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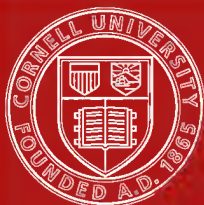
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LIVES
OF THE
QUEENS OF ENGLAND

VICTORIA EDITION

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Warwick Castle

Birthplace of Anne of Warwick, queen of Richard III

LIVES OF THE
QUEENS OF ENGLAND

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC
DOCUMENTS, PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC, BY

Agnes Strickland

PRECEDED BY A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY

John Foster Kirk

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES, WITH PLATES

VOLUME IV

• **Philadelphia**

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ANNE OF WARWICK, QUEEN OF RICHARD III.

ANNE of Warwick, last Plantagenet queen—Place of her birth—Coronets of York and Lancaster—Her armorial bearings—Parentage—Childhood—Richard of Gloucester—His early acquaintance with Anne—Anne at Calais—Marriage of her sister—Returns to England—Embarks with her family—Naval battle—Distress before Calais—Lands in France—Marriage with Edward prince of Wales—Remains with queen Margaret—Tewkesbury—Richard of Gloucester wishes to marry her—Her aversion—She is concealed by Clarence—Richard discovers her—She resides with her uncle—Disputes regarding her property—Compelled to marry Richard—Divorce meditated—Birth of her son—Residence at Middleham—Death of Edward IV.—Gloucester departs for London—Anne's arrival at the Tower—Coronation—Her progress to the north—Her son—Re-coronation of Richard and Anne at York—Bribe to the queen—Death of her son—Her fatal grief—Rumors of divorce—Conversation of her husband regarding her—Rumors of her death—Her alarm and complaints—Her kindness to Elizabeth of York—The queen's death and burial.

ANNE of Warwick, the last of our Plantagenet queens, and the first who had previously borne the title of princess of Wales,¹ was born at Warwick castle, in the year 1454.² On each side of the faded, melancholy portrait of this un-

¹ There have been but six princesses of Wales in England: the first three were left widows; and it is singular that, although two of them were afterwards queen-consorts, neither of them derived that dignity from the prince of Wales she had wedded. The first English princess of Wales, Joanna, the widow of Edward the Black Prince, died of a broken heart. The miseries of Anne of Warwick, the widow of Edward of Lancaster, prince of Wales, this biography will show. The misfortunes of Katharine of Arragon, consort of Henry VIII., and widow to Arthur prince of Wales, will be related in the course of the present volume. Caroline of Anspach, consort of George II., after a lapse of two hundred years, was the only princess of Wales who succeeded happily to the throne-matrimonial of this country. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, widow to Frederick prince of Wales, lost a beloved husband in the prime of life, and never was queen. The troublous career of the sixth princess of Wales, Caroline of Brunswick, is still in public memory.

² Rous Roll, Herald's college. This represents the great earl of Warwick with the Neville bull at his feet, though after his marriage he assumed the Beauchamp bear and ragged staff, celebrated as his badge in history and poetry.

fortunate lady, in the pictorial history of her maternal ancestry called the Rous roll, two mysterious hands are introduced, offering to her the rival crowns of York and Lancaster; while the white bear, the cognizance assumed by her mighty sire, Warwick the king-maker, lies muzzled at her feet, as if the royal lions of Plantagenet had quelled the pride of that hitherto tameless bear on the blood-stained heath of Barnet.

The principal events which marked the career of her father have been traced in the memoirs of the two preceding queens. Richard Neville, surnamed the king-making earl of Warwick, was heir, in the right of the countess his mother, to the vast inheritance of the Montagues, earls of Salisbury. He aggrandized himself in a higher degree by his union, in 1448, with Anne, the sister of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who had become sole heiress of that mighty line by the early death of her niece the preceding year. Richard was soon after summoned to the house of lords, in right of his wife, as earl of Warwick. He possessed an income of 22,000 marks per annum, but had no male heir, his family consisting but of two daughters: the eldest, lady Isabel,¹ was very handsome. Bucke calls lady Anne "the better woman of the two," but he gives no reason for the epithet he uses.

