost of printing, and will be a loser unless he obtains the privilege from Mantua and the other Italian potentates. Pole also appears as interested in the executorship of another great friend, Cardinal Cortese, abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, who had lately died. There had been some dispute with Gio. Battista Del Monte, the legate's nephew, and Pole writes his regret that he had heard nothing of it while Cortese was alive, as by an adroit application to him all cause of dispute would have been prevented.

More interesting and important is a letter to the Bishop of *Poli Epp.* Badajos [Francesco Navarre], who had sent him, through *V. 4* Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, some comments on his *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, in which Pole, in reference to St. Peter [John xxi, v. 7] said he had walked on the waters to meet our Lord. Badajos was of opinion that he swam, to which Pole replies that if a man is about to swim he does not put on his garments, but, if clothed, strips himself ; so that he is at liberty to adopt the interpretation. After explaining a passage concerning John Baptist's recognition of Christ at the Baptism in the Jordan, Pole answers his critic's objection that Sir Thomas More had done wrong at his trial in delaying so long to speak on the question of faith. Pole does not agree—

" The time for More to speak was after his condemnation by the fifty-eight judges. It was not the same with Rochester, whose duty it was, as a bishop, to speak immediately on being examined ; More was a layman, whom they chose to condemn on a civil decree, not an ecclesiastical one, and though it was contrary both to the laws of God and the Church, it seemed to him more becoming . . . to reply according to law, depriving his judges of the arguments, derived from the common law, which they used against him, and which he answered by showing that however unjust their decree might be, he had never infringed it by word or deed. . . . Could a consummate lawyer, who for many years had himself been a judge,

Ven. Cal.,
V, 530

Ibid., V,
537

1548

make a more just defence? . . . When he saw himself condemned contrary to human law, he then availed himself of the ecclesiastical argument that even had he violated the decree, it being contrary to the Divine law, they could not condemn him either by Divine or human right. The more I consider the different conduct of More and Rochester, the more I am convinced that they acted entirely by Divine inspiration."

Like the Italians who had seen the book, Badajos had demurred at the bitterness and vehemence of some of the reproofs addressed to Henry VIII; so Pole says that he means to justify himself in a writing addressed to the King's son, which he will place as an introduction to the new edition of the book, and will send it to the bishop. Strangely enough, the *Epistle to Edward* does not appear in any of the editions of the *De Unitate*. Nor is it alluded to in the scurrilous pamphlet entitled, "The Seditious and Blasphemous Oration of Cardinal Pole, translated into English by Fabian Wythers," published a few years later, and which consists of the passage in which Pole tells Henry he feels inclined to bid the Emperor come back from attacking the Turk, in order to punish his disorders. The passage is given as an address made direct to the Emperor, "to seke the destruction of England, and all those which profess the Gospels." At the same time, although a bitter enemy, the writer testifies to that suppression of the book which did Pole so much honour—

"He, fearing lest, if they should be carried abroad . . . it would turn to his great ignominy and reproach, took all the books into his own hands, and let none of them abroad, above saving a few, which he gave unto the Pope and certain cardinals."

The diatribe ends: "But thou shalt receive thy reward, Cardinal Pole, woe be unto thee, woe be unto thee."¹

The *Epistle to Edward* might justly be called Pole's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. It is doubtful if it was ever allowed to reach the hands of the boy king to whom it was addressed, but it will ever remain a monument to Pole's own clear-sighted judgment of the events of the previous reign, of the temper

¹ One edition of Wythers' booklet appeared in 1560, but the copy in the British Museum is probably earlier, and published in Pole's lifetime.

and moderation with which he lays bare and defends his own ¹⁵⁴⁸ actions and motives, with genuine eloquence and goodness of heart. It is in Latin, addressed, "Eduardo Henrici Angliae <sup>Quirini,
IV, 306</sup> Regi filio, Reg. Card. Polus. S."—Many persons coming from England have given the writer such good accounts of Edward, of his royal and remarkable qualities, that he is moved to write and give him good counsel, and warn him of his dangers.

The treatise is divided into sixty numbered paragraphs, in which Pole first clears his own name from the false opinion Edward must have conceived of him from the charge of high treason pronounced against him by Henry VIII, and relates the cause of his condemnation—Henry's assumption of the Spiritual Supremacy and injunction to Pole to write his opinion of it. He asks to have his cause examined, and maintains that his good faith in laying before Henry VIII the gravity and the consequences of his acts will be plain to anyone who will read his book with an open mind. He had no alternative but to write it, when the express order from the King and Sampson's book came at a moment when he expected nothing less.

In Paris, he had excused himself from getting theological opinions on the divorce as being unsuitable—"No one less suitable" for the task; and to get more out of reach, he removed to Italy and went to Venice. "See how I did my utmost to avoid taking any part in the business." But when the best of men had written their opinion of the cause in their blood, how could he refuse to do so with his pen? If he has shown that his reasons for writing were good and necessary, it must be remembered that many men acted as if they denied that kings could sin or need repentance. They required it more than most people. He had spoken strongly in order to pierce the king's mind, and show him how he was indelibly branding himself with ignominy.

After referring to the cruelty of putting such men as More and Fisher to death, "the one easily the first of his order, and the other the glory of the Episcopate," he says—

"Some who were present told me that when the letters were read in the Venetian Senate of their death, and its cause, he who

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read was interrupted by his tears, and most of the Senate wept also. The condemnation was as great in Italy, in Germany, and in France."

Like a good surgeon who wounds in order to heal, so did he hope to deal with the King, that he might not deserve the reproach of the prophet Jeremiah : *Prophetae tui viderunt tibi falsa et stulta ; nec aperiebant tibi iniquitatem tuam, ut te ad paenitentiam provocarent.* No one before Pole had ventured to tell the truth to the King, and for doing so he was persecuted. Not only in his book, but in his letters, he gave his reasons, founded on his love for Henry, for all he had said, however acerb and severe, and he compares him to the wounded man by the wayside, and declares he could not act like the priest and the levite, but would have taken him on his shoulders, and carried him to the true physician who would have applied the only real remedies for his wounds.

He hesitated to send the book to England, on account of the danger it would be to his friends : his love for them and for himself urged him to suppress it, and not for one night only, like Jacob with the angel, but for several nights did he wrestle with the question. After relating the loss of several pages of the work and the death of Anne Boleyn as signs which he had accepted that he should send the book to the King, Pole concludes : " Now, Prince, you have all my reasons for writing that book to the King, your father."

As for the legations he had accepted to the Emperor and the King of France, that they might quell the pernicious flame Henry had raised in himself and his whole country, he had urgently entreated them to act in love and unity towards the brother who had so gravely lapsed, to bring him back to their common mother the Church. If all loving methods failed, Pole did not deny that he would have counselled the employment of force, but he would only have reverted to that as the supreme and desperate remedy to save him from utter ruin.

In token of his own affection and grief, he says—

" As I came back from Spain through France, I went out of the direct road to make a pilgrimage to the rocky cave, where it is said the blessed Magdalen spent many years in penitent weeping

for her past sins.¹ When I entered the church where her relics are preserved, I thought of the sin-laden King, who did no penance ; and as I prayed for him with all the fervour of my soul, I shed streams of tears, which I could not restrain even after resuming the journey. One of my companions, a trusted friend, asked the cause of my grief, and I told him of my prayer, and that I offered my tears, as if they had been—not mine, but lent to me by Him who sinless Himself had prayed for His enemies, and which I offered to the Father of mercies for the King's salvation. . . .

" As for myself, the hatred with which the King pursued me, acted on me as the ploughman's furrows on the earth, that the seed he sows may grow and increase, sending me to the deeper study of the theological virtues that the seeds of faith, hope and charity might take the deeper root. Or, like a hard task-master, your father drove in the lessons with the strokes of the rod, until what seemed at first hard and difficult became sweeter than honey and the honey-comb. . . . I can with truth declare that the King's hatred has profited me more than ever did his friendship."

After comparing himself with Jephtha's daughter for the readiness with which he would have given his life for the King, and would now serve his son—for which reason he is writing to him—Pole goes on to say that his book had been published in Germany, very incorrectly, and he had been urged by many of his best friends to issue a true version of it. He has determined to do so and will send a copy to Edward.

With great eloquence and fervour, the end of the epistle urges the young King to imitate the conduct of his ancestors rather than the errors of his father, warns him to beware of evil counsellors, and points out the dangers which lie before him. Pole tells him he has a generous soul and entreats him to come back to the unity of the Church.

¹ At Sainte-Beaune, between Aix and Marseilles.

CHAPTER XVIII

1548-49 CHARLES V prevented the Spanish prelates from leaving Trent, and those at Bologna being almost all Italians, the Council could no longer be called *Œcumical*. It was therefore adjourned from time to time until the 18th September, when the two legates, perceiving there was no hope of the bishops' arrival, prorogued the next—the eleventh—session to an indeterminate time. In the following spring, the Pope, who had vainly endeavoured, during his contests with the Emperor, to persuade the bishops who remained at Trent to come to Bologna, suspended the Council, announcing that he would establish a congregation at Rome which should reform manners and settle discipline.

Poli Epp. IV, 68 Great was Pole's grief at the breaking up of the Council. It blasted his hopes, as he wrote to a Spanish bishop, of seeing primitive discipline revived, and innocence of manners restored to all orders of the Church. But even this disappointment may eventually turn out to the advantage of God's people: as the Hebrews were not released from the Babylonian captivity until the distant term appointed by Heaven, and not regulated by their impatience—as the early Christians were suffered to struggle, not months, or years, but whole centuries with all the adverse powers of earth combined against them. Writing to Bishop Pate that the consistory, at which the breaking up of the Council had been decided upon, had been held on Good Friday, he remarks—

Ibid., IV, 65 "I could not help observing that this resolution was taken on the day when we renew the anniversary of sorrow for our Redeemer's sufferings, and on which the Council is not called, except on very urgent causes; and having the afflicted state of the Church full in view, and this last great remedy now failing, I own I was no otherwise affected than if I had seen my Saviour's dead body before my eyes. In this distress, it was some comfort to me to reflect that as the short sadness of His death was succeeded by the joy of the Resurrection, so His mystical body, the Church, might soon experience the same happiness, and rise again the holy city, the new Jerusalem."

This is the last act in which Cardinal Pole appears any way concerned in the transactions of the Council.¹ At the same time, he despatched two special messengers to Protector Somerset and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, offering, if they declined to allow his own return, to repair to some neutral place near the English Channel to discuss points of difference. Although his messengers were this time treated with courtesy, they were dismissed with a written answer repudiating any wish for conciliation. Pole wrote, the letter said, like a foreign prince. They in England had no need of the Pope. If Pole wished to return to his country, the Council would mediate for his pardon, and to show him the true state of matters there with respect to religion, they sent him a copy of the new prayer-book, approved by Parliament.

S. P.
Dom.
Ed. VI,
V. No. 9

The innovations in religion of which that new prayer-book was the symbol had goaded the people of England to a new and formidable rebellion, equal to that which had followed Henry VIII's destruction of the monasteries. The abrogation of the Mass, the disuse of the old liturgy, which in all their churches had remained unaltered despite that assumption of spiritual supremacy by the King—which the mass of the people neither understood nor felt much interest in, so long as they were allowed to worship as their fathers had done—came upon them now as an unexpected blow, and they rose in all parts of

¹ Paul III's successor, Julius III [Del Monte] summoned the Council to meet again at Trent by a decree published 14th November, 1550. The second opening was made 1st May, 1551, by the legates Crescentio, Cardinal of San Marcellus, Sebastian, Archbishop of Sipento, and Louis Tipoman, Bishop of Verona, and again suspended, for two years by the Pope on the 28th April, 1552. Although Paul IV [Caraffa] who had meanwhile succeeded to the papal throne, made several salutary efforts to prevent the *Sanctuary being laid waste, and the altar profaned*, he took no steps for assembling the Council during the four years of his pontificate. It remained for Pius IV to set about the work which his predecessors had left unfinished, and for the third time the Council was opened, 18th January, 1562, after an interval of ten years—one of the legates being Pole's friend, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga—and happily concluded on the 25th December, 1563. The history of the Council may be found in the works of Pallavicini, Le Plat, Theiner, Ehses, and Merkle. The inaccurate history by Fra Paolo [P. S. Polano] is refuted in Pallavicini's monumental work, *Histoire du Conseil de Trente*.

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the country to resist it. In the counties of Wilts, Sussex, Hants, Berks, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester and Rutland, insurrections broke out, and were suppressed with the usual methods of cajolery and martial law. In Oxfordshire, Norfolk, Cornwall and Devonshire armies were formed which threatened defiance to the government, and, if the insurrections were finally suppressed, it was only with the aid of foreign troops, the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain, and Germany, to serve in the war against Scotland.

In Devonshire the new liturgy had been read for the first time in the church of Samford Courtenay on Whit-Sunday; the next day the parishioners compelled the clergyman to resume the ancient service, and a general insurrection broke out under the command of Humphry Arundel, Governor of St. Michael's Mount, who, in a few days numbered under his standard 10,000 men. Lord Russell, who was sent against them with a small body of troops, distrusting the inferiority of his force, imitated the policy of the Duke of Norfolk at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and offered to negotiate. The insurgents made eight demands, chief and first of which was the restoration of the Mass. They also asked that the Six Articles might be observed, that priests should live in celibacy, that the holy Eucharist might be kept in the churches, and that Cardinal Pole's attainder might be reversed, that he should be recalled, and made one of the Privy Council. The re-establishment of two abbeys at least in every county was another of the demands made by the insurgents, all of which were refused, though Russell continued to negotiate until the arrival of reinforcements enabled him to crush the rising. The same story repeated itself throughout the country, and by the end of September, the Venetian ambassador at Rome could inform the Senate that the insurrection in England was suppressed, "but by means of the slaughter and destruction of 10,000 or 11,000 natives."

Ven. Cal.
V. 379

These final events were unknown to Cardinal Pole when he began to write the very remarkable letter to Somerset on the 7th September, in reply to his dated Greenwich, 4th June, in

which he said he hoped the Cardinal at last perceived the 1549 errors of the Church of Rome, and advised him to take advantage of the King's mercy. The humblest-minded of men, *Ven. Cal.*, V, 575 Reginald Pole could, when necessary, remember his descent from the Plantagenets, and administer a dignified rebuke to those who forgot what was owing to his blood and his illustrious rank. So he begins by telling Somerset that he had hesitated to reply to him, until his messengers had assured him that the tone of the Protector's letter was quite at variance with his verbal communications—

" They came to the conclusion that the entire fault of so discourteous a reply rested with your secretary [William Cecil ?], to whom you had possibly entrusted it, who considered it sufficient to express your mind in the form he liked best, very dissimilar to that required by the matter in question and respect for the person who wrote to you, as became one man of honour when speaking of another who had done him the honour to write to him ; on the contrary, this letter is full of gibes and scoffs, without the slightest regard for the subject, nor for the person in whose name it is written, nor for him to whom it is addressed. . . . I have remarked that the truest sign of approaching ruin in all cases, but especially in that of rulers of kingdoms, is when they have reached such a pitch of iniquity that they ridicule and deride the simplicity of those who, they acknowledge and confess, speak from sincere conviction. They then actually sit ' in the seat of the scornful,' which is the last grade of impiety. The greatest enemy I had in the world, who was that King whom I had loved above all other men, did not ridicule me as you do."

In allusion to Somerset's expression of disappointment that he had not sued for pardon, nor thrown himself on the clemency of the present government, he remarks that what he had at heart was the common weal, and not his own private affairs ; when the public state is re-established, his private state will be established and confirmed—

" Do you, in the first place, ask pardon of God for the violation of His laws, and my pardon will then be conceded without any new decree. You would have me ask pardon of the King . . . and I, were it not that my words might be attributed by you to pride, would say that the King—if he wishes for the pardon and grace of God—has much greater need to ask pardon of me, for the losses and injuries incurred by me . . . as never did I offend either him

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or his father in anything, unless perchance that I and the others, who would not consent to the perdition of his soul and of the whole kingdom, offended him. . . .

“ You allege another reason for which you thought I should desire to return home, namely, on account of the purity of the Word of God and the doctrine of Christ sent forth, as you say, by your means, and taught more purely than ever it was formerly.”

Pole remarks that if this were true, it would indeed be a bait to attract him to return to his country, but Somerset's doings fail to convince him—

“ You confirm, and do not cancel, as you ought to do, the statutes of that man, who himself alone shed more innocent blood in that kingdom, and perpetrated more unjust acts of spoliation, than the whole series of such kings as reigned tyrannically before him. . . . He who confirms and approves such impious statutes is no less guilty and culpable than he who makes them. Nor can you excuse yourself on the plea of lacking authority to repeal them, as it was in your power to annul and abrogate the Six Articles relating to the Sacraments, of the late King, which was the best thing he ever did in this world.”

Somerset had boasted of the Emperor's goodwill towards him, and Pole frankly admits that he had left no method untried to get him to interfere in English affairs, “ the realm being crushed by every sort of tyranny, so that neither in written records, nor in the memory of man, had the country, since it bore the name of a kingdom, ever been in a worse condition than of late years.”

“ I thought it fitting, as all these misfortunes occurred through the injury done to his family, that the Emperor should hold in greater account the bond of ancient friendship which linked him to the body of that realm than the friendship of one single man, who was its head, which, being infected and full of peccant humour, had well nigh tainted and destroyed the whole body. . . . That he should be pleased, in the first place, to employ all such means as his prudence would deem fit for making him return to a healthy state. . . . In case, however, his Majesty should perceive him to be utterly given over to a reprobate mind—*in reprobum sensum*—and daily going from bad to worse, in that case all I requested of his Majesty was to render the whole realm great assistance (as was manifest to everybody), and change in some degree the government of that kingdom, he having been called by the Divine Majesty to

the grace and state occupied by him that he may provide for the 1549 common weal of all kingdoms and countries. . . .

" Not only should he and could he do so according to the natural law, but also by the authority of that person to whom you and your ancestors, before you lapsed from the ecclesiastical laws, always assigned the chief authority for regulating all matters relating to the well-being of the Church, that is to say, of the High Pontiff.

. . . . After the death of the King, you refused to listen to any advice from me, although it concerned your own interest and advantage ; for at that time, when treating these affairs with the Emperor, in the first place I recommended to him your advantage, that is to say, that you should remain Protector, so long as your rule was not contrary to the welfare and benefit of the realm."

If it be remembered that in the following November Somerset was to be sent to the Tower by the colleagues who had learned to fear his despotism and the arbitrary will which had not scrupled to send his own brother to the scaffold,¹ the following warning reads with extraordinary force, and was probably so regarded by its recipient in the enforced leisure of that first imprisonment, and more earnestly still, in the second, and fatal one, three years later.

After bidding Somerset remember the old proverb that " there happens in one hour that which does not happen in 1,000 years," Pole continues—

" All your scoffs at what I say cannot induce me to think otherwise, save that what it pleases Divine providence to do for the punishment of malice and support of justice may also be effected . . . for the benefit and salvation of your soul ; when the malice of men has reached its zenith . . . the scourge of God cannot be far distant, nor its coming long delayed."

Pole was then about to give his opinion upon the book of Common Prayer sent to him by the Protector, when the news reached him of the insurrections in England. So he defers the consideration of the book to a future time, and adds—

" I had written thus far—and to this I can bear witness to God—not knowing anything of what I now hear has taken place, the great and popular insurrection which was feared by me."

¹ Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley, was executed 28th March, 1549.

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So he gives up answering about the book, and prays and exhorts Somerset by all the love he is bound to bear to God, his country, and himself, not to persevere with the obstinacy and violence with which he had commenced—

“ And this I have chosen to tell you for the following reason, that should God, through the admonitions which, of His goodness, you have received by means of the present public and private danger, grant you the grace to repent, and thus submit yourself to some form of concord, and if, as I have been named by the people, you might think me fit for this purpose, you may safely promise yourself that in that case I will act for the benefit of your honour and dignity, the same as I would do for myself, so far as is consistent with the common weal and advantage; nor ought you to desire anything more, as neither do I ever wish for anything more myself. . . . Should the Divine goodness give you the means of coming to concord amongst yourselves, for the love of God, accept it. . . . Had my first offer been accepted, had I been conferring with the King’s ministers for the restoration of religion, it might, perhaps, have been the means of removing all causes for making the people rebel, or of pacifying them speedily, had they risen. They would have known that you . . . had commenced a conference, and that I, in whom, by their demands, they seem to place some confidence, was personally present at it.”

The sequence of dates brings out the interesting fact that had Somerset listened to Pole’s advice, he might have come to an understanding with him, and brought him to England before that day in November when his despotic and inflexible attitude brought about his own ruin. The Catholic party in the Council, with Warwick and Wriothesley at its head, Gardiner and many of the bishops would have welcomed Pole’s mediation and supported his admission into the Privy Council.

The conclusion of Pole’s letter is full of pathetic earnestness—

“ In whatever way the providence of God shall terminate these tumults and troubles, this letter demonstrates my mind . . . and will render perpetual testimony to all men of my good and sincere intention, I, with regard to my country and myself, desiring no other grace of His divine Majesty than what is for their safety and for His honour, whom may it please ever to have under His merciful protection, you and the whole Kingdom.

“ Rome, 7th September, 1549.”

At the same time, the Pope, as Matteo Dandolo reported to

the Senate of Venice, was not much inclined to English affairs— 1549 probably looking upon them as hopeless—“and awaiting,” writes the ambassador, “ulterior advices, and he will rather employ Cardinal Pole in the congregation and consultations relating to the Council, instead of doing anything further in English affairs.”

Paul III was, in fact, nearing his end, and one of his last acts was to bestow upon Cardinal Pole the abbacy of Gavello or Canalnuovo in the Polesina. He had also offered him the See of Spoleti, near Rome, but Pole holding—as Beccatelli tells us—that a bishopric was not compatible with his duties as Cardinal, which kept him much in Rome, declined it with his usual modesty, so as neither to offend the Pope nor anyone else. He accepted the abbacy of Gavello, and the appointment met with general approbation. The Cardinal of Trani [Gianmatteo de Cupis] before going into the consistory on the 10th November, asked for it for himself, as it was in his diocese of Adria, and on being told that it had been given to the Cardinal of England, not only acquiesced, but said that his right revd. lordship deserved the benefices held by himself and others. As Cardinal de Cupis was said by his contemporaries to be “the best of men” and the “mirror and ornament of the Sacred College,” his tribute to the worth of Pole is worth recording. In reporting this to the Doge, the Venetian ambassador adds: “Your Serenity should know that his right rev. lordship is styled ‘Angelic’ rather than ‘Anglican’; nor did he ever ask for this, or anything else.”

The abbacy of Gavello was in Venetian territory, and the Doge and Senate immediately ordered their ambassador to inform Pole that they had written to the Governor of Rovigo, and performed the offices desired by his right rev. lordship; and that whenever an opportunity presented itself for doing what might be for his honour and advantage, they would always avail themselves of it, as they loved and esteemed him especially.¹

¹ This resolution was passed in the Senate by 170 ayes to 7 noes, 16th November, 1549.

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Paul III died on the 10th November, the day of the consistory at which Cardinal Pole's abbacy was confirmed, and in announcing the fact to the Doge, the Venetian ambassador adds : " The wagers at the bankers' shops are 24 in favour of England, nor does any other Cardinal get near him ; but the Pope, please God, will be elected in conclave [and not in the market-place ?] by a majority of two-thirds of the Cardinals."

Ven. Cal.,
V, 591

Before Reginald Pole went into conclave, we have one more instance of his personal influence with his friends, and the respect they paid to his opinion and advice. Camillo Orsini, the distinguished soldier, eight years Pole's senior, and his devoted friend, was in charge of the town of Parma, and it was strongly suspected that he would be very unwilling to cede it to Duke Ottavio Farnese.¹ After the Pope's death, he had sent his son to ask Pole's advice, who had answered that he could not interfere publicly in a matter of state, but as a private Cardinal, he recommended him " to keep the royal road "—to propose the matter to the College of Cardinals, which had been done that day, 20th November, with the result which Orsini would see by the letter which the College had just written to him—

" Merely telling you besides, for the Christian love I bear you, that I exhort you as earnestly as I can, with regard to what remains to be done in conformity with the will of his late Holiness and the Sacred College, about restoring Parma and the citadel to Duke Ottavio, to regulate yourself in such form . . . that no one can suspect you in the least of being moved by passion or partiality, thanking God for having hitherto given you the grace to act as completely according to your duty and honour both before God and man, as could possibly be desired by anyone..."

The Venetian ambassador's comment on the matter was that Orsini gave way, and made the consignment of the town and citadel of Parma, " because the Cardinal of England, besides having signed the letter [from the College] wrote to him in his own hand, the Signor Camillo . . . being very devoted to him."

¹ Camillo Orsini was the son of Paolo Orsini, who was strangled in the Castle of La Pieve by order of Caesar Borgia, on 18th November, 1502.

The Cardinals entered into Conclave on the 29th November, 1549-50 and the public opinion as to Pole's chances of election are reflected in the letters of the Venetian ambassador, Matteo Dandolo. He writes the following day—

"At the bankers' shops, the odds are greater than before in favour *Ven. Cal.*,¹ of the Rt. Rev. of England, whose election, should it take place, V, 595 may be believed to proceed from God; for although urged by many Cardinals to assist himself on this, so great an occasion, he answered them that he would never utter one single word, even were his silence to cost him a thousand lives; not choosing to deviate from his ancient maxim, which enjoined him to follow the Lord God, and to desire nothing but His will."

By a fortunate coincidence, we not only know, through Dandolo, how the doings of the long Conclave of 1549-50 were regarded from outside, but what actually went on within its walls. Cardinal Pole's secretary or "conclavist," Thomas Goldwell, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, is without doubt the author of the interesting anonymous MS. preserved in the English College at Rome, evidently written by a personal witness, and from his own knowledge and experience of the facts related.¹

At the opening of the Conclave, there were 41 Cardinals, and when the French Cardinals had arrived, 47; as Goldwell puts it, "23 for the Emperor, and 24 for the King of France." Had Francis I been alive, humanly speaking, Pole's election to the pontifical throne would have been assured; but, as he had always feared and foretold, Francis survived his brother of England only two months, and of the three lusty young princes who had entered the arena of Europe to make the history of the first half of the sixteenth century, only Charles

¹ Goldwell accompanied Pole to England, and was soon afterwards made Bishop of St. Asaph. Having escaped from England in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, 1559, he went to Rome, and was made Warden of the English Hospice from 1560 to 1567, and always maintained the closest relations with that institution and with the English College established by Gregory XIII in 1579, and in which the Hospice was merged.—*English College Register (Liber Ruber) Archives*, p. 303. Rt. Rev. Monsignor Cronin: *Rome Magazine*, year III, Vol. VI, 21st August, 1909.

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remained, as ambitious in old age as he had been cold and calculating in youth, and with the same fixed purpose of aggrandizement and empire. Henry II of France had not, like his father, a personal knowledge and esteem of Reginald Pole ; he was waging bitter war with England for the recovery of Boulogne, and the thought of an English Pope of royal blood was intolerable. All his influence, therefore, was cast against Pole, and eventually settled upon Cardinal Caraffa. His enmity towards the Emperor also induced him to oppose Pole.

As there could be no more certain method, effectually to keep Reginald Pole out of England, and from any possibility of eventually becoming king-consort of that realm, than to make him Pope of Rome, it is not surprising to find the Imperialist influence cast solidly in his favour. The first scrutiny was made on the 3rd December, 41 Cardinals being present, when Pole had the largest number of votes—21—only six less than the necessary two-thirds majority of 27.¹ In the third scrutiny we find the entry : “ Pole had, counting his own vote, 26 votes.” It is hardly necessary to say that Cardinal Pole did not vote for himself ; but, as a Cardinal’s vote in his own favour was perfectly valid in those days, Goldwell merely states how near his candidate was to securing the necessary majority of 27 votes.²

Ven. Cal.,
V. 598

The numbers appear to have leaked out, for we find Dandolo writing to the Doge on the 5th December that the Cardinal of England’s election had been expected the previous morning, and that the betting at the bankers’ shops had gone up to 40. He goes on—

“ At the 16th hour [4 p.m.] the French ambassador went to the wicket [*fenestrino*], and desired the Master of the Ceremonies to protest in his name to the Cardinals that unless they waited for their French colleagues, who, he understood, were in Corsica, his

¹ The exact two-thirds of 41 is 27½, but the practice seems to have been to take the number *nearest* to the improper fraction, whether above or below it.

² A Cardinal’s vote in his own favour was made invalid by the publication of the bull, *Aeterni Patris* of Gregory XV, 15th November, 1621.

King would not ratify or confirm the election of any Pope made in 1549
their absence. . . .

"Shortly after . . . Don Diego [di Mendoza, Imperial ambassador] arrived in a passion, and he, in like manner, sent for their lordships, and protested to them mildly and lovingly that they must observe their due rules and regulations, and not attend to anything else ; whereupon, at the bankers' shops . . . at the second hour of the night, England was at 80, and 30% was wagered that he would be proclaimed in the morning. Salviati was at 1% and Sfondrato at 2."

On the evening of the previous day, Cardinal Farnese, who was the chief of the party in favour of Pole, actually collected the necessary number of votes and went to Pole's cell with another Cardinal, to announce his election, and offer the customary homage or "adoration." But Pole would in no wise consent to it, telling them that the election should be made canonically, the next morning after Mass, and not in the night—a time more apt for fraud ; that if it was God's purpose to raise him to that See, He would do so the next morning as well as then. Next morning, his votes had fallen to 22 ; the following day they rose to 24, and there remained, with fluctuations of one or two votes. Six French Cardinals entered Conclave on the 12th December, making 47 in all, and raising the necessary two-thirds majority to 32.¹

Pole's disinterested conduct became instantly known outside the Conclave, causing Dandolo to observe that the Cardinals'

¹ The account in Ciaconius corroborates these facts, and he continues : "After the night's interval, therefore, the goodwill of many was transferred to Julius [Del Monte]. . . . But it is related that Julius used to say he had received his august office from the hands, so to speak, of Cardinal Reginald alone. For Reginald, firm as an oak, as they used to say, was never moved by the hope of attaining, or by the fear of missing, the supreme Pontificate."—*Ciaconius, Vitae et Res Gestae Pont., Rom., et S. R. E. Card.*, III, pp. 629-30.

Moroni's account of the incident is as follows :—"In one of the scrutinies the famous Cardinal Pole was only two votes short of election, when, the Cardinals desiring to elect him by 'adoration,' after the night had already begun, he, with unmoved countenance, opposing the strength of his virtue to his election, begged them, since God was the Author of Light, to be so good as to postpone till the following day the choice they were anxious to make of him . . . as is narrated in the history of the *Conclaves*, p. 174."

1549-50 attendants (*Conclaristi*) must be "in partnership with the bankers in the wagers, which cause many tens of thousands of crowns to change hands." He continues—

"Everybody armed, and until after the 18th hour [6 p.m.] we remained awaiting the announcement of this election; but then the Cardinals ordered dinner, and people drew breath, for no one can imagine how very unpopular it is—'*che è cosa incredibile come è malissimo sentito*'—as they consider it certain that the whole of this court would have to lead a new life, and withdraw to their own spouses [*i.e.*, to their dioceses and cures]. But the minority wishes for it greatly. . . . It is true that Cardinal Pole remains at 40, nor is any other person whatever mentioned."

No greater compliment could well have been paid to the English Cardinal's virtue and integrity, and his zeal for the reform of the Roman *Curia*, than the fears reported at the end of the above letter.

Charles V had apparently again been consulted, for in a letter to Cardinal Farnese in the Venetian Archives, dated 8th January, we find it stated that he continued firm in excepting Santa Croce, Ridolfi and Salviati, and was staunch to Burgos [Francesco di Mendoza] and to Pole. The same day Dandolo reports that the Imperialist Cardinals swear they will die with Pole on their lips, and never propose anyone but England, to whom they all give way, and every morning they give him their 23 votes. "Chieti [Caraffa] has 22, the French saying they will also die in conclave . . . they have been there forty-one days."

Beccatelli During this trying period of suspense, Pole remained imperturbably calm and quiet, working and praying in his cell, as if he had been in his own room. If any Cardinals said to him, as they often did: "We will make you Pope," he begged them not to act out of personal regard for him, but solely for the needs of the Church. Cardinal di San Jacopo, a Spaniard, related afterwards that on the morning when Pole had 26 votes in the scrutiny, all eyes turned towards him, but there was not the faintest alteration in the usual serenity of his countenance. On being told that he was supposed, before the Conclave, to have been eager for the pontificate, he answered

with gravity that the weight of that great office was more 1549-50 to be feared than desired, and he greatly compassionated any man who did not so regard it. He wrote two volumes while in conclave : *De Officio Pontificis*.

Before the Conclave had sat many days, it had become plain that Caraffa, Cardinal of Chieti, was Pole's only serious rival ; on the 19th December, Caraffa, or "Sabinense," as the MS. calls him, had 24 votes to Pole's 23 ; ten days later Pole had 23 to Caraffa's 22 ; and to the end, Pole's numbers never fell below 21, while Caraffa's place was on several occasions taken by other Cardinals, by Guise, on the 19th December, with 20 votes to Pole's 25 ; by Bourbon, on the 14th January, with 19 to Pole's 21 ; while on the 25th January the Cardinal of Trani [G. M. de Cupis] supplanted Caraffa entirely, and remained head of the poll with 22 and 23 votes until the 7th February, when, after the sixtieth fruitless scrutiny, giving Trani 23 votes and Pole 23, Cardinals Farnese and Guise, heads of the Imperial and French parties, conferred together, with the result that on the evening of the same day, Cardinal Del Monte, who had been one of Pole's colleagues at the Council of Trent, was unanimously elected Pope by all the votes of the Conclave, taking the title of Julius III.¹ Cardinal Caraffa's jealousy of Reginald Pole was not soothed by this result, and Goldwell, who evidently wrote after the former's death, alludes to him as "a great persecutor of Pole" (*gran persecutore di Polo*) in after days.

The Emperor and the King of France, with all their pertinacity, had failed to bring in their candidate, and had only succeeded in excluding the man who was the greatest ornament, in piety and learning, of the Sacred College. Dandolo could hardly credit his ears, "when a great and sudden noise of people and armed men proclaimed by torchlight in the streets" on the night of the 7th February, after the conference of Guise

¹ In his Report, Dandolo says that Julius III was by nature very choleric, but also very kindhearted, "so that his anger comes to an end sooner than the words that express it, and the Cardinals of Mantua and Trent, who would never give him their votes, were much better rewarded by his Holiness than any of those who supported him."

1550

and Farnese, the election of Del Monte. So sure had he felt of Pole's ultimate triumph, that he placed more faith "in one voice shouting 'England' than in many cries of 'Monte.'" The next day the ambassador visited the Cardinal de Guise, who was lodged with Cardinal Ferrara, and he was taken "lovingly between them on three chairs" and they gave him a *dolcissimo* account of the Conclave—

Ven. Cal.
V. 643

"Among other things, both parties lived so lovingly together, more as if they had been brothers, although opposed to each other in their object, and yet, during 72 days there were 47 or 48 Cardinals assembled together, the like never having been heard of in any former conclave. It may therefore be hoped that the Lord was amongst them, and that this election took place through the Holy Spirit, the consent having been sudden, general and unexpected; so that although the Cardinals were very tired, the election is nevertheless considered miraculous by everybody. . . .

"One single merchant in 'Banche' has made upwards of 20,000 crowns in wagers during the election."

Poli Epp.
V. 53

The above favourable account of the attitude of the Cardinals is corroborated by Pole himself, who, in an interesting letter to the Bishop of Badajos [Francesco Navarre] declares that during the months the Conclave lasted—and when his own election appeared certain—not one of his party, and they certainly formed a very great part of the College, was found to take any steps, either with Pole himself, or through his attendants, concerning their own private interests. "Such conduct could only proceed from men who had given their suffrages to the Christian republic and to the Church." In the same letter, dated Bagnarea, June 17th, Pole confirms the account the bishop had already received—that he had taken no steps, nor solicited anyone, nor shown any signs of desire for the pontificate. Badajos is mistaken, however, in praising his fortitude and greatness of mind; those who accused him of pusillanimity and indolence were perhaps less in the wrong; they were nearer the truth who considered him alarmed by the heaviness of the burden—that fear which from just cause sometimes seizes even intrepid men.

But neither the weight of the burden, nor fear, deterred him so much as the individual character given him by God, which

he had not spontaneously assumed, but which, having received 1550 it from his Maker, he sustained not unwillingly when the tide was running most strongly in his favour. After likening himself to an ass, who, having received no sense of it from nature, neither desires honour nor despises it, he thinks his indifference, in the midst of so many hopes and fears, was a Divine favour. He was alarmed at the sight of the pontificate, viewing it as divested of all honour and riches, and this prevented him from advancing, whilst the favour of the Sacred College forbade him to retreat.

“ When the two Cardinals came to my cell to proffer ‘ adoration,’ I thought of the two disciples whom our Lord sent to fetch the ass, on which He meant to ride into the holy city. So I listened to them . . . and would not have denied them, but for the night-time and its darkness. Was I right, or not ? I make no disputation, save that I could have no part in anything which night and darkness might render suspect. . . . Then came other two, with the same authority, to show that they were not asking anything of me not customary and unlawful, but just . . . Yet I prayed them to wait, and leave the issue to be proved by daylight. . . . And as the event proved, the Lord did not require this particular ass.”

This modest likening of himself to the ass in the Gospel also occurs in a letter to Pate, Bishop of Worcester, written two days previously. Pole concludes his letter to Badajos with the hope that throughout his life he may find the same delight in renouncing honour. The precious, sweet and salutary fruit derived by him from these circumstances will seem as incredible to those who never bore the burden of the Lord (*onus Domini*) as what was written by Apuleius in his fable of “ The Golden Ass ”; but by the mercy of God the utter truth of the fact is hourly impressed upon him. What he would never have written to others he confides to Badajos, who from his youth had dedicated himself to the yoke of the Lord, and by whom Pole knows he is loved *in visceribus Christi*. . . .

Although Cardinal Del Monte had been an ardent reformer, and his first speech as Pope in consistory was a fine exposition of the necessity of various reforms, promising to begin with his own household and personal expenditure, and with the

1550 "Dataria" and "Penitentiaria," and although he immediately appointed a commission of six Cardinals, of whom Pole was one, to carry them out, so deeply had the stain of nepotism sunk into the habits of the time, that he raised to the cardinalate an adopted son of his brother, a lad of seventeen, of considerable talents, but of no birth and little moral worth.¹

The appointment was vehemently opposed in consistory by Cardinal Caraffa, and by Pole in private, who, according to Dandolo's report to the Doge, had remained with the Pope until the third hour of the night, trying to dissuade him.

According to custom, Pole wrote a letter of congratulation to the new-made Cardinal, in which may clearly be traced, under its stately form, disapproval of the appointment, and a warning to its young recipient.

Ven. Cal., V. 668 "Were it not for the hope reasonably entertained by me, that the affection which has moved our lord the Pope to promote your rt. rev. lordship to the cardinalate will also induce his Holiness to use all care and diligence to protect you from all such crosses and perils as are wont to accompany dignities and high offices at such an age, I should not dare to congratulate you on this your elevation as I do, relying chiefly on this hope, and at the same time praying His divine Majesty to vouchsafe to favour in this matter the goodwill of his Holiness by giving your rt. rev. lordship the grace to acknowledge this care on the Pope's behalf as a far greater benefit than any dignity or advantage you have received, or may anticipate from him.

"And know that you have no other means of evincing your gratitude . . . than by endeavouring, with the aid of the Divine grace, to be such as daily more and more to justify the opinion and hope of you entertained by his Holiness. To this I exhort you with the utmost earnestness, offering you my services, as I am bound."

Ibid., V. 670

Cardinal Pole's legation of Viterbo came to an end in June, and Cardinal Cornaro was appointed to succeed him, and to pay him a monthly pension of 100 crowns. "It is expected," wrote Dandolo, "that as the Cardinal of England had 150 crowns from that legation, he will receive 50 from the Dataria, until they can give him further supply."

¹ His name was Innocenzo Del Monte.

It was about this time that the Emperor conferred upon 1550 Cardinal Pole a pension of 2,000 ducats on the See of Burgos, a gift the more acceptable, as he tells Charles V in returning his thanks that he had not sought it in any way.

When Cardinal Pole had written his high praise of the Cardinals in conclave, of their disinterestedness, and their kindness towards himself, it is probable that he had been unaware of the calumnies which the rival faction had promulgated against him. The news came to him with a painful shock that he had been accused of heresy and of consorting with heretics, of supineness and indolence in his government of Viterbo, as borne witness to by the small number of capital executions he had inflicted, and finally that he had a natural daughter, whom he was bringing up in a convent in Rome. To these accusations, as Beccatelli remarks, his deeds and sufferings for the Apostolic See, and the excellence of his government of Viterbo were the complete answer. As for the calumny about a natural daughter, he needed to make no justification, for when the matter was enquired into, it was at once discovered that the child in question was the daughter of an Englishwoman who had died in Rome, and who had been placed with the good nuns by the Cardinal to keep her out of harm, while he had added 100 ducats to the small sum left by the mother, to be placed on the Monte di Pietà to fructify into a little dowry to facilitate her marriage—"a good work similar to many others he was wont to do, without sound of trumpet."

In the first moment of surprise and indignation at such a base attack, Pole was minded to defend himself by an open letter to his accusers; but the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa—whose party was supposed to be at the bottom of the business—dissuaded him.

As he explains in a letter to the Master of the Sacred Palace, written in August, 1553, while Caraffa had dissuaded him from publishing his defence, others had urged him to do so, according to the Scripture maxim: *Maledictis homo qui negligit famam suam.*¹ So he went to the Pope, who advised him not to publish

¹ Girolamo Mazzarelli, a Dominican, and a Bolognese officially the Pope's theologian. Mazzarelli had distinguished himself at the Council

1550

anything—not for the sake of his honour, which could defend itself—but for the honour of the order of Cardinals and their College, which might incur some mark of infamy were it to transpire that such strife prevailed there as to compel him to condescend to a defence [*apologia*].

Muzzarelli had defended Pole, and had made it known to him that the Cardinal of Naples—as Caraffa had lately become—after a conciliatory meeting with Pole, had expressed his regret at the malignant insinuations whereby it had been sought to disturb the friendship between them, and that he was ready to give him any mark of his esteem and love. Pole comments on this, that their interview had indeed removed all false suspicions, and they will be linked henceforth by a stronger tie of affection—

“ Accustomed as I am religiously to cultivate all my friends, I am specially mindful of those with whom I have been linked, not by country or kindred, but by Divine providence and community of religious study, of whom (when despoiled of my natural kin) God gave me many, and amongst them, for age and dignity, the Cardinal of Naples was pre-eminent. And that I should be torn from him by the artifices of Satan, never having lost any of those whom God had given me, was a blow that I could not but lament bitterly.”

Muzzarelli had reproached Pole with having so long suppressed and hidden the talent for writing given him by God for his own use and that of others. To this he says he will not give the same answer as he has done to others—that he does not acknowledge his writings to contain such an amount of talent as to render their circulation desirable—but he will trust neither to his own judgment nor to Muzzarelli’s, but will leave it to the Pope to decide. He does not consider himself an author, and has never written anything with the intention of publishing it.

Cardinal Caraffa had advanced the curious reason, in urging Pole to abstain from defending himself, that however just his

of Trent, where he probably formed his friendship with Cardinal Pole. He was made Master of the Sacred Palace by Julius III in 1550, and died at Palermo in 1561.—Moroni, Vol. XLI, pp. 200-210. Brown, Vol. V, September, 1553.

defence, it must convict him of having been suspected of crime. 1550-53 On which Pole remarks that he had not kept silence for that reason, but solely to obey the Pope. After a feeling allusion to the fact that there should have been found men in Rome ready to accuse him of disloyalty to that Church of Rome in whose defence he had received the wounds of which he would ever bear the *stigmata*, he thanks God that he had been enabled thus to do, and to give such security of his faith and obedience to the Church, causing him to sacrifice everything to its honour. But could the men who had not defended him defend themselves against the charge of ingratitude? It is true that attempts were made to render suspected those two luminaries of the Church, the Cardinals Contarini and Morone, and finally Pole himself, but the attacks recoiled upon their authors.

Reginald Pole was a man of such strong personal influence, his learning, his piety, and the persuasive attraction that had distinguished him from his earliest days had, as in the case of Flaminio, kept many ardent men from over-stepping the bounds of the Church's doctrine and discipline. In some cases he had failed, especially in two notable instances—Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermiglio, who had broken away from him and from the Church, and were now, as apostate monks, married to ex-nuns, disporting themselves and their new learning in England. The fact that they had been among Pole's familiars was not forgotten in the accusations of his rival's faction, and moved him to reply—that some have accused him of giving too easy access, and of having been too kind to persons of suspected faith in matters of religion, but he believes Muzzarelli will approve of his conduct, which is taught by St. Paul.

This interesting document, which is dated from the monastery of Maguzzano on the lake of Garda, was written on the 6th August, 1553, the very day before Pole heard of the accession of Mary. It was thus the unconscious summing up and testament of his long term of twenty years of exile, made on the eve of the new life which was to be his for all too short a period. The letter ends with renewed assurances of the pleasure caused him by being reconciled with Cardinal Caraffa,

1552-53 "as it is very advantageous for persons of the same order to be true friends, and that the fact should be generally known."

The suspension of the Council, 28th April, 1552, on account of the hostilities between Charles V and Henry II of France, and his own labours on the commission appointed by Julius III for the reform of discipline and the extirpation of abuses, were the chief matters which gave concern and occupation to Cardinal Pole at this time. The affection of the two preceding Popes for the Cardinal of England was eclipsed by that of Julius III, who never failed to acknowledge that he owed his own elevation to him.¹ In speaking of some appointment for Alvise Priuli to the Venetian ambassador, the Pope had remarked he doubted whether Priuli would accept it, being given to solitude and the study of philosophy and theology. "We know him to have every good quality that can possibly be desired," continued the Pope, "but even if he possessed no other than that of having been so long with so holy a Cardinal, it would fully suffice us for giving him this charge, and even a greater one."²

Ven. Cal.
20 Feb.,
51

Pole was the mainspring of the project formed by Julius III of having a congregation of cardinals and prelates in Rome to further reform and obtain peace between the Emperor and France. While at the baths of Bagnarea in September, 1552, he drew up an important paper pointing out that as the Pope had assigned as his chief difficulty the troubles of Christendom, owing to the discord between Charles and Henry II, from which might be apprehended a great war, and all its dreadful consequences, Pole can only submit to his Holiness, who has asked what he ought to do, that he should follow the inspiration

Ibid., V,
737

¹ According to Beccatelli, when the Cardinals assembled in the chapel to do homage to the newly-elected Pope, and Pole presented himself before him to kiss his foot, Julius III, with tears in his eyes, rose and embraced him as the one to whom he owed the pontificate. And when he subsequently found himself embroiled in great difficulties with France in the question of Mirandola, turning to Cardinal Sant' Angelo, the Pope exclaimed: "I know not for what fault God sends me this affliction, save for failing to give my vote in conclave to that holy man, Cardinal Pole."

² Priuli must have declined the appointment, for he followed Pole to England.

of his own piety, and not remain an idle spectator of so horrible a tragedy, but use all diligence and exercise his pastoral office to try and make peace between those two powerful princes.

Pole's advice had been asked as to the persons to be employed in such a negotiation ; to which he replies that before deciding upon so important a point it would be well to get at the root of this intestine war, which has lasted so many years, and although occasionally stifled, has always broken out again with greater violence, and although all remedies have been applied for its total extinction, none have succeeded. This can be attributed to the anger of God, who uses war as a scourge for our sins ; so it is necessary to destroy the root by making peace, first of all, with Him.

The true way to do this is but to effect what for so many years has been so much desired by all pious men, viz., the Reform which, should his Holiness now choose at any cost effectually to accomplish, he will have the more grace with God, the more credit with men, and on this foundation may hope to raise an edifice no less good than profitable. As to the persons to be employed, though ambassadors may be used to break the ice *per rompere il ghiaccio*, and bring about a suspension of hostilities, no less a person than the Pope himself is required to bring about a peace.

" As to persons, in my opinion, the most suitable would be those most at peace with God. . . . Indeed, should there be found in any corner of the world, in any monastery, wood, or grotto, monks, hermits, or others who could bring witnesses to prove that they had more grace of God, or were more at peace with Him, I would be of opinion that his Holiness should use the instrumentality of such . . . it having been proved of yore that similar persons were excellent mediums for such operations.

" But among the rest, it seems to be one of the scourges of the sixteenth century that men of that sort are no longer to be found ; but the persons most resembling this type should be chosen, whether prelates or cardinals, or other men. And in truth it would be well to have ministers of such a description ; that should they find the princes stubborn and averse to peace, they might have the ability and power to make it a case of conscience, alarming them by the consideration of the vital interest of all Christendom, which for many centuries has perhaps never been in greater danger of universal ruin through war. . . ."

CHAPTER XIX

1551-53 IN England, the truth of the prophecy had been proving itself : “ *Woe against a land whose king is a child, and whose nobles are luxurious.* ” Somerset had fallen a victim to the intrigues of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, a man, if possible, more ambitious than himself, and had forfeited his life, and that of four of his supposed accomplices.¹

The innovations in religion were enforced with relentless rigour ; although, according to Paget’s own showing, in a letter to Somerset of July, 1549, “ The use of the old religion is forbidden by law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven of twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth.”² Gardiner, Bonner, Heath and several other prelates were in the Tower, Bonner having told his judges that he possessed but three things : “ A few goods, a poor carcase, and a soul ; the two first were at their disposal, but the last was his own.”

“ The spirit of religious giddiness,” says Phillips, “ having now taken possession of the English, gave rise to a great variety of sects, who agreed as little among themselves as with the Church whose communion they had left.” Somerset, who was an avowed favourer of the Zwinglian tenets, and kept up a correspondence with Calvin, invited over several foreign reformers ; while Cranmer, in his eagerness to abolish the old religion entirely, appeared indifferent as to the opinions set up in its place. The Venetian ambassador in London, Barbaro, speaking of the confusion of sects, thus describes the state of affairs in England in May, 1551—

¹ Sir Ralph Fane, or Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Michael Stanhope, were executed. Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel, was reprieved, and after twelve months’ imprisonment in the Tower, was released. The charge against them and Somerset was that of conspiring to raise the country and murder Warwick, a plot which rests on no satisfactory foundation. Somerset was beheaded on Tower Hill, January, 1552, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

² Strype II, Rec. 110.

"There are divers sects all over the country, where there may be 1551-53 said to reign a confusion of tongues, a dissolute license, a manifest scourge from God, by giving refuge to all the fugitive apostates from France, Italy, and Germany. . . . Religion is, as it were, the heart of man, on which life depends. . . . This is not the case with the English, amongst whom there is nothing more fickle than religious opinion, for to-day they do one thing, and to-morrow another; and now those who have accepted the new creed as well as the others are dissatisfied, as shown by the insurrection of '49; and, in fact, had they now a leader, although they have been grievously chastised, they would rise again."

Vermiglio, or Peter Martyr, as he was usually called, had been brought to England by Cranmer in 1547, and appointed, although a professed Zwinglian, one of the commissioners to revise the ecclesiastical code in 1551, and Ochino, who afterwards became a declared enemy of the Divinity of Christ, helped to compile the liturgy. John Alasco, who gained great influence at Edward VI's court, had come to England with a colony of his Polish countrymen, and besides the tenets of Zwinglius, and other frenzies of his own, found out twelve different meanings of the words of the institution of the Eucharist, and rejected Baptism as idolatry.¹

As for the Princess Mary, it required the Emperor's threat of sending an army into England to protect her and her religion from open violence. When she first appealed to him, it chanced to be the very time when the English government was soliciting Charles V's aid for the preservation of Boulogne; so policy prevailed over fanaticism, and at the Imperial intercession the indulgence for which Mary prayed, of liberty of worship, was reluctantly granted. When, however, peace was concluded with France, and Charles V's friendship seemed of less importance, her persecution was renewed, her chaplains were sent to prison, and she was ordered by her young brother—who maintained that he possessed as great an authority in

¹ Alasco had been one of Pole's correspondents in his student days at Padua, having been introduced to him, in terms of much eulogy, by Erasmus, in whose house at Basle he had lived in 1524. He was Catholic Archdeacon of Warsaw in 1538, and left the Church in 1542.

Peter Martyr Vermiglio was incorporated D.D. and appointed Divinity Professor at Oxford, in 1548, and Canon of Christchurch in 1551.

1551-53 religious matters as his father had done—to conform to the new religion. But she told the lords of the Council, when they came to argue with her, "that her soul was God's, and that she would neither change her faith nor dissemble her opinions." The next day the Imperial ambassador came to her aid, with a declaration of war from the Emperor if Edward should presume to violate the solemn promise which he had given in her favour.¹

This caused much diplomatic correspondence, and the despatch of Dr. Wotton, to explain to Charles V that the promise had only been a temporary one, that the new liturgy was only the revival of a very old one, and that to overlook disobedience in the first subject in the realm would be to encourage disobedience in others—explanations which fell upon deaf ears, while Mary herself gallantly replied to the fresh messengers sent to announce the royal pleasure: "Rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late King, my father, I will lay my head on a block and suffer death."

After this, we hear no more of the subject; the Princess probably continued to have Mass said in her house, but with greater privacy, and the Council connived at that which it soon became dangerous to notice; for the declining health of the boy king was directing every eye towards her as his successor, and on her occasional visits to her sick brother, the state she assumed was calculated to overawe her opponents. She was attended by 150 or 200 knights and gentlemen on horseback, and this retinue was generally augmented by the spontaneous accession of some of the first personages, both men and women, in the kingdom.

With all the diversity of permitted opinions, there were still prosecutions for heresy, although the statutes against it had been repealed in the first year of Edward's reign. The lords

Strype,
II, 372

¹ The Princess was living at Copped Hall in Essex, and a rumour that she intended to retire to the Continent caused the equipment of a fleet to interrupt communication between the coast of Norfolk and the opposite shore. Her usual residence was Kenninghall, in that county.

of the Council were anxious to repel the charge of encouraging ¹⁵⁵¹⁻⁵³ tenets such as the denial of the Incarnation and the advocation of polygamy, which struck at the very root of Christianity, and tended to reflect disgrace on the English reformation in the eyes of Europe. So commission after commission was appointed to enquire into heretical gravity, and while many through terror or conviction consented to abjure, some, like Joan Bocher of Kent, and Von Parris, a Dutch surgeon, were condemned by Cranmer, Ridley, Coverdale and several others, and burned at the stake.

While England was thus distracted by religious quarrels, Reginald Pole, disturbed, as Beccatelli tells us, by the constant passage of troops owing to the French incursions into Lombardy, and the hostilities with regard to the province of Mirandola, obtained the Pope's leave to retire to some quiet place away from Rome. And, as he was the protector of the Benedictines of Monte Casino and much beloved by them, he chose to take up his abode in a house of theirs in the Veronese territory, the monastery of Maguzzano on the Lake of Garda, a solitary spot where the air was good, and where he spent several months with great content, in the company of his *famiglia* and the good monks.

In the retirement he loved, and where he appears to have gone in the month of May, 1553, Reginald Pole could not entirely free himself from the cares of state. Soon after his arrival, the Cardinal of Trent [Madruzz] with the ambassador ^{Poli Epp.} _{IV, 107} despatched by the Pope to the Elector of Brandenburg came to see him, and among other business, solicited his intervention with the Pope for the See of Magdeburg, on behalf of the late bishop's brother. Pole refused at first, but they insisted, showing him letters of the Emperor, and from the Archbishops of Metz and Treves, upon which he consented to write to Julius III, commanding the candidate, whose election at that moment would be beneficial, "there being a great scarcity—especially in those parts—of bishops who can and will defend the interests of the Church."

As usual, the period of repose and retirement, of quiet study and congenial discourse with kindred minds, was not to be of

1553 long duration for Reginald Pole, nor was he ever to know it again.

On the evening of the 6th July Edward VI breathed his last, and Northumberland proclaimed his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, queen, in virtue of a will extorted by appeals to his religious fanaticism from the dying Edward, by which he passed by his two sisters on the score of illegitimacy, although their father's will and an Act of Parliament had placed them next to himself in the order of succession.¹ By fixing upon the eldest daughter of Frances, daughter of Henry VIII's younger sister Mary, widow of Charles XII, and of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the claim of Mary, Queen of Scots, granddaughter of Henry's eldest sister, Margaret, was also ignored.²

The judges and the lords of the Council were aghast at so startling a proposition, put suddenly before them, and enforced by the stern command of the King; Northumberland also entering suddenly upon their debates, trembling with rage, and offering to fight in his shirt any man in so just a quarrel. Finally, a document was subscribed by the lords of the Council, several peers, judges and officers of the crown to the number of 101, and authenticated with the great seal, by which they swore to defend and maintain the succession of the Lady Jane.

The death of Edward VI was concealed by Northumberland and his associates for four days, and Mary Tudor owed it to the fidelity of one of the Council, apparently Lord Arundel, that she did not fall into the trap laid for her by Northumberland, who had sent her an order, in the dying King's name, to repair to court. Had she hesitated in acting at once upon

¹ The popular belief that Edward VI had been removed by poison—which caused Charles V to advise Mary to put to death all who had any hand in “the death” of the late King [*Renard apud Griffet XI*]—is reflected in Beccatelli's *Life of Pole*. He speaks of the young King's death as procured by the evil arts—*le male arti*—of the Duke of Northumberland. There remains no documentary proof in support of the suspicion.

² Frances, whose husband, Grey, Marquis of Dorset, had been created Duke of Suffolk, was still alive, but she had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne, and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter, Jane, the wife of Northumberland's fourth son, Guildford Dudley.

receiving Arundel's note—warning her of the design of the ¹⁵⁵³ conspirators—which met her on the road to London, she would have found herself next morning a prisoner in the Tower ; where Northumberland's sons had made due preparation for her safe-keeping, strengthening the garrison and superseding the constable, Sir John Gage, by Sir James Croft, a creature of the Duke's.

Mary's vigorous letter of rebuke to the Council for having neglected to apprise her of her brother's death, and commanding them, as they hoped for her favour, to proclaim her accession immediately, her own proclamation, and the enthusiasm it evoked—contrasting with the ominous silence in which the people had received the proclamation of Jane—showed the trend of events, notwithstanding the supercilious reply of the Council, requiring her abandonment of her “false claim,” and submission as a dutiful subject to her lawful queen.

The flocking to Mary's standard of the nobles and gentlemen of the surrounding counties with their tenants and dependants, until their numbers swelled to some 30,000 ; her ride of forty miles without a rest to Framlingham so as to open communications with the Emperor ; her disdain of his advice not to contend with the Council, but to offer them pardon, retention of office and no alteration in religion ; Northumberland's faint-hearted failure even to attack the tumultuous host of the royalists—which, with his small but disciplined and well-armed force, he might have dispersed, and driven the Princess across the sea—his own proclamation of Mary at Cambridge when he saw that his bubble had burst ; his escape prevented by the vigilance of his own men, and his arrest by Arundel ; Mary's proclamation by the Council and the Lord Mayor, and her triumphant entry into London, rapidly made up a veritable nine days' wonder—that short span having seen the reign of Jane, hapless victim of the ambition of her husband and his kin, whom she did not hesitate to accuse of two attempts to poison her for refusing to make Dudley king.¹

¹ Lady Jane declared she had certain proofs *ottimi e certissimi testimonii* of the attempts to poison her, and that in consequence all her hair had come off. Pollini, p. 357, 358 ; Rosso, p. 56. When

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Nowhere were these rapid and stirring events watched with keener interest than at the court of Rome. On the 25th July, an express messenger from Cardinal St. George, legate in France, started for Rome, which he reached on the 5th August, with the joyful news of Mary's triumph over her enemies, and establishment on the throne.¹ The following day the papal *Poli Epp.* secretary, Cardinal Del Monte, wrote to Reginald Pole that ^{IV. 109} his Holiness having heard of the death of the youth who was called King of England—*che era chiamato Re d'Inghilterra*—had determined to use all diligence in helping that kingdom to return to the true faith, from which it had been torn by the impiety of Henry, and that he intended to be governed by Pole's advice and counsel, which was also the opinion of the whole College of Cardinals. So great had been the Pope's joy on receiving the positive news of Mary's accession that he had not been able to restrain his tears, and had instantly called the Cardinals together, and proposed to send Pole as legate to the new Queen, to the Emperor and to the King of France. The Cardinal is to go first to the Emperor, and that no time may be lost, the bearer carried with him 1,000 ducats in gold and bills for another 1,000. The instructions are brief, but full of confidence in Pole—

“ Do not expect advice or instructions from us, because you know better than any of us what is to be done. The Bishop of Worcester [Pate] had better go with you as *prenuntio* or precursor, or in any other way you may make use of him for your authority and dignity.”

The necessary bulls for the Bishop of Worcester will be sent later, so as not to delay Pole's immediate departure.

The news had already reached Maguzzano, and the Pope's messenger was met on the road by Parpaglia, abbot of San Saludo, bearing Pole's congratulations to Julius III on Mary's accession, “ the first advices being now fully confirmed.”

Charles V learned that Mary meant to fight for her right, he exhorted her to persevere: “ *puis qu'elle s'y est mise si avant, qu'elle perde la crainte, évite de la donner à ceux qui sont de son côté, et qu'elle passe tout outre.*”—*Renard's MSS.*

¹ *Vatican MS.*, Flanders, I, 294.

Nothing which has happened in Christendom for many years past is a greater subject of congratulation, and God has chosen to annihilate in a moment the cherished projects of malicious men by means of a woman who for so many years had suffered contrary to all justice and lived in a state of oppression, and who is now victorious and called to the throne—

“ Thus affording reasonable hopes that, together with her, there will be called to reign in England justice, piety, and the true religion . . . and that the kingdom will return to its obedience.”

Pole modestly concludes that as he is of that country, he ventures to send his feeble opinion, which may not be unacceptable to his Holiness, by Parpaglia, to whom he begs the Pope to give credence as to himself.

Parpaglia met the Pope's messenger at Bologna and returned to Maguzzano with him. A few days later, August 12th, he started again with fresh letters for the Pope, reporting the steps Pole was taking in consequence of his legation: first of all sending an express messenger to the papal nuncio in Flanders [Geronimo Dandino, Bishop of Imola] hoping to obtain from him and the English there additional intelligence whereby to regulate his actions, meanwhile sending the Bishop of Worcester to the Imperial court to perform such offices with his Majesty as the legate shall think desirable, according to the advices he receives from day to day.¹

At the same time Pole despatched a messenger, Henry Penning, one of the few English gentlemen in his service, with a letter to the Queen, his cousin. After congratulating her, and blessing “ the right hand of the Lord ” for having placed her on the high throne where the wishes of all good men had long desired to see her, Pole expresses the confidence that she,

¹ It will not be forgotten that Pate had been Henry VIII's ambassador to Charles V in 1540, and that on his recall he had fled to Rome, where Paul III had made him Bishop of Worcester on the death of Cardinal Ghinucci. These facts would make him a very fitting person to open negotiations now with the Emperor, though it is not probable that Pole thought of sending him to England without the express permission of the Queen.

Ven. Cal.
V, 784

1553 whose virtues he has known from her infancy, and who has been educated in every sort of adversity and tribulation—that the flower of God's grace might take the deeper root—will rejoice more at the prospect of the restoration of religion than at the royal crown itself, and will say in the words of the Magnificat: *fecit potentiam in brachio suo, depositus potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.*

Then briefly recapitulating the chief misfortunes wrought in the realm by Henry VIII's divorce of the blessed Queen, Mary's mother, and his assumption of the spiritual supremacy “from which iniquitous and impious seeds there subsequently sprang up those pestiferous fruits which have corrupted every part of the kingdom, so that scarce a vestige of justice or religion can be seen,” Pole announces his legation to her, to congratulate her on the victory of God in this cause which is so thoroughly His own, and asks to be informed in what way God now moves the mind of her Majesty. For this purpose he sends the present messenger with this letter, not indeed from any doubt of her Majesty's good mind . . . but as this great change of religion in England was made many years ago, and as such great malice has been used to alienate the minds of the people from this obedience, and extinguish it entirely, Pole thinks fit to learn of her, in the first place, the time and order which she would wish him to observe in performing his embassy for her own comfort, and the benefit of the realm. He has therefore determined to await her Majesty's reply, and prays God it may be in conformity with his hopes and expectations.

If there is an undertone of anxiety in the above letter—not as to the new Queen's intentions, but as to her power of bringing them to effect—it cries aloud in every line of Pole's instructions to his secretary, Fiordibello, whom he was sending with letters to Charles V and to the papal legate at Brussels.¹ A sure instinct, based on long experience, warned him that he would find the chief stumbling-block and hindrance to his

¹ Antonio Fiordibello later became one of the most important members of the papal secretariat.—Dom René Ancel: *Légation du Cardinal Polus.*

efforts to restore England to the Church in the inflexible will¹⁵⁵³ of the sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire. Every objection the Emperor is likely to urge is therefore foreseen and provided for in the answers Fiordibello is to make, and chief amongst them the Cardinal prepares his arguments against opposition to his own journey. "Should his Majesty say that it is not opportune to treat this matter now, and therefore not expedient," the answer is to be that Pole has considered the point, and is convinced that delay would not profit, but hinder the cause ; it is customary in England, in the first Parliament of a new reign, to propose all matters relating to the re-ordination of the kingdom, all persons who consider themselves aggrieved then stating their complaints. The affairs of religion and the stability of the realm would be irreparably prejudiced if, at the present moment, when persons of every degree are striving who shall evince the greatest obedience to the Queen, the opportunity should be lost for bringing the realm back to the unity of the Church.¹

If the example of Germany is cited, or even hinted at, Fiordibello is to explain the radical difference between the two countries : Protestantism in Germany having been popular with the people—which excuse has sometimes been made by the German princes—whereas in England, by the rising in the time of the late King, it has been seen that the people are well disposed towards religion, and wish things to return to their former state. They showed their goodwill at the time of the insurrection, when, among other articles, they demanded that Pole should not only be restored to his native soil, but should have a seat on the King's Council, a very evident sign that as they could not openly demand the restoration of the Pope's authority, they demanded it indirectly.

Every other objection—the interests of the nobility—the question of a personal interview between Pole and the Emperor—even the danger which might arise from the putting forward

¹ This argument is put forth again and again by Cardinal Pole ; it appears in the instructions of Julius III, 20th September [*Borghese MS.*, I, 6, 106], and in Pole's letters to Mary of the 2nd, and to Charles V of the 29th October [*Simancas*, 506, No. 134].

1553 of the claims of the granddaughter of Henry VIII's eldest sister —far stronger than those of which the Duke, now sentenced to death, made use of in the case of his daughter-in-law—having been considered and prepared for, Pole concludes by instructing his messenger to consult the Papal legate, Cardinal Dandino, as to how much of his commission he is to impart to the Emperor, and to communicate everything to him.

Simancas
506-134 Pole's letter to Charles V is a message of congratulation, couched in terms of fervent respect, on the great work of Mary's elevation to the throne, which has come to pass by means of his Majesty's directions: *per mezzo dello indrizzo di V.M.* Pole knew very well that Charles V had sent an embassy of no less than three persons, Simon de Renard, Montmorency and Marnix, to England even before the death of Edward VI; though he might not be aware that the first of these was the channel through whom Mary—who appears to have firmly believed in the disinterestedness of the mighty cousin who had been her constant friend—was seeking his advice on the three important questions: the punishment of those who had conspired against her, her choice of a husband, and the restoration of religion. Pole therefore insists, briefly but energetically, that the most important point of all is the return of England to the unity of the Church, which will bring the Emperor more real glory than all his greatest conquests. He owes this service to the Apostolic See, which lost its authority in that kingdom by defending the just cause of Charles's family.

Having completed these preliminaries by writing letters to the papal nuncio at Brussels, where the Emperor held his court, and to Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, Charles V's chief minister, Pole awaited the return of his various messengers before setting out from Maguzzano.¹

We have an interesting account from an impartial witness of the first weeks of Mary's reign, in the reports of the Ferrarese envoy in London, Bernardino Ferrario, to Duke Ercole's ambassador with the Emperor at Brussels, Anton Maria di

¹ Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras, chief adviser during forty years of Charles V and Philip II, was the son of Nichole Perrenot de Granvelle, minister of Charles V.

Savoia. Writing on the 9th August that this most excellent 1553 Queen—*questa ottima regina*—has liberated the Bishops of Winchester and Durham [Gardiner and Tunstall] and many other worthy men, prisoners in the Tower, he thus describes Edward Courtenay—

“ Of the blood royal, a youth of twenty-five years, handsome, gallant, and really worthy of his race, full of rare qualities and ^{Archives} Este ^{Modena} virtues, which he has learned in prison, where he has spent eighteen consecutive years. Among his talents, he knows Latin, Greek, Italian and French. It is therefore expected that he will have great success, and that the Queen will restore him to the marquisate and estates of his fathers—and raise him even to greater things—which the whole people and nobility desire, showing a great wish to marry him to her Majesty; but this, and all else, lies in the hand of God. . . . The Queen has liberated the Duchess of Somerset, and granted her a pension of 3,000 marks; also the Duke of Norfolk, who is restored to his estates, and so with many others.

“ The Duke of Northumberland’s crimes have made him odious to the people, as well as to the nobility. It is expected he will be condemned, and many others with him, his brother and three of his sons; but the merciful disposition of this most excellent Queen is infinite, and it is thought she will incline more towards mercy and clemency than to severity.”

The supposition was correct; despite the strong recommendation of the Imperial ambassadors, who declared that so long as Lady Jane Grey lived, Mary could never live in security, and that the first faction that dared would again set her up as a rival, the Queen resolutely refused to allow her to be brought to trial with Northumberland and six of his accomplices. She could not, she said, find it in her heart or conscience to put her unfortunate cousin to death, who was not the accomplice, but a mere puppet in the hands of the Duke. Northumberland alone, of the three lords condemned, was put to death, and of the four commoners, Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer.¹

If it was true, as Sir William Paget had declared to Protector Somerset, that eleven-twelfths of the English people were

¹ The seven prisoners sent for trial were Northumberland and his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Northampton, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer.

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attached to the ancient faith, the remaining twelfth—strongly reinforced by the foreign contingent, and chiefly represented in London itself—sorely tried the indulgence with which the Queen was treating them, by indulging in many outrageous acts to show their defiance of her authority and animosity against her religion.¹

Thus Ferrario's next letter, 12th August, 1553, reports—

Archives
Este
Modena

"A priest wishing to say Mass at St. Bartholomew's was hindered by a mob of the lowest people. There are many in London who hold fast to the new teaching, but throughout the country the people are inclined to the old religion, as I know for a fact."

The Duke of Northumberland was executed on the 22nd August, and the envoy writes the same day—

"Never was a man so unwilling to die as Northumberland. He humiliated himself before everyone, begging their intercession with the Queen. . . . At the last he confessed that he had lived in heresy for many years through ambition and avarice; but now he has confessed to a priest, has communicated and heard Mass, thanking God for bringing him back to the true light. He made a good end on the scaffold, before 10,000 people."

Ibid.

The sudden change from almost life-long imprisonment in the gloomy Tower—at the age of twenty-five—to the life of a court and the very steps of the throne was too much for Edward Courtenay, and he was soon to plunge headlong into a career of pleasure and excess which was to turn the pious Queen from any thought of a marriage with him, and to lead him into a network of plotting and intrigue—to ruin and banishment.² But his liberty was not yet two months old, when Ferrario wrote, 4th September, that he had been created Earl of Devon the previous day, with the accustomed ceremonies, the Queen "laying the golden sword" upon his shoulder and the golden cap upon his head with her own

¹ "The very mildness of Mary's beginnings had encouraged both heresy and treason."—Gairdner: *History of the English Church*, p. 336.

² Courtenay's deterioration probably became apparent from this time; he was never raised to the marquisate, though his attainder was reversed in October. In December began his plotting to marry Elizabeth and make her Queen, which led to his banishment in 1555. He died at Padua in 1556.

hands. "Next week," continues the envoy, "he is to be made 1553 a marquis, and so, step by step, will mount on high"—*andra di grado in grado salendo in alto.*

There was one other Englishman who had long been looked upon as a fit mate for Mary Tudor—Reginald Pole himself, and there is evidence that she made enquiries as to whether he could be released from the minor orders, which he had never gone beyond. But although she loved and respected him for his noble qualities, and his sufferings in her and her mother's cause, as the French ambassador Noailles wrote to Henry II: "As for the Cardinal, I do not know who has spoken of the Queen having a mind towards him, because his age [fifty-three] and his health are not suitable to what she wishes, and has a right to expect."

Cardinal Dandino, the legate at Brussels, who for more than a year had been laboriously striving to bring the Emperor and Henry II to thoughts of peace, had not waited for instructions from Rome, but had sent an intelligent young diplomat, Francesco Commendone, to England, the moment positive news had reached the Imperial court of Mary's triumph over Northumberland. Commendone was in London on the 2nd August, four days before Mary's accession was known in Rome.¹

Like Pole himself, Dandino mistrusted the Emperor, and he knew better than the English Cardinal the general condition of European affairs, especially the influence which the rivalry between France and the Empire exercised even in the domain of purely spiritual questions. His letter to Cardinal Del Monte, announcing his despatch of Commendone, says he was moved to send him, because this was not the moment to stand by and look on, nor to play the game of those whose "chiefest object" ✓
Vat. MS.,
Fiandra,
I, 137

¹ Geronimo Dandino, Cardinal of Imola, an experienced diplomatist, had filled important offices under Paul III, as under Julius, and had become fully initiated into the mysteries of European policy by numerous missions to France and Germany.—Pieper: *Die päpstlichen Legaten und Nuntien in Deutschland, Frankreich und Spanien*, p. 121 seq. Francesco Commendone was then on the threshold of his brilliant career, and Dandino speaks of him as "a capable person."—Ancel: *Légation du Cardinal Polus*.

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it was to bring England to the obedience of the new Queen for their own political purposes, while the re-establishment of religion went for nothing in the views of the Emperor. He wished for more light on the subject, if possible, and had sent Commendone on a secret mission to London, ostensibly as a member of the Venetian embassy. He was to find out the temper of the people, and the intentions of the Queen. Was she really a Catholic, and disposed to restore religion in England? And, if so, what were her chances of success? The question of her marriage is touched upon, and above all, he is to enquire as to the chances of Cardinal Pole's mission.

*Vat. MS.,
Fiandra,
I, 154*

In London, Commendone was lodged in the Venetian Ambassador's house, and a few days after his arrival, meeting in the streets an old acquaintance of the name of Lee, then in the royal service, he was through him admitted more than once to a secret audience with the Queen.¹ The messenger returned to Brussels on the 29th August, and Dandino immediately sent him on to Cardinal Pole and to the Pope. The legate, during Commendone's absence, had had some instructive conversations with Charles V's ministers. Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, had assured him that the religious question in England necessitated the utmost caution. The Queen, who was inclined to be imprudent, and had caused the Bishop of Winchester to say Mass in the Tower Chapel at her brother's funeral, must have time to establish herself securely, otherwise there might be an outbreak, which the King of France would do his utmost to abet. Mendoza, who had been ambassador in England for two years, also pressed the need of delay, declaring that the number of the well-intentioned was far smaller than was supposed; then there was the difficult question of Church property which concerned not only the nobility, but many of the commoners as well, while all had largely tasted of the sweets of liberty which heresy afforded—*haveva bevuto molto della dolcezza di quella libertà di vivere heretico.*

¹ By the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo's account to the Council of Ten, it appears that he had been the means of putting Commendone into communication with Lee.—*Misc. Corres., Venetian Archives, [London, 19th September.]*

Meanwhile, Reginald Pole had written a second, very urgent ¹⁵⁵³ letter to Mary, dated Maguzzano, 27th August, on the necessity of surrendering the title of the supremacy of the Church to ^{Ven. Cal.,} him on whom it had been conferred by the supreme Head of heaven and earth.¹ As he hopes to see her soon, he will not expatiate on the arguments he has always used against those who most despaired of the return of England to the unity of the Church: that the blood of so many martyrs, shed in defence of the truth, would prove efficacious when the time seemed opportune to the providence of God. After a feeling allusion to Mary's past sufferings, and to the fact that he had been reared in the same school, he mentions his despatch of Henry Penning, and that he is sending this letter by another old confidential servant [Michael Throckmorton?] not, he believes, unknown to her Majesty, to whom he begs her to give credence.

The same messenger carried a letter to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the new Lord Chancellor, urging him to do his best to bring about the return of England to the Church, and congratulating him on his release from the Tower, and on having had the courage, when shut up in prison, "to place himself in the presence of the Divine Majesty and before men, so that pious souls might not remain helpless and utterly oppressed."²

Gardiner's former shortcomings towards the Holy See and towards Pole himself are generously and delicately referred to in the remark that, had he served a good prince in the beginning he would have displayed his goodness and ability much better, and if he did not yield good fruit then, this is rather to be attributed to the quality of his master, and to the infirmity of human nature, than to his own will and election—not having learned, as he has since, how to resist schism. Now he has suffered shame and imprisonment, and the loss of worldly goods, so God will multiply his supernatural gifts and favours.

¹ The Act of Supremacy was not repealed until January, 1555.

² Pole here alludes to the fact that Gardiner said Mass in the Tower, when a prisoner there, in the teeth of the Gospellers, and had a numerous congregation.

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Queen Mary's difficulties were greater than her cousin imagined, and she could not move as fast as he thought possible, nor bring him to England in time for her first Parliament. She told Commendone, and ordered him to inform the Pope and the Cardinal, that it was her most anxious wish to see her kingdom reconciled with the Holy See, that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws touching on the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church, but on the other hand she hoped to experience no obstacle on the Pope's part or that of her kinsman, for the success of the undertaking required temper and prudence, she must respect the prejudices of her subjects, and carefully conceal the trace of any correspondence between herself and the court of Rome.¹

Ven. Cal.,
V, 789

So anxious was Mary not to act precipitately that after informing Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador, of the reply to be made to Cardinal Dandino, the Queen subsequently sent him an earnest request to let the latter know that for the benefit of Pole's incipient negotiations and for the quiet of England, "he should by no means come hither as legate or as a private individual, but delay his coming to a more fitting time—

" And her Majesty also wishes his Holiness to be very certain that this is not because she has changed her mind from what she said to Commendone, or that she would not be glad to see Cardinal Pole, as she bore the same goodwill as ever to both one and the other, but that the nature of the times required this."

This momentous decision—by which Mary prolonged her kinsman's exile, and kept from her own side the man of all others best fitted, and with the best rights, to be her chief counsellor—may be said to mark a turning-point in her affairs, throwing her entirely under the influence and domination of that other cousin, Charles V, whose whole thought was how to make England a part of his own vast empire.

Had Reginald Pole, in a private capacity, been suffered to come at once to England, as he so earnestly desired, his tact and political ability, his wise and prudent statesmanship,

¹ *Pallavicino*, II, p. 397.

would soon have gained that ascendancy which at a later ¹⁵⁵³ period—and when too late—was unanimously accorded him by the Queen and her ministers. And it is difficult to believe that he would not have been able to make Mary understand the truth as to the Emperor's intentions—which few men knew better than he—and to dissuade her from the act of all others most fatal to herself and her country, the marriage with Philip of Spain.

It is significant of Cardinal Dandino's distrust of both France and the Emperor with regard to English affairs, that he should have employed the aid of neither of those great powers, but of the Venetians, in these delicate negotiations. Through ^{Ven. Cal.,} ^{19 Sept.} Soranzo, as we see by his next letter, the request was made to Dandino, not only to prevent Pole's journey, but to stop, wherever he might be found, a Bishop [Richard Pate] whom the Cardinal was sending into England. The ambassador also informs the Council of Ten that another messenger from Pole is at Brussels [Henry Penning] awaiting the Queen's permission to cross the Channel, and that her Majesty has sent him word to come ; so he is expected from day to day.

From day to day also did it become clearer to Dandino at Brussels what was at the bottom of Charles V's exhortations to prudence in religious affairs, and he discovers that the news given him of the state of England on that point has been greatly exaggerated—

" There are certain persons who do not hesitate to affirm that the Emperor, in striving to gain the affection of the English people and to give them satisfaction, has no other object than the conquest of that kingdom, to add it to the others he possesses : ' for that was his Majesty born,' as they say at court. This object would be attained by the marriage of the Queen with the prince of Spain, if God permits it. Perhaps that is the reason why the Emperor told me with so much *empressement* that the marriage with the Princess of Portugal was by no means decided upon. In the same sense the Bishop of Arras [Granvelle] remarked to me that the Queen was not thirty-nine years of age, as the Emperor had told me, but only thirty-seven." ¹

¹ *Vatican MS., Fiandra, I, 153, 159, 171.* Charles V's despatches to Renard fully justify Dandino's surmises. So much in earnest was

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When the above letter was written, 15th August, Charles V's marriage negotiations with Mary were still supposed to be a profound secret. Among his chief counsellors, men were not wanting who judged his attitude on this point very severely. The legate reports the confidences made to him by a courtier who had served the Emperor thirty years, and had access to him at all times, and according to whom the Queen of England had informed her cousin that she was disposed to follow all his counsels except in what concerned religion and the service and honour of God. God having given her such signal marks of His protection, she could not dissimulate with Him. "While saying this," continues Dandino—

"the worthy man could not restrain his tears; he implored me not to give his name, nor to publish what he had confided to me. In fact the Emperor would be much chagrined were he to know that these details were made public;—that he had tried to stifle the zeal of the Queen, and had received an answer calculated to make him blush.

"My informant declared his sorrow to see that every thought and every effort had but one object: the formation of a league and alliance with England, for temporal interests. Of spiritual concerns, on the contrary, no heed whatever was taken. It was thought it would always be time enough to consider them."¹

In the light of these confidences we can understand what Charles V meant when he ordered his ambassadors to urge Mary to show herself above all things a good Englishwoman—"sur toutes choses . . . bonne Anglaise";² and we see by the reports of the Imperial ambassadors in London how they had urged upon the Queen the danger and hazard of allowing Pole and the Bishop of Worcester to accomplish their mission to her.³

he, that he wrote all the letters in his own hand, by which he instructed his ambassador how to act—by no means openly discouraging the marriage with Courtenay, remembering that opposition often influences a woman's inclination; and when Renard could say that Courtenay had sunk entirely in the Queen's esteem, then Charles ordered him secretly to propose his son, his own age forbidding him to aspire to the honour of her hand.—*Renard's MSS.*, iii, f. 38, 48, 49.

¹ Dandino to Del Monte, 25th August, *Vatican MS. Fiandra*, I, f. 181.

² *Granvelle Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 54-56.

³ *Brussels Arch. gener.*, f. 210.

According to no less an authority than Bullinger, the number 1553 of foreign heretics who had flocked to London from all parts of the Continent during the past reign was about 15,000.¹ These had been active partners in the great havoc and destruction worked under Edward VI, and were now allied with the native malcontents in stirring up the lowest part of the populace to constant acts of riot and disorder, and it was found necessary to send many of them out of the country.² So it is not surprising to find Ferrario writing on the 5th September to the Duke of Ferrara, not without a certain satisfaction, that a hailstorm, *la grandina*, has begun to fall on the foreign ^{Archives} ^{Este} ^{Modena} preachers of the new seditious sects—on the advent of this most virtuous Queen, who freely declares that she would lose her life as well as her crown rather than not to live as a Catholic, which she has done since her cradle ; she spares no pains to convince people, and everyone is getting accustomed to it—*ognun si va accomodandosi*.

" Those brethren of Beelzebub are leaving every day to seek fresh pastures, and I assure you that some 600 have taken themselves off, all foreigners. The English do not run away, but submit themselves to her Majesty, and many leave their wives in order to enjoy the benefices they hold as priests. . . ."³

Two days later, Ferrario sends news of a great conversion. The Lady Elizabeth, since Edward VI's death, had had a difficult part, and had played it with great skill. To the messenger sent by Northumberland, with the offer of a large

¹ *Bullingerus Calvinus, Tiguri*, 26th August, 1553. *Joannis Calvinus Opera*, edit. Reuss, XIV, p. 598.

² The foreign professors of theology, Peter Martyr Vermiglio, Bucer and others, were dismissed from the two Universities.

³ " The moral disorder was so vast, and the irreligious poison scattered under Edward VI and his 'superintendents' had been so deadly in its effects, that prompt action was essential for the well-being of the State. . . . Stowe, the chronicler, gives several examples of profane indignities perpetrated in the desolated sanctuaries, and there are other revolting records in existence, the perusal of which brings a blush to the face of the reader. Neither font nor table was free from the reforming atrocities then perpetrated, many of the repulsive details of which are not fit to be printed."—F. G. Lee, D.D. : *Historical Sketch of Cardinal Pole*, pp. 229-30.

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sum of money and a valuable estate as the price of a voluntary renunciation of all right to the succession, she had replied that she had no right to renounce so long as her elder sister was alive. She had then had the first of the series of convenient illnesses, which were to continue to seize her at opportune times during her sister's lifetime, and had taken to her bed for the nine days of Jane's short reign ; so that, whichever power proved victorious, she could claim the negative merit of non-resistance.¹

When Elizabeth discovered that the Queen's advisers proposed, as a measure of precaution, to put her under temporary arrest, on account of the open declaration of the reformers—that it would be no more difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands than it had been to place it in those of Mary—she ceased to resist the attempts made on the Queen's part, who stoutly refused to put her under arrest, to withdraw her from the new worship to the old. Throwing herself at Mary's feet, she asked to be furnished with books and the instruction of divines, that she might see her errors and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this beginning, it is not surprising to find that her conversion was effected in the short space of a week.²

Ferrario gives the following account of her first appearance in the royal chapel—

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"The most serene Elizabeth, after much persuasion from the gracious Queen, has become a Catholic, and was at Vespers last evening and at Mass this morning, the day of Our Lady's birth, although she arrived very late, when it was almost ended, because she found herself seriously indisposed, as I, and everyone else in the church could see—with her hand on her breast, bemoaning herself all the time—*sempre lamentandosi.*"

Lamentations which might be interpreted as marks of physical suffering or of mental anguish, according to the mind of each beholder, while effectually concealing Elizabeth's true mind from all. In the same letter, the envoy notes that Ochino has not yet received his passports.

¹ Lingard, Vol. V, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

The house of Este was at all times fortunate in its choice of 1553 its servants, and Bernardino Ferrario was no exception to the rule. His accounts of what he saw in London during the first two years of Mary's reign are set down with vigour and unbiassed clear-sightedness, which give weight to the following observations on Cardinal Pole's mission, rumours of which had begun to circulate in England. He writes to Duke Ercole on the 16th September—

“ If the Most Rev. Cardinal Pole comes hither as a private person; I have no doubt but that he will be as well received, as ^{Archives} Este ^{Modena} much honoured and caressed as any personage who ever came here, and his coming is generally desired by all—‘ *generalmente desiderato da tutti.*’ ”

“ But as the Pope's legate, for the moment I should not know what to say ; for the Queen, who means to bring all things into very good order, and is intently occupied therewith, ‘ *occupatissima al possibile* ’ —is waiting for the present, the matter being of such great moment, as your Highness knows, and requiring great consideration, we may well believe it to be never absent from her Majesty's thoughts, and that it will no doubt soon be happily settled, through the Divine goodness, which has created this most virtuous Queen for the weal of this poor kingdom at the moment of its greatest need.”

One of the chief consequences of Charles V's designs on England was to force the French to take part in the plots against Mary. Elizabeth, Cranmer—so leniently dealt with by the new Queen, that he had merely been ordered to keep within the precincts of Lambeth Palace—Courtenay and the rest, worked with the secret approval and aid of the French ambassador, Noailles, who, in his antipathy to the Spanish cause, did not hesitate to disobey his sovereign and to abuse the privileges of his office.¹ He connected himself with Courtenay and the Protestant leaders, admitted them to

¹ Henry II wrote to Noailles, 9th November : “ Je vous prie, Mons. Noailles, comme déjà je vous ay escript, fermer du tout les oreilles à tous ces gens passionés, qui vous mettent partis en avant.” But this letter may have been written to show to the Queen, in case of need, for Henry writes the exact contrary a few weeks later : “ Jan. 26 : Il faudra conforter soubs main les conducteurs des entreprises que scavez, le plus dextrement que faire se pourra ; et s'eslargir plus ouvertement et franchement parler avecques eux que n'avez encore fait : en manière qu'ilz mettent la main à l'œuvre.”—Noailles, iii, p. 36.

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midnight conferences in his house, and raised their hopes with the prospect of aid from France. These plots appear to have been already suspected at court, for in the above letter Ferrario speaks of the plotters as deserving the severest punishment—

“ But the clemency of this most gracious Queen is infinite. As for those in prison [for Northumberland's rebellion] it is expected that nearly all will have their lives granted them.”

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The Spanish marriage was still a secret on the 16th September, for Ferrario again reverts to Courtenay, as soon to be created marquis, “ and then something very much greater, as is plainly to be seen.”

Sir Geoffrey Pole had been living at Liège since his flight from England to his brother the Cardinal at Rome, and had now suddenly arrived in London. Ferrario, in the same letter, announces his arrival—

“ There arrived here yesterday Sir Geoffrey Pole, come, as I believe, from Liège, where the Archbishop cherished him for love of his brother, the Cardinal, and this morning he was brought before the Council and then given into the custody of a gentleman, the cause being that Devonshire, *alias* Courtenay, on hearing of his arrival, showed himself greatly disturbed and threatened to kill him, accusing him of having been the cause of the death of Courtenay's father and of Cardinal Pole's mother, whose heads were cut off by Henry VIII. The thing is fresh, and I have no details as yet; so I beg your Highness not to speak of it nor say you have heard of it from me. . . .

“ P.S.—The affair of the Cardinal's brother is true, in fact, it is generally known that, not being very wise, '*essendo poco savio*,' he accused Courtenay's father, his uncle, his own mother and his brother, while he himself was pardoned. All the same, I do not think he will be harmed.”

Three days after the above letter was written, Henry Penning, Cardinal Pole's first messenger to Mary, sent off an account, dated London, 19th September, of his audience with the Queen that day. He had reached Brussels on the 20th August, which may be considered the express of speed in those days—eight days from Maguzzano on the Lake of Garda. While awaiting Commendone's return from London, he had

spent a few days visiting the English refugees at Louvain 1553 and Liège—who formed large colonies in both towns—and had reached London the day before he wrote.¹ He had been introduced secretly into the Queen's presence by Sir Anthony Browne, who remained somewhat apart, talking with the lady in waiting.² It would exceed Penning's power to express the joy with which the Queen received the Cardinal's letters, telling him more than once that she would give half her realm to see the Cardinal standing before her as Penning then stood. Upon that he told her of his master's great willingness to serve her, and how ready he was to come to England as soon as he heard it would be agreeable to her—

"To this she answered that as for herself, she wished you were here now, though she feared the heretics, who were desperate people; but she had no wish to proceed suddenly against them, hoping to bring all things, little by little, to a good state, as had always been, and still was, her intent and purpose. Her Highness read your Rt. Rev. Lordship's letters with great affection, saying they were the dearest and best letters she had received for many years. She was also rejoiced to hear of the ample powers you had received from his Holiness, to dispense and absolve her and her people, for which reason she wished you could be here for her coronation. But as the brevity of the time forbids this, she wished for absolution from your Rt. Rev. Lordship, as the coronation must precede the general reconciliation to the Church, which cannot be effected before the meeting of Parliament, nor can Parliament meet before the coronation, or the people, she fears, might consider its acts invalid.