When, on the convalescence of king Henry, Margaret of Anjou recovered her former influence in the government, Warwick, having good reason to dread her vengeance, withdrew, with his countess and young daughters, to his government of Calais, where the childhood and early youth of the lady Anne were spent. Occasionally, indeed, when the star of York was in the ascendant, Warwick brought the ladies of his family either to his feudal castle, or his residence in Warwick lane. The site of this mansion is still known by the name of Warwick court. Here the earl exercised semi-barbarous hospitality in the year 1458,² when a pacification was attempted between the warring houses of York and Lancaster; six hundred of the retain-

¹ Born at Warwick castle, 1451.—Rous Roll, Herald's college.

² Stowe's London.

ers of Anne's father were quartered in Warwick lane, "all dressed alike in red jackets, with the bear and ragged staff embroidered both before and behind. At Warwick house six oxen were daily devoured for breakfast, and all the taverns about St. Paul's and Newgate street were full of Warwick's meat; for any one who could claim acquaintance with that earl's red-jacketed gentry might resort to his flesh-pots, and, sticking his dagger therein, carry off as much beef as could be taken on a long dagger."

At this period the closest connection subsisted between the families of the duke of York and the earl of Warwick. Richard Plantagenet, afterwards Richard III., was two years older than the lady Anne; he was born October 2, 1452, at his father's princely castle of Fotheringay. He was the youngest son of Richard duke of York and his duchess Cicely, the earl of Warwick's aunt. "At his nativity," says Rous, a contemporary chronicler, "the scorpion was in the ascendant; he came into the world with teeth, and with a head of hair reaching to his shoulders." He was small of stature, with a short face and unequal shoulders, the right being higher than the left."¹

Passing over events already related, that led to the deposition of Henry IV., positive proof may be found that Anne of Warwick and Richard of Gloucester were companions when he was about fourteen, and she twelve years old. After Richard had been created duke of Gloucester at his brother's coronation, it is highly probable he was consigned to the guardianship of the earl of Warwick, at Middleham castle; for, at the grand enthronization of George Neville, the uncle of Anne, as archbishop of York, Richard was a guest at York palace, seated in the place of honor in the chief banqueting-room upon the dais, under a cloth of estate, or canopy, with the countess of Westmoreland on his left hand, his sister, the duchess of Suffolk, on his right, and the noble maidens his cousins, the lady Anne and the lady Isabel,

¹ The oft-quoted testimony of the old countess of Desmond ought not to invalidate this statement, for many a lady would think any prince handsome who has danced with her. Rous knew Richard well; he not only delineated him with the pen, but with pencil.—See the Rous Roll.

seated opposite to him.¹ These ladies must have been placed there expressly to please the prince, by affording him companions of his own age, since the countess of Warwick, their mother, sat at the second table, in a place much lower in dignity. Richard being the son of lady Anne's great-aunt, an intimacy naturally subsisted between such near relatives. Majerres, a Flemish annalist, affirms that Richard had formed a very strong affection for his cousin Anne; but succeeding events proved that the lady did not bestow the same regard on him which her sister Isabella did on his brother Clarence, nor was it to be expected, considering his disagreeable person and temper. As lady Anne did not smile on her crooked-backed cousin, there was no inducement for him to forsake the cause of his brother, king Edward. It was in vain his brother Clarence said, in a conference with Warwick, "By sweet St. George, I swear! that if my brother Gloucester would join me, I would make Edward know we were all one man's sons, which should be nearer to him than strangers of his wife's blood."²

Anne was, at this juncture, with her mother and sisters at Calais. "For," continues Hall,³ "the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence sailed directly thither, where they were solemnly received and joyously entertained by the countess of Warwick and her two daughters; and after the duke had sworn on the sacrament ever to keep part and promise with the earl, he married Isabel in the Lady church at Calais, in the presence of the countess and her daughter Anne." The earl of Warwick, accompanied by his countess and lady Anne, returned with the newly-wedded pair to England, where he and his son-in-law soon raised a civil war that shook the throne of Edward IV. After the loss of the battle of Edgecote, the earl of Warwick escaped with his family to Dartmouth, where they were taken on board a fleet, of which he was master.

On the voyage they encountered the young earl Rivers, with the Yorkist fleet, who gave their ships battle, and took most of them; but the vessel escaped which contained the

¹ Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi. p. 4.

² Hall, p. 272.

³ Ibid., pp. 271, 272.

Neville family. While this ship was flying from the victorious enemy a dreadful tempest arose, and the ladies on board were afflicted at once with terror of wreck and the oppression of sea-sickness. To add to their troubles, the duchess of Clarence was taken in labor with her first child.¹ In the midst of this accumulation of disasters, the tempest-tossed bark made the offing of Calais; but, in spite of the distress on board, Vauclere, whom Warwick had left as his lieutenant, held out the town against him, and would not permit the ladies to land: he, however, sent two flagons of wine on board, for the duchess of Clarence, with a private message assuring Warwick "that the refusal arose from the towns-people," and advising him to make some other port in France.² The duchess of Clarence soon after gave birth, on board ship, to the babe who had chosen so inappropriate a time for his entrance into a troublesome world, and the whole family landed safely at Dieppe the beginning of May, 1470. When they were able to travel, the lady Anne, her mother and sister, attended by Clarence and Warwick, journeyed across France to Amboise, where they were graciously received by Louis XI., and that treaty was finally completed which made Anne the wife of Edward, the promising heir of Lancaster.³

This portion of the life of Anne of Warwick is so inextricably interwoven with that of her mother-in-law, queen Margaret, that it were vain to repeat it a second time. Suffice it to observe that the bride was in her seventeenth, the bridegroom in his nineteenth year, and that Prevost affirms that the match was one of ardent love on both sides. The prince was well educated, refined in manner, and, moreover, his portrait in the Rous roll bears out the tradition that he was eminently handsome. The ill-fated pair remained in each other's company from their marriage at Angers, in August, 1470, till the fatal field of Tewkesbury, May 4, 1471.⁴ Although the testimony of George Bucke must be received with the utmost caution,⁵ yet he quotes a

¹ Hall, p. 279.

² Comines.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Hall, p. 280.

⁵ Sir John Bucke was in the service of Richard III., and high in his favor; he was beheaded at Leicester after the battle of Bosworth, and his family nearly

contemporary Flemish chronicler,¹ who asserts that "Anne was with her husband, Edward of Lancaster, when that unfortunate prince was hurried before Edward IV. after the battle of Tewkesbury; and that it was observed Richard duke of Gloucester was the only person present who did not draw his sword on the royal captive, out of respect to the presence of Anne, as she was the near relative of his mother, and a person whose affections he had always desired to possess." English chroniclers, however, affirm that at this very moment Anne was with her unhappy mother-in-law, queen Margaret.

The unfortunate prince of Wales, last scion of the royal house of Lancaster, was buried the day after the battle of Tewkesbury, under the central tower of that stately abbey. Some nameless friend (in all probability his youthful widow), when opportunity served, caused the spot of his interment to be marked with a gray marble slab, enriched with a monumental brass, of which (or rather of its outlines in the stone) there is a small drawing in the Dinely MS., with the following memorandum:—"This fair tombstone of gray marble, the brass whereof hath been picked out by sacrilegious hands, is directly under the tower of the church at the entrance of the quire, and said to be laid over prince Edward, who lost his life in cool blood in that dispute between York and Lancaster."² When the pavement of the nave of Tewkesbury abbey was repaired in the last century, the marble slab which covered the remains of gallant-springing young Plantagenet was taken up and flung into a corner with other broken monuments and fragments of less interest, to the great regret of some of the towns-people, who obtained permission to place a brass tablet over the royal grave, with a Latin inscription to this effect:—

ruined. For this reason the utmost degree of personal prejudice guides the pen of Richard's historian, his descendant, when vindicating that usurper, and aspersing the reputation of every connection of Henry VII.

¹ W. Kennett: Buoke, vol. i. p. 549.

² This precious relic, from the Itinerary of some historical antiquary of the days of Charles II., was shown to me by J. Gutch, Esq., of Worcester, by whom I was kindly favored with a tracing of the outlines of the brass, which is certainly an historical curiosity of no slight interest.