"I begged her Grace, if possible, to defer the coronation, to which she seemed well-inclined but for the fear that some great disorders might spring up. . . . Upon which, I asked her not to think of it."

So much at heart did Mary hold that dispensation from the censures of the Church, that she repeated her request three times during Penning's audience, urging him to send a

¹ Dandino to Del Monte, 20th and 25th August, *Vatican MSS.*, *Fiandra*, I, 174, 180-84. The refugees had suffered too greatly, and too long, to feel much confidence in the future of their country, and Penning carried away rather a sad impression from his visits to them.

² Sir Anthony Browne [1526-1592] created Viscount Montague in 1554.

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messenger immediately to the Cardinal, his master;¹ and three times does Penning report her words in the course of his letter, supplicating the Cardinal, if he should not have the necessary faculty, to refer the point at once to the Pope. Mary's hearty goodwill, the evident sincerity of her desire to do all for the best, her own words that were it not for the belief that God had ordained her "to do something for His honour and her people's benefit, she would prefer to be a simple gentlewoman, finding so many labours and vexations attached to the office of Queen," made a deep impression upon Penning, filling him with respect and sympathy. Speaking of the coronation oath, she said she meant to take the same as did her father, which was a very good one, as was also her brother's, nothing whatever being mentioned therein of the primacy. "As for the title" [Head of the Church], she said, "I will not have it, even if by taking it I could gain three similar kingdoms; so I hope God will accept my goodwill, which I intend to prove, moreover, in this Parliament."

After explaining that she hoped to have all the bad laws and statutes of the last two reigns done away with, and the cause of the Queen her mother of most happy memory set right, the Queen dismissed Penning after an audience which had lasted nearly three hours—

"Her Majesty is so gentle and familiar that it is a wonder to see, and Sir Anthony Browne, in reconducting me, told me he had never known her give so long an audience. Her Highness commanded me to ask your Rt. Rev. Lordship to write to her often, as there is nothing she desires more than to have frequent news of you; she also bade me remain in secret in Father Bonvisi's house, passing for an Italian, until further orders, and informed me that Francesco Commendone had been here, and had promised to ask for that dispensation she so ardently longs for. . . ."

The official copy of this important letter was immediately despatched to the Pope by Cardinal Pole, with a letter of

¹ As the coronation was fixed for the 1st October, there was time for a swift messenger to reach Italy, although no answer could possibly be received before the ceremony, but, provided the dispensation was granted in time, the Queen's conscience would be satisfied.

his own, dated Maguzzano, September 30th.¹ Meanwhile 1553 Commendone had arrived in Italy, and had stopped the Cardinal—who had accomplished the first stage of his journey—at the monastery of San Francesco, on the island in the lake of Garda. Pole sent him on at once to Rome, where he made his report in a consistory called on the 16th September. Pole, in a letter to Muzzarelli, Master of the Sacred Palace, of the 8th September, examines the various questions laid before him by Commendone, especially the request for dispensations—

“ That his Holiness be pleased to exempt England from every *Ven. Cal.* interdict and censure, so that they may say Mass and use the *V.*, pp. sacraments of the Church without scruple of conscience, notwithstanding that in public they consent to the schism like the rest.”⁴⁰⁶⁻⁴⁰⁹

This appears to Pole a grave matter, “ lest, under this demand, so very pious and religious apparently, something of ill-savour be concealed—*di non troppo buon odore*. Pole had explained this to Commendone, and had told him that were he not legate himself he would say that the question should be referred to the legate, with faculty “ to absolve internal scruples after some external demonstration of renouncing schism, and not before : what the schismatics do, they do publicly.” To Pole the proposition appears altogether inadmissible, and he begs Muzzarelli to lay the whole matter before the Pope. As for himself, he has complied with Cardinal Dandino’s wish, by halting on his journey, but to this other demand his conscience forbids him to consent. He is still of opinion, moreover, that the question of reunion to the Church should not be passed over in silence in the first Parliament, it being too great and flagrant a wrong.

Pope Julius and the Cardinals agreed with Pole that the *Poli Epp.* English demands were inadmissible as they stood, and in a *IV. 111* letter from the Pope to Pole of the 20th September, he says he hopes, God willing, to find some expedient which will console

¹ Vatican Archives, *Inghilterra*, III, f. 66, endorsed, “ *copia della lettera di M. Henrico scritta di Londra alli 19 di settembre.* ” By mistake, the document is bound up with those of the following year, 1554.

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it was to bring England to the obedience of the new Queen for their own political purposes, while the re-establishment of religion went for nothing in the views of the Emperor. He wished for more light on the subject, if possible, and had sent Commendone on a secret mission to London, ostensibly as a member of the Venetian embassy. He was to find out the temper of the people, and the intentions of the Queen. Was she really a Catholic, and disposed to restore religion in England? And, if so, what were her chances of success? The question of her marriage is touched upon, and above all, he is to enquire as to the chances of Cardinal Pole's mission.

In London, Commendone was lodged in the Venetian Ambassador's house, and a few days after his arrival, meeting in the streets an old acquaintance of the name of Lee, then in the royal service, he was through him admitted more than once to a secret audience with the Queen.¹ The messenger returned to Brussels on the 29th August, and Dandino immediately sent him on to Cardinal Pole and to the Pope. The legate, during Commendone's absence, had had some instructive conversations with Charles V's ministers. Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, had assured him that the religious question in England necessitated the utmost caution. The Queen, who was inclined to be imprudent, and had caused the Bishop of Winchester to say Mass in the Tower Chapel at her brother's funeral, must have time to establish herself securely, otherwise there might be an outbreak, which the King of France would do his utmost to abet. Mendoza, who had been ambassador in England for two years, also pressed the need of delay, declaring that the number of the well-intentioned was far smaller than was supposed; then there was the difficult question of Church property which concerned not only the nobility, but many of the commoners as well, while all had largely tasted of the sweets of liberty which heresy afforded—*haveva bevuto molto della dolcezza di quella libertà di vivere heretico.*

Vat. MS.
Fiandra,
I, 154

¹ By the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo's account to the Council of Ten, it appears that he had been the means of putting Commendone into communication with Lee.—*Misc. Corres.*, Venetian Archives, [London, 19th September.]

Meanwhile, Reginald Pole had written a second, very urgent letter to Mary, dated Maguzzano, 27th August, on the necessity of surrendering the title of the supremacy of the Church to him on whom it had been conferred by the supreme Head of heaven and earth.¹ As he hopes to see her soon, he will not expatiate on the arguments he has always used against those who most despaired of the return of England to the unity of the Church: that the blood of so many martyrs, shed in defence of the truth, would prove efficacious when the time seemed opportune to the providence of God. After a feeling allusion to Mary's past sufferings, and to the fact that he had been reared in the same school, he mentions his despatch of Henry Penning, and that he is sending this letter by another old confidential servant [Michael Throckmorton?] not, he believes, unknown to her Majesty, to whom he begs her to give credence.

The same messenger carried a letter to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the new Lord Chancellor, urging him to do his best to bring about the return of England to the Church, and congratulating him on his release from the Tower, and on having had the courage, when shut up in prison, "to place himself in the presence of the Divine Majesty and before men, so that pious souls might not remain helpless and utterly oppressed."²

Gardiner's former shortcomings towards the Holy See and towards Pole himself are generously and delicately referred to in the remark that, had he served a good prince in the beginning he would have displayed his goodness and ability much better, and if he did not yield good fruit then, this is rather to be attributed to the quality of his master, and to the infirmity of human nature, than to his own will and election—not having learned, as he has since, how to resist schism. Now he has suffered shame and imprisonment, and the loss of worldly goods, so God will multiply his supernatural gifts and favours.

¹ The Act of Supremacy was not repealed until January, 1555.

² Pole here alludes to the fact that Gardiner said Mass in the Tower, when a prisoner there, in the teeth of the Gospellers, and had a numerous congregation.

CHAPTER XX

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MARY was crowned on the 1st October; next day Ferrario reported to Duke Ercole that a description of the magnificent ceremonies would need a volume, but he gives us one interesting detail: "The Queen went in one carriage, the most serene Elizabeth in another, with the Duchess of Cleves, in former times Queen"—*altre volte regina*.¹ Elizabeth carried the crown in the Abbey, and the French ambassador Noailles' whispered reply to her whispered remark—" 'Tis mighty heavy"—" It will feel much lighter on your own head," can hardly have referred to the order of natural succession to a monarch of thirty-seven years of age.

In the above letter Ferrario continues—

" Everyone speaks most honourably of Cardinal Pole, and were it to please him to return to his native country, there can be no doubt that he would be welcomed, honoured and respected, '*osservato*'—as he deserves."

Pole desired nothing more ardently than to return, and had Mary given him leave to do so, he could have travelled through France, needing no permission from the Emperor. But the Queen was daily falling more completely under Charles V's influence, and she was singularly ill-provided with good counsellors; Henry Penning had been assured by the English at Louvain and Liège that there was but one man at her court worthy of the name of a statesman—Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester—and his antecedents had not been such as to inspire unlimited confidence. So Pole could do no more than write to her, although he had received no answer to his letters of 13th and 27th August, that he is moved to do so by the Emperor's letters to him, through the Bishop of Arras, recommending delay, and urging the postponement of his legation

Ven. Cal.,
V. 805

¹ Katherine Parr was dead [in 1548], which must have been a sensible relief to the Lord Chamberlain. The mention of the use of carriages—*carrosses*—is interesting, as they are supposed not to have been introduced into England until 1555.

to a more suitable time. The arguments are those of a prudent prince, but Pole, calling to mind the great benefits God has bestowed upon Mary, thinks that she may accept the guidance of the Divine light in matters of religion rather than that of human prudence. After a touching allusion to Mary's steadfastness and to all she had suffered for her faith, now that that stormy time is past, should not the light which formerly burned dimly in a lantern be placed *super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus?*¹

It would be to the Queen's dishonour if she were to turn back, lamp in hand, as if it lacked oil, and instead of trusting to the light hitherto fed by the oil furnished by her Lord and spouse, she were to seek that which is sold in the shops of human prudence. Pole advises her rather to encourage the Emperor by her example on that point, on which he has not the heart to encourage her, and he begs her to try and tranquillize Charles V on the subject, before Pole's arrival at his court, as legate, now appointed to him and to the King of France to negotiate peace between their majesties.

Having thus announced his new legation, the Cardinal touches upon the question of those who fear the loss of their property. Human prudence will devise means to remove similar obstacles, and the Pope is so much inclined to gratify the Queen and the kingdom, that nothing could be demanded for her own consolation and the benefit of the realm, which his Holiness is not ready to grant.

Pole wrote from Trent, where he had arrived two days previously and been received with great love and courtesy by Cardinal Madruzz, its bishop. From there he wrote to Henry II and to Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, announcing his legation, and in a short letter to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, his intimate friend, he gives a pithy account of the situation, which demonstrates how clear it had become to himself. The road to his first mission—to the Queen, with a conference with the Emperor and King of France—being

¹ "No man when he hath lighted a candle, placeth it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light to all who are in the house."—St. Mark iv, 21; St. Luke xi, 33.

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stopped, another was opened : "being unable to rest on the right side, he would try the left." The new legation the Pope has been pleased to confer upon him has caused the conference with the Emperor and King—which at first was accessory—to become the principal object. At Trent, Pole received Henry Penning's letter, and was able to grant Mary's earnest petition for a dispensation from the censures attached to the crown of England, on the very eve of her coronation.

Ven. Cal.,
V. 811

The next halt was at Dillingen, a town on the Danube, in Suabia, territory belonging to the Cardinal of Augsburg, whose kind reception is as usual gratefully recorded to the Pope. There Pole was detained several days, waiting for passports from the King of Wurtemberg and the Count Palatine, and there not only did Henry Penning arrive on the 21st October with letters from Mary, and an account of the meeting of her first Parliament, but Cardinal Dandino himself, on his way from Brussels to Rome. The impression made upon Pole by his conversations with Dandino, especially as to the way the announcement of Pole's new legation had been received by the Emperor, finds expression in the P.S. of his letter to the Pope. The further he proceeds on his journey, the more clearly does he perceive what a stormy sea he has to traverse. Thus far he has been among friends ; now he will traverse the towns of the Lutherans, and although provided with a safe-conduct, yet it is notorious how ill-affected they are towards the Pope, by whom he is sent, and towards the object of his mission. In the next place, he will have to pass through several places infected, or suspected of plague ; and should those obstacles be overcome, it will remain for him to encounter the Imperial court, a gulf, as it were of the sea, from which hitherto a very contrary wind seems to blow ; to say nothing of the opposition he will meet with in England, should it please God that he arrive there. He writes this for no other reason than to show his Holiness how great is his need of the Divine assistance, and of the help of the Pope's prayers, and those of others, in this so great necessity.

Mary I's letter, dated "from our Palace of Westminster, 8th October," and beginning, "Good Cousin, and most blessed

father in Christ," while thanking him most affectionately for 1553 "his entire love and zeal," and expressing her own fidelity to the Church and to the Pope—trusting that Parliament will abolish all those statutes which have been the origin of England's afflictions—makes no allusion to Pole's mission, except indirectly by regretting her inability, as yet, to manifest ^{Ven. Cal.} V, 425-26 the whole intent of her heart with regard to her obedience to the Church of Christ.

Pole no doubt rose from the perusal of this letter with no additional hopes of success. After hearing Penning's report, the Cardinal sent him on with it to Rome. In it the writer recapitulates his letter to Pole after his first interview with the Queen. *Interioramente* the Pope had no more devoted daughter than herself. She had commanded Penning to stay for the Coronation, appearing to have some suspicion of tumult and personal danger—

"Having on that solemn occasion to pass through a crowd containing no lack of malignants, both Londoners and countrymen, there being also many of the new religion in the government, who foresee that it is her Majesty's intention utterly to extirpate this pestiferous contagion, so they do not fail to form all possible evil designs, though, with God's assistance, they will not accomplish anything, and the less will they succeed, being vile and of low condition."

The Queen's fears were groundless, and Penning adds: "Thus, by the grace of God, she was crowned without disturbance, and to the great joy of the majority of the people." Mary again ordered Penning to delay his departure until after the opening of Parliament, on the 5th October; and he gives an account of Gardiner's "very firm speech," in which he treated amply of the unity of religion, and the return to the one faith, without which nothing good could be done, demonstrating how many disadvantages had befallen the realm owing to its separation—

"He accused himself, and all present, as guilty of it, telling them that Parliament was assembled by her Majesty and Council to repeal—*cancellare*—many iniquitous laws made against the said unity, and to enact others in favour of it.

"On the following Saturday [October 7th] her Majesty informed

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me that things had gone well ; she had found many of the chief personages of the realm ready to encourage her to promote the affairs of religion and re-union, whilst others were of opinion that she had greater need of the curb than the spur.

“ Her Majesty did not impart her negotiations with me to any of the Lords of the Council, nor to anyone else, having previously ordered me to conceal myself, which I did. Her Majesty’s final decision, at my despatch, was that his Rt. Rev. Lordship was to come slowly—‘ *pian, piano* ’—towards Brussels, where he would hear what more could be hoped about his proceeding further. . . . Her Majesty gave me a copy of the oath taken by her at her coronation, which she had thoroughly considered beforehand, and had added a few words to it, having for object to maintain her Majesty’s integrity and goodwill, as may be seen by the identical copy.

“ Her Majesty also told me that she had given command for the Knights of [the Garter] to hold a chapter for the re-establishment of all the ceremonies relating to the honour and dignity of that order, which consist in the saying of certain Masses, etc. Her Majesty also showed me the holy oil, which she had sent to obtain at Brussels from the Emperor.”

*Journals,
29*

If by detaining Penning Mary hoped to be able to send word of the passage of the comprehensive bill, framed to repeal at once all the acts affecting either her parents’ marriage, or the exercise of religion, she was disappointed. The peers made no objection, but in the Commons an opposition was being organized which alarmed the ministers, and the Queen prorogued Parliament for three days, during which interval two separate bills were prepared, the first dealing with the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Arragon, in which all mention of a papal dispensation was dexterously avoided, and which passed without a voice being raised against it in either house, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy against Elizabeth. The second bill, avoiding all reference to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, or the alienation of Church property, professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward had found it on his accession. The opposition was confined to the lower house, the debate on the second reading lasting two days ; but, though the friends of the new doctrines are said to have amounted to one-third of the members, the bill passed, apparently without a division.

By it was razed to the ground the fabric which the ingenuity 1553 and perseverance of Cranmer had erected, the reformed liturgy was pronounced "a new thing, imagined and devised by a few of singular opinions," all acts establishing the first and second books of common prayer, the new ordinal, etc., were repealed, and in lieu thereof it was enjoined that from the 20th day of the following month should be revived and practised such forms of Divine worship and order of the Sacraments as had been used in England in the last year of Henry VIII. Among the private bills restoring in blood various victims of Henry's tyranny—the widow of Lord Exeter, Edward Courtenay, the two daughters of Pole's brother, Lord Montague, and others—there was no mention made of his own attainer.

And yet his presence in England was desired of all men, now that the question of the Spanish marriage was beginning to agitate their minds. Noailles wrote to Henry II : "He is ^{Noailles,} ₂₇₁ more clamoured for than I could ever have thought ; the Protestants now call for him as much as the Catholics." The more Courtenay's disorderly life made him plainly unfit to be Mary's husband, the more Pole's eligibility, as the only other Englishman of royal blood, became apparent. He was rumoured moreover to be a strong opponent of the Spanish match, and credited with more influence upon Mary's mind than was unfortunately the case.

The Commons, at the beginning of the second session of Parliament, were induced—by Gardiner, the Queen supposed—to vote an address, praying her to marry, that she might raise up successors to the throne ; but not to choose her husband from among foreign princes, but from the nobility of her own realm.¹ Mary was not a Tudor for nothing, and, as might have been expected, the address of her faithful Commons had exactly the opposite effect from what they intended, for opposition might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. Nor was she the

¹ The foreign princes, whose names had been submitted to Mary by the Lords of the Council, were the King of Denmark, the Prince of Spain, the Infante of Portugal, the Prince of Piedmont, and the son of the King of the Romans.

1553 first person in a state of doubt who has put an end to their own hesitation by means of a rash vow. The very night after the voting, and after saying she would prove a match for the cunning of the Chancellor, she sent for Renard, the Imperial ambassador, bade him follow her to her private oratory, and there, kneeling before the altar, she recited the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and then called God to witness that she pledged her faith to Philip, prince of Spain, and while she lived would never take any other man for her husband.

This rash and uncalled-for promise was kept a profound secret, though the subsequent language of the Queen proved to the courtiers that she had taken her final resolution. Needless to say, the belief she shared with her subjects that Reginald Pole would prove the resolute opponent of such a marriage, increased the fears carefully instilled into her by the Imperial agents.

Poli Epp. So her next two letters to Pole, written in Latin, dated 28th IV, 119, October and 15th November, are of a very deterrent character : 121 his legation is suspected and so odious to her subjects that his immediate arrival, however much she desires it, would be prejudicial—

“ The proceedings in Parliament put this beyond a doubt, and so strangely are the minds of the people prepossessed against the Roman Pontiff, that they find less difficulty in admitting all the other tenets of the Catholic religion than the single article which regards the subordination due to him. . . .

“ My fears are that they will obstinately insist on my continuing to assume the headship of the Church, but I am not at a loss in what manner to reply. . . . The title in debate does not agree with kings, as the Royal state, in spiritual concerns, is subordinate to the Sacerdotal, and the jurisdiction of the body politic being of a different order from that of the priesthood, their power, dignity and functions are distinct ; then there is a peculiar difficulty arising from my very sex, to which nothing could be less suited than such a title, and the extent of power annexed to it. . . .”

If Parliament will not agree, the Queen is at a loss what course to take, *aut quid consilii capiam nescio*—and asks Pole's advice—as the only person on whose prudence she can rely—how to act so as to do nothing contrary to her duty, and to

extricate herself "from this labyrinth." She complains that 1553 everything that passed in the Consistory [of 16th September] as to her enquiries about a general absolution from ecclesiastical censures was made public at once, and her ambassador at Venice sent home a full account of it, which she fears will make her Council obstinate against it. She wishes all that passes at Rome to be kept quiet, and trusts to Pole to help her. The second letter was written after Parliament had repealed all the statutes against religion ; but while announcing this, the Queen persists in her opinion that the inconstancy of her people, so long estranged from the truth, would make Pole's arrival neither safe nor practical, and that, instead of being received with the respect due to a legate from the Holy See, he would stand in peril of his life. She clearly sees that in the present Parliament it will not be possible to obtain the desirable ends, and that it will be necessary to call another in three or four months, which is also the advice of her Council.

Having devoted several pages to prove that she could not follow his advice in the main and principal point, woman like, the Queen then proceeds to ask for Pole's counsel in the state of her affairs and the difficulties she labours under—

"The bearer will acquaint you with the machinations of the Scotch to disquiet our frontier and keep up the troubles in Ireland. The French are not ignorant of this rebellious disposition, and they encourage it, and, for that purpose, as I am assured by my spies, hold a correspondence with those who are enemies to the measures I am pursuing. I apply to you, my lord, for counsel. . . . Let me know what conduct you would have me observe, and where you think me deficient. I am ready to execute, with great alacrity, whatever you, my lord, and the Council, shall judge to be safe and advantageous to myself and my people. . . .

"I hope you will shortly come to Brussels, in the character of legate to the Emperor, from whence we may correspond more frequently and with greater ease. I desire nothing more than to be assisted, admonished, and comforted by so able, so wise and so religious a person. In the meantime I will see what can be done to serve you, and I will undertake it with the best of wills. Farewell, my lord, and may God keep you in His holy guard."

The promise to serve him evidently refers to Pole's request for her intercession with the Emperor in favour of his second

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legation. But while Mary eagerly grasped at it as a means of bringing her cousin nearer to her, Charles V had already set his face against it, and her efforts would have come as much too late as any of the advice she had asked of Pole would have been too late to prevent her from accomplishing the fatal error of her reign—compromising her own safety and that of the Faith she held so dear in a manner infinitely more formidable than that risk of danger from Pole's presence in England which guided her proceedings towards him and his mission.

Vsn. Cal.,
V, 819

It was Pole's presence, more than either of his legations, which the Emperor dreaded, and he sent Don Juan de Mendoza, one of his own Council, to stop him. Mendoza met the Cardinal at Stayndeayn, three leagues from Dillingen on the 24th October, the quality of the messenger bearing witness, as Pole observes in his short and dignified letter to Charles V, to the strength of his Majesty's desire and will—*desiderio e voluntà*—not to receive him. Pole alleged the Pope's express orders, and his own duty to him, which must come before his wish to please the Emperor, unless Mendoza had any new and extraordinary reason to proffer. But, as Pole reported to Julius III—

“ He uttered many words, but nothing more in substance than had been already said and proposed repeatedly; so I replied that as he brought nothing further, I deemed it necessary to continue my journey, it seeming too disgraceful to interrupt it.”

In reply to Mendoza's argument that the Emperor was the best judge of the maturity of the time, Pole remarked that the time was not only mature, but getting over-ripe, that he must be pardoned if, knowing his own country and its customs, he presumed to have some knowledge of the ripeness of the business, and the time and mode of treating it. The question of the peace legation having been eloquently and finely pressed by Pole, Mendoza had said the Emperor would be “ less displeased ” if the Cardinal chose to loiter on the way, and halt at Liège to await the time his Majesty should appoint. Although the Cardinal showed that it would be still more

indecorous to stop him, so to speak, at the door, the envoy was 1553 inflexible, and at length Pole agreed to retrace his steps to Dillingen, and there await further instructions from the Pope.

During the interview Mendoza dropped several hints about the Queen's marriage, asking the Cardinal if he did not agree that it should precede everything else, the question of civil justice coming next, and that of the affairs of religion last of all. Pole promptly replied that the religious question should be determined first, that of civil justice next, and finally, by the marriage, means found to preserve both one and the other—

" And when he said that the Queen, by marrying a native, rather *Ven. Cal.*, 27 Oct. than a foreigner, might cause discontent among the English nobility, I merely said that these were matters worthy of great consideration. Nor did he proceed further with me, though indeed subsequently, with some of my attendants, he gave himself clearly to be understood that the Emperor proposed and hoped that the Queen would take the prince his son for her husband . . . which he well knew did not please many persons, who were in all ways trying to thwart this marriage, though it would effect the quiet of England and of all Christendom.

" From this, I comprehend that these difficulties about not allowing me to go forward proceed from nothing else, and that until the business be accomplished to the Emperor's desire, or his Majesty be altogether quite certain of being able to conclude it, he will always find means to prevent my going, being convinced that I would not assist him to place my country in the hands of a foreigner."

Pole also suspects that the Emperor would like to have him at Liège, to make sure that the Pope will not send him to England by another road, and he sorrowfully concludes that by irritating Charles V more evil than good would ensue, and that there is no other course open than to accede to his wishes ; he is, however, ready exactly to obey the Pope's commands.

Mary had made no allusion to her marriage, in writing to ask *Poli Epp.* IV, 123 Pole's advice as to her conduct, and he gives no hint of his knowledge in his answer, which is a grave and solemn exhortation to do her duty. She is the only person in the realm really fit to bring the question of the papal supremacy before Parliament ; the prelates, by their former votes against it,

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have weakened their own authority ; the peers and the commons, by casting off the Church's authority, have enriched themselves with her spoils ; Mary alone, in this as in all other things, has remained blameless, and is appointed by God to defend both His cause and her own. If her presence in the lower House is needed, he makes no difficulty in advising her to take that measure. She has received from God the spirit of counsel, let her Majesty now entreat the spirit of fortitude necessary for the completion of her task.

“ Your Majesty should, at the same time, signify my having been appointed legate from the Holy See to yourself and the kingdom, and that, in order to appear in this character, my attainder must be reversed, and myself restored in blood, to my honours, and to my country.”

He ends by reminding her of the displeasure this prolonged delay must perforce give to the Pope, and the indignity to the whole College of Cardinals in this hindrance of his embassy, for such unsatisfactory reasons as have been hitherto alleged. He also sends her copies of his letters to the Emperor showing that all this procrastination is prejudicial to herself and to the nation. His letter is dated Dillingen, 1st December.

Reginald Pole was not the man to leave any lawful means untried to obtain what he believed to be good and necessary. The Emperor's former confessor, the Dominican, Father Peter Soto, was theological professor at the University of Dillingen, and Pole had no difficulty in persuading him to be the bearer of fresh letters to Charles V, and to exert himself to the utmost in laying before him all the arguments in favour of Pole's legations. He describes Soto, in his letter to Charles, as the fit person for his purpose, furnished by Divine providence itself.¹

As might have been expected, Henry II showed himself as anxious to promote Pole's mission as Charles V was to hinder it. He received the Cardinal's envoy, Parpaglia, abbot of San

¹ In May, 1555, Cardinal Pole persuaded Soto to come to England to help him in Church reform. He remained until September, 1556, when Charles V re-appointed him his confessor, and he appears to have held that office until the Emperor's death.

Saluto, at Villars-Cotteret with great kindness, saying that 1553 the legate's coming would be most agreeable to him, that he would embrace him as his good cousin and great friend, and that he would be most cordially and honourably received in his kingdom. Henry further declared himself most ready to listen to the Pope's proposals of peace, provided the terms were reasonable, but the Emperor's last propositions had been inadmissible. As for England, he was conscious that religion should be re-established there, and the kingdom reconciled with the Holy See. Unasked, he gave Parpaglia safe-conducts for Pole, expressing the desire that he should come immediately. According to his instructions, Parpaglia arrived two days later at Brussels, where he met with a very different reception, Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, expressing surprise and displeasure that he had crossed the frontier into Imperial territory, such a thing being strictly forbidden. And on San Saluto's intimating that the French King was anxious to receive the legate, and question as to whether the Emperor would find it fitting that Cardinal Pole should go to him first, the answer was a peremptory "No," and that Parpaglia must persuade the legate to follow the advice sent to him through Mendoza.¹

Meanwhile, in England, the first-fruits of the Imperial projects were becoming manifest; Gardiner, who had been the strenuous opponent in the Council of the Spanish match, finding further opposition useless, turned his efforts towards safeguarding the interests of his Queen and country in a marriage-contract, which was a model of wise provision against the possible attempts of a foreign prince on the throne.²

The official announcement—on the 14th January—of the

¹ The Imperial ambassador at Venice had complained that Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador in London, sought to impede the marriage of the Queen with the Prince of Spain; so the Council of Ten wrote him a sharp rebuke, ordering him not to interfere, but to bear himself prudently with both the Imperial and French agents.—15th December, *Parte Secrete Consilio*, file No. 28.

² To Gardiner's honour it may be remarked that, when Elizabeth thought of marrying the Duke of Anjou, she ordered her ministers to take this treaty negotiated by him for the model of their own.—Lingard, Vol. V, p. 204.

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contract provoked a veritable outburst of fury, and the most incredible tales were circulated, an army of 8,000 Imperialists was said to be coming to seize the ports, the Tower, and the fleet, the private character of Philip and the national character of the Spanish were loaded with the imputation of every vice which could disgrace a prince or a people, while Mary herself was said to have forfeited the crown by breaking her promise not to marry a foreigner.

Abroad, Henry II prevented his wife, Katherine de Medicis, from sending the Queen of England a rich present she had prepared for her, and declared his intention, if Mary married the prince of Spain, to become her open enemy, and to foster rebellion among the nobility and the people to the utmost of his power.¹ So one of the first unhappy consequences of the Spanish match was to revive the ancient enmity of France, and to throw her into the arms of Mary's opponents, the partisans in matters of religion, of heresy and schism.

Mary's first Parliament, by a majority of 350 against 80, had restored the Mass, and required the clergy to observe celibacy, and by keeping Pole out of England the Queen found herself obliged to carry on the consequent negotiations with him by letter. On the 18th January she wrote to him that many persons who seemed to be heretics, as well as married priests, had been found in enjoyment of the principal ecclesiastical benefices of the realm, including archbishops and bishops who have now been deprived and dismissed their sees by the last decree of Parliament.² Fresh pastors must be

Ven. Cal.
V, 849

¹ Prospero St. Croce to Del Monte, 3rd December.—*Vatican MS., Francia*, III, f. 247.

² Besides Cranmer, the deprived prelates were Holgate, Archbishop of York, who not only made use of the indulgent doctrine which, in Edward's reign, allowed the clergy to marry, but extended the license to take another man's wife. (Collier, Vol. II, b. 5, p. 349.) Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, against whom fifty-six articles had been exhibited after the fall of his patron, Somerset, and who had been imprisoned during the rest of Edward's reign.—*Ath., Oxon.*, p. 679. John Bird, Bishop of Chester, a Carmelite friar, who went all the lengths of Henry's and Edward's reigns, and married under the latter. (*Basle cent.*, II, No. 41.) Paul Bush, Bishop of Bristol, was an Augustine friar, and had been chaplain to Henry VIII. Though he took a wife

provided, and the Queen, not choosing to adopt any way 1554 whatever against the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See, nor against the privileges and ancient customs enjoyed and observed by the kings, her predecessors, before this evil modern religion was introduced—asks Pole's advice how, without scruple of conscience, she can provide for the said churches until the obedience is restored? Can he, as legate, confirm in the benefices the persons appointed to them on account of their worthy qualities, and at the advice of the most Catholic and lettered men in the realm?

When writing, the Queen probably knew that the Emperor had, on the 22nd December, announced his son's marriage to the Pope, and had written the same day to Cardinal Pole that he might continue his journey; for she adds that she has instructed her ambassador with the Emperor, Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, to receive and welcome Pole on his arrival in Brussels, and to deliver a message to him, that she hopes in the Divine goodness to see him soon in England. Then she will be able more freely and fully to unbosom herself to him, assuring him that his coming will give her very great comfort, as is known to the Lord God, whom she prays always to have him under His holy protection.

Although, despite the inclemency of mid-winter, Cardinal Pole set out on his journey on the 2nd January, three days after receiving Charles V's letter, the comfort of his presence was to be denied to the Queen, and his services to his country, for a longer period than either of them foresaw.

Friar Soto's mission to Charles V, with its appeal to his conscience, had been a failure, and Cardinal Dandino, on his return to Rome, had brought the report of one Francesco Vimercato, who had been to London on business of his own, had been presented to the Queen—who had astonished him by

in Edward's time, he was never known to preach or write against the ancient religion. He readily gave up his bishopric at Mary's command, parted from his wife, and lived privately at Bristol until his death in 1558.—*Godwin de Praesul, Ang.* William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was a Canon Regular. Being deprived of his bishopric, on account of marriage, he fled to Germany.—Phillips: *Godwin, de Praesul, Ang.*, Vol. II, pp. 79, 80.

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speaking to him in Latin—and who had written a report of his observations with regard to Pole's legation, which rather favoured the Imperialist view of its inexpediency.¹ Dandino's own opinion appears to have come round—in some measure—to that of Charles V, and the Pope expressed great satisfaction at the tidings of the expected marriage. He feigned to ignore the dangers of a policy which was to establish confusion between human interests and the gravest interests of religion, and to offend national independence in concert with, and to the advantage of, the Catholic Church. Cardinal Morone, who had great influence with Julius III, was in the Spanish interest, and the nuncio newly appointed to the Emperor, the Dominican, Jerome Muzzarelli, Archbishop of Consa, was also well-known for his Spanish sympathies. Officially, at least, the Pope appeared decided to rest his own policy upon that of Charles V; he sent him a breve of congratulation, in which he expressed the hope that the marriage would facilitate the restoration of Catholic unity.²

Cardinal Pole arrived at Louvain on the 18th January, and was there met by Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, and Sir John Masone, the English ambassadors, who accompanied him to Brussels, where he was received with all pomp in the Emperor's name, by the Duke of Savoy and the whole court at the monastery of Diligam, outside the town, where he was to lodge. The united procession then moved on to the gates, where the clergy awaited the legate and conducted him under a canopy to the Cathedral, whence he was most reverentially accompanied by a multitude of people to his lodging. The following day, Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, apologised for the long detention at Dillingen, attributing it to the Emperor's surprise that, after explaining his mind about the peace to Cardinal Dandino, the Pope should immediately have appointed Pole to negotiate it, etc. Without making much rejoinder to these excuses, the Cardinal assured Granvelle that the Pope's goodwill was proved by both legations, thinking the second would facilitate the first.

¹ *Parpaglio's Report: Naples, Carteg, Farnese.*

² Dom René Ancel: *La Légation du Cardinal Polus.*

Providence having ordained that his Majesty's son was to be 1554 King of England, it might be hoped and expected, as he was so Catholic, that on the restoration there of religion the kingdom would enjoy every blessing, and Pole, as an Englishman, was all the more anxious to effect the peace, in the hope that it would greatly contribute to that result.

The Emperor was indisposed, and had deferred his audience, which Pole was glad of, as he was himself suffering severely from rheumatism, which had seized him towards the end of his journey, and on his way—as he reports to the Pope—he had met with much kindness from the Archbishop of Cologne and the Duke of Cleves.¹

On the 4th February, Pole was received by the Emperor, whom he found risen from his bed—seated—and with his feet on another chair, looking very well, better than Pole had expected to find him. His Majesty had a third chair placed near him, and would not allow the legate to speak until he was seated. Many memories must have thronged into the minds of both men, of their last interview at Barcelona, exactly fourteen years before, as Pole made his obeisance, and, after imparting the benediction sent by the Pope, congratulated Charles V on his good condition, and wished him still greater prosperity.

The Emperor appeared to listen willingly when Pole began to speak of his legations, and to be glad to see him for the Pope's sake and for his own. But as for England, he repeated the old argument that the question was not yet mature for negotiation; while as to the peace, he never intended to exclude the subject if proposals were made which he could entertain. Pole could elicit nothing more from him during the audience, which lasted nearly an hour, and when he begged his Majesty to vouchsafe to bethink himself of the means to be employed, as no one could give a better impulse to the business than himself, Charles replied that those who had offended were bound to propose the form of agreement by restoring what they had so unjustifiably seized. And to Pole's suggestion that his Majesty should give him some hope of a basis for

¹ *Pole to Julius*, III, Brussels, 28th January, St. Mark's Library.

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negotiation, leaving it to him to sound the disposition of the French, he received the vague reply that daily events and opportunities would better show what was to be done. Pole then presented Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, to the Emperor—who received him very graciously—and took his leave, anxious, as he informs the Pope, for the arrival of the nuncio [Muzzarelli] with particulars for the peace negotiations, that he may at least make a beginning.¹

The very evening after Pole's audience, the news arrived at the Imperial court of Wyatt's rebellion, and he naturally fears that it will rather furnish fresh matter for war than tend to peace between Charles V and Henry II. In the middle of the night, the English ambassador sent him the letters from the Council, announcing that tumults on account of the marriage had taken place in Devonshire and in Kent. Sir Thomas Wyatt, the son of the ambassador in Spain, who had tried to get Pole murdered, had raised the standard of rebellion in Kent, while the Duke of Suffolk had gone to arm his tenants in Warwickshire, and Sir Peter Carew, with Gibbs and Champernham, attempted to raise the people of Devon by a proclamation that the Spaniards were coming to seize the country.

Ven. Cal.,
5 Feb.

On receipt of these tidings, Charles V probably regretted the reluctant leave he had given Reginald Pole to leave Suabia, and Pole's own impulse must have been an earnest hope that Mary would be warned by this expression of her people's wrath and would relinquish a marriage so hateful to her subjects. The hope was strengthened by the news that she had dismissed the Counts Egmont and Lalain and their two colleagues, who had come as ambassadors extraordinary to treat of the marriage. "The city of London stood firm to the Queen," writes Pole to Cardinal del Monte, "together with the nobility, except the Duke of Suffolk, father of that Jane—*padre di quella Giovanna*—whom the Duke of Northumberland had made his daughter-in-law and Queen." Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, the husband of Pole's niece, Catherine, eldest

¹ *Vatican MS., Inghilterra*, III, f. 21.

daughter of Lord Montague, has been sent by the Queen into 1554 Leicestershire against Suffolk, "he having as many adherents and no less authority in that county than the Duke, being of a rival family opposed to him."¹

Pole ends his letter by saying that the Queen Regent had invited him to attend Mass that morning in the chapel she had erected. He had given the benediction and indulgence, urging the congregation to pray for the peace and unity of the Church, and subsequently descending with the Queen Dowager of France [Eleanor of Austria] and the Duchess of Lorraine [Christina of Denmark], he exhorted them also to strive for peace. When the carnival is over, the publication of the jubilee for peace is to be made.

The news of the desertion of part of the Duke of Norfolk's force to the rebels, and of Mary's magnificent speech at the Guildhall, is reported in Pole's next letter of 8th February, with Sir Thomas Wyatt's haughty reply to the Queen's offer ^{Ven. Cal.,} _{V, 854} of pardon: "that he began what he did against her for the liberty and benefit of the kingdom, and that the example of her father's behaviour towards the rebels of York, to whom he failed to keep his promise—putting so many of them to death—warned him to beware of placing trust in her." This reply the Queen had repeated at the Guildhall, adding that when, on the day of her coronation, the ring she wore was put on her finger, she purposed accepting the realm of England and its entire population as her children, and thenceforth intended to do nothing but what was for their benefit; thus would she do for the future, promising especially not to marry without the universal consent of Parliament.

Several interesting details are furnished by Pole: the disrespect shown to the Imperial ambassadors extraordinary,

¹ Suffolk had been treated with the greatest leniency by the Queen. Instead of suffering with Northumberland on the scaffold, he had been permitted, after only three days' detention in the Tower, to return to his own house. Mary's clemency had preserved him from the forfeiture of his property and honours, his wife had been received at Court with a distinction which excited the jealousy of Elizabeth. It appears uncertain whether he meant, like the other conspirators, to set up Elizabeth as the competitor to Mary, or to revive the claim of his daughter, Lady Jane Grey.—Lingard, Vol. V, p. 207.

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—who had just returned to Brussels—by the very guards sent as their escort by the Queen. “After embarking them, they behaved disrespectfully to them, both by word, and by firing certain harquebuse shots.” A friend of Pole’s, who had come over in the same ship, had told him that the Kentish insurrection had been plotted and contrived with France—

“It is said they expected ships and troops from France, and by letters from the King of France, which the Imperialists intercepted yesterday, it is reported very publicly that the French had an understanding with Madame Elizabeth, the Queen’s sister, who, being at a distance of thirty miles from London, and having been called by the Queen, excused herself on the plea of indisposition; so the Queen sent her litter there, nor is it yet known what she did subsequently. . . .¹

“When the ambassadors took leave of the Queen, she said, with a great show of confidence, that she had not the slightest doubt of being assisted by the Almighty, having had experience of His help and power when in greater need, and being conscious that her mind was entirely intent on His service. She would not ask further assistance from the Emperor, feeling sure he would not fail in whatever he deemed helpful for her. It is understood that he is providing the greatest possible number of ships, of which it seems he has twelve already in readiness, and 3,000 German troops, to repel any advance which might be made by way of France. . . .

“Should the Queen be bound by her promise not to marry without the universal consent of the kingdom, it is very probable that the matrimonial negotiation may be suspended, at least for a while; though I cannot say whether they will relinquish the thought of it, most especially that at Brussels some of the chief ministers of the Emperor and the Queen Regent are heard to express opinions at variance with each other, some of them seeming to consider the marriage hopeless, and that no further design of any sort should be formed about it, whilst others, on the contrary, evince a belief

¹ This corroborates the complicity of Elizabeth with the insurgents. She was at Ashridge, and Sir James Croft, who was raising rebellion on the borders of Wales, begged her to retire to the Castle of Dunnington. The very next day a letter to her from Wyatt, recommending a removal to the same place, was intercepted by the Government. The Queen sent her a friendly invitation to come to St. James’s Palace, to which she replied by alleging the state of her health, which made it dangerous for her to travel, and proceeded to fortify her house and to solicit the aid of her friends. Wyatt’s intercepted letter was acknowledged by him at his trial.—Lingard, Vol. V, p. 206.

that this insurrection took place on account of religion rather than 1554 of marriage, which in the greater part of England is approved of. . . ."

Pole's friend has told him that the Queen has become very suspicious of the greater part of her Privy Council, and there is talk at Brussels of the Emperor's speedy departure for Germany. Pole had sent the Bishop of Worcester to condole with the English ambassador on the disturbances in England and to ask if there was anything he could do for the service and assistance of the Queen. Thirlby had answered that nothing occurred to him, except that it might be to the purpose if Pole were to begin his negotiations with France for the peace. So the legate sent Father Soto to the Emperor to inform him of the ambassador's opinion and to beg for some hope, *qualche attaco*, such as a readiness to send some person to a neutral place, provided Henry II would do the same, with whom Pole could open negotiations. The Emperor's reply had been that they had better wait for the arrival of the nuncio from Rome, and he further informed Soto that—apart from his respect and affection for the Queen—on the score of his own interests he was not at all distressed by the events in England; he was induced to negotiate the marriage principally for the sake of religion in England and the Low Countries, and now he had returned to Spain the commission from the Prince, sent by him for the conclusion of the marriage—

"In his conversation, he did not make it appear that he had renounced the thought, but that it gave him no anxiety. Father Soto greatly praised the Queen's declaration (which the Emperor had told him) that she would take no husband without the consent of the people, adding that the Emperor should consider it a special favour from God that those disturbances had taken place before the Prince's arrival in England. . . . The Emperor seemed to take it in the same way, and not to intend doing anything by force."

Before Soto's first embassy from Dillingen to the Emperor, he had asked Cardinal Pole what he was to reply in case he v. 856 *Ven. Cal.*, was asked Pole's opinion of the Queen's marriage. The Cardinal, in his letter of the 10th February to Cardinal Del Monte, repeats the answer he had given: Soto was to say what was true—that although several letters had passed

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between the Queen and himself, the subject had never been mentioned, "directly nor indirectly," as his opinion had never been asked. But when Soto asked what it was, Pole had no hesitation to express the opinion—which he might impart, according to opportunity to his Majesty—that at the Queen's age—thirty-eight—she had better not think of marriage, "that during her lifetime she should attend to doing whatever was for the honour of God, her heavenly spouse, leaving the affairs of the succession to take their course." As, according to general report, the marriage with the Prince of Spain was already agreed upon, and Pole was charged with the affair of religion—which was not very popular in England—he could not, and ought not to show himself favourable to a marriage which his knowledge of the national disposition convinced him to be universally odious.

The marriage being concluded without his assistance, and, as he believes, with a pious intention to establish religion, the Emperor will not find any servant in the world more desirous of the Prince's tranquillity than himself; nor more ready to put himself forward, either through his own means, or through his kinsfolk and friends, to establish the Prince in England in peace and quiet. This was the reply of the Father confessor [Soto] when Pole sent him to the Imperial court in the month of November.

The same letter contains the answer Pole sent to Mary's enquiries, of the 18th January, about the vacant bishoprics. He acquaints her with his powers as legate, and that should the persons in question acknowledge and confess their past errors, remaining firm, and with unfeigned repentance asking absolution for them, Pole, through the grace given him by the Pope, is enabled to receive them into the Church, and, should they evince worthy fruits of repentance and possess qualities worthy of the episcopal dignity, will qualify them in such manner as if they had not fallen into schism. In addition, he exhorts the Queen to send one of the number to him, with powers from the others to ask for absolution. Had he seen a hope of soon going to England he would have delayed the absolution until his arrival there, but the English ambassadors

had expressed her Majesty's deep regret that, owing to the 1554 perversity of the heretics, she did not see what way he could enter the kingdom, repeating all that the Emperor had given him to understand through Don Juan de Mendoza, nor did they assign any fixed time when he might hope to do so, as they alluded to the marriage with the Prince—declaring that the chief cause of it had been the trust that by its means the affairs of religion might be better established.

In compliance with Pole's directions, Mary sent him a list of twelve bishops whom she describes as "among the most *Ven. Cal.*
Catholic and well-affected towards the Holy See, and on every V. 359 account best fitted for the burden of the episcopacy" of any she has been able to find in England, for presentation to the Pope, that they may be confirmed and inducted, according to the mode employed before the schism. She presents these prelates to Pole, as the representative of his Holiness, begging him to submit them in her name to the Pope, and meanwhile to give them license to take possession of their Sees, that they may sit in the Parliament she has summoned for the 2nd April, "where they will produce good effects by their own votes and by persuading others to side with them."

This important despatch, sent by an express messenger, was received by Pole at St. Denis, on his way to the King of France, and he complied with it at once, explaining at the same time to the Pope that had not time pressed he would have awaited his instructions before replying to the Queen. But as she proposes to make use of these prelates in the coming Parliament, Pole deemed it by no means expedient to interpose any difficulty or delay in gratifying the Queen's pious wish, and giving this beginning of recourse and submission to the authority of the Pope and the Apostolic See.¹

Meanwhile the tumults in England were ended, Wyatt and his accomplices were in the Tower, and Mary, whose clemency seven months before had met with such flagrant ingratitude, now determined to listen to the advice of her Council and to

¹ See Appendix F. According to Consa's letters to the Pope, the number of bishops proposed by Mary was ten.—Ancel: *Légation du Cardinal Polus*.

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let the law take its course. The day after Wyatt's arrest at Temple Bar, she allowed herself to be induced to sign the warrant for the execution of Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. Of the common men who had been taken in arms and tried by martial law, only those who had deserted from the Duke of Norfolk's force appear to have been executed, fifty of them being hanged in various parts of London, and about half-a-dozen in Kent, and the remainder, about 400, were led to the palace with halters round their necks. The Queen appeared on a balcony, pronounced their pardon, and bade them return in peace to their homes.

Of the conspirators in the Tower, five received judgment, one of whom, Sir James Croft, the Queen pardoned. The Duke of Suffolk fell unpitied. Ferrario, writing to the Duke of Savoy, Ferrarese ambassador at Brussels, on the 13th March says—

Archives
Este
Modena

"The affairs of England are getting into better posture every day, though there are not lacking most evil minds against the most gracious Queen, whom I hope the Lord God will ever have in His holy keeping. To-morrow the Duke of Suffolk's head is to be cut off, and that of several others.¹ The Queen leaves for Windsor in six days, to spend Easter there, and will then go to Oxford for the Parliament to be held there. [Though announced for Oxford, it was held at Westminster.]

"P.S.—Milady Elizabeth is very ill, but what her ailment is I have so far been unable to discover."

Of Elizabeth's complicity with the conspiracy there was so little doubt, that the Imperial ambassador and many of Mary's own counsellors were urgent that she should be brought to trial. This the Queen would not hear of, and by easy stages, with two of the royal physicians in attendance, the invalid was brought from Ashridge to London, and after a short

¹ Sir Thomas Wyatt, Lord Thomas Grey, and William Thomas, Private Secretary of the late King, a fanatic who had designed to murder the Queen, and who attempted to commit suicide in prison. Lord John Grey was also condemned, but pardoned and discharged by order of the Queen. Courtenay, whose conduct had been signally despicable, who had turned traitor in the first place to the Queen, and had then betrayed his accomplices, was imprisoned in the Tower and subsequently exiled.

detention in the Queen's palace and then in the Tower, was 1554 invited to court at Whitsuntide, and sent thence to live at Woodstock under the charge of Sir Henry Bedingfield.

Wyatt's rebellion had been a widespread conspiracy among the adherents of the new doctrines and the men who had been in authority and power during the last reign, but it was in no sense a popular rising, like the Pilgrimage of Grace in the time of Henry VIII or the insurrection under Edward against the innovations in religion. Even the appeals to the national hatred of foreigners, and the wild assertions against the Spaniards could not rouse the people of Devonshire nor those of the Welsh borders to take up arms. However sincerely they might dislike foreigners and a foreign marriage, they did not think the question worth fighting about, and in the proclamations of the various leaders we do not find a single word about religion. Only the tenants and dependents of the various conspirators mustered to the field, and all Wyatt's secrecy and address, all his spirit and perseverance were required to keep his force together. In fact, had he remained inactive a few days longer, his main force would have dissolved of itself.¹

The Queen was thus once more triumphant over her enemies, and the ease and rapidity of her triumph probably misled her as to the depth of the wound she would inflict upon the loyalty and affection of her people, if she again took up the question of the Spanish match. But neither she nor Charles V were persons to yield or change their purpose, unless popular clamour became formidable indeed, and no sooner were Wyatt and his accomplices punished or pardoned than the Emperor sent Count Egmont back to England with the marriage treaty. Mary had made two promises: the first, her rash vow to take no other husband than Philip of Spain while she lived; the other, made at the Guildhall two months later, to marry no man without the full consent of her people. She might have reconciled the two promises by remaining unmarried.

"I have hitherto lived a maid," were the words in her

¹ Lingard, Vol. V, p. 208.

1554

speech, " and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able to live so still." And her next words were doubtless equally sincere—

" Certainly, did I think that this marriage were to the hurt of you, my subjects, or the impeachment of my royal estate, I would never consent thereunto. And, I promise you, on the word of a queen, that, if it shall not appear to the Lords and Commons in Parliament to be for the benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry while I live."

Marriage, and the love of husband and child, had been prospects perpetually presented to the solitary and passionately affectionate princess, and as often withdrawn, and now as Queen, there was added the overwhelming desire to secure the succession of the crown in her own line—and away from the woman who represented, notwithstanding her apparent conversion, the destruction of all that Mary held most sacred, and who was the living emblem of so much past suffering and deep humiliation.

The granddaughter of Isabella the Catholic, the daughter of Katherine of Arragon, could not but regard with repulsion the succession of her father's bastard to the throne. The point was, therefore, to obtain the unanimous consent of the country—as represented by Parliament—to her marriage with Philip, and this she set herself to procure, and succeeded in doing so. Every argument was set forth which could induce the two Houses to agree to its policy: France and Scotland were now united by the contract of marriage between the young Queen and the Dauphin. Where was England to find a counterpoise but in the marriage of the Queen to the Prince of Spain? Let the issue of Mary Stuart inherit the two crowns of France and Scotland; the issue of the English queen would inherit England with the Netherlands, a richer prize to England than Scotland could ever prove to France; the articles of marriage treaty contained every security which the most ingenious could devise or the most timorous desire: they excluded all foreigners from office, and placed the honours, the franchise, and the rights of the natives beyond danger or controversy. These arguments, and perhaps a feeling of insecurity as to the result of strengthening Elizabeth's party

by preventing the Queen's marriage, induced both Houses ¹⁵⁵⁴ unanimously to concur in an Act confirming the treaty of marriage, and declaring that Mary, after its solemnization, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole Queen.

Mary then dissolved Parliament in a speech which was frequently interrupted by the acclamations of the members, and Ferrario wrote next day to the Duke of Savoy, 13th April—

“ The Queen never looked so happy as I saw her yesterday evening in the gardens, conversing with her courtiers ; because ^{Archives} ^{Este} ^{Modena} yesterday morning in Parliament, not only with common consent, but with marvellous rejoicing, the act of marriage was passed, and it was agreed that they should be called Queen and King of England and Spain.”

CHAPTER XXI

1554

FINDING that there was no hope that "the Queen of England would be stimulated, on either side the Channel, but rather checked in proceeding about the affairs of religion," and after urgently exhorting the English ambassador, "by his fidelity to God, to the Queen and his country, to advise his sovereign to re-establish the affairs of religion, without which it could not be hoped God would allow her to enjoy her realm in peace," Pole determined, with the tacit consent of the Emperor, to go to the Court of France.¹

Poli Epp. On the road he composed his discourse of peace—*Discorso di Pace*—addressed to the two monarchs. It is a treatise on the horrors of war and the advantages of peace, on the responsibility of princes for the evils for which they are accountable to an all-knowing and inexorable judge, and showing that their examination will be more rigorous than that of private persons. If ambition has been the real motive of their wars—whatever others were pretended—their punishment would be all the more severe. Former treaties, in their lack of good faith, might be compared with the buildings mentioned by the Prophet, not compacted with proper cement, but only plastered over to the eye, and fallen to pieces almost as soon as they were raised. The contracting parties had not only derived no benefit from such treaties, but rather detriment, contriving mischief to one another during those intervals more than in time of war.

The history of Europe during the past thirty years, the opportunities afforded to the Turks by the quarrels between the Emperor and France, and of which they had taken advantage to possess themselves of two of the bulwarks of Christendom—Belgrade and Rhodes—the lessons which the varying success of their enterprises and the misery inflicted on their subjects

¹ *Cardinal Pole to Julius III*, Brussels, Feb. 23rd. St. Mark's Library, Cod. XXIV.

might bring home to the two monarchs are eloquently and 1554 fearlessly exposed, and Pole ends by declaring that the whole question of peace depends, not so much on the conditions to be agreed upon—which might be as easily broken as they were made—as on the dispositions the contracting parties bear to each other when they make the treaty. If they really intend the good of their people, an equitable accommodation might soon be found ; but if selfishness and private ends are the standard of the negotiations, the peace would not be to their advantage nor to that of their subjects, but a beginning of more mischievous quarrels than those it seems to conclude. He appeals with much pathos to both monarchs to make an end of the evils which afflict Europe, and particularly their own subjects ; but in the absence of authority from Charles V to offer any basis of negotiation, the terms are necessarily as general as they are eloquent and impressive.¹

Pole arrived at Fontainebleau on the 29th March. As it *Ven. Cal.*,
was Holy Week, during which the King gave no audiences, *V.* 871
he postponed the legate's reception until after Easter, but meanwhile accepted, and read with interest and pleasure, as he afterwards told Pole, his *Discorso di Pace*. On Easter Monday, escorted by the Duke of Lorraine, Monsieur de Guise, and the whole court, Pole was graciously received by Henry II, to whom he expressed the Pope's extreme desire for peace, and that had it not been for his age and infirmities he would have found no toil too great to undergo in his own person for that holy purpose. The King, the Queen, Katherine de Medicis, the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, in the separate interviews he had with them, all expressed their own anxiety for peace, the Constable declaring that if the legate would propose some reasonable terms of agreement, he would support them with all his might. The Emperor had told Pole that he had received no answer to the terms he had offered through the former legates, Dandino and San Giorgio ; but the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine showed that an answer had been given “alleging both time, place and form.”

¹ *Discorso di Pace*, de Monsignor R. Polo, pub. in Rome, 1555, by A. Blado.

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Pole dined with the King, who gave him in detail, in a long and leisurely audience after dinner, with much modesty and civility, *con molto bel modo*, his own version of the causes of the war, the good progress of which gave him no personal wish for peace, notwithstanding which, for the common weal, he would be ready to accept fair terms of pacification. He spoke honourably of the Emperor, saying he was ready to form the best possible friendship with him. Notwithstanding all these expressions of goodwill, and his own earnest representations, when one of the royal secretaries brought a written answer from the King to the Emperor's former proposals, Pole could only describe it to the Pope as "of rather an irritating tenour than otherwise." Henry II, all the same, wished the legate to make his solemn entrance into Paris the following Sunday, 8th April, and to publish the jubilee for peace.

One of Pole's nephews, Thomas Stafford, son of his sister Ursula, Lady Stafford, and grandson of the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, had been in Rome, and had been sent by the Cardinal to Mantua, to the care of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga. He had returned to England on the accession of Mary, and now, to his uncle's great annoyance, made his sudden appearance at Fontainebleau. Pole thus describes the incident to Cardinal Del Monte—

"On the second day after my arrival at Fontainebleau there made his appearance unexpectedly one of the sons of my sister, who has allowed himself to be induced by evil counsel to quit England, with his brother-in-law and another gentleman, solely on account of dissatisfaction at this marriage made by the Queen. He had the audacity to present himself to me, but on hearing the cause of his departure I expelled him from my presence instantly, *lo scacciai da me*, desiring my attendants not to associate with him. This circumstance has displeased me on many accounts."¹

In a letter to Cardinal Morone, of the same date, he says how much his nephew's coming to Fontainebleau had troubled him. He is only thankful that when the youth left Dillingen, he had determined not to give him any letters of recommendation, either to the Queen or to others. After final interviews with

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, foreign series, 1553-58, pp. 69-79.

Henry II and his ministers, in which he vainly endeavoured to 1554 obtain one or other of the desired points, the legate went to Paris, whence he sent one of his gentlemen, Dr. Chizzola, to Rome, with Henry II's written reply and a full account of the affairs of England and of peace. On his way from Paris to Brussels, as he approached the confines of the French and Imperial territories, he was witness of the sad effects of war, the very earth seeming to smoke, and everything wearing the face of misery and devastation. Though his embassy had not been successful, yet he had brought away some slender hopes of an accommodation, which were greedily received and magnified by a ruined people, and ascribed to his abilities and good offices. The inhabitants of the frontier places, especially the women, the children, and the old people, came out in crowds to meet him ; they strewed the roads where he passed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and hailed him as an angel of peace, by whose mediation the destroyer's sword was at length to be sheathed.

*Dudith
Vita, f. 25*

In his first interview with the Emperor, Pole narrated, as *Ven. Cal.* 22 April delicately as he could, the result of his negotiations with France, and the reply given him, endeavouring to mitigate it to the utmost, and not exhibiting the written document. In conclusion he told him he returned all the more willingly to his Majesty, knowing that his stay in France might have been somewhat injurious to the quiet of England, concerning which matter he mentioned the coming of several Englishmen to France, including his own nephew, and all it had behoved him to say and do in the case.

If Pole's personality had so gained upon Henry II, that he loudly regretted having known so little of him at the time of the Conclave, or he would have supported his election with all his might, calumny, during his absence from Brussels, had been busy with his name. The Emperor took, or pretended to take umbrage that in the *Discorso di Pace* he had shown a partiality to the King of France ; his reserve in speaking of the marriage, and that he had not mentioned it in any of his letters to the Queen, copies of which had just been received by the Emperor, had also been alleged against him. Dr.

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Wotton, the English ambassador in France, had sent Mary word of the rumours circulating at the French court that he "had practised against the marriage of her Highness," and the visit of Thomas Stafford and the other Englishmen had given rise to reports, not only that he was a rival pretender to the Queen's hand, but that he was taking the title of Duke of York, was aspiring to the crown, and had been privy to Wyatt's rebellion.¹ In reference to these occult practices, which Beccatelli ascribes to the envy, ambition and malice of his enemies, Pole likened himself to a man standing in a field of tall grass, and only aware by its undulations of the presence and movements of a serpent, which is invisible and yet manifest. As soon as the new nuncio, the Archbishop of Consa, reached Brussels, trivial complaints against Pole were confided to him : his silence since he had gone to France was inexplicable ; it were to be wished "he were more experienced in things of the world." In a word, Charles V had resolved, not only to hinder his going to England before Mary's marriage, but, if possible, to prevent that legation altogether, and procure his return to Rome. It was even reported to the Pope—as Cardinal Morone informed him—that he was weary of the business, and desirous of being recalled. It says much for Pole's prudence and steadfast purpose that he successfully braved the storm raised against him ; "the force of truth was too great," wrote Beccatelli, "and its light could not be long obscured."

It is not therefore surprising to find that the Emperor, in that first interview with Pole, did not receive his proposals from the King of France in a way to give hope of what was desired, saying he did not in the least believe in the sincerity of the French, and that he had never received of yore from Francis I, in the course of many years, so many or such grievous injuries as from the King, his son, within a brief period.

"In short, he said nothing to indicate approval of my return, or of the regard I evinced for the affairs of England by coming back to Brussels, but remarked that as I was 'unable to do anything

¹ *Letters of Renard to Charles V*, Brussels, Arch. gen., f. 384, f. 599v. and f. 646.

further, it would have been better for me to remain in France, or, 1554 should that have appeared unbecoming for the above-mentioned reason—which his Majesty seemed to hold in account—that I should have gone on my way,' which were his precise words."¹

To this scarcely-veiled dismissal, Pole returned answer that he prayed the Emperor, of his piety and prudence, to ponder the whole matter further, and with that took his leave of his Majesty, and, after being interrupted at his first words on the subject to the Bishop of Arras by the remark that it was unnecessary, and that no other answer could be given, he wrote to the nuncio in Paris that there was no hope of negotiating peace with the Emperor, and the nuncio had better communicate the fact to Henry II and the French court. So grave did the situation appear, that Pole sent his auditor, Nicolo Ormanetto, to Rome, to give all particulars to the Pope, who might give credence to him as to Pole himself. At the same time he wrote an affectionate letter to Julius III, beseeching him not to have the slightest scruple with regard to Pole individually; and to be assured that he would be perfectly satisfied with whatever his Holiness might command. He has been induced to write this, fearing lest the Pope's great graciousness might cause him to do otherwise.

Charles V's irritation was extreme; Pole's second legation had convicted him of resisting peace [although Henry II's demands, including the cession of Milan, would have proved inadmissible] as his first legation had convicted him of selfish motives with regard to England. He greatly disliked appearing "in the eyes of many good Christians" hard and grasping in his attitude towards peace; he hated being compromised, and though he characterised the proposals brought by Pole as absurd and futile, the fact that he had received a second fruitless mission on the subject from Rome would be misinterpreted by the same good Christian people, in whose eyes he was desirous to stand well. All the blame must therefore be laid on the shoulders of the legate, as is set forth in a long

¹ "Meaning that Cardinal Pole should return to Rome, and this they say suspecting that his return may subject the Emperor to some reproof."—Pallavicini: *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, Vol. III, p. 297, Faenza, ed. 1793.

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despatch from Granvelle to Manrique, Imperial ambassador at Rome.¹

The court of Rome was too well acquainted with the true state of affairs to pay more than official attention to Charles V's complaints. Cardinal Morone's private letters, full of affectionate interest in Pole's labours, tell him that, as he can serve him no other way, he has recommended him to several monasteries and devout persons, to pray to God to soften "the hard hearts of those princes who are bringing Christendom to ruin," and to bless his efforts for peace. The fear that the Emperor might succeed, by his insulting behaviour, in driving Pole out of Flanders was what chiefly occupied Julius III and his ministers. But Reginald Pole was not the man to allow himself to be frightened by rough words, and Charles V did not venture on the extreme step of breaking with the court of Rome by ordering the papal legate out of his dominions. So Pole retired to the monastery of Diligam, three miles from Brussels, and awaited the course of events.² He fully explained himself in a fine letter to Morone at the end of May—

Poli Epp. " You exhorted me to make the sincerity of my mind clear to his Holiness and to everybody, and appeared to suspect that through weariness of the things of the world, and not being very eager for labours, I would take any opportunity of withdrawing from business, and retiring to a private life. You ought to have known me better. I never remember having withdrawn from the service of either my prince, or of any private person, as the whole course of my life can testify. And to begin with that prince whom I most desired to serve, I should never have withdrawn from him had he not demanded of me services contrary to my own honour and his good.

. . . I have never preferred my private studies to public duty, not considering them worthy to compare with the smallest action I could perform for the benefit of the least person in the world. I have never pushed myself forward nor sought to be employed, so others might be mistaken, but you ought to have known better. My letters to the Pope, and what I sent to his Holiness by Dr.

¹ Simancas, pp. 508, 121, 122.

² The Monastery of Diligam, near Brussels, must not be confounded with the town of Dillingen, near Trent, where Pole had been detained in the autumn.

Ormanetto, meant no more than that if he knew of a better 1554 instrument for these negotiations than myself, I would give way readily. . . ."

Morone had reported to Pole Charles V's complaints,¹ to which he replies—

" The nuncio has said that Caesar is not pleased with me because I do not seem eager about the marriage—with my taciturnity and small demonstration of joy over it, and I am exhorted to remedy that impression, in public as in private, as the only thing to remove every sort of cloud.

" When I was at Dillingen, I refrained from speaking of the marriage, because the Queen had not mentioned it to me, and I did not think it right to be the first to break silence ; but when I arrived at Brussels her Majesty, through her ambassador, informed me of it, and then I said I would always pray for the success and happiness of her marriage, offering to serve their Majesties to the utmost of my power. In my first audience with Caesar, I informed him of his Holiness's joy, and expressed my own. I showed it better than by words when I got to France, rebuking my nephew, and turning him out of my house, without looking at the letters he wished to give me from certain malcontents as passionate as himself, and efficaciously exhorting the King of France not to give ear to similar persons and proposals.

" When I heard that Parliament had come to no conclusion about the return to obedience to the Holy See, I wrote to the Queen. . . . that as through matrimonial discord between an English King and a Spanish Queen that obedience had been destroyed, so by a matrimonial concord between an English Queen and a Spanish King I hoped it might be restored. I do my best with the malcontents, and I make myself a *quasi* prophet in my efforts to pacify alienated minds, and to confirm the well-intentioned, and I do not see what more I could do.

" Although in the beginning, this marriage appeared to me a problem, *disputabile in utramque partem*, and a more doubtful good for the sovereign than for the realm, now that it is settled I take it as an act of God's providence, and all my words and deeds are conformable thereto. Caesar ought to thank me for returning from France ; I did so to escape from all the English malcontents who came to me, on account of the marriage . . . the fact of my being in France giving courage to many persons, who were not accurately informed of my mind, to leave England and come to me during the short time I was at the French court.

¹ Vatican Archives, 64, t. 32, f. 199.

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"As for the peace negotiations, you have heard everything, and have seen the King's answer, framed in such a manner, that according to his Imperial Majesty's purpose—to make peace or war—he could take occasion from that document for the one or the other."

Pole characterises the reception he had received from Charles V and Granvelle on his return to Brussels in these words—

"Unless they had taken a stick in their hands to drive me out, they could not have used greater violence in words: *non mi potevano far maggior violentia con parole.*"

Charles V failed in his indirect attempts against the legate, and Julius III wrote him a brief, assuring him of Pole's integrity and goodness, and urging him to allow him to go on to England. At the same time Cardinal Del Monte wrote to the nuncio Consa, that the Pope could not resign himself to Pole's return to Rome without fulfilling his legation to England. "It would be a grave charge against the Apostolic See, and against his Imperial Majesty."¹

Ven. Cal.
V. 883

So Pole remained quietly in his retreat in the Diligam monastery, doing what he could from a distance for the reconciliation of England. The Pope had approved and ratified his acts with regard to the twelve bishops, and had commended the piety of those prelates; but there were not wanting persons in England to insinuate that the matter should have been deferred to the expected general reconciliation of the whole realm. In expressing his strong disapproval of the objection, Pole, in a letter to his "Agent in England" [Henry Penning?] compares it to the case of a pest-house, where a remedy would be rejected because it could not be taken simultaneously by all the patients. And this would be all the more pernicious in the case of a bishop, whose individual recovery it would be most unfitting to delay for one single hour or moment, still less for weeks and months. The agent is to demonstrate to the Queen that the longer Parliament delays decreeing the universal return of the realm to the

¹ Vatican Archives, *Varia polit.*, lib. 79, f. 12.

obedience of the Church, the more should she endeavour that 1554 private persons should have no obstacles put in their way, but that they should know that her Majesty will commend them, the more speedily and fervently they seek to obtain it.

The great difficulty was the question of Church property ; every time the Queen saw Pole's agent she asked for the Pope's determination respecting it, and Pole refers the problem to Cardinal Morone. At the same time he refers a personal matter to his friend, the Cardinal of Augsburg [Otho Truchses]. The publication of his book to the King of England—which he had intended for his eyes only—is being forced upon him by a stranger, who appears to be a German, and who accuses him of having only had a few copies printed in order to prevent their falling into the hands of persons capable of confuting his arguments, which this person threatens to do. So Pole sends the whole to the Cardinal, as it seems to be the will of God that it should be published. As for the accusation the man brings against him that he had accepted the true doctrine of Justification—and yet endeavoured to prevent its being divulged to the Italians—Pole once more asserts that according to the Apostolic doctrines and the authority of the Church, he believes Justification to proceed from faith, accompanied by works, as learned by him—not from the interpreters and masters who arrogate to themselves the true meaning of the word—but from the Apostles Paul and James. Christ being essentially truth and justice, no one possesses Him who swerves from justice and truth, as does this writer when he states that Pole went to a certain Gospeller (such being the title conferred by them on their doctors) at Augsburg, promising him to espouse their cause, whereas he was never at Augsburg in his life.

It is curious that although Pole speaks in the above letter—as he had done to the Bishop of Badajos some years previously—of the preface, addressed to Edward VI, which he intended to insert in his book, the edition—the only authorised one—published by Blado at Rome this year, contains no preface. The “Epistle to Edward” first appeared in Quirini two centuries later. The German above mentioned was P. Ptergerius, who

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published his edition, with some pieces by Luther, etc., at Strasburg the following year.

If the Spanish marriage had taken place immediately after the consent of Parliament in April, it would have been better; during the interval of three months before Philip's arrival in England, the opposition to it, fostered and encouraged in every way by the French ambassador, had time to gain further ground, and to become more embittered every day.¹ The marriage took place at Winchester Cathedral on the 25th July. Parliament having decreed that the Queen's husband was not to be styled King of England, Charles V had got over the difficulty by creating his son King of Naples and Jerusalem, making him thus, as he explained, more worthy to mate with a queen. Philip was twenty-nine years of age.

The Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, was recalled at this time, at the complaint, it was rumoured, of the Imperial court that he was inimical to the marriage, and in the "Report of England" made by him, according to custom, to the Senate after his return, we find an interesting description of the Queen—

Ven. Cal.
V. 934

"She was born on the 8th February, 1515, so yesterday completed her thirty-eighth year and six months. She is of low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin; her eyes are light and large, and her hair reddish; her face is round, the nose rather low and wide, and were not her age on the decline, she might be called handsome rather than the contrary. She is not of a strong constitution, and of late she suffers from headache and serious affection of the heart [*grave passione di cuore*]. . . . She is of very spare

¹ "One of the contrivances of the factions deserves to be mentioned. Extraordinary sounds were heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate Street, intermixed with words of obscure meaning, which were interpreted to the crowd by persons present. The imposture was carried on in the following manner: a man in the crowd called out, 'God save the Queen!' the voice was silent. Then another would exclaim, 'God save the Princess!' 'Amen,' in a loud shrill voice, would issue from the wall. Other questions were propounded, and answered from the wall in seditious language, respecting the marriage, the Mass, etc. At last the Lord Mayor had the wall pulled down, and a young girl of eighteen, Elizabeth Crofts, was discovered in a secret recess. She acknowledged the imposture publicly, and gave the names of her accomplices."—Renard, 14th March; Strype, III, pp. 99, 136.



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Marriage Medal of Philip and Mary.
in the British Museum.



diet, and never eats till 1 or 2 p.m., although she rises at daybreak, 1554 when, after saying her prayers and hearing Mass in private, she transacts business incessantly, until after midnight, when she retires to rest ; for she chooses to give audience, not only to all the members of her Council—and to hear from them every detail of public business—but also to all other persons who demand it of her.

" Her Majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her will, not one of them would have been enforced ; but, deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own. She is endowed with excellent ability, and is more than moderately read in Latin literature . . . and besides her native tongue, speaks Latin, French and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it. . . . Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments ; indeed, before her accession, she taught many of her maids (*molte sue damigelle*). She appears to delight in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently ; she also makes great use of jewels, wearing them on her *chaperon* and round her neck, and as trimming for her gowns. . . .

" Lord Paget, the Earl of Arundel and Secretary Petre were the three most intent upon the marriage, because Courtenay had boasted that if ever he became the Queen's husband, he would remember that Paget had advised Henry VIII to put him to death."

Immediately upon the marriage, Cardinal Pole sent a special messenger with a letter of congratulation to the royal pair, and, probably for the first time since the memorable audience of the 21st April, addressed himself to Charles V, who was then at Arras, at the head of his army, sending Dr. Ormanetto, who had just returned from Rome, as bearer of his congratulations on the marriage—with the hope that the union of two such Catholic princes would prove the prelude to reconciliation with the Apostolic See. Although Consa, a month earlier, had announced that the Emperor would no longer oppose the legate's journey,¹ the answers of Charles V and the Bishop of Arras were still ambiguous : the Emperor had nothing nearer at heart than the cause of religion in England, but a " certain

¹ Vatican, *Fiandra*, II, f. 101.

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immaturity"—*qualche immaturità*—still presented itself.¹ And when Ormanetto, on a second mission to Arras, a month later, earnestly renewed Pole's application, he received a negative answer. The journey would be premature, and the Emperor, on his return to Brussels, would give all necessary explanations to Pole himself.

Ven. Cal.
V. 957

If the spoils of the Church in England had at first been confined to a few favourites and purchasers, during the lapse of more than twenty years they were now become, by sales and bequests, divided and sub-divided among thousands, and almost every family of opulence in the kingdom had reason to fear any measures which might induce the compulsive surrender of the whole or of part of its possessions. Pole's own opinion was that anything in the shape of a bargain on such a subject would be derogatory to the dignity and rights of the Holy See; that the return to obedience should be made unconditionally, and the rest left to the clemency of the Pope. But this view did not prevail at Rome, and Julius III sent him, through Morone, on the 7th November, a bull, at the sight of which, Morone hopes, all his scruples will cease.

The Emperor and the King and Queen of England, he continues, had sent Don Juan Manrique in all haste to Rome, to express their opinion on the subject, that no less could be done than give the ecclesiastical property to those who hold it—

Poli Epp.
V. 70

" This appears necessary, owing to the great number of persons interested, many of whom have received these estates *ex causa onerosa*, or for services rendered to the sovereign, any enquiry into which would be tantamount to throwing the whole island into confusion. . . . The essential thing is to bring the people back to the unity of the Church, and to promote the salvation of so many souls, and for the rest, it appears that it is permissible to give that which may not be sold.

" Your lordship need therefore have no scruples about the matter; in fact, the opinion of the theologians and legists has been taken in congregation, and it was agreed that if it is lawful to alienate the goods of the Church for the redemption of captives, it were even more so to redeem a kingdom, and for the welfare of so many souls."²

¹ Charles V's instructions to his son, through his ambassadors, are in the same strain.—*Granvelle Papers*, IV, p. 284.

² *Si licet alienare bona Ecclesiae pro redemptione captivorum.*

The bull empowered the legate to give, alienate, and transfer ¹⁵⁵⁴ to the present possessors all property, moveable or immovable, which had been torn from the Church during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.¹

Not content with sending Dr. Ormanetto to Charles V, Cardinal Pole had written, on the 21st September, a very emphatic letter to Philip—who had sent him an officer with the *Ven. Cal.* *V. 946* news of his marriage—in which he reminds him that he has been knocking at the door for a whole year, and no one has opened to him. And, in the figurative language habitual to him, he says that if, to the King's question, "Who knocks?" he were tempted to reply: "One who, for trying to secure to your consort the succession to the crown, has been driven from home and country, and has suffered the pain of exile for twenty years," he prefers not to speak in his own name, but in that of Peter, whose successor he represents. It is in truth Peter who has been knocking at the door all this time. Very different had been the reception given by the faithful of Jerusalem to the Apostle when he had escaped from Herod's prison! He knows that the Queen had rejoiced at his coming, and that she has yielded to fear: that is why, like the damsel Rhoda, she has not let him in [Acts xii, 13]. Now that Mary has the support of her husband, there is no reason to prolong a situation which is humiliating to the sovereign Pontiff, and against the true interests of the Queen. Let Philip not forget that he has inherited the title of "defender of the faith." A week later, Pole once more made an official application to the Emperor for leave to go to England without further delay.

More than a year had in fact elapsed since Mary's accession, out of the small number of years—had she but known it—before her, and before the faithful cousin who would have saved her, if he could, from the disaster of her ill-omened marriage. She had not been idle: apart from the line of conduct into which she had been half-persuaded, half-frightened by the Imperial agents with regard to Pole's legation, she had

¹ The clause, "to give, alienate, and transfer," had been devised by Gardiner, as the most likely to tranquillize the present possessors, and secure them against subsequent claims.—Pallavicini, II, p. 411.

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faithfully carried out the resolution made by her at her accession to restore the old religion in her kingdom. The bishops unjustly deprived under Edward VI had been restored to their sees, the heretic prelates had been turned out, before she had been six weeks on the throne—on the 24th August—Mass was publicly said in London, and by the 21st December it had been restored throughout the country to the general satisfaction of the people. On the 28th September Mary had written to Pole how eagerly she and her husband expected his arrival in England—

“ that we may be delivered from the scruples which trouble us and many persons specially attached to our service, on account of the censures pronounced against this kingdom in the times of heresy and schism.”¹

At the same time, Mary had more than once stated the fact that the question of papal authority was infinitely more difficult to settle than that of the return to the ancient worship. The new doctrines had only been enforced during four years, and they had provoked rebellion throughout the country. The people returned with joy to the old liturgy; it was different with the papal supremacy; more than twenty years had elapsed, and a new generation had grown up since Henry VIII had begun to divorce the people from their union with Rome by the same means which he adopted to divorce himself from his wife. To the vulgar, so long as things went on in their parish churches as they had been wont to do, the quarrel between King and Pope, and its inevitable results to themselves, were scarcely realisable, and moreover, during those twenty years, the sovereign Pontiff had been persistently and in every conceivable manner put before them as a ravenous foreign monster, eager to enslave and ruin themselves and their country. It is true that the “ venomous reptile, the Bishop of Rome,” had ever been coupled in Henry’s mouth with “ the arch-traitor Reynold Pole”; but people did not heed that;

¹ Vatican *Inghilterra*, III, f. 63. In the same letter the Queen mentions her scruples concerning “ the pollution and profanation of several holy shrines, which we and our people would be glad to visit.”

Pole was one of themselves, he was a scion of the royal house, 1554 no stigma of "foreigner" attached to him, and the King's words fell harmless so far as he was concerned. With him beside her, and freed from Imperial pressure and from the Spanish intrusion, there can be little doubt that Mary would have succeeded in her efforts by the gentle and persuasive means she had used at first, and which she preferred to any others.

But how little leniency and mild methods were efficacious with the rebellious heretical opponents of Mary cannot be better illustrated than by the case of Cranmer. He had been the artful and astute author of Queen Katherine's divorce, the actual decree of Mary's so-called bastardy; his name had been at the head of the treasonable declaration in which she had been commanded to desist from any pretensions to the crown, and to acknowledge Lady Jane Grey as Queen—any one of which crimes against his lawful sovereign would have entailed capital punishment if he had been brought to trial. But he was simply ordered to keep within the precincts of Lambeth Palace. Misinterpreting this leniency, he had busied himself, on hearing of the restoration of the ancient worship—with the aid of Peter Martyr Vermigli—in preparing a manifesto against the Eucharist, couched in terms of bitter violence, in which he reiterated the shocking assertion in his Archbishop's Manifesto of September, 1552, that the Mass "was a device and invention of the Devil, the father of lies," and declared he was most anxious to show the people as well as the Queen that it was full of "horrid blasphemies."¹ He, moreover, endeavoured to prove that the Calvinistic and Zwinglian rites were almost identical with the rites and doctrines of the primitive church. This inflammatory document was printed and circulated, and publicly read to the people in the streets.

The Council, thereupon, after a long and serious debate, relaxed the benevolence with which Cranmer had hitherto been treated, and committed him to the Tower, as well for his

¹ *Archæologia*, Vol. XVIII, p. 175.

1554 treason against the Queen as for "the aggravation of the same his offence by spreading abroad seditious bills and moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state." A few days later, Hugh Latimer, equally heretical and persecuting, and even more violent in his words and predictions, was sent to the same place for "his seditious demeanour." These two, with Nicholas Ridley, who, as Bishop of London, had openly preached at Paul's Cross—before Edward VI's death was publicly known—that Mary was a bastard and that Jane was Queen, were transferred to Oxford on 13th March, 1554.

Rebellion and heresy, in fact, walked hand in hand, and the factions, supported from abroad by the French and by the residue of the foreign gospellers—who had spread their opinions unchecked in England for the past six years—encouraged by Mary's clemency during the first eighteen months of her reign, committed outrage upon outrage; while the national feeling of hatred for foreigners, increased by the Spanish marriage, brought its own sour influence to bear upon the situation, until it became manifest that if the supporters of the Edwardian tenets were to be disarmed and silenced, sterner measures must be adopted.

"The case was simply that there were a number of persons determined to thwart the Queen's proceedings in religion as far as lay in their power—not to demand mere toleration for themselves, but to pluck down what they called idolatry everywhere . . . in defiance of all authority. In short, there was a spirit of rebellion still in the land, which had its root in religious bitterness, and if Mary was to reign in peace, and order was to be upheld, that spirit must be suppressed.

"The revival of the heresy laws was, therefore, a mere necessity of the situation—a necessity regretted even at the time that they were reimposed. Yet few probably could have believed in the great host of victims who would suffer themselves to be immolated on the reimposition of those painful guarantees for the old order of things. . . . But the appalling number of the sufferers must not blind us altogether to the provocation. Nor must it be forgotten that if it be once judged right to pass an Act of Parliament, it is right to put it into force. To relent would have implied simply that the authorities feared they had been in the wrong in passing

it, and the result would have been to yield the victory to those powers of disorder which they had endeavoured to withstand."¹

It may, however, without temerity be opined that if Reginald Pole had taken his place as Mary's chief counsellor from the outset of her reign, instead of being detained abroad for more than a year by the Imperial intrigues, the Act against Lollardy *de comburendo haeretico* would never have been revived, with all its fatal consequences. The esteem and admiration—a

¹ Gairdner: *Lollardy and the Reformation*, p. 326-27. "The spirit of fanatical destruction of the 'New Men,' as Wyatt's leaders called themselves, was appalling. Pictures, works of religious art, literary treasures were all destroyed. When they broke into the palace of the Bishop of Winchester at Southwark, 'they left not a lock on a door,' says Stow, 'nor a book in his gallery uncut or rent to pieces; so that men might have gone up to their knees in leaves of books, cut and thrown under foot.' Such was the character of many of these innovators that they were by no means made welcome abroad when they fled from the new Act." "In certain of the foreign cities to which they had hoped to resort, and from which their reforming allies had been originally imported by Cranmer, the municipal authorities refused them permission to settle, on the reasonable ground that the moral and political principles they advocated were calculated to disturb law and order, and to promote unrest, dissatisfaction and sedition."—F. G. Lee: *Reginald Pole*, p. 50.

A letter from one English reformer to another is given in Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. III, App. 107-9: "John Bale from Basle, to Mr. Ashley in Frankfort. Wherein is declared the troubles and controversies among the English exiles in Basle:—'And whereas you desire to know before your coming the state of our Church, to be plain in a few words, it is troublos. . . . I find the admonition of St. Paul to Timothy . . . most true in this miserable age. He said in the latter times should come mockers, liars, blasphemers. We have them, we have them, Master Ashley; we have them even from among ourselves. Yea, they be our Elders and their factious affinity. . . . Our new Catharites have most wickedly, maliciously, mockedly, falsely, frantically . . . blasphemously, and beastly reported, and written to their affinity. . . . Raging and railing, more like Athenians than Christians; yea, more like devils than men. And they boast of the Glory of God . . . and of the highest purity in religion, etc., etc.'

The above interesting self-revelation is supported by the opinion of some of the foreign reformers. "It is certain the reformers abroad had but a very indifferent opinion of their behaviour; since the Lutherans called the English, who suffered for religion, 'the devil's martyrs.' 'Ubi vociferantur quidam, martyres Anglos esse martyres diaboli.'"—Melancthon in *Epist.*, 8th October, apud Heylin, 250. Tierney's Dodd, p. 109.

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future Venetian ambassador was to call it adoration—with which all classes of the community learned to regard him under the adverse circumstances of his presence in England would undoubtedly have been even greater and more general, and his own influence for the pacification of strife more efficacious, if it had been untrammelled by the Spanish intrusion and the workings of that very Act. When the return of the Catholic faith to England became simultaneous with the advent of the hated foreigner, and the execution of men—however steeped in treason and sedition they might be—for heresy, the task of the legate and the Queen became too hard to be accomplished in the short time before them.

*Lds.
Journal
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The new Parliament met in the middle of November, and on the 17th a bill was introduced to repeal the attainder of Cardinal Pole. It was passed with the greatest expedition, and the next day the King and Queen attended in person to give to it the royal assent.

The Queen had already sent letters from Philip and herself to Pole by Simon Renard, the ambassador of her "very dear father." The interview between the legate and the man who had so cleverly accomplished the Emperor's behests in England must have been curious. Pole reports to the Pope that he told the ambassador he represented three persons—an Englishman returning to his own country, the ambassador of a great prince, and a legate to restore religion: that he proposed to come in the second character, and to take up the third later. He also told him freely that in case the article of obedience was not settled in this Parliament, he would have "no more oil of patience in his flask," and would remain waiting no longer; neither did he believe the Pope would compel him to do so. Renard replied he must make no doubt of that, as should England not reunite herself to the Church, King Philip and Queen Mary could not long hold the crown; so that if this return did not take place on other accounts, it must at least be effected for their advantage. Renard, as Pole's friends in England had already done, urged him to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, but he tells Cardinal Del Monte that unless the return to obedience is effected, he will

accept nothing, even if they offered him "a moiety of the 1554 Kingdom."¹

A few days later Sir John Masone, the English ambassador, called to inform Pole that the Council, having unanimously decreed to invite him to England, were sending two of their members, Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, with some other gentlemen to escort him. Then came the Bishop of Arras, "exulting and jubilating—*esultava e giubilava*," writes Pole to the Pope, with letters in his hand from Philip and Mary, asking two things—that he should arrive without the emblem (*insigne*) of the legation, though they would acknowledge him as legate afterwards ; the other, that he would not say anything about Church property to the noblemen and gentlemen who were coming to fetch him. Almost the first words, however, of these gentlemen, who arrived next day and supped with Pole in the evening, were to tell him how desirous it was that the Pope should give him ample faculties about the property, without which, even should the return to unity be agreed to, it would be very difficult to carry it out.

Charles V had returned to Brussels from his camp at Arras, and on the 12th November Pole had his farewell audience. It was a memorable interview, and under its veil of high courtesy and submissive respect, a little gentle irony must have pierced through the legate's allocation when, in congratulating the Emperor on the success of his efforts to restore religion in England, he hints that Providence thus compensates him for his labours and fatigues for the same purpose in Germany, which had not yet met with success. Again, on taking his leave, the long detention inflicted on him by Charles must have come to the mind of both when he remarked that he felt as if he had but just arrived at his Majesty's court, instead of being on the point of leaving it.

Charles V, on his side, took occasion to advise the legate to show himself equally amiable to all parties, and to treat of

¹ *Pole to Julius III*, 23rd October. *Pole to Cardinal Morone*, 28th October. St. Mark's Library.

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nothing independently of the King and Queen, making moderation the rule of his conduct. Slightly startled, Pole gravely replied that he hoped so to do, in accordance with the commands of his Holiness the Pope, and to find like moderation in others, praying the Emperor to warn them to show themselves equally moderate in their demands. In reporting these things to the Pope, Pole adds that Caesar had admonished the English gentlemen who had come to fetch him, on the disorders they had fallen into, and the punishments they had deserved, which could only be remedied by return to the unity of the Church—an exhortation which these gentlemen had taken in good part.¹

Quirini
V, 303

On the 13th November, Pole left Brussels, escorted by Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings, with other English nobles and gentlemen to the number of forty, "all nobly apparell'd and mounted," and making with his own suite a company of 120 horse. By Ghent, Bruges, and Neuport they reached Gravelines on the 19th, and a bow-shot further found a little stream separating Flanders from the territory of Calais. There the Master of Calais met them with a troop of horse, and all the bells of the town rang out, and the artillery roared in welcome as the cavalcade approached the town. At nightfall, the governor brought the password to Pole: "long lost and found again," which was accepted as of good augury. The wind, which had been contrary for days and very boisterous, suddenly changed during the night and the crossing to Dover was effected in three hours and a half, which was considered an extraordinarily rapid passage. Six ships had been sent by the English sovereigns, two of them being men-of-war.

The following day, 21st November, Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Anthony Browne, Lord Montague, with 100 horsemen, arrived with letters from the Queen and King.² They were followed by a multitude of gentlemen and kinsmen of the Cardinal come to do him honour, chief among them Francis, Lord Hastings, son of Pole's niece Catherine, daughter of

¹ *Pole to Julius III*, 13th November. Vatican, *Inghilterra*, III, f. 68.

² At the bottom of Philip's letter were three autograph lines of welcome in Spanish verse.

Henry Pole, Lord Montague, "a youth of most noble appearance," with an escort of fifty horsemen. By dinner-time the number of arrivals had risen to more than 300 ; then came the archdeacon of Canterbury, Nicholas Harpsfield—Dover being in that diocese—accompanied by several canons, and enquired of the Cardinal if he wished to be received by the clergy at the gates of Canterbury, in the manner usual with legates, to which he replied that until he had been received by their Majesties he wished for no ceremonials to be used.