“Lest all memory of Edward prince of Wales should perish, the pious care of the good people of Tewkesbury has provided this tablet, to mark the spot of his interment.”¹

After Margaret of Anjou was taken away to the Tower of London, Clarence privately abducted his sister-in-law, under the pretence of protecting her. As he was her sister's husband, he was exceedingly unwilling to divide the united inheritance of Warwick and Salisbury, which he knew must be done if his brother Gloucester carried into execution his avowed intention of marrying Anne. But very different was the conduct of the young widow of the prince of Wales from that described by Shakspeare. Instead of acting as chief mourner to the hearse of her husband's murdered father, she was sedulously concealing herself from her abhorred cousin; enduring every privation to avoid his notice, and concurring with all the schemes of her self-interested brother-in-law Clarence so completely as to descend from the rank of princess of Wales to the disguise of a servant in a mean house in London, in the hopes of eluding the search of Gloucester,—incidents too romantic to be believed without the testimony of a Latin chronicler of the highest authority,² who affirms it in the following words:—“Richard duke of Gloucester wished to discover Anne, the youngest daughter of the earl of Warwick, in order to marry her; this was much disapproved by his brother, the duke of Clarence, who did not wish to divide his wife's inheritance: he therefore hid the young lady.” Concealment was needful, for Anne was actually under the same attainder in which her hapless mother and queen Margaret were included. Her mother thus was totally unable to protect her, being a prisoner in the Beaulieu sanctuary, the egress from thence being guarded securely by the armed bands of Edward IV.

¹ The original tombstone, having been sought and identified by the present learned vicar, the Rev. E. Davies, has been polished, and placed as a basement for the font, to preserve it from further desecration. The remains of “false, perjured, fleeting Clarence” repose in the same abbey. The grave of Isabella Neville, his duchess, in the Lady chapel behind the altar, has been recently opened, and his skeleton was discovered behind hers in the vault.

² Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland, p. 557. This person, from some of his expressions, appears to have at one time belonged to the privy council of king Edward IV.

Nearly two years wore away since the battle of Tewkesbury, during which period the princess of Wales was concealed and a fugitive, whilst her mother, the richest heiress in the land, suffered the greatest distress. The poor lady pleaded in her petition to the commons' house, "that she had never offended his most redoubted highness, for she, immediately after the death of her lord and husband (on whose soul God have mercy), for none offence by her done, but dreading only the trouble at that time within this realm, entered into sanctuary of Beaulieu for surety of her person, and to attend to the weal and health of the soul of her said lord and husband, as right and conscience required her to do." In fact, the death of her husband at Barnet field and the lost battle of Tewkesbury were crowded together; yet she declares that within five days of her retreat into the New Forest sanctuary she had commenced her labors and suits to the king's highness for a safeguard, meaning a passport or safe-conduct to go and come where she chose. She dwells on her indefatigability in writing letters to the king with her own hands, *in the absence of clerks*; and not only had she thus written letters to the king's highness, "but soothly also to the queen's good grace [Elizabeth Woodville], to Cicely duchess of York, my right redoubted lady the king's mother, to my lady [Elizabeth of York] the king's eldest daughter, to my lords the king's brethren:" these were the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the one already her son-in-law and the father of her grandchildren, and the other on the watch to become her son-in-law whensoever he could gain access to her hapless youngest daughter. But the list of influential personages to whom the widow of the great Warwick wrote propitiatory letters, without the aid of clerks, is not yet concluded. She declares she wrote "to my ladies the king's sisters:" these were Anne duchess of Exeter, and Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk; likewise "to my lady [duchess] of Bedford," the queen's mother. To a very hard-hearted set of relatives and family connections these letters were addressed, for lady Warwick remained destitute and desolate, but sedulously watched by an armed guard, which, to her dismay and to the alarm of the ecclesiastics

of the Beaulieu sanctuary, the Yorkist king sent to terrify them. Edward showed himself thus forgetful of the obligations his wife and children had recently owed to sanctuary, and at the same time, notwithstanding his pretended skill in fortune-telling, he could not foresee that his children would again be reduced to a similar refuge, aggravated by the military tyranny of which he had set the example in the case of the forlorn countess of Warwick. There is little doubt that if ever the letters mentioned in the petition of Anne of Warwick's unfortunate mother come to light, some allusion will be found to her daughter, for every connection she enumerates had been all their lives on the most intimate terms with both mother and daughter.