At dinner, there were thirty guests at the legate's table, all of noble aspect, and well-dressed in gold-embroidered clothes, with very large collars, according to the English fashion. Afterwards the whole company, to the number of more than 400, took horse for Canterbury and arrived there towards midnight : the officers of the town and a vast concourse of people crying "God bless you, God bless you," there welcomed the legate. At the door of the archdeacon's house, where he was to lodge, he was received by torchlight, the archdeacon welcoming him in an oration which moved many to tears. The Cardinal listened with much attention, until the speaker began to praise him, saying : *"Tu es Polus qui aperis nobis polum regni coelorum . . . quamdiu abfuisti, omnia fuerunt tristia et adversa : in adventu tuo omnia rident, omnia laeta, omnia tranquilla."* The legate then interrupted him, saying that when he had praised God he had listened with pleasure, but touching his own particular he could not listen so readily, as to God alone was due all honour and glory.

Next morning, Pole sent Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, with letters to Philip and Mary, announcing his arrival, and asking their further orders, with great thanks for his noble reception. The same day he moved on to Sittingbourne and thence to Rochester, where he was received, two miles from the town, by Lord Cobham, in his magnificent palace, with great splendour. There Dr. Pate brought him the answer of the King and Queen, with the request that he would now display the insignia of his legation. The concourse of gentlemen coming from all parts increased hour by hour and numbered more than a thousand by the time Gravesend was reached the

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following day. At Gravesend awaited him the Earl of Shrewsbury¹ and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, who presented him with letters under the great seal—the impression, for greater honour, taken off in gold—certifying the repeal of all laws passed against him in the two preceding reigns. From Gravesend he sailed up the Thames in the Queen's barge, with his silver cross fixed in the prow, many other barges following, notably that of Lord Shrewsbury, with the “talbot” [the hound, badge of the Talbots] displayed, and all his men in blue coats, red hose, scarlet caps, and white feathers. They shot the bridge between 12 and 1 o'clock, and at the steelyard, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, awaited in his barge and accompanied the legate to Westminster. Owing to the favourable tide, the arrival at the palace steps was earlier than expected, and the sovereigns were at dinner; but Philip rose at once, and met Pole at the top of the steps, embraced him, and led him through the King's Hall: “And he had borne a-for hym a sylver cross, and he was arrayed in a skarlet gowne and a sqware skarlet cap.”²

The Queen, surrounded by her ladies, met him at the top of the stairs of the first great hall, and making obeisance, embraced and kissed him in the English fashion, telling him that to see him safely arrived and in good health in his own country gave her as much joy as she had felt when she took possession of the kingdom. After the first compliments and words of infinite love and tenderness on both sides, they traversed the palace, the King placing himself on the left of the Queen, and the legate on her right, saying to him in Latin, “Let us put the Queen between us.” Thereupon the legate took occasion to speak to her Majesty of the many great favours God had granted her—

“ And of this last one, by which, in order to help your Highness to fulfil all your pious and holy purposes, He has sent to your aid the two greatest powers on earth: that of the Emperor, represented by the King, your husband, and that of the Pope, represented by myself. To this the Queen made answer in many wise and humble

¹ Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, 1500-1560.

² *Cotton MSS., Vitellius F.V. B.M.*

words, and as they walked on, began to speak in her own tongue, 1554 explaining the reasons for which she had so long delayed calling him to her."

And here we are able to correct a legend which has long been current and often repeated, that Pole on his arrival had, with startling irreverence, saluted the Queen in the words of the Angel Gabriel, "Hail, full of grace," to which she is supposed to have made answer, in the words of St. Elizabeth, that at the salutation "the child had leapt in her womb." By the foregoing account, written the following day by one of the Cardinal's suite,¹ walking near enough to hear every word that passed, we have the true story, with the grain of truth at the bottom from which such legends generally spring. Pole, in answer to Mary's apologies, gracefully answered that the delay might be considered fortunate if it gave him occasion to say : *Benedictus fructus ventris tui*. He had, in fact, been informed by the Bishop of Ely at Brussels that the Queen had hopes of an heir.

In the throne-room, under the dais, the sovereigns and the legate stood, while the latter presented the breves of his legation, and then Lord Paget presented all the members of Pole's suite to their Majesties. Finally, in the same order as before, he was conducted to the river, where he took barge for Lambeth Palace, the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Alva accompanying him, and the former going with him to his room, where they remained some time in conversation. He was then left to repose, which was before long interrupted by the advent of Lord Paget with a message from the Queen to the effect that up to this time she had refused to admit her condition, but that now she had no doubt of it, and that the Privy Council would write to the Bishop of London that the Te Deum might be sung in all the churches of the diocese. In fact, one of the last and the most piteous of poor Mary Tudor's many woes had come upon her : the delusive hope of an heir to her throne, hailed as the happiest promise for the future peace and quiet of the realm.

¹ Probably by Alvise Priuli. The account is entitled, " *Il felicissimo Ritorno del Regno d'Inghilterra alla Cath. Unione.*"

CHAPTER XXII

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IN the halls of Lambeth Palace, magnificently hung with tapestry, Reginald Pole now took up his abode, and prepared for the work before him.¹ His health was frail, and on the score of fatigue, he excused himself from dining with the Queen and witnessing the games held in his honour on the afternoon of the following day, Sunday. His suite went, and from the same pen as the account of the arrival we have a description of the Spanish *Jube di Cane*, in which King Philip and fifty-nine gentlemen, in six companies of ten, dressed *alla morresca*, and mounted on superb jennets with Spanish trappings, took part. Each company was in a different colour : white, green, yellow, blue, purple, and crimson. The King wore crimson, and, mounted on a magnificent bay, moved and played so gallantly and beautifully that he won all hearts, the people crying : "The King, the King!" with shouts of applause.

¹ " Lambeth House was at that time a picturesque though somewhat straggling building in pointed domestic architecture of various styles, erected partly in timber and brick and partly in stone, with clusters of large red brick chimneys in various parts, high gables of irregular pitch, dormer windows, a guard-room, a hall, refectory and book-room, a broad and spacious courtyard, and a noble entrance tower, and here and there, amid the gables, several small turrets and spires. . . . Cardinal Morton erected the Gateway, and Cardinal Pole himself added the Long Gallery. The latter also gave some choice pictures : that of Archbishop Warham, now in the Library, a portrait of Erasmus by Holbein, and the well-known picture of the four Latin Doctors. . . . The furniture—consisting mainly of stools, benches, tressels, and court-cupboards—is said to have been entirely suitable to the residence, and mainly to have belonged to the See. The chapel, with long lancet windows of early English work, deeply splayed, not large but effectively proportioned, was well suited for its purpose, while its ante-chapel and the adjoining chambers at its west end were of singular interest, and even then of some antiquity. . . . The chapel had been restored to its old aspect, and furnished anew for the ancient rites. Over the stall of the Cardinal hung a crimson velvet canopy with his personal arms embroidered in colours and gold. The altar had been flanked anew with rich curtains of cloth of silver, . . . while three Venetian lamps of silver were burning in the sanctuary. . . ."—F. G. Lee, D.D.: *Historical Sketch of Cardinal Pole*, pp. 126-27.

In Machyn's Diary of the same day, 25th November, we 1554 read as follows—

"Did preach at Paul's Cross, Master Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, and a godly sermon.¹ The same day . . . at afternoon, the King's grace and my lord Fitzwalter, and divers Spaniards did ride in divers colours, the King in red . . . and with targets and canes in their hand, hurling of rods one at another, with trumpets in the same colours, and drums made of kettles, and banners in the same colours." —(p. 76).

A writ had been signed on the 10th November, authorizing Pole to exercise his powers as legate, and he was in daily conference with the sovereign and with the Chancellor to regulate the order of procedure. The bull, with the full powers accorded him respecting Church property, only reached London on the 26th November, and when King Philip next day called on Pole, and received from his hands a brief from Julius III to himself and the Queen, with high Castilian courtesy he refrained from opening it, as it was addressed to Mary as well as to himself, "out of respect to her Majesty," says the Italian chronicler.

On Wednesday, the 28th, in consequence of a royal message, the Lords and Commons repaired to the court, and, after a few words from the Chancellor, Pole rose to explain his mission to England. He spoke "without any study as it seemed," wrote John Elder, who received notes from one who was present and who sent a summary of the speech to Lord Robert Stuard, Bishop of Caithness—

"My lords all, and you that are the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, which in effect is nothing but the state and body of the whole realm. . . . Before I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat to say touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the King and Queen's Majesty, and after this to you all, who of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to a member of the

¹ John Baptist Fecknam [1515-1585] last Benedictine Abbot of Westminster. He had been a monk at Evesham before Henry VIII suppressed that monastery, and a prisoner in the Tower under Edward VI. Released by Mary at her accession, he had been made Dean of St. Paul's on the 10th March, 1554. He was a famous preacher.

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same: so of a man having no place neither here nor elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in place, where to speak and to be heard."

After briefly relating the history of Christianity in England from the time of the ancient Britons, the legate proceeded—

" This I protest to you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build: I am not come to call anything into question, already done. But my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness. But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes which be impediments, blocks and bars to the execution of my commission. . . . You cannot receive the benefit and grace offered you by the Apostolic See until the abrogation of such laws by which you have disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's Church."

The Chancellor, having first taken the orders of the King and Queen, replied that the two Houses would deliberate apart, and signify their determination on the following morning. The motion for the reunion was carried almost by acclamation. In the Lords every voice was raised in its favour; in the Commons, out of 300 members, two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the following day, when it was determined to present a petition in the name of both Houses to the King and Queen, stating that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the Apostolic See, that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute which had either caused or supported that defection, and that they hoped, through the mediation of their Majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal Church.¹

On Friday, November 30th, the feast of St. Andrew—and on which was celebrated the institution of the order of the Golden Fleece—King Philip caused a solemn high Mass to be celebrated in Westminster Abbey, attended by the Knights of

¹ Sir Ralph Bagnal had refused to vote [Strype, iii, p. 224]; the other grounded his objection on the oath of supremacy he had taken, "at which all the others laughed."—Quirini, V, App. 314.

the Garter, in robe and collar and 500 other nobles and barons, 1554 with all the King's suite and guard of more than 600 persons, in new liveries of yellow velvet slashed with red and white, and richly embroidered. After dinner, the King sent the Earl of Arundel and six other knights of the Garter to fetch the legate and escort him to the palace, where he was met by the King and Queen and went with them into the great hall, where the two Houses were assembled.

Under a richly-embroidered dais of gold upon gold, Queen Mary took her seat, with her husband on her left and Pole on her right, but at a little further distance. Another act of Philip's courtesy occurred as the legate's suite arrived at the hall, and only those who carried the emblems of his legation prepared to follow him in; seeing which the King hurriedly sent the Duke of Alva to bid all the members enter. Everyone being in place, the Chancellor rose and asked the consent of the two Houses to present their petition to the King and Queen, which was agreed to with a universal shout; this being done and the petition returned, the sovereigns rose and turning to the legate, the Queen, speaking in English, asked, in her own name and that of the King, for absolution and reunion to the Church, according to the tenour of the petition.¹

The legate then caused one of his suite to read the bull and the papal brief of his legation; after which, in moving terms of affectionate congratulation, he delivered a short discourse preparatory to imparting the plenary absolution. At this moment the King and Queen rose, and the whole assembly with them, and then knelt, as Pole, speaking in English so that all might understand, pronounced aloud the solemn words absolving the realm from heresy and schism, and restoring the union with the Apostolic See: "*In nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*," to which all present cried "Amen, Amen!"

The Queen, shedding tears of joy, and the King remained ^{Vat. MS.} _{Inghil.} on their knees awhile, as did all present, and in the uncertain ^{III.} ₇₂

¹ An official copy of the petition is at the Vatican. *Inghilterra*, iii, f. 79.

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light of the torches—which the shortness of the November day had caused to be brought in—tears and sobs of emotion escaped from many of the bowed and kneeling throng.

A Te Deum in the King's Chapel followed, and on the next Sunday, the first of Advent, the King and the legate attended Mass at St. Paul's in state, after which the Bishop of Winchester preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. "He spoke so well," wrote Parpaglia to Cardinal Farnese, "and so appropriately to the state of the kingdom, that the most rev. legate told me he had never heard a sermon which pleased him better."¹ Parpaglia adds that there were some 25,000 persons present. Pole returned with the King to the palace, giving his blessing to the vast multitude as he passed. The ceremonies of the pontifical High Mass, sung by Bonner, Bishop of London, were performed rather clumsily, according to Parpaglia, as if the habit had been lost—which it very probably had been.

The legate's visit to St. Paul's had been made at the request of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who had gone to Lambeth Palace the previous day to invite him. Pole's own heartfelt

¹ *Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, to Cardinal Farnese.* Naples, *Cart Farnes*, f. 710. "Gardiner's text, as pre-arranged with Cardinal Pole, was *Jam tempus est de somno surgere* [Romans xiii, 2]; and John Elder, in the above-quoted letter to the Bishop of Caithness, describes the attention with which it was listened to. So much as a whispering could not be heard amongst them. . . . But every man bent heartily with ears to listen, eyes to perceive, and hands to wait. . . . He declared how, nineteen years ago, at the time when the insurrection was in the north of England, in defence of religion, that King Henry VIII was minded to have given over the supremacy to the Pope's Holiness, but the let thereof was then because he thought it would be said it should have been done for fear.

"He declared also how the said King sent him and Sir Henry Knyvet, knight, to the Emperor, exhorting his Imperial Majesty to be intercessor for him to the Pope to receive the supremacy: but it took none effect, because the time was not. . . . In King Edward's days, the Council was once minded to restore the Pope's supremacy, but the let was, because it was supposed . . . the realm could not be defended during the King's minority without the Pope's assistance." . . . John Elder, 1st January, 1555.

"In this sermon, Gardiner lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII, and exhorted all who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the Catholic Church." *Poli*, App. V, p. 293. It is also noticed by Fox, iii, p. 92.

satisfaction rings in every word of his letter to the Pope, 1554 written immediately after his return to Lambeth from Westminster on the 30th November. His hope that his country ^{Ven. Cal.,} ^{V. 966} would be reconciled to the Holy See has been accomplished, despite the difficulties raised by certain persons alienated from the Apostolic See. The King and Queen have behaved admirably, and shown zeal and piety beyond his greatest expectations. Then, after describing the day's great event, Pole, in terms of filial affection, congratulates Julius III on this happy and salutary issue to all his efforts to recall England to the Church. He informs him of Mary's hopes of an heir, and remarks that Philip treats her as deferentially as if he were her son.¹

Pole did not forget that he was not only legate to England, for the reconciliation of that country, but legate of peace to the Emperor and the King of France, and on the 14th December he wrote to Henry II telling him that now England had returned to the obedience of the Holy See, he begins to have greater hope of successfully operating the second mission received from His Holiness: to seek peace between King Henry and the Emperor.

Henry II's answer was favourable, and Pole followed with letters to the nuncio and the Cardinal of Lorraine, suggesting London as a neutral place for the negotiations. And notwithstanding Charles V's former obstinacy, he despatched Parpaglia to him once more, with a hopeful letter "to obtain peace to complete the Pope's joy," writing urgently to the

¹ "The news reached Rome first in a letter from Philip, on the 14th December, sent by special messenger from the Imperial ambassador at Florence. The Pope embraced the bearer of the letter with tears in his eyes, and falling on his knees, raising his hands and eyes devoutly to heaven, said aloud: 'Pater Noster, qui es in Cœlis, sanctificetur Nomen Tuum.' After ordering the guns of the palace and of the Castel St. Angelo to be fired—which was done continually throughout the day—the Pope, wearing his stole, went into St. Peter's, and heard a Mass of thanksgiving in the chapel of the glorious St. Andrew, on whose feast that happy event had occurred. The College of Cardinals and the whole population rejoiced, illuminations were ordered, and a plenary jubilee published, with processions to last four days."—*Publica Laetitia Signa*, published in Rome, *Poli Epp.*, Vol. V.

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same effect to the Bishop of Arras. Wearied and exhausted with continued war, Charles V, as well as Henry II, was willing "to leave everything to the Cardinal legate," as the Venetian ambassador in London, Giovanni Michael, put it in writing to the Doge, and a peace conference was by Pole's efforts arranged to meet between the 20th and 26th April, the Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras to represent the Emperor, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency, the King of France, while the Bishop of Winchester, in the name of the Queen of England, was to accompany the papal legate. "By means of such good ministers," wrote the nuncio in France, "it is to be hoped peace will be made." Pole had enlisted the good offices of Mary, to which he gratefully alludes in writing to the Archbishop of Consa, nuncio at Brussels—"The Queen is writing to the Emperor about the peace; she, its mediatrix, has been elected by God to do great things to her own honour and to the comfort of Christendom."

In the meantime a joint committee of Lords and Commons had prepared a most important and comprehensive bill which, while jealously safeguarding the rights of the Crown and the interests of the holders of Church property, restored the papal supremacy and re-established the whole system of religious polity which had prevailed for so many centuries before the twentieth year of Henry VIII.¹ In the Lords the bill was read thrice in two days, in the Commons it was passed after a sharp debate on the third day, so that Pole could write to the Cardinal of Lorraine on the 4th January—

Ven. Cal., VI, 4. "To-day, the holy work of return to obedience was terminated by Parliament abrogating all laws and acts passed at the time of the schism against the authority of the Apostolic See."

¹ "The Pope's jurisdiction was comprised under the following heads: 1. He was acknowledged as chief bishop of the Christian Church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3. He could grant to clergymen licenses of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice, with care of souls. 4. He dispensed with the canonical impediments of matrimony; 5. He received appeals from the spiritual courts."—Lingard, V, p. 224.

Convocation had presented a petition to the Crown, stating 1554-55 that the clergy resigned all right to those possessions of which the Church had been deprived, and their readiness to acquiesce in every arrangement to be made by the Legate. Pole's decree was soon afterwards published—

- I. That all Cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism should be preserved.
- II. That all persons, who had contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees without dispensation, should remain married.
- III. That all judicial processes, made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates, should be held valid.
- IV. That the possessors of Church property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested, under pretence of any canons or councils, decreeing of popes, or censures of the Church ; for which purpose, in virtue of the authority vested in him, he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognizance of these matters, and pronounced beforehand all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect.

Pole had an arduous task, and, as he wrote to Cardinal Morone, there was so much and such great disorder, and the *Ven. Cal.*, VI, 8 body of the kingdom was so infirm, that to apply a remedy to the abuses and irregularities introduced of late *res non est parvi consilii et magni laboris*, and also requires much time. It will be done with the help of the bishops, who show themselves ready to do their duty in the matter.

Pole's admirable tact and temper were never more successful than in his dealings with the bishops : some of them, like Tunstall and Gardiner, the friends of his youth, who had fallen more or less deeply into schism, and were now eager to redeem the past : all of whom, under his guidance and example during the short space of four years, were so to strengthen themselves in courage and fortitude, that of the sixteen men who filled the sees of England at Elizabeth's accession, only one, Kitchin of

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Llandaff, was found ready to acknowledge her spiritual supremacy—the other fifteen dying in prison or exile.

Pole's modesty is shown in a passage of the above letter—

" As to private affairs, I have done what you wished, and have spoken to King Philip about the church of Novara: more willingly than I have hitherto done for myself, never having spoken to their Majesties about private business of my own, or of my kinsfolk, who crowd around me, as you can imagine—and also how much they are in want; but until I see public affairs more consolidated, I am determined not to molest their Majesties about any private matters."

We find Reginald Pole's attitude towards the archbishopric of Canterbury in his next letter to Morone—

Ven. Cal.,
VI, 22

" One of the chief causes for the despatch of this courier is the deprivation of the present Archbishop [Cranmer], and the provision to be made for his successor. Before coming here, it was twice offered to me, first by the Queen, through my own messenger [Henry Penning], by word of mouth, and then by the King and Queen together, through the Imperial ambassador [Renard], when he came to Brussels, and I believe they are now making the same request to the Pope.

" I am ready, as I always have been, to do what the Pope orders, but, if I am to bear this burden, I hope his Holiness will liberate me from Rome, and let me serve God and him here, and not elsewhere. You know my ideas about the residence of bishops; I am unable to convince myself that a bishop should reside elsewhere than in his own diocese, in the midst of his flock; it is a scruple I could never renounce, and I hope the Divine goodness will never let me change that sentiment, which lies at the bottom of my heart.

" But if the Pope wishes to employ me elsewhere, I shall be perfectly satisfied; nor could anything distress me in this business save to see myself assigned a post in which I could not serve. . . . I would consider it a great relief—*una gran libertad*—to be able to remain without posts, which I would never undertake save from obedience . . . although combined with all the honors and convenience in the world, as in great measure is the case with the primacy of England."

Ibid.,
V, 23

The Queen had determined to send an embassy to Rome, and Pole gives an interesting account of the three men composing it, in his letter recommending them to the Pope—

" The youngest of them, who is the chief person of the embassy [Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague], gave such proof of his piety

in his youth that when, after his father's death . . . he had to take 1555 the usual oath on the King's supremacy as head of the Church, his voice suddenly failed him, nor for some time could he utter a word, which caused him to be so suspected by the persons then in authority [*temp. Edward VI*] that he narrowly escaped losing his life and estates. Some years afterwards he was imprisoned for the cause of religion, but as he is my kinsman, I will not say more about him."¹

"His colleague, the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], in those troublous times when the abrogation of the Mass was discussed, opposed the measure both in public and in private, and had he not been absent on an embassy to the Emperor [1546-47] would have been cast into prison, like so many others of his episcopal brethren. He is a good jurist and an able negotiator.

"The third [Sir Edward Karne] is *eques auratus*, as they call him, and an able lawyer, and like his other colleagues is supposed to be well-inclined towards the Catholic religion and piety; of yore, when King Henry commenced being schismatic, he sent him to Rome as Excusator, and to inform the Pope of the danger of rebellion in case of his refusal to consent to the divorce. The King and Queen send him to be their resident ambassador in Rome as a witness of the cessation of the schism."

At this time the Queen began to restore the religious orders, recalling the exiled Dominicans and Franciscans from Flanders, *Ven. Cal.*, VI, 32 "they, showing themselves in public everywhere," wrote Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, "are honestly and well entreated." Sixteen Benedictines resumed their habits, including Fecknam, Dean of St. Paul's, though by so doing, adds Michiel, "he forfeits a revenue of well-nigh £2,000 a year." When the sixteen appeared in their habits before the Queen, she could not refrain shedding tears of joy, and, at Pole's suggestion, she appointed six of the leading members of the Council, including the Chancellor, the Treasurer, William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, the Comptroller, Sir Robert Rochester, and Secretary Petre, with Pole himself, to decide upon what was most fitting and beneficial to the realm with regard to the monasteries and Church property belonging to the Crown.

¹ "Montague's father, Sir Anthony Browne, died 6th May, 1548. He was Pole's kinsman through his grandmother, Lucy Neville, and his aunt Mabel, married to Gerald, Earl of Kildare."—Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, pp. 82, 87.

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"There was no lack of other members of the Council," wrote Pole in the brief summary he sent to Rome, "who opposed this commission, wishing to be comprised in it, and whose intervention would have greatly confused and disturbed the business."

Pole's private opinion about Church property—which he was too frank a man to disguise—continued unaltered: its retention by those who held it might be allowed "because of the hardness of their hearts—*ob duritiam cordis illorum*"—as he says in the above summary; while with regard to the property annexed by Henry VIII to the Crown, he considered that the Queen could not honestly keep it. Mary, who had a scrupulous conscience, was of the same opinion and anxious to give up all the abbey lands vested in the Crown and which produced an income of £60,000 a year, although her husband and a great part of her Council strongly objected to the policy of the measure. It might in truth be urged that, to the great mass of indifferent men who comprised the majority of the holders of ecclesiastical property, such an example on the Queen's part would be viewed with more alarm and fear than with any desire of emulation: as sensitive on the monetary point as they were indifferent to the religious or pious aspect of the question, the feeling of insecurity it could not but engender became a serious and disturbing element in their attitude towards the Crown. An Act of Parliament was only passed, after considerable opposition, in the following October, legalising the renunciation, and it may be asked whether it would not have been safer to abide by the letter of Julius III's bull, purposely framed to remove such scruples, and to have left the matter to the slow but certain recovery of time.

The promptitude with which a man like Sir Thomas Pope—who had been twice Lord Mayor of London—announced and carried out his intention of restoring 200 marks rental derived from the Franciscan monastery at Oxford to the friars, while it edified the pious, increased the uneasiness of many; they did not know how entirely the integrity of the legate could be trusted to carry out a compact honestly made, even with the

"hard of heart," and he, perhaps, as little suspected that 1555 his good faith could be doubted.¹

On the other hand, plotting and outrage continued ; the Queen's death was openly prayed for in the conventicles, and Noailles, the French ambassador, firmly persuaded that the great object of Charles V was to employ the resources of England against the King of France, continued to be the close friend of the Lady Elizabeth, and the great support of the factious. He warned them that England would soon become a province of Spain, exhorted them to be on the watch, to oppose every measure dictated by Philip, and to preserve their liberties and the succession of the crown to the true heir—and this at a time when the supposed condition of the Queen, as to which her physicians were as entirely deceived as herself, had caused Parliament to pass an Act, entrusting the government to Philip, during the minority of her Majesty's issue, "if it should happen to the Queen otherwise than well in the time of her travail."²

So we find the Venetian ambassador reporting to the Doge—

"On the other hand, the Londoners do not desist from daily outrages against the Catholic religion, having not only again *Ven. Cal.*, VI. 32 mutilated the statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which had been 19 March restored and put back in its place, but even robbed several churches of the tabernacles of the Sacrament ; nor, at this commencement, does the Government deem fit to act with such rigour as is becoming, hoping that by address and leniency, time, rather than severe punishment may mitigate this their rage and fury."

¹ The terms of the transaction were sufficiently clear : "To avoid any further scruple which might arise on account of such possessions, or of the suppression of monasteries and other religious foundations, which were come into the hands of divers persons, either by gift, purchase, or exchange, it had pleased their Majesties to intercede with the legate in favour of the actual possessors, and that the Most Rev. Father-in-God had declared that all persons to whom a sufficient conveyance according to the common laws of the land had been made of the same lands and possessions might without scruple of conscience enjoy them, and that they should suffer no molestation on pretence of decrees of General Councils or of the Canon Law, and that they should be clear from any danger of the Church's censures." As a matter of fact, these stipulations were faithfully carried out.

² *Stat. of Realm*, IV, p. 255.

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Conspiracy followed outrage, and the ambassador's next letter tells of a new conspiracy discovered at Cambridge—

Ven. Cal., VI, 37

" Some have been sent to the Tower, including one Anthony Bowes, a man utterly adverse to religion. Some demonstration and act of justice is expected, it appearing to everybody that the graciousness and clemency hitherto exercised by their Majesties in pardoning everybody, and especially the people at Ipswich, who laid a similar plot last summer, merely give cause, through hope of pardon, for the daily perpetration of fresh excesses."

But Mary still persisted in her course of leniency, and, by an unexpected act of grace, released from the Tower the state prisoners still confined on account of the attempts of Northumberland and Wyatt.¹ The same favour was extended to Elizabeth and to Courtenay, the latter, having paid his respects to Philip and Mary, received a permission, equivalent to a command, to travel for his improvement abroad. Elizabeth spent some months at court, where she was kindly treated by the King and Queen, and then returned to her own house in the country.

Among the chief authors of the reconciliation of England with the Apostolic See, only one was to die in the happy conviction that it was a stable and enduring alliance, destined to continue indefinitely. Julius III, one of whose last acts had been to send a special envoy to England with the Golden Rose and the Hat and Sword blessed on Christmas Eve, to the Queen and King, died on the 23rd March, while the English ambassadors were on the way to Rome.

Charles V immediately despatched a message to his son, urging him to send Cardinal Pole to Rome; but even at the Imperial court it was openly said that the Cardinal of England would not go, even if the Emperor persisted in his opinion. The Venetian ambassador in London, knowing Pole to be utterly devoid of all ambition and desire (*lontanissimo da ogni ambizione et passione*), thinks that the King and Queen will not urge him to go, even if the Conclave is prolonged. Moreover,

¹ They were Holgate, Archbishop of York, Ambrose, Robert, Henry and Andrew Dudley, sons of the Duke of Northumberland, James Croft, Nicholas Throckmorton, etc.

the Cardinal was in bed with catarrh and fever. Philip accordingly sent the Marquis de las Navas to him on receipt of the news of the Pope's death, to whom the Cardinal gave the following written reply : As the death of the Pope did not cancel his legation, and the affairs of religion as well as of the peace were well advanced, he should not think it fitting his place or station to abandon and leave them imperfect—unless he received some express command from the College of Cardinals. His presence in Rome could only influence the election by one vote, nor was it probable, owing to the length of the journey and his age, that he would arrive in time. As to the peace negotiations, Pole thinks this unforeseen event ought not to cause any change, but should rather hasten the conference.

Notwithstanding the legate's arguments, the King, in conjunction, as the Venetian ambassador believes, with Charles V, ordered the Imperial ambassador in Rome to prefer Pole to all other candidates for the papacy, and to make this known to all the Cardinals, his Majesty's adherents. Cardinal Farnese, who had been Pole's chief supporter in the last Conclave, procured letters to the French cardinals from Henry II, and hastened with them from Avignon to Rome ; but before his arrival, at the very beginning of the Conclave, the Cardinal of Santa Croce [Cervini], who had been Pole's second colleague at the Council of Trent, was unanimously elected—taking the title of Marcellus II—on the 9th April, the very day after the news of Julius III's death reached London. The election gave Pole the sincerest pleasure ; Cervini was one of his closest friends, and, as he wrote to the Queen, he had experience of his goodness, doctrine, and other rare and excellent qualities ; so the best was to be hoped for the consolation of the Church committed to his care, and in the interests of peace. Pole wrote this letter from Richmond, where he was recovering from severe illness. His indisposition, which appeared at first not to be serious, increased so violently, wrote Michiel to the Doge, *Ven. Cal.*, VI, 57 a malignant fever not having left him for five consecutive days, that not only his own attendants, but the physicians themselves, despaired of his life—

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" And the former being more tender and apprehensive than the latter, their extreme affliction and dismay, especially that of Monsignor Priuli, was too piteous a sight ; but, through the aid and grace of God, his Rt. Rev. Lordship is not only better, but out of danger, though so weak and exhausted that all who see him well know how much he must have suffered, he himself confessing that he has escaped a very great danger. He is now intent on taking rest and gaining strength that he may be able, if necessary, to cross the Channel for this conference."

Even in illness, Reginald Pole could not be idle. Philip and Mary had asked him the meaning of the Golden Rose and the Sword and Hat sent them by Pope Julius ; so he writes to them that neither the Pope's death nor his own illness had made him forget their request—

" The sword and the cap [of maintenance] are blessed on the night of our Saviour's birth . . . to remind those who obtain the advantage of the sword (*utilitatem gladii*) which is the power of justice, that if they wish to use it rightly, they must first comprehend that they derived it from Christ Himself. . . .

" The true use of the sword is shown by the cap, decorated with pearls representing a dove ; according to the Apostle, the covering of the head indicates its having a Lord to whom it must obey (Corinthians I, Chap. ii, v. 4). Those who, together with the sword receive the cap, are clearly taught that the power of the sword is not to be used by them according to their own arbitrament, but according to that of Him from whom they received it, who is the Head and Lord of all—the Holy Ghost, of whom the purity of the pearls, and the semblance of the dove are symbols. . . . This is the true use of the sword ; this is the signification of the cap.

" The Golden Rose is blessed on the fourth Sunday of Lent, called by the Church *Laetare* Sunday. Sight and smell rejoice in the flower, and with regard to its being blessed, the Pope . . . prays that from God, through Christ, princes may obtain the grace to rule rightly."

The term of the Queen's delivery seemed at hand ; in fact, in Machyn's Diary it is recorded that rumours had reached London from Hampton Court on the 30th April, that she had given birth to a son. Faction and party fever daily increased, and from the Emperor downward all men were waiting for an event on which their fervent hopes or violent fears depended. The English ambassadors, at the legate's instance, urged Charles V to greater speed with regard to the peace conference,

but he procrastinated : waiting—as the Venetian ambassador 1555 at his court reported from information derived from those who were well acquainted with him—for the Queen's delivery, which, if auspicious, as he hoped, might greatly benefit all his interests, and in which case “ his son might dispose of England, which he evidently cannot do at present.”

Pole wrote to the nuncio, the Archbishop of Consa, sending Parpaglia with the letter to Brussels, that the Queen was ready to send the Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke and Paget, and that he hopes the conference will not be delayed beyond the 10th of May. He will be ready to cross the Channel, being now, by God's grace, in a state to do so.

While the legate, and the three royal commissioners, taking great retinues with them, crossed to Calais in the middle of May to promote the cause of international peace, the peace of London was continually being broken by the seditious.¹ A “Dialogue” full of scandalous and seditious things against the King and Queen, Government and religion, was propagated throughout London in copious editions, the authors of which could not be discovered. The lady Elizabeth was living in *quasi* confinement in the royal palace, but she was not free from suspicion, and an Italian in her service, her teacher in that language, was sent to the Tower. More than 1,000 copies of the pamphlet were brought to the Lord Mayor, all those in possession of them being ordered to do so, under heavy penalties.² And a few days later, a serious affray took place in the very neighbourhood of the palace between Englishmen and Spaniards, the English assembling speedily to the number of 500 armed men, of whom, before they were parted, four or five were killed and twenty-seven wounded. “The affair,” wrote Michiel to the Doge, “although by order of their Majesties concealed, can nevertheless not be kept secret.”

¹ “On Easter Sunday, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, as the priest, in canonicals, was giving the Communion, he was suddenly assaulted by an Englishman [an ex-monk of Ely, named Fowler, alias Branch] with a naked sword in his hand, and with disgusting language, he gave him two such deep wounds, one on the hand and the other on the head, that he fell as if dead. . . .”—*Michiel to the Doge*, 15th April.

² *Michiel to the Doge*, 13th May.—Venetian Archives.

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The bitter fruit of the Spanish marriage was setting men's teeth more and more on edge, until Englishmen and Spaniards could hardly meet in the streets without coming to blows. The fact that the English generally used their fists, while the Spaniards responded with their knives, accounts for the fact that the casualties on the side of the former were always the heavier. On this occasion the Spaniards had one killed and only five or six wounded.

Pope Marcellus II, after a reign of only twenty-two days, died on the 1st May. Pole was at Calais when the news arrived, and Philip and Mary, in their eagerness to secure his election, sent a special messenger to the Emperor, earnestly requesting him to write to his adherents in Rome in favour of the legate, "and not to take into account that his Most Rev. Lordship does not request him to do so."¹ The Emperor sent a special courier to Rome, but again the election had been speedily made, and on Ascension Day, Cardinal Caraffa, Archbishop of Naples, was raised to the papacy, taking the title of Paul IV—an election ill-pleasing to the Emperor, and of sad augury for Reginald Pole.²

In writing to offer his congratulations to the new Pope—and saying that the event inspired by the Holy Ghost on Ascension Day had come to his knowledge on Whit-Sunday—Pole exhorts Paul IV to persevere in his constant efforts for the reform of the Church. The instructions received by him as legate from Popes Julius and Marcellus are submitted to their successor, and Pole writes that he awaits the Pope's commands. He ends by saying he would fain give good news of the peace; "but, alas! the more they advance, the more does he doubt of success."

The first meeting of the Conference had taken place on the

¹ *Federico Badoer, Venetian ambassador at Brussels, to the Doge, 18th May.*

² "Charles V's chief reason for displeasure against Caraffa was on account of the Archbishopsric of Naples, to which he was translated from that of Chieti in 1549, but owing to the opposition of the Emperor's Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, he did not obtain possession until September, 1551."—*Cardella*, Vol. IV, p. 166-67. Caraffa's dislike and distrust of Charles were of long standing.

26th May, a week before Pole wrote. It met at Marck, a village 1555 within the pale of Calais, and the building, raised by the Queen's orders, had four doors to the great hall, so as to avoid all questions of precedence. The papal legate opened the proceedings by a speech urging the necessity of peace for the sake of Christendom, and exhorting the foreign delegates to keep their minds well-disposed, in order to obtain this result, and then, turning to the English commissioners, praised them highly for the pains they had taken in so divine a work. The Emperor's representative [the Duke of Alva] replied that all the legate said was just and fair, and although the Emperor had received many injuries from the King of France, he was nevertheless ready to suppress his anger, and was well inclined for peace. As might have been expected, the French envoys, while praising the legate, declined to admit that their King had committed any error, but said he was no less inclined for peace than the Emperor. Upon this, the English, taking the Imperialists by the hand, made them embrace the French, many loving and complimentary words being exchanged.

A handsome collation was given by the English after the first meeting, Imperialists and Frenchmen drinking amicably together, and arranging that Pole and the English envoys should be the mediators in the future meetings.¹

But Henry II claimed Milan, and Charles V claimed Burgundy. "Neither of the sovereigns will cede anything," wrote the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, to Noailles, French ambassador in London, after five days' conference, so Cardinal Pole proposed the expedient of appointing arbitrators, "and of suggesting some marriage as a basis for resuming friendship." With the evident purpose of drawing England into the quarrel, the Imperialists, defending themselves, "with reasons good and bad," as Montmorency wrote, "declared that the Emperor had nothing to do with the Milanese, having given that territory to his son the King, and to his wife, the Queen of England, and that it was their business to defend it."²

Pole had proposed a marriage between the Duke of Orleans

¹ *Badoer to the Doge*, 26th May.

² Brown: *Venice Misc. Letters*, V, p. 114.

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and a daughter of Charles V's brother, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, with such dower in the Milanese as should be suitable ; their children to be the heirs of the Duchy. This eminently reasonable suggestion proved unacceptable, although Pole succeeded in inducing the Emperor and the King to send special envoys to discuss it with him. On the 7th June the peace conference met for the last time, the Imperialists declaring that their master insisted upon the restitution of everything taken on both sides since the beginning of the war, and Montmorency answering that the most Christian King would restitute nothing.

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V. 14

After writing to the Pope that he had crossed the Channel with the best intentions, and that he and the English commissioners had negotiated fruitlessly for many days, Pole returned to England. Much tried with the bodily and mental fatigues he had endured, he was forced to rest a few days at Canterbury on his homeward journey. On the 24th June he was at Richmond, and sent Thomas Goldwell, Bishop-designate of St. Asaph, to Rome, to give the Pope a full account of English affairs.

The failure of the negotiations, although foreseen, was a keen disappointment to Cardinal Pole and all lovers of peace ; it was a great vexation to Philip ; while the delight of the English, wrote Michiel to the Doge, at seeing the Spanish faction in trouble and peril was not to be told. Although his letter was written on the 11th June—and it had begun to be whispered, and cyphered paragraphs in ambassadors' despatches had carried the rumour abroad that the Queen's condition was all a mistake and that she was not with child—Michiel still spoke of the birth of an heir. If the Queen has a child—

“ possibly King Philip will not live in this realm so much like an alien as he does. He has hitherto not only abstained from interposing and commanding as master, but would scarcely hear about anything at all, leaving this care to the Queen and her Council, and referring himself to them ; nor has he yet availed himself of one penny of the national revenue, but supplied it considerably from his own resources, through the money with which he accommodated the Queen last year ;¹ and for any necessary costs, however

¹ Mary had succeeded to an impoverished crown ; the currency had been debased by her father, and again still further under Edward ;

small, he still spends the money with which he is provided from 1555 elsewhere. . . . The poverty of his courtiers is great, and in truth they have a very bad time of it . . . so it may well be said that they have come hither to do penance for their sins."

The Queen was passionately fond of her husband. Philip had married her at his father's command, and although he behaved to her with the respectful deference of a son, as Pole had observed, it can hardly be wondered at that his sojourn in England, under the circumstances described by Michiel, gave him but little pleasure. "Every hour seemed to him a thousand years," wrote the ambassador, while awaiting the Queen's delivery, before crossing the Channel—

"He has already given full leave to all his attendants to go in ^{1 June} advance, at their pleasure, and wait for him at Flanders, and next week part of his body-guard will follow, which many people interpret as a sign that, should no agreement take place between those princes, he purposes being present at the war in person, and this sudden departure also shows that he will perhaps return hither this winter. . . ."

Notwithstanding these preparations, Philip's departure was deferred two months. Pole returned to London, to the joy of his friends, apparently in perfect health, and, with characteristic optimism, still hopeful for peace—a hope which Gardiner, the Chancellor, had also brought back from the conference.

The English ambassadors sent to Pope Julius III arrived in Rome to be received by Paul IV, entering the city with a numerous and splendid retinue on the 5th June, the day of his coronation. The Pope held his first Consistory on the 10th, when, after acknowledging the errors of the schism and the other misdeeds of their nation, which they enumerated in some detail, the ambassadors humbly craved pardon for all. Then

Northumberland, for his own personal convenience, had kept the officers and servants of the Crown three years in arrears of their salaries, and one of the new Queen's first acts was to call in the base money, and to issue a new coinage, of great purity and of fair artistic character. The loss involved was borne by the Treasury. In her second Parliament she had also remitted certain hard and pressing taxes, the removal of which was greatly appreciated.

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the Pope raised them from their knees, embraced them, and in their persons, received the whole nation into his favour.¹ So great was the Pope's satisfaction that he wrote to the King and Queen an account of the audience he had given their ambassadors, adding that he ratified whatever the English legate had done, and, as far as might be necessary, had enacted it anew. There was nothing which either their Majesties or himself could do, added the Pontiff, for Pole's honour and emolument, but what was inferior to his probity and other virtues, and to what he deserved of him, of the Holy See, of their Majesties, and of the whole realm.²

The Pope, at the same time, at the request of the King and Queen conveyed through Pole, confirmed the title of King of Ireland which Henry VIII had taken upon himself in 1541 during the schism; and, also at Pole's suggestion, Cardinal Morone was appointed protector of the English, and Cardinal Carpi of the Irish nations. Two of the ambassadors, Lord Montague and the Bishop of Ely, left Rome after a month's stay, Karne remaining as permanent English envoy. They brought back various bulls, one of them being directed against the alienation of Church property. As this might have been construed as applying to the owners of Church property in England, Pole represented to the Pope the necessity of exempting England by name from its operation. Paul IV, without hesitation, issued a new bull to that effect, which was read at Paul's Cross in September, and in the House of Commons the following month, confirming what the Cardinal legate had done "concerning the assurance of Abbey lands." But the incident may not have been without its effect on the fears of the holders of such property, especially during the interval between the arrival of the two bulls, and which was probably enhanced by Pole's activity in regulating the restoration of Church lands made by the Queen. This was done with careful consultation of the Lords of the Council, so as to injure the Crown as little as possible, and, day by day, parishes and benefices for the cure of souls received what they had

Journals,
21 Oct.

¹ *Ex Actis Consistorialibus, Poli Epp.*, V, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

been despoiled of, and hospitals, monasteries and churches 1555 were re-built and re-established according to need and opportunity. Although his faculties were as ample as possible, Pole did not fail to keep the Pope informed of every step he took.¹

Pole was at Richmond for the summer, to be near the King and Queen, who were at Hampton Court, and disturbed by the constant affrays between the English and the Spaniards—several persons being invariably killed and wounded on either side, the English always getting the worst of it. On Corpus Christi day, wrote Michiel to the Doge—

"A serious assault well-nigh took place, as the English, infuriated in consequence of the wounds inflicted on one of their countrymen, notwithstanding his having deserved them, were on the point of entering the Church, where all the Spaniards, including the most noble and illustrious of that nation, had assembled to go in the procession, and of treating them to rough usage, and to a vesper service like that of Sicily."²

King Philip did his best to put an end to a state of things so humiliating and painful to the Queen and himself, and so dangerous to the cause of religion and peace, and he issued the strictest orders to his own people—

"Wishing to prevent all cause of scandal," reported the Venetian ambassador, "King Philip issued a proclamation two days ago, to the effect that the first Spaniard who shall dare to use a weapon is to have his hand struck off, and under the severest penalties has forbidden both horsemen and footmen to carry any sort of harquebuse, and he has given orders to hang by the neck any man who, whether in defence or offence, shall raise the cry of 'Spain' for assistance, not choosing that even in self-defence, as is almost always the case, they should come to blows, but rather put up with any affront and persecution."¹ July

No man could realise more keenly than Reginald Pole how detrimental to the cause he had at heart, how advantageous

¹ Pole wrote to Cardinal Morone from Richmond on the 9th August that some of the Council opposed his proceedings at first, but when they became acquainted with the moderation he was using, they were pacified.

² The Sicilian Vespers began at Palermo, March 30th, 1282.

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to the enemies of the Queen and religion, was the ever-increasing fury of national jealousy and hatred, beginning blindly to confound the coming of the Spaniard and the return of religion into cause and effect ; but he could not but render justice to Philip's efforts to act aright in his difficult position. The Bishop of Badajos, Francesco Navarre, had written to him in praise of the King, and Pole answers that the Bishop has ample grounds for his panegyric, "whether in praise of his Majesty's piety and prudence, or of his singular gravity, magnanimity and graciousness in every relation of life."

In August the Queen removed to Oatlands, not only that Hampton Court might be cleaned out, but for the more important reason of letting it become generally known, by sending away a great number of ladies who had flocked to Hampton Court in expectation of the child-birth, and by putting a stop to the processions which had been made for her auspicious delivery, that the hope of it, in the words of the Venetian ambassador, "had so diminished that but little reliance could any longer be placed upon it." At the same time the Queen resumed her audiences and her usual active and laborious life. Pole made use of her good offices in the cause of peace, Henry II having sent the Prothonotary de Noailles to London to thank her and Pole for their past efforts, and the latter was actively negotiating with him to obtain at least a truce—if peace was impossible—the Queen on her side doing her utmost.

Charles V's mother, Katherine of Arragon's sister, Juana *la loca*, died in May—an event which appears to have had an extraordinary effect upon her son, for it was followed almost immediately by his abdication. The death of the old crazed Queen, whom he mourned with prolonged and solemn obsequies, seemed to turn his thoughts away from things of earth, and the man whose overmastering intent and purpose had been to make himself sole monarch of Christendom prepared to pass the remainder of his life within the four walls of the monastery of St. Just. Had the idea occurred to him two years earlier, the history of Mary Tudor might have been a longer and more fortunate one, and Reginald Pole's labours might not have been spent in vain.

As it was, Mary had again to suffer for the Emperor. In 1555 complete disregard for her feelings, he commanded his son to come away from England, as he had commanded him to go and marry her a year before. Philip broached the subject of his departure adroitly, and obtained her reluctant consent ; he left the greater part of his household, trying to convince her by as many signs as possible that he purposed returning speedily ; "but," reported Michiel, "it is said on the contrary, more than ever, that he will go to Spain, and remove his household and everything else by degrees." In the same letter, the shrewd observer remarks with regard to the restitution of Church property by the Crown—

"Certain noblemen endeavoured to thwart it, perhaps from unwillingness to be incited by this example (for they can neither be compelled nor molested) to do the like . . . and thus spontaneously disburthen their consciences."¹

On the 22nd August the King and Queen, with the legate, dined in London on their way to Greenwich. St. Bartholomew's fair was going on as they rode through London, and the populace who, owing to Mary's long seclusion, had thought her dead, seeing her once again among them, and in better plight than ever, gave her a most enthusiastic reception, "running from one place to another, as if they were crazy, to make sure that it was her ; and displaying their joy with shouts and salutations." The King and Pole, who rode on her either hand, partook of the warmth of the reception, "both of them," says Michiel, "being popular by reason of the reported kindness of their nature, of which daily proof is afforded by facts."

Shortly before his departure, Philip sent for the legate and all the lords of the Council, and in very suitable language, which surprised everybody by its tact and judgment, recommended the government of the country to them, and then, turning to Pole, besought him very earnestly, in his own name and the Queen's, to assume the special care of the Queen and

¹ Dr. Gairdner says that one of the reasons of Mary's failure "was, of course, that the possessors of Church lands disliked even the moral effect of her example in restoring Church property."—*History of the English Church*, p. 390.

1555 the supervision of the Council's proceedings. Philip, in a private visit to Pole the previous day, had made the same request, taking him quite by surprise. "He told me," wrote Michiel—

" that by so much the less did he think fit to combat the wish of his Majesty, as he was certain it would accord with that of his Holiness. Henceforth, therefore, to the great comfort of their Majesties and the whole kingdom, all public and important business will be discussed and decided according to the opinion and advice of his Right Rev. Lordship, who, for the avoidance of envy and molestation, will not interfere with private and ordinary affairs, leaving their despatch, as before, to the other members of the Council."

Together with Cardinal Pole and other noblemen, Michiel went with King Philip in the royal barge and saw him take leave of the Queen, who really, as the ambassador wrote, very well expressed the sorrow becoming a wife such as she was, invested with the regal habit and dignity.

" Though evidently deeply grieved internally, she chose to go with him through all the rooms and galleries to the head of the stairs, constraining herself to avoid, in sight of such a crowd, any demonstration unbecoming her gravity, though she could not but be moved when the Spanish nobles kissed her hand, and yet more, when she saw the ladies in tears take leave of the King. . . .

" On returning, however, to her apartments, placing herself at a window looking on the river, and not supposing herself any longer seen or observed, she gave free vent to her grief by a flood of tears, nor did she quit the window until she had not only seen the King embark and depart, but remained looking after him as long as he was in sight, and the King, on his part, standing at the head of the barge, in order to be better seen when the barge approached the window, waved his bonnet to salute her, demonstrating great affection."¹

An apartment had been assigned to Pole in Greenwich Palace, that he might comfort the Queen and bear her company, "her Majesty greatly delighting," wrote Michiel, "in the sight and presence of him." Thus Mary, in her solitude, had

¹ *Michiel's letters to the Doge and Senate*, 19th August and 3rd September.—*Ven. Cal.*, Vol. VI, pp. 190 and 204.

the son and the granddaughter of her second mother, Lady 1555 Salisbury, by her side ;¹ and if anything could have added to the tenderness and devotion of Reginald Pole's service to his kinswoman and Queen, it would have been to see her in her brave forlornness and distress. He wrote to King Philip a few days later—

“ Greenwich, 16th September.

“ The Queen spends the forenoon in prayer, after the manner *Poli Epp.* of Mary ; and in the afternoon admirably personates Martha, in V, 41 the transaction of business ; so urging her Councillors, as to keep them all incessantly occupied, thus mitigating her grief at your Majesty's absence. . . .

“ Matters thus proceed becomingly and rightly.”

¹ Katherine Pole, daughter of Henry Pole, Lord Montague, widow of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, was Queen Mary's principal and favourite attendant. By courtesy she bore the title of Lady Clarence.—Brown, Preface, Vol. VI, Part I ; Preface, p. xv.

CHAPTER XXIII

1555-56

THE act of abdication of the Netherlands in favour of Philip II by the Emperor was signed in Brussels on the 25th October, that of Spain in the following January. Charles V had expressed his intention of visiting his daughter-in-law on his way to Spain, but failed to carry it out. Mary returned to London for the meeting of Parliament, her hopes of the King's return diminishing as she saw the Spaniards who had remained in England, departing almost hourly "with a mind," wrote Michiel to the Doge, "so far as they were themselves concerned, not to revisit this country for a very long while." The Queen *Poli Epp.* ^{V. 53} opened Parliament in person on the 21st October, and Cardinal Pole wrote to Philip that when she heard there was to be some opposition against her renunciation of Church property, she sent for several members of each house, and addressed them so gravely and piously, that the act of renunciation was passed in the Lords with only one or two non-contents, and he hoped it would be the same in the Lower House.

The bill was passed in the Commons on the 3rd December, by 183 to 120 votes, to the great satisfaction of Cardinal Pole, "both for the sovereign's repute and his own."¹

The Cardinal's satisfaction was rudely disturbed by the news from Rome. In Paul IV were united, as not uncommonly happens, great personal asceticism with political prejudice and passion, and a lack of worldly knowledge and experience which is often sufficient to mislead morally strong and learned men. He had an ardent desire to restore its ancient brilliancy and independence to the papacy by weakening the house of Hapsburg. This could only be done by alliance with France and by a league of the Italian princes, whose keen desire it was to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. The Pope's nephew, Carlo Caraffa, agreed with these views, regarding war with the

¹ *Michiel to the Doge and Senate*, 3rd December, *Ven. Cal.*, Vol. VI, Part I, No. 298.

Emperor as a war in defence of the rights and interests of the ¹⁵⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶ Holy See and of the Universal Church. Paul IV, in whom political insight and training were singularly lacking, did not perceive the danger of breaking with so great a power, and allowed his nephew to guide him in an aggressive policy against the Empire.

Carlo Caraffa, like many other Italian adventurers, had tried his fortunes in many wars, serving first in the Imperial armies, and then in the French, never receiving the rewards he thought he deserved for the service of his sword. The lawlessness and crimes of this *condottiere* were so well known, that it was said of him that his hands were steeped in blood to the elbows, and when, on Cardinal Caraffa's elevation to the papacy it was suggested to him that he should raise Carlo, whom he had forbidden his house, to the purple, he refused to do so. Unfortunately family and party influence, and established precedent were too strong, and after a fortnight's resistance the Pope gave way, and Carlo Caraffa was made a Cardinal on the 7th June and became the chief instrument, if not the inspirer, of his uncle's foreign policy.¹

In the month of October, before Charles V's abdication, the Pope, in presence of the English and Venetian ambassadors and many cardinals, expressed the following sentiments. After saying he was armed, he continued—

"Nor shall words persuade us to disarm, for we very well remember what befell Pope Clement, who, having received fair words from the Ministers of the present Emperor, had scarcely dismissed his soldiers ere there took place that horrible capture of Rome and that fatal and frightful sack, than which there was perhaps never one more cruel nor more iniquitous. . . . This example moves us greatly, and we have it before our eyes, nor, so far as depends upon ourselves, will we be taken unawares and deceived as Pope Clement was."

To Cardinal Pole, the legate of peace, whose last words to Philip II before his departure were to urge him to influence his father in favour of peace, and who was daily negotiating

¹ Zimmermann, p. 321-22. The remark about Carlo Caraffa's hands being steeped in blood to the elbows has been attributed to the Pope, but there is no documentary evidence that it originated with him.

1555-56 on the subject with France, such an attitude on the part of the octogenarian Pope brought dismay. When he spoke to the Queen on the subject, she sighed and lamented, saying she had not the heart to tell him all that was reported to her; but she could not conceal her apprehension that should discord arise between the Pope and the Emperor, the disturbances in England would be so great as to render a remedy difficult.¹

Pole confided to the Venetian ambassador how much the movements in Italy distressed him, lest the Pope should come to some sudden resolve which would impede or utterly destroy the peace negotiation, and Michiel adds that among both Lords and Commons the belief was gaining ground daily that in the following spring England would come to a rupture with France.

Poli Epp. V, 51 On the 4th November, the Cardinal opened a synod at Westminster of the Bishops of England; not only, as he wrote to Philip II, on account of the reform of the English Church, which was ardently desired by all good men, but also that he might ratify what the bishops and clergy had done in Convocation.² As the synod could not be summoned by the Primate [Cranmer], who was in prison, nor by the Chapter, whilst their archbishop was neither condemned nor deposed, it was necessary that the summons should be made by Pole as legate by a warrant under the great seal in order that the decrees might come out with proper authority. Pole expressed himself as well pleased with the bishops and clergy of the two provinces of Canterbury and York who assembled in the King's Chapel, Westminster, and under his guidance, which his experiences at the Council of Trent rendered in the highest degree wise and enlightened, proceeded with the work of reform. He and all men considered them exemplary in doctrine; they resided habitually in their dioceses, and by preaching, lecturing and teaching, failed not in any way to use all diligence.

The first act of the synod was to decree that the 30th November, the feast of St. Andrew, should be for ever kept as

¹ *Pole to the Archbishop of Consa, G. Muzzarelli, Nuncio at Brussels.*
Ven. Cal., VI, p. 255.

² *Conc. Mag. Brit.*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

a day of rejoicing, with processions and prayers, to celebrate 1555-56 the reconciliation of the realm with the Catholic Church. Accordingly, on the morrow of the feast, Machyn tells us in his Diary—

“Was received with procession my lord Cardinal Pole into Westminster Abbey ; and there met him ten [eight] bishops and the Bishop of York did minister with his mitre, and they went a procession about the Church and the cloister.”

Not only did Pole call a synod for the reform of the Church, *Ven. Cal.* but he had already, in January, called to his aid one of the VI, 13 greatest theologians of his acquaintance, Father Soto, from Augsburg, writing to the Cardinal of that see that he greatly wished for him as co-operator in England, where the crop of revilers of religion abounded. Soto was wished for, not only by his own countrymen, but by many Englishmen also, and until he arrived Pole would have no rest.

Soto came, and in the month of November was at Oxford, engaged in earnest controversy with the three imprisoned men, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. From him, Pole heard how *Ibid.*, much the study of theology had become neglected at the VI, 256 University, no works of the kind being publicly expounded, and he suggested that it would be useful to appoint an interpreter of the doctrine of Pietro Lombardo.¹ Having hastened to communicate this to the Chancellor, Pole treated with the Queen for the exchange of the Hebrew scholarship, which had few or no pupils, for a theological one, in such wise as to cause no detriment to the former professor.

On the 12th November died Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England. Though in fast-failing health, he had spoken in Parliament a few days before his death, as Pole wrote to the King, with such strength and presence of mind—

“that he seemed not only to surpass himself in eloquence and prudence, and the other qualifications which constitute a statesman,

¹ Pietro Lombardo, born in the twelfth century, was so able a theologian that he was called on account of his *Sententiae*, “Magister Sententiarum.”

1555-56 but to be so superior to his bodily infirmities as to give no indication of them while he was supporting the cause of his sovereign and his country."

The jealousy of the great Cardinal so often attributed to Gardiner, and mainly founded on the French ambassador's prejudiced reports, appears to be based on imagination and not on fact. From the moment of Pole's return to England, they acted together in friendship and harmony, although to the charitable and tender nature of the legate the Chancellor's methods sometimes appeared unnecessarily severe. Thus he wrote to Philip II on the eve of Gardiner's death that he need not expiate on his merits and the detriment his death would be to England, nor how necessary it was to supply his place by one not merely a Catholic in name—or, if practically such, who would show himself less harsh and stern—but no less firm and ardent than his predecessor, using such moderation as becomes a pious and prudent man.¹

Philip had written to enquire who was to succeed Gardiner; and Pole replied that he wished he could indicate the person with as much certainty as he knew the qualities required at the present time. Although he sees many persons of whom he has a good opinion, he dares not, in a matter of such importance, name any without having investigated their lives and their morality.

Ven. Cal., VI, 342 As the result of his investigations, Pole recommended the Archbishop of York, Nicholas Heath,² to the Queen for the

¹ "During his last illness, Gardiner edified all around him by his piety and resignation, often observing: 'I have sinned with Peter, but have not yet learned to weep bitterly with Peter.' He desired that the Passion of our Saviour might be redde unto him, and when they came to the denial of St. Peter, he bid them stay there, for (saythe he) 'negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum flevi amare cum Petro.'"—Wardword, 48; Lingard, V, p. 243.

² "Nicholas Heath [1501?–1578] justified Pole's choice by again suffering imprisonment for his faith under Elizabeth. It was he who, with the other prelates in convocation affirmed the Pope's supremacy *jure divino* in 1559, and declared from his place in Parliament that the transfer of Supremacy from the Pope to Queen Elizabeth involved the abandonment of all the General Councils, of all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ, of the judgment of all other Christian princes, and that we 'by leaping out of St. Peter's ship

chancellorship, describing him to Cardinal Morone, when 1556 signifying the appointment to the Pope, as "very zealous and honest, and suffered imprisonment under Edward VI."

In Rome, on Wednesday, 4th December, a Consistory was held, at which Cranmer was deprived of the Archbishopric of Canterbury and of all ecclesiastical dignities, and, moreover, his delivery to the secular arm was permitted. A week later, at another Consistory, when Cardinal Morone, protector of England, was about to propose the names of several bishops submitted by Queen Mary, the Pope intimated his wish to propose Cardinal Pole to the Archbishopric of Canterbury himself, which he did with the greatest praise of the Queen and of the Cardinal, testifying to Pole's doctrine, goodness and integrity, which his Holiness said had been known to him for many years, and exalting his merits in the highest terms.

In writing the same day to congratulate his old friend, Morone *Ven. Cal.*, adds that the whole College competed with the Pope in bestow- VI, 310 ing these praises, and that his Holiness, moreover, raised Pole from the list of Cardinal deacons to that of Cardinal priests. Morone prays that God, who has called Pole to this toil, will increase His gifts to him, so that the appointment may conduce to the salvation of souls, and to the Divine glory—as is universally expected.

In returning his thanks to the Pope for the bulls of his *Ibid.*, election to the see of Canterbury, Pole declares that although VI, 360 in truth the weight of the charge at first alarmed him, and he would not of his own accord have accepted it, the recommendation of the princes and the persons who approved his election, the cure of souls in his own country—naturally most dear to him—prevented him from daring by the slightest word to refuse the burden.

As legate for peace, Pole had never ceased continuing his negotiations with unabated energy, and with the bull of his

hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions.' His strongest point was to show, in considering the nature of the Supremacy, that it was neither within the competence of Parliament to bestow such a power, nor within that of the Sovereign to accept it."—Cf. Strype, Collier, Tierney's Dodd, Birt, etc.

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election Paul IV had sent him a brief confirming his legation for peace. Nothing could be more opportune, writes the Cardinal in the above letter, to silence the malignants (of whom in these times there are abundance) who boasted that his Holiness meditated war. A few days later, thanks chiefly to Pole's unremitting exertions and to his unfeigned satisfaction, the truce of Vaucelles—to last five years—was signed between Henry II and Philip II—one of the latter's first acts as King of Spain. There were no restitutions on either side, but the French king engaged himself to pay 25,000 *livres* a year to the Duke of Savoy.

Ven. Cal.,
VI, 380

At the beginning of Lent, considering it fitting that the bishops should be in their own dioceses, the Cardinal prorogued the synod until the 10th November. In writing to inform Philip II of this, he says the prelates had evinced the utmost goodwill and zeal for the honour and service of God, taking care, as much as possible, to replace things according to the rules and institutions of the Church, without any innovation whatever. Much to his satisfaction, Pole had availed himself of the services of Fra Bartholomeo Miranda and of Fra Pedro de Soto, whom he had sent for lately from Oxford for the purpose. The results of the synod's labours were published under the title *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis Reginaldi Poli, Cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicae Legati.*¹

The first decree, as we have seen, concerned the keeping of St. Andrew's day as a national festival in commemoration of the reconciliation with the Church. The second records

¹ "The Decrees of the Synod, 'of extreme wisdom,' may be found in *Cotton MS., Cleop.*, F. 2, f. 72. A still more complete version was printed in Rome with additional explanations in 1562."—*Apud Paulum Manutium Aldi. F.* Another version was printed in Venice by Zileti in the same year.

"These homilies, according to a scheme found among Archbishop Parker's papers, were to have been divided into four books: the first to treat of controverted points in religion; the second to contain the exposition of the Creed and Commandments, prayer and the Sacraments; the third explained the epistles and gospels of the Sundays and feasts of the year; and the fourth treated of virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church."—*Ex MS. Col. C.C. Cantab.*, Phillips, Vol. II, p. 181.

how faith and discipline and the regularity of the Church had 1556 become corrupted as soon as obedience to the Roman Pontiff had been laid aside, and recalls into use the former decrees of general and provincial councils and other constitutions, which are to have the same weight as before the schism. Canon law is again to be publicly taught, and every priest with cure of souls is to possess, in addition to the Scriptures, a copy of the decrees drawn up by Otho and Ottobonno, legates to England in 1268.

The second and third decrees refer to the residence of the clergy, and to the abuse of committing the care of their churches "to hirelings," ordaining that the clergy should disengage themselves from worldly concerns, and that pluralities and other abuses should be done away with. The fourth decree is concerned with preaching. All prelates are enjoined to perform this duty, and, when they are lawfully hindered, to appoint proper persons to do it in their stead. The same conduct is required of rectors, vicars, and all who have cure of souls, the duty to be performed at least on Sundays and other festivals. As there was a scarcity of good preachers, homilies were to be set forth, which those who were not otherwise qualified might read, in a clear and audible manner, to their congregations.

In its fifth decree, the synod condemns all superfluous pomp in the dress, equipage and furniture of the bishops ; their table is to be frugal and recommended by hospitality, charity and Christian discourse. That this frugality may have no appearance of avarice, whatever is spared by it, as Pope St. Gregory wrote to St. Augustine, should be laid out in the relief of the poor, the education of the young, and other pious works. The synod then descends to a disorder, which is represented as almost universal—the marriage of religious and of priests, condemning such contracts as unlawful and sacrilegious, and commanding a separation to persons thus engaged. Other irregularities and abuses, such as the neglect of clerical dress and of the tonsure, the engaging by clerics in business, are laid bare and condemned.

In the sixth decree the legate declares the importance of

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careful and accurate attention in conferring holy orders. Bishops should take all proper pains in acquitting themselves of so essential a part of their charge, assuring themselves of the fitness of the candidates for the sacred ministry ; not to commit the examinations to others, or, if the number of those who are to receive holy orders is so great as to make the assistance of others necessary, they are to call in pious and learned personages, on whose diligence they can rely. In conferring the benefices of the Church, the bishops are entreated to lay aside all human respect and affection, and to choose the best qualified and the most deserving. The seventh and two following decrees go more deeply into the above matter, and into all relating to simony, which had taken deep root in the last two reigns. The question of the alienation of Church lands is entered into, with, however, the following clause, in Pole's own words—

“ But as to those ecclesiastical possessions which were formerly taken from the Church, and confirmed by the Holy See to the present owners, they are excepted from this decree, and it is our will that they should in no ways be affected by it.”

To fill the ranks of properly qualified clergy, greatly thinned by the events of the last two reigns, the synod promulgated two important decrees—the tenth and eleventh—providing that there should be, in each Cathedral, a seminary for the raising of future ministers, the number to be in proportion to the income and jurisdiction of the see. The boys were to be admitted at the age of eleven or twelve, and able to read and write, giving some indication of a vocation to the priesthood. The legate would have the choice made chiefly among the poor, though not so as to have others excluded. They were to be under the care of the Chancellor of the Cathedral, and to be brought up in learning and discipline, divided into two classes : the more advanced being called Acolyths, and besides their table and gown, they were to have a certain yearly stipend ; the other class to have merely their gown and table. Each class was to wear the clerical tonsure and dress, and, at seasonable times, to assist at Church Office. The Acolyths, when of proper age, were to receive holy orders.

Besides the youth of the Seminary, other children of the 1558 city and diocese were to be admitted to the grammar school. To make provision for the maintenance of the pupils and professors, the synod ordered all bishops, and others having a benefice of the yearly value of £20, to set aside a fortieth part of the clear profit of the produce to this use. And although they were already very heavily taxed, their zeal for religion and for the Church—much deformed through want of proper ministers—would cause them cheerfully to submit to this additional burden.

The twelfth and last decree deals in the fullest manner with the Visitation of churches, and in the greatest detail with religious observances, the government of hospitals, the duties of prebendary archdeacons, etc. As Phillips justly observes—

“ The small number of articles to which the legate reduced a national reformation, and the plainness and simplicity with which they are laid down, show the skilfulness of the hand that planned the design, no less than the propriety with which the device is made. The whole is comprised in twelve decrees, which are addressed to the clergy, and designed to form them to a regularity becoming the ministry they were entrusted with. He very well knew, was this point carried, the reformation of the whole nation would soon be the fruit of it. . . . The Christian moderation which appears through these statutes is a further recommendation. . . . There is no order, nor the least intimation to the bishops or clergy, to persecute others, but to amend themselves, and I should do Dr. Burnet an injury not to acknowledge this remark to be his.”¹

While Cardinal Pole was engaged in the reform of the Church in England, Paul IV was busy with the reformation of the court of Rome. However he might fail in political wisdom, the new Pope was far stronger in his ecclesiastical government than had been his two predecessors, with all their zealous attempts at reform. With the sole notable exception of his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, every Cardinal promoted by him was a man of unexceptional virtue and learning, and although, owing chiefly to the disturbed state of Europe, the Council of Trent was not reassembled during his pontificate, he carried

¹ Burnet: *Hist. of the Reformation*, II, p. 326. Phillips: *Life of Pole*, II, p. 196.

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out many trenchant reforms, cutting abuses down to the quick with a fiery and undaunted determination overcoming all obstacles of inertia and opposition. Therefore, when sending him the account of the doings of the synod, Pole congratulates the Pope on having begun the reform of the Roman court and Church, "as the wise and the pious always considered this the best mode for providing against the iniquities of the times."¹

Ven. Cal.,
19 Feb.

Cardinal Pole was at this time preparing for his consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury, and his ordination as priest—being still in minor orders, and yet, with so many labours and pre-occupations, he did not fail to justify his own words that the service of the least of men was preferred by him to his own studies and cares. He was protector of the Benedictines of Monte Casino, and wrote the following letter about this time to the President of the Congregation—

Ibid.,
Feb. (?)

"The bearer of this will be a Venetian hermit, called Angel Madonna, whom I knew in Rome, and who from information I have received, is a very worthy person, and was for some years in the hermitage of Spoleto, and other places. I have never much liked this way of becoming a religious without being under obedience, and when discussing the matter with Angel Madonna, advised him to pass the rest of his life in some monastery, to which he seemed disposed, having an especial inclination and affection to your congregation. . . .

"I therefore pray your Paternity to accept and harbour this poor old man . . . for in my opinion it will be a very good and pious act. He is ready to serve the monastery as much as he can by embroidering, in which art he is very skilful."

On Friday, the 20th of March, in the church of the Grey Friars at Greenwich, Cardinal Pole was ordained priest, he said his first Mass the following day, and on Sunday, the 22nd, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the same church—in presence of the Queen and the whole court—by

¹ In a letter from Greenwich a few days later to Cardinal Caraffa, Pole expresses his satisfaction that the Pope should have begun his reforms with the Datary office, so that by spontaneously depriving himself of his own emoluments, other persons may willingly support, with this example before them, the temporal inconvenience which the said reform may subject them to.

Archbishop Heath, assisted by Bonner, Bishop of London, 1558 and five bishops of the province of Canterbury.¹ The Queen gave him episcopal vestments and ornaments to the value of 10,000 ducats, and the Cardinal increased his household "to 180 mouths and upwards, including gentlemen and servants."

With great reluctance the Queen had given him leave to go to ^{Ven. Cal., VI, 429} Canterbury to be enthroned, but events which we shall presently ^{and 434} recount necessitated his deputing one of his canons to act as his proxy there, and he received the pallium in great state on Lady-Day in the church of St. Mary-le-bow. On entering the church, a paper was handed to him from the parishioners asking him to favour them with a discourse, which he did extempore and with great fluency at the end of Mass.

The great reverence and respect which all the chief personages of the country bore to Pole was shown by their desire to accompany him to Canterbury; but he refused, on the score of the cost and inconvenience to them and to himself, and would admit none but the nobility and gentry of Kent and some of the chief personages of the court whom he could not refuse—wrote Michiel to the Doge before the project was abandoned.

On the 21st March, Cranmer was burned at Oxford. He had been under sentence of death for high treason for two years, his execution being postponed again and again, chiefly at the intercession of the legate. The letter, in which with ineffable tenderness and compassion for the miserable man's soul, Pole calls God to witness that he would prefer rescuing him to all the honours and emoluments which could befall anyone in this life, also contains one of the most complete and learned pieces of controversy imaginable on the doctrine of the Eucharist; at the same time laying bare all the heinousness and the disastrous effects of Cranmer's crimes against religion and against his sovereign.² It had been written on Cranmer's

^{Dudith}
^{Vita, f. 34}

¹ Strype: *Eccles. Mem.*, iii, 287, 1st edition. *Machyn's Diary*, p. 102.

² "The original letter, written in Latin, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale; a French translation is in *Le Grand's Histoire du Diverce*, from whence it was inserted in *Quirini*."—*Poli Epp.*, V, p. 238.

1556 expressing a wish for a personal interview with the legate, and by Gardiner's orders had been translated into English and published, as Pole informs the nuncio at Brussels in a letter of the 25th October adding—

Ven. Cal., VI, 255 “Perhaps, had I known what Father Soto wrote to Monsignor Priuli, despairing of the salvation of that unfortunate man, I would not have sent it; although one can never despair whilst life remains, for sometimes the grace of God comes with the departing of the spirit, and thus, if not before, do I hope that of His infinite mercy it may come to pass with regard to this man.”

The Venetian ambassador reports in his despatch of the 24th March that Cranmer had been put to death—

Ibid., VI, 434 “Having fully verified the opinion formed of him by the Queen, that he had feigned recantation thinking thus to save his life. . . . so she considered him unworthy of pardon and, immediately on hearing that there was no remedy and that he must die, relapsing into his usual heresies, he retracted in public all that he had uttered and signed with his own hand.”

And Michiel adds the significant words—

“This . . . will cause still greater commotion, as is demonstrated daily by the way the preachers are treated, and the contemptuous demonstrations made in the churches.”

In fact, the stern measures enacted in the hope that a few examples would reduce to tranquillity the men to whom heresy was synonymous with rebellion and treason had, in great measure, failed to produce the desired effect, and for more than a year, the executions of obstinate heretics had generally been accompanied and followed by fresh outbursts of outrage and fanaticism. Rogers, the first to suffer at Smithfield in January of the previous year, had been followed by many other militant heretics whose opinions and actions rendered them as amenable to the civil as to the ecclesiastical law of the realm.¹ Toleration was not what they sought, but domination and the destruction of their opponents, and heresy, outrage, and sedition went hand in hand in the vast majority of cases,

¹ John Rogers [1500 ?-1555] Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's under Edward VI.

while not a few professed fanatical doctrines which would have 1556 caused their conviction even under the lax code of Edward VI.

The doings of such men, the propagation of such books as Knox's *Blast against the Monstrous Regimen of Women*, scared even the moderate heretics who had left the country, and caused David Whitehead and other reformers, in a letter from Frankfort, dated 20th September, 1555, to write of Knox's book—

" When men had read this infamous libel . . . they considered it neither profitable nor safe to ourselves that Knox should be received with favour by our Church. . . . This we can assure you: that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the flame of persecution in England, for before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death."¹

Nevertheless, Alfonso di Castro, chaplain of King Philip, in a sermon before the court the day after Rogers' condemnation, denounced such proceedings in the most pointed manner; pronouncing them contrary, not only to the spirit, but to the text of the Gospel; it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were brought back to the fold of Christ, and it was the duty of the bishops not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. Although it might truly have been objected that mild measures had been long tried in vain, it were devoutly to be wished that these pious counsels had been taken to heart and acted upon; although such a course would, under the circumstances have been misunderstood, even to bewilderment, by both friends and foes, and would doubtless have proved signally ineffectual in dealing with the turbulent men, whose intrigues aimed at the subversion of the crown as much as at the overthrow of the altar. Mary I's reign, had such a course of leniency been followed, would have shone in brilliant contrast with the two that had preceded, and the four that were to follow it.

¹ F. G. Lee: *Historical Sketch of Cardinal Pole*, pp. 191-93. Christopher Goodman printed a book at Geneva in 1558, "full of bitterness, and encourageth to take up arms against Queen Mary and to dethrone her."—Strype: *Memls.*, Vol. III, p. 459.

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However true it might be that heresy was at the root of the evil and disturbance against law and order, and that those who seek the life of the soul are more to be feared than they who attack the life of the body—the executions for heresy were, had the government but known it—a grave political error. Had Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, men steeped in treason and sedition, been executed for those crimes, they would have fallen as unpitied, and would have been as soon forgotten, as Northumberland, Suffolk, and other seditious rebels and intriguers of Mary's reign. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, that tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation and absurdity, and storehouse for all succeeding writers, would never have taken its place for more than 200 years—next after the Bible itself—on the average Englishman's bookshelf, to become the chief inspirer of that compound feeling of terror and hatred of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, which for three centuries was to keep them under persecution and disability.

It is hardly necessary to say that Reginald Pole was, as his whole life bore witness, entirely on the side of gentle methods, so long as they could have any hope of success. We have his own words in a letter to the Bishop of Augsburg—

Poli Epp. IV, 156. “ I do not deny, in the case of a man's opinions being extremely pernicious, and he no less industrious to corrupt others than de郊ished himself, I might say such a one should be capitally punished, and, as a rotten member, cut off from the body. But it was my constant declaration that this remedy was not to be applied till every gentler method had been made use of, and I was so far from thinking that cures should begin by amputation, or any other severity that, on all occasions . . . when I had to give my opinion, it always was to that effect. The fact is so notorious that on account of my lenity in punishing erroneous doctrines, I have hardly escaped a suspicion of favouring their cause whose persons I screened.

“ When I presided at the Council of Trent, where sentence was to be pronounced on all who had renounced the doctrine of the Church . . . there was no point I more frequently inculcated than that, although we were the judges of such causes and persons, we were likewise fathers, by which name alone those are called who assist at Councils, whilst that of judge is suppressed . . . that those who were our avowed enemies . . . were still our children, and as such to be treated with the tenderness which the name

claimed. Nor was this my opinion only, but that of my colleagues, 1556 and the judgment of the whole Council."¹

Bishop Bonner appears to have deserved as little as the poor Queen and Gardiner the epithet of "bloody," so freely bestowed upon them, and we have the unimpeachable authority of Dr. Gairdner on the subject—

"Sir Thomas More says expressly that it was the danger of civil disturbances that caused secular princes to punish heresy with death—for the punishment of excommunicated heretics was a secular matter, not an ecclesiastical one. . . . No one believed that it could be altogether dispensed with, but the bishops, with whom it lay to pronounce sentence in the last instance, cutting off the obstinate heretic from the Church, were one and all—even Bishop Bonner, whom his enemies have so maligned as a truculent and ferocious prelate—most anxious to do everything to save the men brought before them by persuading them to renounce opinions which they could not but officially condemn, and which really did not seem reasonable in the face of overwhelming authority.

"Moreover, it must be remembered that heresy at this time undoubtedly meant disloyalty. . . ."²

Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley had been degraded from their episcopacy, but Ferrar, Hooper and others from their priesthood only, as they had been consecrated invalidly according to the ordinal of Edward VI. In no single case did Cardinal Pole and his suffragans recognise the validity of the Edwardine Orders.³

¹ "Men who, like the deprived bishops of Chester and Bristol, John Bird and Paul Bush, lived quietly and peaceably, were never molested, and Parsons could appeal 'to any good-natured Protestant of Queen Mary's reign who would speak the truth without passion, he would confess that no one great man in that government was farther off from blood and bloodiness, or from cruelty and revenge than Bishop Gardiner. . . . yea, to him was it specially imputed, that none of the greatest and most known Protestants in Queen Mary's reign were ever called to account, or put to trouble for religion.'"—Wardworde, p. 42.

Roger Ascham bore testimony to the humanity of Gardiner, Bonner and Pole, "the learnedest and wisest men . . . although they knew perfectly that in religion by open writing and privy talk I was contrary unto them . . . and when Sir Francis Inglefield did note me specially at the Council-board, Gardiner would not suffer me to be called there. . . ."—*Roger Ascham to Lord Leicester*; Whitacre: *Hist. of Richmondshire*, p. 286.

² Gairdner: *Lollardy and the Reformation*, p. 308.

³ See Appendix G.

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Ridley refers to the fact in his own case, in his "Farewell to London," a document breathing a spirit of fury, hatred and revenge strangely at variance with that of a Christian man in the face of death. The spirit of love and humility in which the martyrs of Christ, from St. Stephen to Sir Thomas More, yielded their lives in defence of their faith, had invested the name with such a fragrance and sanctity, that its attribution—however undeserved—seems to have safeguarded these new men from any close examination of their claims to the title, and whether they did not generally come under the condemnation of St. Paul : "If I deliver my body to be burnt and have not charity, it availeth me nothing."

The reason for which Pole was suddenly desired by the Queen not to go to Canterbury for his enthronement was the discovery of another plot, under the patronage of the Lady Elizabeth and the French ambassador—and divulged to Cardinal Pole himself by one of the conspirators¹—to seize the money in the exchequer, and set fire to London in several places. The Lords of the Council removed the money from the exchequer and then seized three or four of the ringleaders in the act. Had they waited two or three days more, wrote Michiel to the Doge, they would have captured the whole gang. Among the prisoners were the commanders of two ships, and one John Calton, an officer of the Queen's wardrobe, persons who, "although not of much consequence, were some of them supposed to have a rental of 2,000 or 3,000 crowns." An agent of Courtenay's, John Walker, was arrested, and the governor of the Isle of Wight was sent for to London.

[The fears expressed to the Venetian ambassador by the Chancellor and Lord Winchester, the Treasurer, that more important persons might be involved were soon verified. Besides Sir Anthony Kingston, who for violent and seditious language in Parliament had been sent to the Tower the previous year and liberated, with her usual clemency, by the Queen, Throckmorton,² Udall, Staunton and other conspirators

¹ Thomas White? : *Verney Papers*, p. 65.

² Sir Nicholas Throckmorton [1515-1571] had been implicated in Wyatt's rebellion and pardoned by the Queen.

were proclaimed, and those who had escaped to France were 1558 unavailingly demanded from Henry II. Two of the Lady Elizabeth's servants, Peckham and Warne, whose confessions implicated their mistress, were executed ; but Mary professed to believe Elizabeth's declaration that her officers had presumed to make use of her name without her authority.

The accused persons, wrote Michiel on the 30th March, were *Ven. Cal.*, VI. 440 military men, soldiers and captains, whose heretical opinions and idleness in consequence of the long peace made them anxious for change, and bold in daring to attempt it. They were factious individuals of bad life and worse intentions.

The Queen took this fresh conspiracy greatly to heart. The ambassador wrote—

" Since the discovery the Queen has not chosen to appear in public, being much troubled both on this account and on the non-arrival of the King, who has postponed his return for the purpose of receiving the King and Queen of Bohemia. The Queen has sent a messenger asking him to bring them with him. . . . The legate has been justly restrained by the Queen from going to his archbishopric, her Majesty not choosing by any means, during the King's absence, that he should be at the slightest distance from her, most especially when she has to encounter such serious and important troubles, for extrication from which she knows that none of her ministers can give her more sincere and prudent counsel than he."

After announcing that John Throckmorton and Thos. Udall,¹ keeper of one of the fortresses of the Isle of Wight, had been executed as traitors, and that Sir Anthony Kingston had died on his way to the Tower, the Venetian ambassador adds—

" They died a Christian death, having confessed and communicated ; Throckmorton, who was only twenty-eight years of age, had been a long while in Italy and at Venice, . . . after his condemnation he freely confessed his crimes. The conspirators had an understanding with the King of France."

On Maundy Thursday, Cardinal Pole assisted the Queen in the ceremony of washing the feet of twelve poor persons. One

¹ Thomas [Richard?] Udall or Uvedale, Governor of Yarmouth Castle, I. of W.

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of his secretaries, Marc Antonio Faitta, sent the following interesting description to Dr. Ippolito Chizzola—

Ven. Cal.
3 May

“Having been present myself at all these ceremonies, her Majesty struck me as affording a rare example of goodness, performing all those acts with such humility and love of religion . . . and enduring for so long a time and so patiently so much fatigue . . . the more her Majesty advances in the rule of her kingdom, so does she daily afford fresh and greater opportunity for commanding her piety. I dare affirm that there never was a Queen in Christendom of greater goodness than this one, whom I pray God long to save and prosper. . . .

“I will not omit saying that the Lord Legate having sent in advance to Canterbury to make provision for his entry [since countermanded], he caused all to be distributed among the poor, 2,000 of whom were reckoned . . . nor do I include the alms given to many other poor people who had flocked to Canterbury from the neighbourhood.”

Throughout the summer fresh ramifications—rising ever higher in the social scale—of the conspiracy were brought to light, and the associates in England of Sir Henry Dudley—now a declared rebel in France—such as Lord Bray, Lord Thomas Howard and Lord La Ware, whom Michiel describes as a “factious and scandalous man who had been deprived of his seat in the House of Lords for an attempt to poison one of his uncles for the sake of his inheritance,” were sent to the Tower.¹ They were followed by Mistress Katherine Ashley—

Ibid.
2 June

“Milady Elizabeth’s chief governess, and three other domestics, arrested in the aforesaid Milady’s own house [Hatfield]. Among them was a certain Battista [Castiglione], a native of Piedmont, who has been twice before imprisoned on her account. . . . I am told they have already confessed to having known of the conspiracy. . . . This governess was also found in possession of those scandalous writings and books against religion, and against the King and Queen scattered about some months ago. . . .”

Hatred of the Spanish marriage, and the baseless report that, hopeless of issue to succeed her, the Queen meant to settle the

¹ John, Lord Bray. See *Machyn and Verney Papers*. Lord Thomas Howard was a younger son of Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, who had died in August, 1554. William West is described in *Machyn’s Diary*, p. 109, as “oderwyse callyd Lord La Ware.”

crown upon her husband, were the motives worked upon by 1556 the fanatical organisers of the conspiracy. The Queen, to escape the great heat in London, went to Cardinal Pole's palace at Croydon in June, where he entertained her until he could fulfil his great wish of going to his own diocese on King Philip's perpetually postponed return. Mary had passed, as Michiel wrote to the Doge, "from one sorrow to another for many months"—

"Comforting herself as usual with the presence and counsel of *Ven. Cal.*, Cardinal Pole, to whose assiduous toil and diligence having entrusted 23 June the whole government of the kingdom, she is intent on enduring her troubles as patiently as she can."

"Of late, the most illustrious legate has been incessantly occupied with despatches, which he is sending to Brussels and Italy, trying to appease all parties."

The fresh toils and labours in which Reginald Pole now found himself involved, and which doubtless helped to shorten his life, concerned no less a misfortune than a threatened war between the fiery old Pope and Philip of Spain. Paul IV having settled some territory upon his kinsman, Giovanni Caraffa, Count of Montorio, Philip, as King of Naples, had intimated that he would oppose the erection of fortresses thereupon by force of arms. Pole instantly wrote to the King, *Ibid.*, 24 June entreating him to try nothing by force of arms, save in accordance with clear and manifest justice, maintaining that sincere obedience to the Church, in which he had been educated. To oppose the erection of fortresses by force of arms would be the beginning of a war with the Pope, to the very great detriment of religion and all Christendom. Pole points out, in earnest and spirited terms, all the disadvantages of such a course, and that there is no just reason why the Pope should not fortify his territory in such form as may seem best to him.

In consequence of Philip II's intimation, Paul IV, as reported *Ibid.*, by Navagero, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, threatened 15 Aug. to deprive him of his crown, a rumour in reference to which Cardinal Pole wrote to Morone that although he still hoped that God's goodness would not allow the rupture between the Pope and King Philip to go further, yet if Providence were to

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permit it for the sins of mankind, Morone might imagine in what trouble and confusion Pole would find himself, not knowing what to do with regard to the constant questions *Ven. Cal.*, which must arise between him and the King about the spiritual and temporal government of England. He therefore asks to receive instructions from the Pope, who has the welfare of the Queen and the country so much at heart. It is not to be told, he concludes, how the Queen and all virtuous persons in England are distressed at this continuance of discord.

14 Sept.

While this grave question was filling Pole with apprehension and grief, many serious affairs were occupying him at home. Sir John Cheke,¹ condemned for heresy and conspiracy, "at the last moment," according to the Venetian ambassador, "asked and obtained permission to speak with Cardinal Pole, and by the goodness of God, the most illustrious lord's words produced such an effect upon him that he recanted entirely . . . and having been King Edward's schoolmaster, his example was likely to confirm those who were virtuous."²

Ibid.
2 Sept.

At the same time, no sooner had Michiel informed the Doge and Senate that the conspiracy affair was entirely at an end than he had to mention a fresh one, in which a young man of the name of Cleobury, at Yaxley, in Sussex, announced Queen Mary's death, and proclaimed Elizabeth Queen, "and her beloved bedfellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, King." Cleobury also pretended to be Earl of Devon. He, and one of his accomplices, were hanged at Bury in September, the townspeople of Yaxley, as soon as they recovered from their surprise at his announcement, having pursued and apprehended him.³

The Emperor had summoned his old confessor, Father Soto, to attend him in his monastery, and Pole had seen him depart with sorrow, as he loved him dearly, above all the other

¹ Sir John Cheke [1514-1557] Greek scholar and tutor to Edward VI when Prince of Wales.

² "According to a letter from Alvise Priuli to Beccatelli, who was now Archbishop of Ragusa, dated 15th December, Abbot Fecknam was mainly instrumental in reconciling Cheke to the Church, who in his turn, almost immediately converted twenty-eight of his friends."—Quirini, Vol. V.

³ Lingard, Vol. V, p. 246.

Spaniards, by reason of his goodness and many virtues. To do 1558
him honour, the Cardinal, at his own cost, had him accompanied
across the Channel and beyond the pale of Calais.

One of the great wishes of the Queen and of Pole had been to restore Westminster Abbey to the Benedictines. There were difficulties to be surmounted, for the secular Chapter were not willing to be removed ; but promotion was found for the Dean, and the interests of the others having been duly looked after, on the 25th September twenty-eight Benedictines, who had resumed their habit the previous year, took possession of Westminster, Fecknam, "much against his will," as Priuli wrote to Beccatelli, "being elected abbot for three years, and not for life, as used to be the custom here." He continues—

"They are all men of great doctrine, and showed their piety by giving up their benefices to resume their habit. . . . Fecknam Quirini, Vol. V himself having renounced the Deanery of St. Paul's, worth 2,000 ducats a year, and 800 more from other benefices. He is a man of most amiable nature, of a ruddy complexion, and by no means melancholy, a learned theologian and a splendid preacher. . . . Under Edward, he suffered long imprisonment and persecution."

In announcing the re-establishment of the Benedictines at Westminster, Michiel remarks that this is the third monastery and order of regular monks, besides one of nuns, which had yet been restored, to which a fourth, the Carthusians at Sheen, would soon be added. The Dominicans had, in fact, been re-established at Smithfield, the Franciscans at Greenwich, and the Bridgettines at Syon House.

For all his strenuous public labours, Pole still found time for the arts he loved. Besides the architectural works at Lambeth and at Canterbury accomplished during his short career as Primate, and the valuable paintings he gave to the former palace, we find by Priuli's letter that poetry was cultivated in the Cardinal's household, for he speaks of an exchange of sonnets—that form of verse so dear to the sixteenth century—between Beccatelli and "our Geo. Francesco Stella, which our legate read with much satisfaction."

CHAPTER XXIV

1556 ON the 16th November, Michiel wrote to the Doge and Senate—

Ven. Cal., "The most illustrious legate on this very day has, with infinite pleasure, gone in person, together with the Lord High Treasurer and the Bishop of Ely, to the ancient Carthusian Monastery [at Sheen, Pole's first school] on the banks of the river near the royal palace of Richmond, to replace in possession, as he did by the royal authority, several fathers of that order, the remains, for the greater part, of those who were there heretofore, and at the time of the devastations, not choosing to renounce the habit, were compelled to depart and retire to Flanders, from whence they now return, besides some who remained here, and have resumed the habit.