The cunning of the duke of Gloucester at length discovered his cousin, Anne of Warwick, under the disguise of a cook-maid in the city of London. Immediately after this discovery he entered her in the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and thither transferred her person. The attainder hanging over her forced her to accept of this assistance.¹ The unhappy widow was afterwards removed to the protection of her uncle George,² the archbishop of York, and was even permitted to visit and comfort her mother-in-law, queen Margaret, at the Tower; but as she still resisted marrying Richard, she was deprived of her uncle's protection, her last refuge against her hated cousin. Years, however, fled away before the misfortunes of the princess of Wales came to a crisis. A coincidence of dates leads to the surmise that her marriage with Gloucester had some connection with the retreat of her mother from Beaulieu sanctuary. A letter of Paston's, dated 1473, observes, "that the countess of Warwick is out of Beaulieu sanctu-

¹ Continuator of Croyland Chron.

² Continuator of Chronicle of Croyland. Edward IV. had, since his restoration, pretended to show some favor to the archbishop, had hunted with him at Windsor, and even invited himself to dine with him at the More: upon which the archbishop foolishly took from a hiding-place all the plate and jewels he had concealed before the battles of Tewkesbury and Barnet, and borrowed much more of his acquaintance. Edward, instead of visiting, arrested him, seized all these riches, and sent him prisoner to Hammes.—Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. p. 509.

ary, and that sir James Tyrrel¹ conveyeth her northwards, but the duke of Clarence liketh it not." And on April 2, 1473, he notifies that "the world seemeth queasy, for all the persons about the king's person have sent for their armor, on account of the quarrel regarding the inheritance of Anne."² The dispute was debated in council, and the king made an award, assigning certain lands to the duke of Gloucester, and adjudging the rest of the estate to Clarence. This award was made at the expense of Anne countess of Warwick, the mother of the young ladies, and the true heiress of the vast estates of Despencer and Beauchamp. The act of parliament specified "that the countess of Warwick was no more to be considered, in the award of her inheritance, than if she were dead."³ In fact, Rous accuses Richard of incarcerating, during his life, "the venerable countess Anna, the rightful mistress of the Warwick patrimony, when in her distress she fled to him as her son-in-law for protection,"—an ill deed which has not commonly been enumerated in the ample list of Richard's iniquities.

The marriage of the lady Anne and Richard duke of Gloucester took place at Westminster,⁴ 1473, probably a few days before the date of Paston's letter. Prevost affirms she was compelled by violence to marry Richard. Some illegalities were connected with this ceremony, assuredly arising from the reluctance of the bride, since the Parliamentary rolls of the next year contain a curious act, empowering the duke of Gloucester "to continue the full possession and enjoyment of Anne's property, even if she were to *divorce him*, provided he did his best to be reconciled and remarried to her,"—ominous clauses relating to a wedlock of a few months!—which proved that Anne meditated availing herself of some informality in her abhorred marriage; but had she done so, her husband would have remained in possession of her property. The informalities most likely arose

¹ The same functionary who afterwards murdered the princes of York.

² Parliamentary Rolls, 1473.

³ Carte, reign of Edward IV., 1473.

⁴ Sprott Fragment, as to place, but it gives date 1474. Hutton gives 1473 as the year.

from the want of the proper bulls to dispense with relationship; and as the free consent of both bride and bridegroom was an indispensable preliminary to such dispensation, the absence of these legal instruments negatively prove that the unfortunate Anne of Warwick never consented to her second marriage. The birth of her son Edward at Middleham castle, 1474, probably reconciled the unhappy duchess of Gloucester to her miserable fate; but that her marriage was never legalized may be guessed by the rumors of a subsequent period, when the venomous hunchback, her cousin-husband, meditated in his turn divorcing *her*.

Richard and Anne lived chiefly at Middleham castle, in Yorkshire, an abode convenient for the office borne by the duke as governor of the northern marches. As a very active war was proceeding with Scotland, in the course of which Richard won several battles and captured Edinburgh,¹ his reluctant wife was not much troubled with his company, but devoted herself to her boy, in whom all her affections centred, and the very springs of her life were wound up in his welfare. During her abode at Middleham she lost her sister the duchess of Clarence, who died December 12, 1476.