"In the same locality, but on the opposite side of the river, at Syon—an ancient and most notable monastery of nuns, which was suppressed at the time of those devastations, and which the Duke of Somerset appropriated to himself—it being subsequently confiscated by the crown at his execution—they replaced some of the aforesaid nuns, who have returned to their habit; so that not a day passes without discovering persons who, replete with zeal and piety, retire to monasteries, there to live in subjection and poverty, thus increasing the service and worship of God."

This was the last monastic restoration effected by Cardinal Pole: time failed him to accomplish his great wish to see the "black monks" of St. Benedict restored to Canterbury. On the 30th November, St. Andrew's day, the second anniversary of England's release from schism was solemnly celebrated in Westminster Abbey, in presence of the legate and the whole court and nobility, the Queen herself being absent on account of indisposition.

Meanwhile, the ill-will between Paul IV and Philip II had been blown into a flame by the contents of an intercepted letter from Garcilasso della Vega, the Spanish agent in Rome, to the Duke of Alva, Viceroy of Naples, describing the defenceless state of the papal territory, and the ease with which it might be conquered, before an army could be raised for its defence. Paul IV's suspicions being thus confirmed, he ordered

the arrest of the chiefs of the Spanish faction in Rome ; and 1558 instructed his officers to proceed against Philip for a breach of the feudal tenure by which he held the kingdom of Naples. The Viceroy replied by invading the Papal states, and advancing as near Rome as Tivoli.¹

At the first news of this aggression, Cardinal Pole declared himself ready to cross the Channel, in case Philip II's promised return to England was again delayed, in order to support by word of mouth the exhortations he had not ceased to send him by letter ;² and at the same time he informed the Pope, through Cardinal Morone, of his own great distress and the earnestness of his efforts for peace. Priuli's brother, Lorenzo, was now Doge of Venice, and the news that he had offered his mediation between the Pope and Spain was hailed with infinite satisfaction and hopefulness by Mary and the Cardinal.

At home, the Lady Elizabeth was in some perplexity ; Courtenay had died at Padua in September, and her great ally Noailles—who had certainly done his utmost to upset Mary's throne—had been recalled to France, his successor, and brother, the Bishop of Arcqs, having no instructions on the subject of her escape to France, a project formed with Noailles with the consent of the French king. The fact of Mary's disappointment of an heir, and her husband's prolonged absence from England, had turned Henry II's thoughts away from Elizabeth, and concentrated them upon his own daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots, the child wife of the boy Dauphin, and legitimate heir to the English crown. The new ambassador, Noailles therefore, when the Countess of Sussex,³ Elizabeth's confidante, I. 334 came to him in disguise, merely advised her to counsel Elizabeth to stop at home. The latter therefore solicited and obtained an interview with the Queen. What passed between her and Mary, and her and Pole in the first interview—strange to say—she had yet had with the latter, we do not know ; but the

¹ Pallavicini : *Original Documents*, II, 436 seq. ; Lingard, V, p. 249.

² " Philip's armoury and pages, and his stable had already arrived on the 20th October."—Michiel, *Ven. Cal.*, VI, p. 681.

³ Wife of Sir Henry Radcliffe, second Earl of Sussex.

1556 Venetian ambassador gives some interesting details of the visit—

Ven. Cal., "Three days ago, Milady Elizabeth arrived from the country
1 Dec. [Hatfield] with a handsome retinue, to the infinite pleasure of the whole population. She went to visit the Queen, and according to report, was received very graciously. Yesterday, she returned thither to take leave, having at length an interview with the Cardinal, whom she visited even in his own chamber, he never having seen her until then, although last year they both resided at court for a whole month, with their apartments very near each other.

"It cannot be ascertained whether she came for any other purpose save that of visiting the Queen, she having solicited with great earnestness to come, and not having been summoned. Now that she seems in favour again, I will visit her, not having done so before."

While the Spaniards looked askance upon Cardinal Pole, "hating him because he constantly opposed their attempts to make Philip 'absolute lord'"—*per far il re absoluto*—the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa began to suspect him of sustaining that monarch's pretensions against the Holy See.

Ibid., The change of attitude showed itself by a complete cessation
VI, 2, 752 of letters from Rome, and on the 7th December Pole sent his privy chamberlain, Henry Penning, on a hasty mission to Rome, to enquire how it was that for many months he had received no reply to his despatches from the Pope or his ministers.¹ Penning was also charged to offer Pole's good

¹ Cardinal Morone's last letter to the legate bears the date of August 9th. In it he says he has not deemed it expedient to show the Queen's and Pole's last letters to the Pope, fearing he might be angered, as the noise of war at Naples was so contrary to their words of peace. Morone describes his own trouble, and that he often wishes he were a Carthusian or a Carmelite, or even in England. The Pope has an intrepid soul, and would rather die than suffer anything which might appear unworthy of the place he holds. He is fortifying the Borgo.

In previous letters Morone begs Pole to warn King Philip that to make war against the Holy See, because the Pope has fortified his own territory, is not just; and he also recounts the many offences committed in Milan and Naples against the ecclesiastical authority. He speaks of his own efforts in the cause of peace, though it is perilous to interfere too much. He is bound to say that the French party has great influence on those who surround the Pope, and he refers more than once to the ardent nature of his Holiness. He also begs Pole to thank the Queen

offices once again in the cause of peace, "and to disclose a 1558 certain resolve which, if not already formed by the Queen, is about to be made by her in favour of her Consort, so as to give the Pope warning of it"—hinting at a war with France to the universal detriment of Christendom, as also of the Pope, who might prevent its taking place. Pole will thus have complied with his office of Cardinal and Minister of the See Apostolic in England. By Penning he also sent to provide for certain vacant bishoprics, and to regulate the affairs of the English Hospice in Rome, of which he was protector.

Not content with the despatch of Penning, and hearing that the Pope had shown great irritation because the Queen had not expressed regret for the war waged against his Holiness, being told on good authority that she aided it with money, Pole wrote to Cardinal Morone, repeating and assuring him *Ven. Cal.* VI, 2, 772 that the Queen, on every account had been sorely distressed to find her consort in disagreement with the Pope, lamenting to her heart's core that matters should have proceeded so far. Pole would have gone himself to Philip, had he had instructions from Rome. By his letters, Philip seems personally very averse to any discord with the Pope, but strongly suspicious of an attack on his kingdom of Naples, by reason of the fortification of Paliano, and from other circumstances. In his last letter to Pole he alluded to his goodwill, as proved by the proposals he had lately charged the Duke of Alva to make. . . . As to money, Morone may believe, and assure the Pope most amply in his name, that what he has heard is false, although the same report is circulated in England by malignants, who have no other object than to render her Majesty odious.

To the Cardinal Legate's gentleness and patience, it was no doubt due that, on the 20th October, all the heretics from Essex and other places, who had been confined in the Lollard's Tower of Lambeth Palace, were set free on their promise "to

for her gracious letter, which he does not know what he has done to deserve.—Quirini, V, Nos. 50, 51, 52. The position of Protector of England was not an easy one for Morone, when the impulsive old Pope was confounding the acts of the peace-making Queen and Cardinal, with those of Philip II and his Viceroy.

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keep themselves good and true to God, and to the King and Queen.”¹ The following month an act was committed by his order, as Chancellor of Oxford,² which has been the text of much animadversion on the part of those to whom the true facts of the case were unknown—the exhumation of the body of the ex-nun, Catherine Cathie, whom Peter Martyr Vermiglio, Regius Professor of Theology, had married. The beautiful shrine of the eighth century Virgin Saint Frideswide—“ Bond of Peace,” ever venerated at Oxford, had been ruthlessly hacked to pieces in 1539 ; but the relics of the saint had been rescued by the faithful Catholics of Oxford and re-interred. In 1532 Catherine Cathie, alias Dampmartin, alias Vermiglio, died and was buried by St. Frideswide : “ Here lie Religion and Superstition,” ran the contemporary Latin epigram. Cardinal Pole ordered the body of Catherine Cathie to be cast out, and by a rescript of November 7th, 1556, officially restored St. Frideswide to honour. In Elizabeth’s time James Calfhill, the Calvinist subdean of Christ Church, had the body of the ex-nun exhumed, nine years after her death, and five after her ignominious re-burial, and mixed them inextricably with the relics of the saint.³

The Cardinal carried out several necessary reforms at Oxford and at Cambridge by the instrumentality of Dr. Nicolo Ormanetto, one of his most zealous and hard-working assistants.

“ As for the rest of us,” wrote Priuli to Beccatelli, “ we rejoice in this beautiful country, and in every comfort, thanks to the Padrone [Pole] who labours for all, cheerfully spending himself in the service of God, and in aid of this good Queen, with whom he has well-merited authority.”

On the 20th December the Queen left St. James’s and went in her barge to Lambeth, where she dined with the legate and divers of her Council, on her way to keep Christmas at

¹ Machyn’s *Diary*, p. 118.

² On the death of Gardiner, Pole had been elected Chancellor of Cambridge ; and the same compliment was paid him by Oxford, on the resignation of Sir John Masone.

³ *Twyne MS.*, XXIV, F. 574, Bodleian. *Cath. Uxorii Pet. Mart. Exhumatio*, 8 H., 71. Bodl.

Greenwich, and there a month later, Machyn tells us that the 1558-57 Queen's pensioners mustered—

"in harness and many barb horses . . . before the Queen and my Lord Legate and my Lord Admiral. . . . They rode before the Queen . . . and then came a tumbler, and played many pretty feats afore the Queen and my Lord Cardinal, that her Grace did laugh heartily ; and so her Grace did thank them all for their pains . . . and there were above 10,000 people."¹

Early in January, Lord Pembroke, commanding at Calais, sent an express to the Queen with the news that hostilities had broken out in Flanders between the French and the Spaniards. A secret treaty had in fact been made between Paul IV, immediately after his election, and Henry II, which was a violation of the truce of Vaucelles between Henry and Philip. So now the King of France broke the truce, in the hope of humbling the pride of the Spanish monarch, by placing a French prince on the throne of Naples, and investing another with the ducal coronet of Milan.² Paul, to save his capital, had submitted to ask the Duke of Alva for an armistice ; and the war would have been terminated without bloodshed, had not the Duke of Guise, at the head of a French army, hastened to Italy.

These facts at last brought Philip back to his wife and England, after an absence of a year and a half, instead of the few weeks which had been intended at his departure ; the shrewd Venetian ambassador surmising that his coming was in order "to make this kingdom declare, that if it will not break entirely, it will at least lend him assistance."

Cardinal Pole was still intent on peace ; Henry Penning had met Cardinal Carlo Caraffa at Venice, on his way to the French court, who had declared that above all things he hoped "for some good arrangement to allay disturbances," upon which Pole immediately wrote to congratulate Caraffa.

Pole's position was a delicate one ; he was Papal legate for peace to a country, of which the King was at war with the

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 124.

² Pallavicini, II, 436-476 ; Lingard, V, 249.

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Pope, but he was also Archbishop of Canterbury, so he discreetly retired to his see before the arrival of Philip, on the 20th of March. At Canterbury, he received the visit of the new Venetian ambassador, M. Surian; Michiel, to the great regret of the legate and his friends, having been recalled at the beginning of the year. Surian writes to the Doge that he hopes to spend Easter at Canterbury in the Archbishop's truly holy society. He also gives an interesting appreciation of Philip II—

Ven. Cal., VI, 847

“He makes great profession of goodness, and seems vastly inclined towards clemency, wishing rather to enjoy his estates than to increase them, and if he wages war, he does so against his will. His Spanish advisers may be summed up as partly men of no experience, and partly those who seek their own advantage; nor are the agents in the performance of their office, deemed much better than the councillors, for the Duke of Alva has shown that he knows nothing of war; the Marquis of Pescara is a youth; and the Duke of Savoy is in no repute.”

Ibid., 848

Faithful to his character of peacemaker, Pole wrote from Canterbury to Philip II, again offering his personal service for any toil which might be deemed expedient, now that matters were in such a state that they might proceed to the utter peril and ruin of Christendom. At the same time, he appealed once more to the Pope, beginning his earnest and affectionate letter by saying that if to all good men this war was most painful, to him it was the more bitter because he was bound to the Pope by all the ties of devotion and reverence, and by those of affection to King Philip—

Poli Epp., V, 22

“With whom, had I no other tie of obligation, the singular piety he showed at the beginning of his reign . . . in bringing back these people to the obedience of the Holy See, would suffice. . . . On this account, your Holiness likewise showed that you held him most dear, until Satan sowed these seeds of dissension which, if now uprooted, I cannot doubt he will be much dearer to your Holiness . . . and the King's obedience towards yourself and the Church will become the more conspicuous.

“The mode of uprooting is taught by Him, who taught us to pray; for when Satan demanded the sons of the Church, that he might sift them like wheat, He resisted with the sole remedy of prayer, and commanded us to use the same remedy. This is what

we hope will come to pass . . . so much the more easily that those 1557 things which estranged the minds of your Holiness and the King, arose not from yourselves, but from your Ministers, and seem to me so recent that they cannot have taken deep root in your minds in so short a time."

After eloquently recalling the Pope's national obligations to Philip's ancestors,¹ and all the things Paul had himself commanded Pole to mention when addressing the King on his accession; the embassy to Rome from Philip and Mary, not only to congratulate him on that accession, but to offer him as first-fruits the obedience of England, and lamenting the disturbance of peace between a Pope and a King, from whom quiet and tranquillity might have been anticipated—more than from any Pope and King for centuries past, and reminding him how his predecessors had frequently called England with a paternal voice to reconciliation, urging him to do the like—

" And then, being converted by that voice, all past injuries were forgiven, and the Church, foregoing many of her rights, moved towards them, and they returning to her bosom, received them benignly. . . . If your Holiness will call upon the King, I think he will listen to the voice of the Vicar of Christ. . . . I am convinced he will not only not reject it, but will prostrate himself at your Holiness's feet, and refuse nothing that a father can demand of his son. Here, however, some may say that it is a thing contrary to decorum, if your Holiness being the first who was hostilely attacked, should be the first to seek peace . . . and might render the enemy more insolent. . . . But your Holiness, having your forces now ready, and shortly expecting auxiliaries, who will render you no less powerful than your enemies, this acquires you before the world of any kind of indignity or weakness. . . . but will greatly increase and augment your dignity and authority in the eyes of all good men."²

After a feeling description of the calamities such a war would entail, Pole further pleads with the Pope, not only to make

¹ "Gianpietro Caraffa was born at Capriglia near Beneventum in the year 1476 in the reign of Ferdinand, King of Naples, the natural son and successor of Alfonso I, King of Arragon."—Cardella, Vol. 4, p. 160.

² This alludes to the descent into Italy of the Duke of Guise, who arrived in Rome on Shrove Tuesday, but did not lay siege to Civitella until the middle of April.

1557 peace himself, but to procure concord between the Kings of France and Spain.

Ven. Cal.
VI, 856

If these pacific words reached Rome before the 9th April, they utterly failed of their effect upon the irritated Pope; for on that day in Consistory, he declared himself compelled to recall all his legates from the King of Spain's dominions, and even Cardinal Pole from England. Paul IV explained the next day to Navagero, the Venetian ambassador, that although he had tolerated much, and had delayed making use of the French forces, in the hope that Philip II, repenting of his errors, would acknowledge the Vicar of Christ—*tantum abest* from doing so, he had published edicts recalling all his subjects from Rome, and other impious and sacrilegious acts. So he was recalling his legates, that the King, though he chose to persecute the Pope's subjects, might not have it in his power to boast of persecuting public functionaries. And Paul IV added passionately that he had been dragged into this war by the hair of his head and against his will.

Sir Edward Karne, English ambassador at Rome, writing the same day to the Queen, to give an account of the Consistory, and of Cardinal Pole's revocation, adds that the Cardinals told him "they neither knew the *cause of it*, nor could help it."¹

In tempestuous oblivion of all save his own offences, Paul IV, apparently forgetful of the consequences to religion in England, was ready to visit the wrongs he had received from Philip II upon Mary and her country.

Meanwhile Philip and Mary, after two days spent at *Ibid.*, VI, Greenwich, returned processionally through London to Westminster; the King, as he passed the Tower, pardoned certain prisoners and released them, in order to ingratiate himself with the people; but the new Venetian ambassador, Surian, reports—"From what I hear, the Spaniards are so greatly hated, that neither his Majesty nor the Queen are well looked on by the multitude."²

Surian still hopes for peace, and says that the question of

¹ *Foreign Cal. Mary*, p. 292.

² Machyn gives the 23rd March as the date of the procession. Philip had arrived at Greenwich on the 20th.

what assistance England will give the King, is not yet decided 1557 upon ; and on Easter Sunday, April 18th, Cardinal Pole, writing his good wishes for the day to King Philip—as he is unable to pay his respects in person—prays God to have his Majesty in His protection for the quiet of Christendom, and especially of England.

Although the Cardinal had been so little at Canterbury himself, his representatives had done their work so well that Surian, after spending Easter with him there, thus describes the state of the diocese—

“ Through the goodness, prudence, and doctrine of the Rt. Rev. Legate, the affairs of religion have prospered so much that, although VI, 883 that part of England had been more corrupted than all the rest of the kingdom, it is now nevertheless so well reformed that it can set an example, not only to the whole of this Island, but to France likewise, and to some parts of Italy.

“ I presented your credentials to Cardinal Pole, who received them most affectionately, and congratulated me on the efforts made by your Serenity in the cause of peace.”

The conspiracies fostered by Henry II among the malcontents, the heretic partisans of Elizabeth in England, had all proved signal failures ; and he now tried to attack the government of Mary through her rebellious subjects abroad. Having called upon Sir Henry Dudley and his associates to resume their treasonable practices, and arranging a plan with the exiled reformers within the pale of Calais to deliver Hammes and Guisnes, two important fortresses, into his hands, he furnished ships and money to young Thomas Stafford, Pole's own nephew, to make an attempt upon England. The Calais conspiracy was defeated by an English spy, who wormed himself into the confidence, and divulged the secrets of the plotters, and Wotton, the English ambassador in Paris, was able to send immediate tidings of Stafford's expedition.¹ Thomas

¹ “ The Venetian ambassador in Paris, Giacomo Soranzo, writing to the Doge and Senate on the 11th May, reports that the English at the French court say the expedition was ordered by the King, who gave Stafford money and three ships ; while the French say he went of his own accord, and that the ships were conveying foot soldiers to Scotland.” —*Ven. Cal.*, VI, 883.

1557

Stafford, the second son of Ursula Pole and Lord Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, had been with Cardinal Pole at Rome ; and with several other Englishmen had gone to him in Paris, to entreat him to place himself at their head, and prevent the Queen's marriage with the prince of Spain. On the 26th April he sailed from Dieppe with a small force of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Scots in two ships and seized the old castle of Scarborough, issuing a bombastic proclamation as "protector and governor of the realm," saying he had not come "to work his own advancement touching the possession of the Crown," but to deliver his countrymen from the tyranny of strangers and "to defeat the most devilish devices of Mary, unrightful and unworthy Queen," who had forfeited her claim to the sceptre by her marriage to a Spaniard, who had resolved to deliver the twelve strongest fortresses in the kingdom to 12,000 Spaniards, etc., etc. His hopes were quickly extinguished. Not a man obeyed the proclamation, and four days after his arrival, the Earl of Westmoreland appeared before Scarborough with a considerable force, Stafford surrendered at discretion, and was promptly put to death.

The failure of these repeated attempts ought to have undeceived the French King. Noailles and the exiles had persuaded him that discontent pervaded the whole population of England ; that every man longed to free himself from the rule of Mary ; and that, at the first call, multitudes would unsheathe their swords against her. But whenever the trial was made, the result proved the contrary. Men displayed their loyalty by opposing the traitors ; and Henry, by attempting to embarrass the Queen, provoked her to lend her husband that aid which it was his great object to avert.¹

One of the clauses in Mary's marriage treaty was that England should not be expected to take part in any of her husband's wars. The country greatly needed a continuance of peace to recover from the disastrous effects of the last two reigns. Mary's poverty was great ; after restoring the debased coinage and remitting several oppressive taxes, she had

¹ Lingard, V, p. 251.

further impoverished herself, at the bidding of her conscience, 1557 by the restoration of the Church lands annexed to the Crown, and she was practising, under Cardinal Pole's guidance, the strictest economy in all departments. But she could not refuse her adored husband's request, and Henry II's last proceedings in Stafford's attempt overcame the strong opposition in the Council.

A force of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse was raised, to be paid *Ven. Cal.* VI. 873 by the kingdom for four months, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Grey, Lord Montague and others : "All of whom are considered good soldiers," wrote Surian to the Doge, "except Montague, who was appointed because he is very rich, and spends willingly on the troops." Norroy, King-at-Arms, was already on his way to Paris with the Queen of England's challenge to the King of France, and Henry II recalled his ambassador, the Bishop of Arcqs, who carefully noted, as he passed through Calais and examined the fortifications, that a considerable part of the ramparts lay in ruins. At his request, Senarpont, Governor of Boulogne, repaired there in disguise, and both concurred in the opinion that the boasted strength of Calais consisted only in its reputation, and that, in its present state, it offered an easy conquest to a sudden and unexpected assailant.¹

Cardinal Pole, as the Pope approvingly informed Navagero, *Ibid.* VI. 884 had kept Paul IV informed of his every proceeding ; of his retirement to Canterbury, and a solitary visit he had made to King Philip in his own name, not being able to do so as the Pope's representative. At the same time, Paul spoke well of the Queen, but called Philip "a putrid member," who would need to be separated from the body, if he continued in his perfidiousness. "We believe," concluded the Pope, after repeating Pole's assurances of Philip's desire for peace, "that he will not reform until his head has been sorely beaten—*fino che non li sia dato bene su la testa*. God knows," ejaculated the Pontiff, and no doubt in all sincerity, "that for nothing do we pray Him more earnestly than for our quiet, and that of all

¹ Lingard, V, p. 252.

1557 Christendom, which were He to grant, we should close these eyes most contentedly."

Ven. Cal., VI, 884 On the 13th May, the late ambassador in England, Giovanni Michiel, made the customary report on the country he had left, to the Doge and Senate of Venice. It is one of the most interesting state papers in existence, drawn up with singular insight and penetration, and couched in nervous and eloquent language—for Michiel was a man of letters and something of a poet, whose sonnets are mentioned with praise in one of Priuli's letters to Beccatelli. He had been in England since the beginning of Mary's reign, and after a high tribute to her virtue and ability, he says—

"Respecting the government and public business, she is compelled (by her sex) to refer many matters to her councillors and ministers. Knowing the many dissensions among them, her Majesty, in order not to be deceived, and for the prevention of scandal, willed, with the King's consent, that Cardinal Pole should have everything referred to him . . . showing the utmost confidence in him, she distrusts almost all the others . . . in this she is most judicious and most fortunate. God having provided her with a minister . . . of such great qualities, that she might live with her mind at ease, and quite consoled, were she undisturbed by her own thoughts and passions, both public and private, which often subject her to a deep melancholy. . . . Amongst her afflictions, what she chiefly laments, is the fruitlessness of her marriage, and consequently the dangers which threaten the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the obedience of the English Church. These now undoubtedly prevail, because they are sustained by her authority and presence, but were she to die, their utter failure is to be apprehended. She is also greatly grieved by the conspiracies and plots formed against her daily, both at home and abroad. . . . Besides these and many other distresses, the Queen witnesses the daily decline of the affection evinced towards her universally at the beginning of her reign, which in truth was so great and extraordinary that never was greater shown to any sovereign in that kingdom. Of her financial difficulties, owing to the past debts and disorders, she hopes to be remedied by the counsel and diligence of her Ministers, especially Cardinal Pole, through the care they take to investigate and retrench superfluities and abuses.

"For those distresses she consoles herself, but for the others, which I will now tell, she has no remedy, and but little or no consolation. They arise from two causes, love and aversion. From love proceeds her being enamoured, as she justly is (so far as could be

known whilst they lived together) of her husband. . . . No one 1557 could have been a better husband to her, nor so good a one ; and now to think of losing him, as they can only meet by accident, he being from necessity always in motion and always travelling. . . . From this fear and violent love for him, she may be said never to pass a day without anxiety ; and if to this were to be added jealousy, she would be truly miserable ; but . . . I know that she says she believes him free from love for any other woman.

" The other, which proceeds from aversion, is owing to her ill-disposition towards her sister, the Lady Elizabeth, which although dissembled, cannot be denied . . . the Queen, whenever she sees her, fancying herself in the presence of the affronts and ignominies she received from her mother. But what disquiets her most, is to see the eyes and hearts of the people already fixed on this lady as successor to the crown, from despair of descent from the Queen. . . . Besides this, the Queen knows her to be averse to the present religion . . . for although she has recanted, she nevertheless is supposed to dissemble, and to hold to the new opinion more than ever internally . . . Unfortunately, never is a conspiracy discovered in which, justly or unjustly, she, or some of her servants, are not mentioned. She has managed to ingratiate herself very much with King Philip.

" That vain pregnancy did the Queen great harm, but there was neither deceit nor malice in it."

Paul IV had speedily discovered that his hasty revocation of Pole's legation had been a blunder. The English ambassador, Sir Edward Karne, in an audience on the 15th May, petitioned that it might be restored, and the whole of the English hierarchy, as well as the Queen's Council, subsequently wrote to the same effect. The Pope told Karne he did not see how he could annul a revocation made publicly in Consistory ; upon which the ambassador pressed that the execution might be suspended for a time, to which the Pope agreed, ordering the Datarior not to make the intimation of the revocation until further notice.¹ The fact of the revocation was known in England before Michiel's departure, for in this address to the Senate he says—

" Cardinal Pole is in his fifty-seventh year, and on him rests the active weight and government of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal. Until deprived of the legateship *de latere* [10th April] he exercised his spiritual charge in virtue of that office ; and

¹ *Foreign Cal., Mary*, p. 308.

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subsequently as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the kingdom, with the perpetual title of "legate born" (*legato nato*), his temporal authority proceeding from this title of Supreme Councillor, in both of which capacities he certainly does not disappoint the expectation entertained of his integrity, sincerity and great worth; so that the reason why he failed to obtain the Popedom heretofore, when so nearly elected, is clearly manifest, God having reserved him for this other special purpose . . . to bring back England from schism; for in truth the result procured at his hands could not have been attained through those of anyone else, it being the universal opinion that in the whole world no other person could be found with the many qualities he possesses. Besides his dignity and station, his learning and goodness are infinite; and what matters much to move those people, his nobility was so great . . . and, to gain the English entirely, he was their countryman and spoke their language.

" He goes on from day to day, giving edification by the example of his actions and of his life, which all who know him, know to be utterly undefiled by any sort of passion or worldly interests; in what concerns his office he is not influenced by the authority of princes, nor by ties of blood, or friendship. . . . For these qualities, therefore, in proportion as he is beloved by the King and Queen, and universally, he is in secret hated and envied by some of those who rule, because they are no longer able to advance themselves by authority and favour as they were wont to do formerly . . . so they are compelled to act with great caution, . . . as otherwise a mere hint given by him to the Queen of the misconduct of any one of them would suffice to deprive him of his authority, and to have him severely punished according to his demerits. . . .

" It may in truth be said that he is both king and prince, though he exercises his authority so graciously and modestly as if he were the least of the Council, not choosing in any way to interfere, even in public affairs, unless in such as are specially assigned to him thus doing precisely the reverse of what is the humour and procedure of the English who, when they have authority and public charges, endeavour also to meddle in those that do not concern them. . . .

" The Cardinal, exercising his authority with so much respect and modesty, causes those who negotiate with him to suppose that he is not only timid and submissive, but cold, because they would wish him . . . to demonstrate his power and authority in another form. . . .

" All that has to be done, either by the ministers, or by the Cardinal himself, he discusses with Monsignor Priuli, to whom, as to his soul, he communicates all his thoughts, so great is his reliance on his judgment and on the love Monsignor Priuli bears him. Their

mode of life, their doctrine and their will are in most perfect conformity . . . being quite happy when they have leisure to enjoy each other's society. It is certain that were not Monsignor Priuli there to lessen his fatigue, especially that of writing, the Cardinal would fare badly, being occupied from morning to night with perpetual audiences, besides his interviews with the Queen, which absorb two or three hours daily. Without the assistance of Monsignor Priuli, the Cardinal would be compelled to resign, or would soon die of over-exertion."

Michiel was speaking to Priuli's brother, Doge Lorenzo Priuli, and he adds—

" Thus Monsignor Priuli relieves the Cardinal, as the Cardinal relieves the Queen, and your Serenity may assuredly greatly congratulate yourself, on having amongst your kinsfolk a personage so good and incorruptible (I ought to add truly holy, but I omit the term from modesty), so learned and discreet.

" It is unnecessary to speak of the Cardinal's regard for your Serenity, as he demonstrates it by his actions . . . and he is accustomed openly to say that he considers Italy, and your Serenity's State in particular, no less his country than England, for he expresses himself thus—

"Una me genuit, altera me exceptit."

Michiel's opinion about the state of religion was to be justified sooner than could have been expected. After stating that apparently it was gaining ground from day to day, and that seven monasteries had been restored in three years,¹ he goes on to say of the people—

" The example and authority of their sovereign can do anything with them. . . . They would do the like by the Mahometan or Jewish Creed, were their King to evince a belief in it, and willed it thus, accommodating themselves to anything, but more willingly to such doctrines as gave them hope, either of the greatest liberty and license in their mode of life, or of some profit. On these grounds, many who are in their confidence believe that, could they feel sure of not being molested about the Church property held by them, . . .

¹ There were ten: King's Langley in Hertfordshire, to which the Queen added the nunnery of Dartford in Kent; the College of Manchester, St. Bartholomew's Priory in Smithfield, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Savoy Hospital, Syon, Sheen, Westminster Abbey, and Wolverhampton College in Staffordshire.

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they would adapt themselves to the present religion ; but they are still afraid of being one day or another compelled to give back part or the whole of it, the Cardinal, at the beginning . . . having left it to their consciences to do what they pleased.

" This fear is increased by what they see daily done by the Queen, who gives back for religious purposes this sort of property, although incorporated in the crown ; so, as most of her subjects are interested in the matter, they think there is no safer remedy than again to destroy the monasteries, and return to their former condition.

" Lord Courtenay, who solely by his own fault failed to be the Queen's husband, and consequently king, died recently at Padua. Through his death, the English have utterly lost the hope of ever having a king of the blood royal, unless in a very remote degree . . . "

After thinking the matter over for two months, Paul IV determined to maintain Cardinal Pole's revocation, and to appoint in his place no other than Friar William Peto, the Observant who, after his celebrated sermon at Greenwich before Henry VIII, had left England in 1533, and lived in Flanders until Mary's accession.

In a Consistory of the 14th June, the Pope accordingly raised Peto to the cardinalate, and nominated him legate to England ; and in a brief to the English bishops, dated June 20th, he tells them he has received their letters begging him not to revoke the legation. He is sorry to be obliged to revoke Cardinal Pole, but, as the affairs of religion in England are not yet firmly established, he is sending Cardinal Peto as legate for a few years. Paul IV had shifted his ground, for if the reason of the recall of his legates was his war with Philip II, it militated as much against Peto as against Pole. Unfortunately, the Pope was about to prove himself, as Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph describes him, a great persecutor of Pole—*gran persecutore di Polo.*

Up to this time, in all his labours and sufferings in the cause of the Church, Reginald Pole had possessed, not only the support and approval, including that of Paul himself, but the heartfelt affection, gratitude and admiration of the sovereign pontiffs. It was left to the close of a life, shortened by such labours, to experience—as the last test of the refiner's fire on

the pure gold of a noble nature—the humiliation and the smart 1557 of condemnation and suspicion from the quarter where, of all others, it was least deserved.

Beccatelli thus states the lamentable business. After remarking that the truce of Vaucelles had given hopes of peace to Christendom, he says—

"But the Devil, the constant enemy of good and of peace, put it into the heart of Pope Paul to drive King Philip out of Naples, and he therefore sent Cardinal Caraffa, his nephew, as legate to France, to move the arms of that country against the King. And, perhaps through apprehension that Cardinal Pole, having great influence with the Queen of England, might procure peace between those sovereigns, perhaps out of ancient rancour, or at the instigation of malignant persons, he revoked Cardinal Pole, and made another Englishman, Friar William Peto, Cardinal and legate to England. He was a good and catholic man, and had lived some time with Cardinal Pole in Italy; but he was in decrepid health, of common birth, and did not appear to the Queen a fit person for the office."¹

The King and Queen, the Privy Council and the Bishops having appealed in vain to Paul IV, Mary, with characteristic promptitude, sent orders to Calais that no messenger from Rome should be permitted to come to England, and that all letters and despatches from there should be brought to her; she took care also that the whole affair should remain a secret to the legate and to Peto while she sent an express to Rome, with orders to her ambassador, Karne, to tell the Pope that his late proceedings were utterly destructive of whatever had been done towards recalling the ancient faith in England. Finally, she called both God and men to witness she was not accessory to the evils, which could not fail to ensue, if he persisted in his resolution.²

Private letters had informed Pole of the Pope's revocation of his legation, and on the 25th May, he wrote to Paul IV

¹ "William Peto was born of a gentleman's family of Chesterton in Warwickshire, and had been confessor to Queen Katherine of Arragon. . . . Several writers have given a very advantageous account of this zealous and religious personage."—Phillips, Vol. II, p. 247.

² Gratiani, p. 226.

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1557 telling him how much the sudden news had disturbed the Queen,
Poli Epp. and how all the lords, spiritual and temporal, then in London,
 V, p. 27 had come to him to ask if it were true that so deep a wound had
 been inflicted on the kingdom. Pole had replied that he had
 only heard of it through private letters. He then recapitulates
 all the arguments laid before him, especially that to suppress
 both the legations at such a time would be to expose the Church,
 like a ship without a rudder to a raging sea.¹ Pole had replied
 by congratulating them on their zeal, which was a strong proof
 that they were sincere in resuming that obedience to the Pope,
 which a few years ago had been rejected by them. The Privy
 Council had also begged Pole to write to the Pope, to suggest
 that it would be extremely worthy of his piety, if he would
 request their Queen to make peace between her consort and his
 Holiness.

Pole then modestly gives his own opinion, that he does not
 think it now very essential who exercises the legateship *a latere*,
 provided the person appointed performs the office to the
 honour of God and the See Apostolic, and advantageously for
 the Church in England; so should the Pope choose to transfer
 this burden from Pole to some other legate, there is no reason
 why he should delay the act, and although Pole has enough
 to do with his Archiepiscopal duties, he will be ready—provided
 such be the Pope's wish—to aid any person sent, with all dilige-
 nce, toil and support. To suppress the office would seriously
 prejudice the authority of the Pope and of the Holy See. The
 Church has need of time, although the people are beginning to
 rejoice in its advantages, so that even those who had previously
 willingly dispensed with that obedience, are now no less glad
 to return to it. Finally, Pole entreats the Pope, in the name
 of the most merciful Saviour, to give some little credence to his
 legate, who is in truth most attached to him, and to hold his
 hand until he distinctly comprehends how matters are
 proceeding here, lest some innovations take place.

The same day Pole wrote to the Archbishop Stefano

¹ This was a mistake; the *legatus natus* attached to the See of Canterbury had not been revoked.

Sauli, who had been actively trying to negotiate peace, and 1557 congratulating him on his efforts—

“ As to my legations, I thought I perceived that the goodness of *Ven. Cal.*, God had guided his Holiness, not to send me the brief [of recall] VI, 900 nor charge me to do anything in the matter ; for, had he acted otherwise, I should have obeyed immediately, as it is my duty to do. I know your Most Rev. Lordship will not think I am moved by any private advantage of my own, this legation yielding me nothing but constant toil, and moreover, expense ; nor, verily, am I prompted by anything but the zeal which I am bound to have for religion, and for the authority of his Holiness and of the Apostolic See, for which, if necessary, I should be ready to hazard my life also.”

Cardinal Pole was at this time at Croydon, and it must have been a relief to turn aside from troubrous public business, to the calm atmosphere of the monks of Westminster. It had been at his request that Fecknam had been elected abbot for three years, instead of for life, according to the English custom ; and he had applied to the abbot of St. Paul’s at Rome, to send him two monks of the order—Dom Gianbatista da Foligno and Dom Entizio da Piacenza—as visitors, and who were then in Spain ; to come and communicate the institutions of the congregation of Monte Casino to the Benedictines of Westminster, who were anxious to adopt them although much stricter than their own, and which they had begun to do of their own accord.¹

In writing to thank the abbot for giving license to the fathers-visitor to come to England, Pole adds—

“ Your Paternity will perhaps have heard that the affairs of *Ibid.*, VI, St. Peter’s monastery [Westminster Abbey] go on well, and thus, 904 by God’s grace, they still continue proceeding from good to better, and I am not indeed without hope that one of the two monasteries at my Church of Canterbury may soon be restored. I am certain that I do not, and never shall, lack the constant aid of the devout orisons of your Paternity and of the whole congregation, to whose members I greatly recommend myself.”

In the middle of the sixteenth century, suspicions and accusations of heresy were as frequent, and as recklessly propagated—

¹ *Priuli to Beccatelli*, London, 15th December, 1556 ; Quirini, Vol. V.

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through panic, or for purposes of annoyance and detriment—as accusations of Jansenism a century and a half later. And no one appears to have been more prompt to give ear to such suspicions than Pope Paul IV. Cardinals Morone and Pole had, many years previously with Cardinal Contarini, been suspected of unsoundness on the doctrine of Justification, before its definition by the Council of Trent; and the fact that Pole's own words had been incorporated in that definition, appears to have failed to allay the suspicions of the Pope, further irritated by the opposition he was meeting with from the Queen of England in the matter of the legation. Nor were there wanting malignant tongues to remind him that Ochino, Peter Martyr Vermiglio, Carnesecchi and other Italian heresiarchs had been welcome members of Pole's household—ignoring the fact that at that time they had preached and fought against the abuses, and not against the doctrines of the Church—those abuses of which the Pope himself had been the violent opponent.

On the 1st June, Paul IV called a Consistory to give the Cardinals an account of the arrest of Cardinal Morone, telling them the thing had germinated a long time, and was now brought to such a pass that it was impossible to do less than arrest him. Morone had consequently been sent to the Castel St. Angelo, where the Pope's own apartments were allotted to him.¹ There he remained, although four examinations had failed to find any trace of heresy in him, until Paul IV's death nearly two years later, when he was released to attend the Conclave; and subsequently presided at the Council of Trent.

Two Venetian Cardinals, Pisani and Cornaro, whispered to

¹ *Foreign State Papers, Mary*, 625. "Cardinal Morone, previous to his arrest, had told Cardinal Caraffa he understood the Pope had a bad opinion of him, first, because he was an Imperialist; second, because he was hostile to the house of Caraffa; third, because he was notorious for heresy. He was sorry to hear it, as he was not an Imperialist, as he had helped to make Caraffa Pope, and that as to religion, he had always lived in such a way that similar things should not be credited, although, like everybody else, he had his slanderers and enemies." —*Ven. Cal.*, VI, 913.

their ambassador, Navagero, as a great secret, that the Pope ¹⁵⁵⁷ had hinted that the Cardinal of England was likewise involved. *Ven. Cal.*, VI, 914. And when Sir Edward Karne complained to the Pope that it could not please the Queen of England that the legation should be taken away from a person so nearly related to her, to be given to an old dotard, a decrepid friar, who could bear no fatigue, and could only recite orisons in his cell, the Pope replied that he could not do otherwise, as he chose to have Cardinal Pole in Rome to avail himself of his counsel and assistance *in rebus magnis et difficillimis*, and that together with the brief to the new Cardinal, he would tell Cardinal Pole to come to Rome. As a matter of fact, no such order was ever sent ; the Queen's remonstrances, Pole's letters, or the Pope's own common sense prevailed over his passion and suspicions ; the question was allowed to drop, and Pole continued to exercise his power as *legatus natus*.

A special messenger arrived in Rome on the 5th August with a letter from Friar Peto, excusing himself from accepting either the hat or the legation, as burdens too great for his old and feeble shoulders ; and one from the Queen reiterating her request for the restoration of Pole's legation, and begging to be forgiven if she professed to know the men who were good for the government of her kingdom better than his Holiness.¹ In case the Pope should say Cardinal Pole was suspected of heresy, Karne was to reply that the Queen, if the Pope would have the process drawn up, would have him tried in England,

¹ " Giuliano Ardinghelli, an agent of the Duke of Parma at the court of Philip II at Brussels, gained some items of interest respecting Friar Peto's letter to the Pope, when the Queen's messenger passed through Brussels on the way to Rome. The envoy describes the letter as full of spirit and charity, the friar telling the Pope that the rumour of such a determination having reached his ears, he hastened to declare himself unfitted for so great a charge, for a multitude of reasons ; but chiefly that he was an unknown and mean person in a kingdom where, in these days, above and beyond good intentions, authority and splendour were requisites, which found themselves so perfectly conjoined in Cardinal Pole—as in no one else—that he begged his Holiness to desist from this mutation ; whilst for his own part, he wished to spend the short time left him in the habit in which he had lived so many years. 27th July, 1557."—*Farnese MS.*, Parma. Peto was the last Cardinal made by Paul IV.

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as had been done in the case of his predecessor in the Arch-bishopric of Canterbury. But that in the meantime she held him for a man of worth, Catholic and holy, having before her eyes, by what good example and sound doctrine he had brought England back to the true worship of God.

Ven. Cal., VI, 1024

Cardinal Pole had sent his auditor, Dr. Nicolo Ormanetto, to Rome to discover the reason of the Pope's proceedings against him. Ormanetto was received in audience the first week of September, and after explaining that the Cardinal had endeavoured to persuade the King and Queen to permit the papal messenger, Antonio Dangadro de Vercelli, to cross the Channel with the cardinal's hat and brief for Friar Peto, and urging the necessity of having an English legate of authority in the country lest, in the event of the Queen's death, there should be a recantation ; Ormanetto gently and humbly complained of the Pope's having put so great a reproach on the Cardinal by revoking his legation. The Pope vaguely answered that the movements of the King's ministers and the ill-treatment of the clergy in Spain had been the reason of the legate's recall, clearing him at the same time from all suspicion of heterodox opinions.

To Sir Edward Karne's complaints to the Cardinals, that he could get no answer from the Pope—in which case the Queen had ordered him to make a public protest, and to leave Rome—the embarrassed Cardinals could only beg him to remember the Pope's great age, to have patience and to temporize. The Duke of Alva's troops, after defeating the Papal forces at Signia in Campagna, were now encircling Rome ; while Henry II, after his defeat at St. Quentin, had withdrawn his troops from the Papal states, and excitement, apprehension and passion had, if it is permissible to say so, wrought Paul IV into a state of furious dotage, through which however, the workings of a restraining conscience prevented him from carrying his threats into serious effect. And to his honour it must be said that when at a later period it was revealed to him how evil had been the doings of his three nephews, Carlo, Giovanni and Antonio Caraffa, he dismissed them the same day from the governments he had allotted to

them, and sent them into banishment, inveighing against them 1557
with great bitterness.¹ *Ven. Cal.*,
VI, 1042

The Pope was forced to make peace with the Spaniards, and
on the 21st September, the Duke of Alva entered Rome and
kissed the foot of his Holiness, taking occasion to speak very
earnestly about Cardinal Pole's legation, reported Navagero
to the Doge and Senate.

¹ Phillips, II, p. 262.

CHAPTER XXV

1557 PHILIP II, having gained his ends, had left England on the 7th July, never again to return ; and on the 10th August, chiefly through the valour of the English troops, gained the battle of St. Quentin, under the command of Philibert, Duke of Savoy. Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, was taken prisoner with most of the superior officers, and one half of the French army was either taken or slain.

Ven. Cal., VI, 992 The peace-loving Cardinal of England, in writing his congratulations to Philip II, hoped that so great a victory would make him all the more disposed for peace ; and he wrote to the same purport to the Venetian ambassador who had followed the King to Flanders. The news of Paul IV's peace with Spain having reached England, Pole wrote to congratulate him also, expressing his pleasure at hearing that his Holiness had decided to send legates of peace to both the belligerent monarchs.

Beccatelli Such was Pole's loyalty to the Vicar of Christ that when, in defence of his own orthodoxy, he had written a paper repudiating the false suspicions brought against him by the Pope ; on the fair copy of the document being brought to him as he stood by the fire, he read it carefully through, and then flung it into the flames with the words, *non revelabis pudenda patris tui*. But what he would not do for himself, he could not refrain from doing in defence of a friend. The Doge and Senate of Venice, on the death of Cardinal Durantis, Bishop of Brescia, had proposed to the Pope to nominate Alvise Priuli to the vacant See. When Navagero had delivered his message, Paul IV whispered in his ear : "He is a heretic." The ambassador replied he was a good Catholic, and had been slandered. The Pope rejoined it was a fact : "He is of that accursed school, and of the apostate household of the Cardinal of England. Why do you suppose we deprived him of the legation ? . . . Cardinal Pole was the master, and Cardinal Morone, whom we have in the Castle, is the disciple, though

the disciple has become worse than the master ; Priuli is on a 1558 par with these."¹ To all which Navagero calmly repeated his request in the name of his government. The reversion had, in fact, been granted to Priuli by Pope Julius III, as Cardinal Pole reminds the Pope in a letter dated Greenwich, 30th March, 1558. After urging Priuli's merits and claims, his probity, ^{Poli Epp.} _{v, 31} learning and religion, he adds—

" Besides other instances of his generosity of mind, he has given this illustrious one, that whereas he was descended of one of the noblest families of his country, and saw the road to honours and preferments open to him, he made no account of these advantages, but accompanied me, above twenty years, in banishment and the greatest dangers, was partaker of all I suffered, and lived with me in such a manner as not to give the least suspicion of ambition or love of lucre."

After defending the integrity of Priuli's religion, the Cardinal says—

" But it may be replied, in case I myself am impeached of the same crime, of what weight can my evidence be ? And the answer is ready, that I should be so much more credited than my accusers, as the conspicuous actions I have performed in the cause of religion should outweigh their discourses, who dare not produce either acts or words against me, because they are at a loss for either.

" If it be further urged that I am not only impeached but found guilty, I well understand what this means, and was informed of it, for the first time, when Cardinal Morone, my particular friend, was taken into custody ; and afterwards, when I was left to conjecture my own case, by being deprived of the legatine jurisdiction."

After asking the Pope why he allows himself to be deceived by groundless suspicions, why he is ready, on a false appearance of religion, to condemn a son whom he once loved, Pole continues—

" Is this sword of anguish, with which you are about to pierce my soul, the return I am to receive for all my services ? If you

¹ " In point of fact, the accusations against Morone having failed entirely, the Pope had let him know that he might go out of prison. This the Cardinal refused, until justice had been done to him in a public manner, which was the reason that the affair was not ended till the following pontificate."—Phillips, II, p. 257.

1558 act, indeed, in this manner, that you may satisfy what you owe to duty, all I shall say is, may God accept the sacrifice. Yet still I trust he will no more permit you to proceed, than he did the Patriarch to kill his son."

The thought of Fisher and More was present to Pole to the end of his days, for in his next sentence he says—

" When I received the cardinalate . . . I said to the Pope who conferred the dignity on me that I delivered myself as a victim to him ; but I little imagined I should be put to this trial a second time, especially as the Bishop of Rochester had been substituted in my place, as the ram, whose horns were entangled in the brambles, was in that of Isaac. . . .

" I cannot, however, but hope that the same power, which withheld the patriarch's arm, will, when the seasonable time comes, exert itself also in my defence ; nor in mine only, but in that of Cardinal Morone and Priuli, for your Holiness's hand is lifted up against us all. . . .

" I am already informed by what steps the enemy begins to triumph in this realm, especially with respect to those proceedings which have been carried on against myself. For whereas I had gathered together my scattered flock chiefly by my own invariable adherence to that faith which I exhorted them to embrace ; as soon as it was rumoured that my rectitude in that belief was questioned, the enemies of that cause thought they had an opportunity of calling off the sheep to a greater distance from the voice of the shepherd. Your Holiness alone can defeat this purpose."

The Pope's action was certainly a great encouragement to the English heretics ; although in fact Pole's continued exercise of the *legatus natus* office—the silver cross symbolising it continuing to be carried before him on all public occasions—made no essential change in his powers and authority, which no doubt encouraged Paul IV in his inaction with regard to the legatine office *de latere*. His short-sighted obstinacy probably was without any real weight on the great change which was so close at hand, though the fact does not relieve his memory of having done his part to render the situation more dangerous and more difficult.

Ven. Cal., VI, 1104 Cardinal Caraffa arrived in Brussels on the 14th December. " If he comes for peace, he will be welcome," wrote Surian, the Venetian ambassador, " although on other accounts his

Right Rev. Lordship is odious and suspected." Cardinal Pole ¹⁵⁵⁸ thought it proper, as he explains in a letter to the King, to send a letter by a special messenger to Cardinal Caraffa at Brussels. At the same time he tells Philip, who had again left the Queen under a promise of speedy return—

" By the Grace of God the most serene Queen is well, which, in truth, is a manifestation of Divine favour in the midst of so many incessant and extraordinary troubles, and with her usual longing for your Majesty's presence, she hopes to remove the impediments ; in like manner as she knows that your Majesty is intent on speedily consoling her, which may the Lord God grant. . . ."

Pole's letters to Cardinal Caraffa, a public and a private one, conveyed by one of his gentlemen, Gio Franc. Stella, besides congratulating the Pope upon the peace, and assuring Caraffa that he will find in King Philip all the good dispositions towards his Holiness which Pole had always perceived in him, go into the question of his own legation at some length, and say that having sent his Auditor Ormanetto to Rome, he awaits the Pope's orders, to which he will pay "most entire obedience."

The victory of St. Quentin was followed and avenged by the taking of Calais by the Duke of Guise on the 8th January, under circumstances so suspicious as to give good ground for the belief that the loss of that great jewel of the English crown in the short space of one week, after a possession of more than 200 years—was attributable to disaffection and treason.¹

The taking of the Castle of Rysebach by the French, a few ^{Ven. Cal.} VI, 1126 days before that of Calais, reached the Queen at Greenwich on the 4th January, and Pole wrote the same day to tell Philip

¹ Lingard, Vol. V, p. 256. " Sir Edward Karne wrote to the Queen from Rome, that if what he heard was true, the delivery of Calais was ' the most abominable treason that ever man heard of.' "—*Foreign Calendar, Mary*, 727. After the battle of St. Quentin, Goodman, one of the most celebrated reformers in exile at Geneva, thus addresses those of the reformers, in his *How to Obey or Disobey*, who, " to please the wicked Jezebel," had fought on that day. " Is this the love that ye bear to the word of God, ye Gospellers ? Have you been so taught . . . to be wilful murtherers of yourselves and others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people at home ? "—*Apud Strype*, III, p. 441.

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that she had shown her usual firmness, not being the least disheartened, but promptly arranging and providing such means as were possible for what the need required. Pole is all the more pleased she has taken it so well, as there are hopes that she is with child, and he feared that such unexpected news might have seriously affected her Majesty. The Cardinal ends with the hope that Philip will put forth a vigorous arm "which we are all certain you will do with such speed as the need requires."

The fall of Calais was known in London on the 10th. The Queen had come to St. James's, and Pole wrote to the King that his chief anxiety, on the news of this sudden and grievous catastrophe, had again been for the Queen. He had gone to her at once, and had reminded her how she had never allowed herself to be depressed by adversity as she had never allowed prosperity to elate her—

Ven. Cal., VI, 1136 "And in this present case, which is so important a one, her Majesty really shows that in generosity of nature (*et in generositate di natura ed in gratia*) she is very like herself, and no less connected with your Majesty's in this respect, than she is by ties of blood."¹

The letters of the Council and the Queen's messenger will inform the King of all that is being done.

Ibid., 1142

The unhappy jealousy of Philip entertained by the entire English nation, had caused his warning—made several weeks beforehand—of the Duke of Guise's intentions upon Calais, to be disregarded, and his offer of a Spanish garrison to defend the town to be declined. He sent the Count de Feria to London to congratulate the Queen on her hopes of an heir, and to urge—now that Parliament was sitting—that sufficient supplies should be voted for the continuance of the war. Feria was further charged to express the fear lest the French King should, by his intrigues, seize the opportunity of the loss of Calais, than which nothing could be more bitter or grievous to the country, to produce some insurrection in England. Supplies were voted by Parliament, but as the money did not

¹ This allusion to pardoning may perhaps refer to the ill-defence of Calais.

come into the exchequer immediately, the Queen borrowed 1558 £20,000 of the citizens, at an interest of twelve per cent.¹ Journals

The Queen went back to Greenwich in Lent, incessantly occupied in business, always hoping for her husband's return; nevertheless, as Pole informed the King in a letter of 9th March, "able with greater mental quiet to enjoy the residence and the monastery of Greenwich, with the hope that before her departure thence she would be comforted by the so earnestly desired presence of the King."

Pole's duties as Mary's chief counsellor in these troublous *Poli Epp.* V. 32 times were not allowed to interfere with his ecclesiastical duties. In an interesting letter to his old friend, Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, dated Richmond, 20th June, he refers to a complaint Miranda had heard of him, that he did not live in his diocese. He explains that he remains at court, because he has a great deal to do for the Queen, and also, he has no less than thirteen parishes in London to look after. He has to steer his ship in a very turbulent sea, and he does for the best, but cannot go to live in his diocese until he gets things into better order. It would take too long to explain all the difficulties.

He has an excellent Vicar-General of Canterbury in the person of Dean Henry Cole, whose virtues and piety are known to Miranda, and whose work it is to constitute and to correct.² Pole has to get the corrupted English writings rectified, and has two very good men, Watson, now Bishop of Lincoln, and Bexellus at work on that useful labour; Miranda's learned and pious catechism is being translated into English.

The end was approaching; on the 6th September Pole wrote from Lambeth to Philip II that Don Juan Acunha, who had come to enquire about the Queen, would give him news that the feverish symptoms had gone and that she was recovering. During her malady, the Queen had taken great care of herself, *Ven. Cal.* VI, 1284

¹ Stowe, p. 632.

² Henry Cole [1500?-1580], Dean of St. Paul's, one of Cardinal Pole's commissioners to visit Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Sent to Ireland by Pole in 1558. Imprisoned from 1560 to 1579.

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following the advice of her physicians ; and by continuing t do so, it was hoped she would daily more and more establis her health, a result to which nothing could contribute mor than to receive frequent good news of His Majesty. For som days, Pole has had a double quartan ague, but without an other ailment ; though at his age, and with his constitution he cannot but consider this indisposition very serious. B the grace of God, he is resigned to whatever Divine providenc shall be pleased to ordain for him ; and is the more arden and earnest in praying the goodness of God for His Majesty as the present state of affairs has need of it, for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, and for the comfort of his realms. And on the 25th, in thanking the King for enquiring after him in the midst of his own many and serious occupations, he cheerfully remarks—

Ven. Cal., VI, 1265 “ I remain with my double quartan ague, which more or les moles me, and, by the grace of God, with my mind disposed towards what it shall please the Divine providence to ordain for me and should He now be pleased to call me to Him, what occurs to me in that case—availing myself of the very gracious offer which your Majesty has deigned to make me—is, to beseech you with affection, as I now do, to have as recommended those few persons of my household whom I brought with me from Italy, for whom I have not had the means to provide out of my own substance, as I willingly would have done, having always been served by them with much love and fidelity. . . . ”

“ It is unnecessary for me to say anything more to your Majesty about the state of the most serene Queen, as I know that you are fully advised of it, both through her own letters and by those of others ; the hope of the good result of your Majesty's affairs, and of being soon consoled by your presence, is in fact the best and most efficacious remedy for all her ailments. . . . ”

Four days before the date of the above letter, on the 21st September, the Emperor Charles V, the man who, next after Henry VIII himself, had weighed most heavily upon the destiny of Reginald Pole and Mary Tudor, died in his retreat of St. Just. We do not know to what extent news from the outer world penetrated those cloistral walls in the delightful plain of Estramadura ; but if the full consequences of hi



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The Emperor Charles V.
from a painting by Titian in the Munich Gallery.



interference in English affairs, and his vain attempts to add 1558 England to his crown became known to him, they may well have lent vigour to his penitential exercises.

Reginald Pole thought the best he could of Philip II, as indeed was his habit with everybody ; but that prince's attitude towards his consort at this time must have taxed the Cardinal's charity to the utmost to maintain that good opinion. No thought of undertaking the few days' journey seems to have crossed his mind, which would have brought him to the side of the wife whom he knew to be dying, and whose adoring love made her yearn for the consolation of seeing him once again. Philip's concern was to treat of the affair of her succession, "so as to keep that kingdom," wrote Surian from Arras, on the 29th October, "in the hands of a person in the King's ^{Ven. Cal.} VI, 1274 confidence." This was to be effected by the marriage of "Miladi Elizabeth" to one of Philip's dependents, and by obtaining the Queen's declaration in favour of Elizabeth as her successor to the throne.

The matter had been treated of through Philip's confessor, Bernardo de Fresnada, the previous year, during the King's short sojourn in England ; and by dint of adroit perseverance he had extorted the Queen's consent to his scheme, which she had revoked two days later, under the supposed influence of Reginald Pole. "She changed her mind," writes Surian, "and the confessor lays the blame on Cardinal Pole, who, as the project had not been communicated to him, may have performed some contrary offices, ignoring that such was the will of the King." So the Count de Feria was now sent to urge the dying Queen to consent to the Lady Elizabeth's marriage "to the Duke of Savoy or another, as her sister, and with the hope of succeeding to the Crown." The affair was to be treated with the utmost secrecy, as the French, if they heard of it, could easily thwart the project. Elizabeth, perhaps, never showed greater skill and cunning than in her dealings with Philip of Spain during the last year of the Queen's life ; finding means to ingratiate herself completely with him, without lessening her own close connection with the heretic party, and making him the means to wring an unwilling recognition of

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sisterhood and heirship from the Queen, "who obstinately maintained that she had no right to either title, . . . as she was born of an infamous woman, who had so greatly outraged the Queen her mother and herself."

The King had sent a celebrated Portuguese physician, Ludovicus Normius, with de Feria, to see what he could do for the Queen; but her malady was evidently incurable, reported Surian, and would end her life sooner or later, according to the increase or decrease of her mental anxieties "which harass her," concludes the ambassador, "more than the disease, however dangerous it may be." If this was so apparent to a stranger, it throws a still colder light on the callous indifference of Philip II.¹

But the things of this world were passing rapidly beyond the ken of Mary Tudor. Beccatelli relates how, having heard of the death of her father-in-law, the mighty Emperor, the Queen soon after fell into a slow fever, caused by the dropsy which she had at first taken for the happy promise of maternity, and which slowly consumed her, "*s'andava poco a poco consumando*"; and that the misfortunes of the kingdom might not come alone, it pleased God to afflict the Most Rev. Cardinal at the same time with deadly sickness. Three days before the end, Reginald Pole wrote his last letter to the Queen, and, as such, we give it in its entirety—

Poli Epp.
V. 275

"From Lambyth the xiv day of November, 1558.

"It may please your Grace to understand, that albeit the long continuance and vehemancy of my sickness be such as justly might move me, casting away all cares of this world, only to think of that which is to come: yet not being convenient for me to determine of life or death, which is only in the hand of God, I thought it my duty, before I should depart, so nigh as I could, to leave all persons

¹ "On one point, Philip showed respect and deference to the Queen of England. Calais had been lost to her by his means, and, in the peace conference which opened at the monastery of Cercamp, he considered himself bound in honour to make the restoration of Calais an indispensable condition; he refused the most tempting offers, and at last, in despair of subduing the obstinacy of Henry II, put an end to the negotiation."—Lingard, Vol. V, p. 258.

satisfied of me, and especially your Grace being of that honour and 1558 dignity that the providence of God hath called you unto.

“ For which purpose I do send you at this present mine ancient faithful chaplain, the Dean of Worcester [Seth Holland] to whom it may please your Grace to give credit in that he shall say unto you of my behalf. I nothing doubting but that your Grace shall remain satisfied thereby, whom Almighty God long prosper to his honour, your comfort, and wealth of the realm.

“ By your Grace’s Orator

“ REG. CARDINALIS CANTUARIENSIS.”

Beccatelli tells of the Cardinal’s devout behaviour during his last illness ; how Mass was said daily in his room ; how, before the Elevation he caused himself to be raised from his bed, and supported on his knees by two of his chamberlains ; that in listening to the reading of the Scriptures he seemed to find refuge from the ardour of the fever, and on the eve of his death asked for the last anointing with calm serenity.

Queen Mary died at 7 o’clock in the morning of the 17th November, and, as Priuli wrote to his brother the Doge a few days later, when her death was announced to the Cardinal—

“ After remaining silent a short time, he said to his intimate friend, the Bishop of St. Asaph [Goldwell], and to me, that in the whole course of his life nothing had yielded him greater happiness and content than the contemplation of God’s providence as displayed in his own person and in that of others, and that in the course of the Queen’s life, and of his own, he had even remarked a great uniformity, as she, like himself, had been harassed many years for one and the same cause, and afterwards, when it pleased God to raise her to the throne, he had greatly participated in all the other troubles entailed by that elevation.

“ He also alluded to their relationship, and to the great similarity of their dispositions *gran conformità d’âme*, and to the confidence Her Majesty displayed in him, saying that besides the immense mischief which might result from her death, he could not help feeling deep grief thereat, yet, by God’s grace, the same faith in Divine providence which had ever comforted him greatly consoled him now in this so grievous a final catastrophe.

“ He uttered these words with such earnestness that it was evident they came from his very heart, and they even moved him to tears. . . . His Right Rev. Lordship then remained silent for

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about a quarter of an hour ; but though his spirit was great, the blow having entered the flesh, brought on the paroxysm earlier, and with more intense cold than he had hitherto experienced, so that he said he felt it would be his last. He therefore desired that the book containing the prayers for the dying might be placed near him. He then had Vespers said as usual . . . ; and this was about two hours before sunset. . . . In fine it was evident that as in health that sainted soul was ever turned towards God, so likewise in this long and troublesome infirmity did it continue thus until his end, which he made so placidly that he seemed to sleep rather than to die ; as did the Queen likewise, so that had not a physician perceived the act, her Majesty would have died without anyone's knowing of it [*senza che alcuno se ne avedesse*].”¹

Thus, between dawn and night of the same day, died Mary Tudor and her faithful kinsman ; they in whose union Katherine of Arragon and Margaret Plantagenet had hoped to see the reversal of a wrong, the expiation of a crime, the joining of the white rose and the red in a happy union, which should continue the line of English kings, for the peaceful wealth of a contented people.

Mary's reign of five years, Pole's administration of less than four, had been too short for the work of restoration and recovery after the disastrous regimen of the two previous reigns. Sorely hampered as they were by the fatal consequences of the Spanish marriage, by the intrigues of Elizabeth and the French, by the plots and conspiracies of the reformers, they had nevertheless succeeded in giving their country a period of extraordinary prosperity, of just administration of the law, of encouragement of commerce and enterprise, of solicitude for learning, of compassion for the poor and the oppressed, which excited the wonder and praise of impartial observers.²

¹ “ At the levacion of the Sacrement, ye strengthe of her body and use of her tong being taken awaye, yet neverthelesse she, at the instante, lifted up her eyes, *ministros nuncios devoti cordis*, and, in the benediction of the churche she bowed down her hedd, and withal yielded a mylde and glorious spirite into ye Hand of her Maker.”—*Cotton MS.*, Vesp. D. XVIII, f. 104b. B.M.

² Mary had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia ; the “ Merchauntes Adventurers of Englande for the discoureyes

The "Smithfield fires," which have cast so lurid a light upon 1558 the second half of that short period, were the almost inevitable consequences in that age—and under circumstances which it is well-nigh impossible for us, at this distance of time to understand and make allowance for—of the rebellious turbulence of the men who would accept no tolerance, to whom mild measures were but incentives to greater audacity and outrage. Even so, it appears abundantly clear that this rigour was the work of a lay majority in the Council, headed by the treasurer, the Marquis of Winchester, who had persuaded themselves that they had ample proof of the utter inefficacy of milder measures. As for Pole himself, the only prosecutions for heresy which took place in the diocese of Canterbury were enacted when he lay on his death-bed. He had issued a commission in March to Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, Robert Collins, Richard Fawcett, and other canons and prebendaries of the diocese, "to absolve, admit and receive into the bosom of the Church those that confessed their errors and retracted them : and to enjoin them penance." But the obstinate, if the atrocity of the crime required it—*Si facti atrocitas ita exposceret*—were to be delivered to the secular arm. Under this commission, John Cornford of Wrotham, Christopher Brown of Maidstone and three others were designated in a *Significavit*, dated Lambeth, July 7th, but their execution was

of Lands, Territories, Isles and Signories unknown," was incorporated by Philip and Mary ; the enactments of her parliaments were salutary and enlightened, and when the Queen appointed Morgan Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, she took the opportunity to express her disapprobation of the abuse, that in suits, to which the Crown was a party, the subject had no probability of a favourable decision, on account of the advantages claimed and enjoyed by the counsel for the sovereign. " You are to sit there," were the last words of the Queen's charge to the judge, " not as advocates for me, but as indifferent judges between me and my people " [*State Trials*, i, 72]. And when we remember the crushing taxation in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, Michiel's words in his speech to the Doge and Senate, come with redoubled force : " The liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful ; indeed there is no other country in my opinion less burthened and more free. For they not only have no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of. . . . Here everyone indifferently, whether noble or common, is in the free enjoyment of all he possesses . . . "

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deferred and was only carried out on the 10th November, seven days before the Cardinal's death.¹

Reginald Pole's will bears the date of 4th October, 1558. To his faithful friend, Priuli, notwithstanding the latter's reluctance, who protested that he desired nothing but Pole's breviary and the Book of Hours he was accustomed to use, the Cardinal left a part of his inheritance, naming him executor of his will.²

True to his own fidelity and humility, after recommending his soul to God, and to the prayers of the blessed Virgin and all the saints, Pole declares his attachment and filial obedience to the Church of Rome and to the Vicar of Christ. He states that he ever respected Pope Paul IV as a father, before he was raised to the pontificate, and had always promoted his honour since then, and in all his embassies and employments he was not conscious of having had anything in view but the dignity and advantage of the Christian cause; that he now, with all reverence, asked his Holiness's blessing, and wished him peace and safety and every comfort. These noble words drew from Paul Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras and nephew of Pole's old friend, Cardinal James Sadoletto, the following comment in a letter to [Priuli ?] of the 4th July, 1559—

Poli Epp. V, 343. “In death, as in life, that angelic spirit has brought confusion on the adversaries and calumniators of his irreproachable virtue, and has heaped coals of fire upon their heads, as may clearly be seen in this protestation of his last will, this affirmation of his belief, conformable to every action of his life. . . .”

¹ “Chedsey, one of the commissioners sent by the Privy Council into Essex to enquire into cases of heresy, wrote as follows on being recalled from Colchester: ‘21st April, 1558 . . . Would to God the honourable Council could see the face of Essex as we do see. We have such obstinate Heretical Anabaptists, and other unruly persons here, as never was heard of. And now to be called from our Doings, it will be taken that we have no commission, but came of your lordship's command, without any other Warrant from the Hon. Council.’”—*Strype*, III, p. 456.

² It is interesting to find that Pole left a silver inkstand to William Cecil. Priuli's letter informing him of the legacy is addressed: “*III Dom Guglielmo Cecilio, Secrio et Consrio Serma Regina.*”—*Ets.*, I, R.O., f. 24.

The Cardinal makes special mention in his will of Henry ¹⁵⁵⁸ Penning, whom he styles his Chamberlain and Receiver-General, and says he was perfectly well acquainted with all his concerns, and would be of great use to his executor.¹ He also names Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England; Thomas, Bishop of Ely; and his beloved kinsman, Edward Hastings, her Majesty's Chamberlain; Mr. Boxal, her Majesty's Secretary; Mr. Edward Walgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. Cordel, Master of the Rolls; and Mr. Henry Cole, his Vicar-General; he desires them to assist the Lord Priuli in the executorship, and bequeaths £50 to each. It is stated in the will that the Cardinal had spent more than £1,000 on Canterbury Cathedral; and the witnesses to his signature are Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, Seth Holland, Dean of Worcester, Maurice Clenock,² chaplain, and John Francis Stella, auditor. Marcus Antonius Faitta, secretary, affixed the seals, and "Dominic Lampson, *scripsi*." The will was published in Italy in 1559. Dillingen, Germany

In the above-quoted letter to his brother the Doge, Priuli states—

" Immediately on the Cardinal's death it was deemed well not to delay intimating it to the new Queen, recommending the household to her, and supplicating for her favour and protection in the execution of his will. Our messenger applied first to the Chancellor, but being unable to speak with him, went forthwith to her Majesty, who, without making any other reply, referred him to the members of her Council, and they, having consulted together, intimated that her Majesty would send hither immediately, as she did, the Earl of Rutland, who was accompanied by two other gentlemen in great

¹ "A brief account of all those monies received by Henry Penning for my lord's grace for the space of 23 months, from the 6th day of January, 1556, until the last of November, 1557.

" Summs received	16,826	0	8
" Summs expended	16,374	5	8
<i>"Et sic remaneat in manibus meis</i>			<u>451 15 0 "</u>

—*Mary*, Vol. XI, f. 607.

² Bishop elect of Bangor, Prebendary of York; under Elizabeth he resigned all his preferments.

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favour with the Queen. After seeing the will and hearing all particulars, the Earl of Rutland said the Queen's disposition was excellent, and that her Majesty would have every honourable regard to me and would render all favour and assistance for the execution of the Cardinal's will."

Priuli goes on to mention the false reports among the vulgar that the Cardinal had hundreds of thousands of crowns in his hands from the late Queen, and also that he had great treasures derived from another source; so it was well that the new Queen should ascertain the truth of these assertions. Priuli concludes—

"Concerning State affairs, I will merely say that they have passed, and continue their course most quietly, her Majesty having professed and professing her intention of not choosing in any way to change the matters of religion, and to be bent on keeping her subjects united and well satisfied, which may our Lord God give her grace to do."

Priuli mentions that he has been ill with quartan ague himself, but is better. And in a letter of the same time to *Ven. Cal.* VI, 1287 Antonio Giberti, Priuli tells of the death, a few days before that of the Cardinal, of Sir Geoffrey Pole, "who made a very pious and Catholic end, assisted by Father Soto"; which shows that Soto must have returned to England soon after the death of Charles V, perhaps with some message from the dying Emperor to Queen Mary. Priuli adds—

"Sir Geoffrey Pole left five sons, the eldest of whom, according to the laws here, will inherit the small property which scarcely sufficed to maintain the whole family in poverty. You must know that during his lifetime, both in Italy and here, the Cardinal never failed to succour them, though he never asked nor received anything from the Queen either for them or for anyone else, either friend or relation dependent on him in any way. . . ." ¹

According to the custom of the country, writes Beccatelli,

¹ "The earldom of Warwick was devolved to Cardinal Pole by inheritance; yet all the instances of his family to make out his title could never prevail on him to do so. . . . He was so far from enriching himself by his legatine office, that the manner in which he exercised it put him to considerable expense. Every department of it was served without fees; and where the laws prescribed a fine, it was employed for the relief of the needy. . . ."—Phillips, II, p. 295.

in the case of great personages, Cardinal Pole's obsequies 1558-59 lasted forty days, in the great hall of Lambeth, hung with black, and where, on a high catafalque, his body lay in a leaden coffin ; and every day at least four Masses were said for the repose of his soul. After the fortieth day, the 10th December, with much solemnity and pomp, attended by a great and noble company, his body was carried on a richly-adorned car to his Cathedral Church of Canterbury and laid, according to his wish, in the chapel of St. Thomas, with this short epitaph, “ *Depositum Cardinalis Poli.* ” He had lived fifty-eight years and six months, and was the fifth Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

Alvise Priuli intended to write his friend's life ; but, in those days when companionship and friendship so often entailed a very heroism of mutual defence and service, of close identity of life and habit, it happened with him—as it had done with others in like case—that when the tie was severed his own hold on life slackened, and after twenty months of faithful toil in fulfilling the provisions of Cardinal Pole's will, Priuli followed him to the grave. In a letter to Beccatelli, dated London, 13th June, 1559, he mentions his quartan ague, and that he is still overwhelmed by the loss of such a master, and the great weight of executing his last wishes—distributing all to his poor relations, clients and dependents. He adds that he is thinking of writing Pole's life for the edification of his country “ which stands in great need of it, and for the rest of Christendom.” At last, after being hindered by a good many intrigues and troubles, Priuli had succeeded in terminating his executorship, and reached Paris by the end of the year, whence on the 30th December he wrote again to Beccatelli that he hoped to spend the winter at Orleans and at Blois, where their dear distinguished friend, Giovanni Michiel, who had been ambassador and Pole's close friend in England, was envoy at the Court of Henry II. Pole's “ great persecutor,” Paul IV, was dead, and Priuli writes that he hopes the new Pope may be such as the great necessities of the Church require.

¹ See Appendix H.

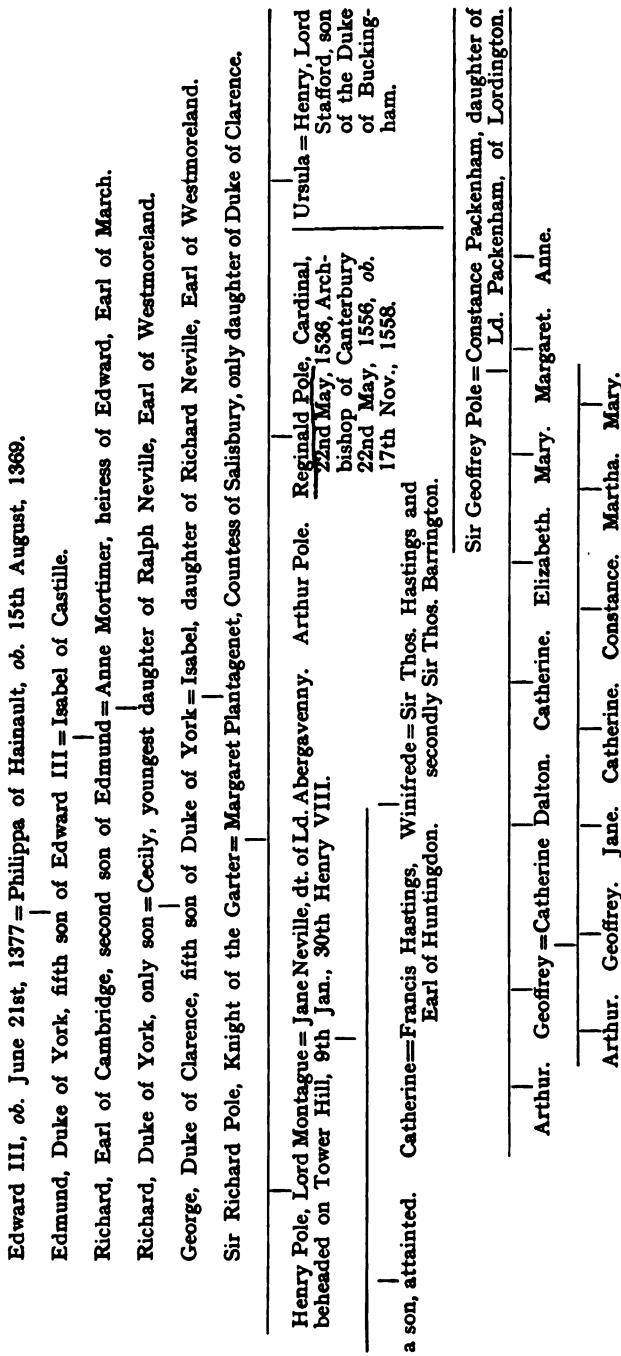
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It is much to be regretted that Priuli was unable to carry out his intention of writing Reginald Pole's life, which would have been one of the most interesting of biographies, Beccatelli's account of all that happened after the Cardinal's departure from Italy being necessarily cursory and at second hand, whereas for twenty-six years Priuli had rarely left his side. To judge by the easy and graceful style of the few letters which have come down to us, he had the literary qualification for writing a delightful book, and his knowledge of those four strenuous years in England would have made it an invaluable addition to the history of the time.

We do not know if Priuli and Beccatelli ever met again, to talk of the "many things" the former had written that he had to tell of Pole's sojourn in England, and the first year of Elizabeth's reign. Nor do we know if he died at Blois or lived to reach Italy; but, whether with Giovanni Michiel or Ludovico Beccatelli, the name and the praise of the great Cardinal must ever have been on his lips, the thought of him in his heart, though time failed him to set them down for us to read.

APPENDIX A

PEDIGREE OF REGINALD POLE



APPENDIX B

THE King's Visit to Calais : The Manner of the triumph at Calais and Boulogne. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde. . . .

"They embraced five or six times on horseback, and so did the lords. They rode hand-in-hand for a mile, and then lighted, and drank to each other. Within a mile of Boulogne the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, and the Earl of Angouleme, with four Cardinals and 1,000 horse met them. . . . On Sunday . . . the French King supped with the King of England, and after supper the Lady Marquess of Pembroke, Lady Mary (? Howard), Lady Derby, Lady Fitzwater, Lady Rochford, and Lady Lisley, and Lady Wallop, came in masked, and danced with the French King and Lords." There were no ladies at Boulogne when Henry VIII visited Francis; there is no mention of any French ladies at all. The narrator says that Francis sent Anne Boleyn, by the provost of Paris, a diamond worth 15 or 16,000 crowns, and that the Kings parted "on Tuesday last, 29th October."

"In May of the previous year the following list of jewels 'for Mistress Anne' was 'delivered to the King by Cornelius Hayes,' and is still in the Record Office—'a girdle of crown gold . . . 19 diamonds for her head, 19 diamonds set in trueloves of crown gold . . . 21 rubies set in roses of crown gold. A borasse flower of diamonds. . . . Two borders of gold for her sleeves, set with 10 diamonds and 8 pearls,' etc., etc. Then 'More delivered by Master Parker.'"—Gairdner, Vol. V, No. 276.

APPENDIX C

BONNER, in a despatch to Henry VIII, dated Marseilles, 13th November, 1533, gives a graphic account of his audience with Pope Clement VII, then at Marseilles, for an interview with Francis I. Bonner delivered Henry's protests and the Pope "showed himself much offended at many passages, and when he came to the words *ad sacrosanctum concilium generale proxime*, etc., he fell into a marvellous great choler, which he showed both in words and manner, saying, 'Why did not the King, when I wrote to my nuncio this year past to speak unto him for this General Council, give no answer to my said nuncio, but referred him therein to the French King . . . the thing so standing, now to speak of a General Council, O good Lord ! '"

As evidences of the Pope's anger, Bonner describes "one which is here taken for infallible with those who know the Pope's condition, viz., that he was continually folding up and unwinding of his

handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler. At the clauses *Si oporteat reverendis patribus* and *post . . .* he again chafed greatly, finally saying 'Questo e ben fatto.' The clauses *protestando* and *nos ad ea juris et facti remedia* he caused the Datary to read again, and, not a little chafing, asked what I had more. I then, repeating my protestation, exhibited your Highness's 'provocation'. . . . In this also he found himself much grieved . . . scarcely a clause pleased him, nor would he accept any of my explanations. . . .

"Then one of his chamber came to tell him that the French King came to speak with him . . . they met at the door, the French King making very low courtesy, putting off his bonnet, and keeping it off till he came to a table in the Pope's chamber. . . . The Pope said: 'These English gentlemen have come to intimate certain appeals.' On this the two entered into a private conversation. . . . At the end the Pope said to the French King, 'This is of your goodness.' Proceeding further, and laughing merrily, they talked for three quarters of an hour."

The next day Bonner had another audience with the Pope. "At my coming in, said: 'Domine doctor, quid vultis?' I said I looked for the promised answer. He said he had always wished to do you justice; as to your appeal to the General Council, there was a constitution against such appeals, and he therefore rejected it as frivolous. The Council itself he would do his best to promote, as he had done in times past, though your Highness had not answered him then. . . . He refused to return the documents, saying he would keep them safely, and that I might have as many copies as I pleased from the Bishop of Winchester, and those before whom they were made. Bonner ends by expressing the fear that the Pope, on his return to Rome 'will do much displeasure.' "—*Vit. B.* XIV 77. B.M.

APPENDIX D

SPEECH of John Fisher, after condemnation, from an ancient sixteenth-century MS. note-book—

"I think, indeed, and always have thought, and doe now lastly affirme—that his Grace cannot justly claim any such supremacie over the Churche of God as he now takyth upon him; neither hath it ever been seen or hearde of that anie temporale prince before his daies hath presumed to that dignitie. Wherefore, if the King will now adventure himself in proceeding in this strange and unwonted case, no doubt but he shall deeply incur the grievous displeasure of Almighty God, to the great damage of his own sowle and manie others, and to the utter ruine of this royalme committed

to his charge, whereof will ensue some sharpe punishment at his hand. Wherefore, I pray God, his Grace may remember himself in time, and harken to good counsaile for the preservation of himself and his royalme, and the quiettance of all Christendom."—*Reginald Pole* : An Historical Sketch by Frederick George Lee, D.D.

APPENDIX E

THE chief points of the report of the Papal Commission, *De Emendanda Ecclesia*, are the following—

- I. The great carelessness with which subjects are admitted to Holy Orders is the source of countless scandals, contempt for the priesthood, and decline of the worship of God. The examination of candidates should be entrusted to good and reliable men ; teachers should be appointed by the bishops to instruct the lower clergy.
- II. In granting benefices, only good and learned men should be chosen, and no Italians appointed to benefices in Spain or England.
- III. The transfer and reservation of pensions are condemned. Revenues annexed to benefices were destined for the maintenance of the clergy, of public worship, and the upkeep of ecclesiastical buildings ; any surplus should be employed for the relief of the poor, or other good works, subject to the Pope's approval.
- IV. Unjust and simoniacal contracts on the occasion of benefices changing hands, are severely censured, as also—
- V. Pluralities, the choice of unsuitable coadjutors, the grants of prebends to a man's sons, by which ecclesiastical benefices are converted into private property, people are embittered against the clergy, and even against the Apostolic See, which tolerates such abuses.
- VI and VII deal with reversions, "expectancies" and *Beneficia incompatibilia* " united in the same person.
- VIII considers the question of plurality of Sees, and declares that, as a rule, the office of Cardinal is incompatible with that of bishop. Cardinals, if they wish to escape the reproach of resembling the Pharisees, who laid burdens on others which they would not so much as touch with their fingers, should set a good example by not accepting bishoprics from princes. How can the Pope give instructions to the bishops about the appointment of priests, if he allows the Cardinals entire freedom of action ? The abuses relating to the cure of souls are then depicted—

- i. Neglect of residence, absenteeism, the exercise of pastoral duties through a paid substitute ; for which evils the remedies proposed are censures, and privation of revenue.
- ii. If Cardinals were rarely granted leave of absence by the Curia, the bishops occupied in the Pope's service would be free to go to their dioceses.
- iii. The grant of exemptions and permissions of recourse—for a money payment—to the Penitentiaria and the Dataria are calculated to hamper bishops in the good administration of their dioceses.
- iv. Radical remedies are proposed for the reform of lax religious houses, from which youths not yet professed should be removed ; while novices should not be admitted until the degenerate monks have died out.
- v. The exercise of priestly functions by popes and nuncios for money payments, dishonoured the Pope and perplexed the people.
- vi. Suggests that nunneries should be placed under the supervision of the bishops, instead of under religious superiors, as the best means to put an end to disturbances and sacrileges.
- vii. Godlessness is taught in the schools of Italy by professors of philosophy ; religious questions are irreverently dealt with, difficult matters are discussed in a way which perplexes men's minds. The granting of dispensations for money is inveighed against ; as also the permission to ex-monks, who have laid aside their habit, to accept ecclesiastical charges. Marriage dispensations within the second degree should only be granted for grave reasons, and *gratis*. In Rome, the mother and mistress of all the churches, public worship and good morals should flourish abundantly ; but precisely in Rome were they much sinned against. Strangers, who visit St. Peter's are scandalized to see dirty and neglected priests celebrating Divine service in robes and garments such as would not be seen in a respectable house. Women of ill-repute live in fashionable houses, and walk in the city in broad daylight like honourable matrons, accompanied by members of Cardinals' and clerics' households. In no city is corruption so great as in Rome, the city which should serve as a pattern to all others.

APPENDIX F

ONE of Cardinal Pole's MS. registers is still preserved in Lambeth Palace ; it comprises 82 parchment pages, and contains, among other things, the form of restitution of married priests " who lamente and bewaile their offences ; " and Pole's Visitation articles— " concise, complete and admirable," as Dr. Lee describes them. Another, and far more important Register was removed to Douay during the troubles of Elizabeth's reign, and is preserved in the public library there [MS., No. 922]. It contains the record, written by Henry Penning, of Pole's legatine acts from his first arrival at Brussels in 1554. And one of the first entries [f. 3] records the confirmation of Robert, Bishop of Hereford, John White of Lincoln, Gilbert Bourne of Bath and Wells, and other prelates who had been absolved from heresy and schism, to their respective Sees, dated " Monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, 15 Kal. April, 1554." Another interesting record [f. 56] is that of the absolution of Thomas Cothen and others who " though not consenting to the schism, yet, out of fear were present at the consecration of four or five schismatical bishops, amongst other assisting bishops." Pole had returned to the monastery of Diligam near Brussels when, on the 14th September [f. 11], he absolved Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Norwich, George Lilly and others from all the pains and penalties of heresy and schism. F. 206 tells how John Clerk, a layman of Canterbury, petitioned for absolution from heresy. He was a notary and procurator general of the Court of Canterbury, and Pole absolves him from faults committed by doing business with heretics, eating with them, receiving sacraments from them, defending their cause, etc.

Two of the last entries at Brussels [f. 22 and 23b] record the confirmation of two prelates proposed by Philip and Mary—Rudolph Bayn for the See of Coventry and Lichfield, and John Holymen for Bristol. They are dated 7th and 8th November.

An immense number of the entries, after the Cardinal Legate's arrival in England refer to matrimonial cases, and dispensations of various kinds. Amongst the former one of the most interesting is the petition [f. 141] of Henry, Earl of Arundel and Catherine Grey, legitimate daughter of Lord Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset. Wishing to be married, and being related in the third and fourth degree of consanguinity, they got a dispensation from Cardinal Wolsey, and lived as man and wife. To stop the mouths of cavillers however, they ask Cardinal Pole to put everything right anew. The petition was granted, Lambeth, 1st March, 1555.

One of the dispensations for meat in Lent throws light on the age of Sebastian Cabot, the celebrated navigator, director and founder of the " Merchautes Adventurers " Company. The date

of his death is unknown, but in March, 1555, we find the following entry : [138b]—

“A dispensation for flesh to ‘Sebastiano Cabotto, who is now more than eighty years of age.’”

Stephen Boleyn’s petition to be absolved from heresy and schism is recorded on f. 119 ; and it is interesting to find, on f. 78, that William Cecil, Kt., has always had a natural horror of fish, and has moreover been suffering from a dangerous fever ; so, for the quietening of his conscience a dispensation to eat meat in Lent, Fridays and Saturdays excepted, is granted to him, from Lambeth on the 14th Kal. of March.

APPENDIX G

“IN compliance with the decisions of the Holy See, fully acquainted with the facts of each case, faced with the constant and universal teaching of the Church that the Sacrament of Holy Orders may on no account be repeated if it had once been rightly conferred, they [Cardinal Pole and his suffragans] proceeded on the firm conviction that the Edwardine Orders were *invalid*, adjudged by Rome to be so on account of *insufficiency* or *inadequacy of Form* ; and, therefore, wholly ignoring that form, ordained clergy who had received ecclesiastical promotion by its means, as if they had never received any sort of ordination ; others, for like reasons, or because of having contracted marriages, they deprived of preferment.”

We may sum up Pole’s labours in purging the Church—

- I. Bishops who had received episcopal consecration according to the Pontifical were deprived, either for heresy, as Cranmer, or for having married, as Bird.
- II. Bishops who, like Parfew, had been consecrated during the schism, but according to the Pontifical, and who abjured their schism, were absolved and restored to their dioceses.
- III. No single bishop who had received episcopal consecration according to the Edwardine Ordinal was allowed to remain in his diocese, or was restored to it. Hooper was degraded from his priesthood only, which had been conferred on him according to the Pontifical, no notice being taken of his episcopal rank received according to the Ordinal.

Ferrar was degraded, not from his Edwardine episcopacy, but from his Pontifical priesthood, and in the process of his arraignment he was described as a “priest” only, and was declared “unworthy of the office of ‘priesthood.’” John Taylor was deprived of the See of Lincoln, *propter nullitatem consecrationis*. The same fate, for the like reason, befell John Harley, Bishop of Hereford, but his case was aggravated by his marriage. . . .

IV. The same policy was pursued with regard to the lower clergy.

By far the greatest number of the then existing priests and deacons had, of course, been ordained according to the Roman Pontifcat. On the submission of such, they were restored *in Ordinibus suis*—to the use and exercise of their Orders. “But, hitherto, no single case has been discovered in which either Cardinal Pole or any of the other bishops in their respective dioceses, acknowledged either the validity of the Orders conferred by, or the sufficiency of, the Form of the Ordinal of Edward VI.”—Dom Norbert Birt: *The Line of Cleavage under Elizabeth*, pp. 76-79.

APPENDIX H

THE inventories of Cardinal Pole’s furniture and effects are preserved in the Record Office; by which we see, amid the necessary adjuncts of his high rank and office, the unassuming modesty of his personal possessions. In his stables were thirty-seven horses and mules with their accoutrements. His furniture seems chiefly to have consisted of a vast number of beds, with their bedding, for his numerous household and retainers, and the Inventory of his wardrobe is scanty.

- “ Two pontifical gowns of camelat, one red and the other purple.
- “ *Item.* Two pontifical clokes of cloth, one red and the other purple.
- “ Two pontifical cloak-bags with Mylord’s arms, one red and the other purple.
- “ Two pontifical cloths for the mule of purple.
- “ Two others of red, in the keeping of the footmen.
- “ Two foot-clothes for the horse of red and purple.
- “ Foot-cloth for mules, black.
- “ Four males [bales?] of cloth, three purple, one red.
- “ One Pavilion of white cloth.
- “ One of fine cloth, with top of red silk; four altogether.
- “ Table cloth of red.
- “ Bed curtains of crimson damask.
- “ A gown of purple taffeta.
- “ A portmanteau of red leather.
- “ Two pontifical hats, red, and three russet.
- “ Two gilt strappes, two pairs gilt spurs.
- “ Four pontifical staves.
- “ Two gilt banners.” [Eliz., S. P. Dom, Vol. I, (10)].