The death of Edward IV. caused a great change in the life of Anne. The duke of Gloucester, who had very recently returned from Scotland, left Anne and his boy at Middleham when he departed, with a troop of horse, to intercept his young nephew Edward V. on progress to London. Richard's household-book² at Middleham affords some notitia regarding the son of Anne of Warwick during his father's absence. Geoffrey Frank is allowed 22s. 9d. for green cloth, and 1s. 8d. for making it into gowns for my lord prince and Mr. Neville; 5s. for choosing a king of West Witton, in some frolic of rush-bearing, and 5s. for a feather for my lord prince; and Dirick, shoemaker, had 13s. 1d. for his shoes; and Jane Collins, his nurse, 100s. for her year's wages. Among the expenses which seem to have occurred on the progress of the young prince up to London, on the occasion of the coronation of his parents, are his offerings at Fountain's abbey

¹ Holinshed.

² Harleian MSS., 433.

and other religious houses. For mending his whip, 2*d.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* to two of his men, Medcalf and Pacok, for running on foot by the side of his carriage.

After a succession of astounding crimes, Richard effected the usurpation of his nephew's throne, and Anne of Warwick was placed in the situation of consort to an English monarch. She arrived in London, with her son, in time to share her husband's coronation, yet we should think her arrival was but just before that event, as her rich dress for the occasion was only bought two days preceding the ceremony. There is an order to "Piers Curteys,¹ to deliver for the use of the queen four and a half yards of *purpille* cloth of gold upon damask, July 3*d.*" Short time had the tire-women of Anne of Warwick to display their skill in the fitting of her regal robes, since this garment was to be worn on the 5th of the same month. Sunday, July 4th, Richard, who had previously been proclaimed king, conducted his queen and her son in great state, by water, from Baynard's castle to the Tower, where his hapless little prisoners were made to vacate the royal apartments, and were consigned to a tower near the water-gate, since called 'the bloody tower.'² The same day Anne's only child, Edward, was created prince of Wales.³ The grand procession of the king and queen, and their young heir, through the city, took place on the morrow, when they were attended from the Tower by four thousand northern partisans, whom the king and queen called "gentlemen of the north," but who were regarded by the citizens as an ungentle and suspicious-looking pack of vagabonds. The next day, July 5th, the coronation of Richard and his queen took place, with an unusual display of pageantry, great part of which had been prepared for the coronation of the hapless Edward V.

"On the following day," says Crafton, "the king, with queen Anne his wife, came down out of the white hall into

¹ Harleian MSS., 433, 1598.

² Hutton's Bosworth. Hutton affirms, from Tyrrel and Dighton's confessions, that this tower was the scene of the deaths of Edward V. and his brother, in the same month that Richard III. was crowned.

³ Hall and More.

the great hall of Westminster, and went directly to the King's bench, where they sat some time; and from thence the king and queen walked *barefoot* upon striped cloth into king Edward's shrine, all their nobility going before them, every lord in his degree." The duke of Norfolk bore the king's crown before him, between both his hands, and the duke of Buckingham, with a white staff in his hand, bore the royal hunchback's train. "Queen Anne had both earls and barons preceding her. The earl of Huntingdon bore her sceptre, viscount Lisle the rod with the dove, and the earl of Wiltshire her crown. Then came," continues a contemporary manuscript,¹ "our sovereign lady the queen, over her head a canopy, and at every corner a bell of gold; and on her head a circlet of gold, with many precious stones set therein; and on *every side* of the queen went a bishop; and my lady of Richmond² bare the queen's train. So they went from St. Edward's shrine to the seats of state by the altar, and when the king and queen were seated, there came forth their highnesses' priests and clerks, singing most delectably Latin and prick-song,³ full royally. This part of the ceremonial concluded, "the king and queen came down from their seats of estate, and the king had great observance and service." Our authority states that the king and queen "put off their robes, and stood all naked from their waists upwards⁴ till the bishop had anointed them." Their majesties afterwards assumed their robes of cloth of gold, and cardinal Morton crowned them both with much solemnity. "The priests and clerks sung *Te Deum* with great royalty. The homage was paid at that part of the

¹ Harleian MSS., 2115; communicated by John Bruce, Esq.

² Mother of Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII.

³ Meaning they sang from musical notes set in alternate parts.

⁴ This expression, which appears startling at first, merely implies the fact that Richard and Anne were then divested of their regal mantles and insignia, preparatory to being anointed, and remained in their undergarments. The attire in use during the administration of that rite is particularly described, in the Order for the Coronation of the Kings of France, as "close-fitting tunics of silk, having apertures on the breast and between the shoulders, which at the time prescribed were drawn aside, in order that the consecrating prelate might trace the sign of the cross with the tip of the thumb moistened in the chrism as ordained in the pontifical."

mass called the offertory, during which time the queen sat with the bishops and peeresses, while Richard received the kiss of fealty from his peers. The bishops of Exeter and Norwich stood on each side the queen; the countess of Richmond was on her left hand, and the duchess of Norfolk knelt behind the queen with the other ladies. Then the king and queen came down to the high altar and kneeled, and anon the cardinal turned him about with the holy sacrament in his hand, and parted it between them both, and thus they received the good Lord." Their crowns were offered, as usual, at St. Edward's shrine. The king proceeded out of the abbey-church, and the queen followed, bearing the sceptre in her right hand, and the dove with the rod in her left, so going forth till they came to the high dais at Westminster hall; and when they came there, they left their canopies standing, and retired to their chamber.

Meantime, the duke of Norfolk¹ came riding into Westminster hall, his horse trapped with cloth of gold down to the ground, and he voided it of all people but the king's servants. And the duke of Buckingham called to the marshal, saying how "the king would have his lords sit at four boards in the hall;" and at four o'clock the king and queen came to the high dais. On the queen's right hand stood my lady Surrey, and on her left the lady Nottingham, holding a canopy of state over her head. "The king sat at the middle of the table, the queen at the left hand of the table, and on each side of her stood a countess, holding a cloth of pleasance when she listed to drink. The champion of England after dinner rode into the hall, and made his challenge without being gainsayed. The lord mayor served the king and queen with ipocras, wafers, and sweet wine; and by that time it was dark night. Anon came into the hall great lights of wax-torches and *torchettes*; and as soon as the lights came up the hall, the lords and ladies went up to the king and made their obeisance. And anon the king and queen rose up and went to their chambers, and every man

¹ Grafton asserts that there were three duchesses of Norfolk present. If so, the infant wife of Richard duke of York must have been one of them.

and woman departed and went their ways, where it liked them best."¹

After the coronation, queen Anne went to Windsor castle, with the king and her son. Here Richard left her, while he undertook a devious journey, ending at Tewkesbury. The queen and prince then commenced a splendid progress, in which they were attended by many prelates and peers, and the Spanish ambassador, who had come to propose an alliance between the eldest daughter of his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the son of Richard III. The queen took up her abode at Warwick castle, the place of her birth and the grand feudal seat of her father, which belonged to the young earl of Warwick (the son of her sister Isabel and the duke of Clarence), and it is especially noted that the queen brought him with her.² Richard III. joined his queen at Warwick castle, where they kept court with great magnificence for a week. It must have been at this visit that the portraits of queen Anne, Richard III., and their son were added to the Rous roll. The popular opinion concerning Richard's deformity is verified by the portrait, for his figure, if not crooked, is decidedly hunchy; nor must this appearance be attributed to the artist's lack of skill in delineating the human form, for the neighboring portrait by the same hand, representing Anne's father, the great earl of Warwick, is as finely proportioned as if meant for a model of St. George. Richard, on the contrary, has high thick shoulders, and no neck. Surely, if the king's ungainly figure had not been matter of great notoriety, an artist capable of making such a noble sketch as that of the earl would not have brought the king's ears and shoulders in quite such close contact.³ Warwick was dead, Richard

¹ Grafton, collated with the Harleian MSS., p. 2115.

² The whole paragraph is from Rous's Latin Chronicle. Rous himself was at Warwick castle at this time; for he was a priest belonging to the Neville family, and lived at Guy's Cliff.

³ Richard's ugliness, frowardness, and ill-temper, from his birth, are mentioned by Holinshed (quarto edition, p. 362, vol. iii., 1806); likewise his deformity. Holinshed's authority must have been a contemporary, since he mentions in the preceding page the princess Katherine, daughter to Edward IV., as still alive. Sir Thomas More likewise asserts the same; his father, sir John More, who was

was alive, when this series of portraits closes ; therefore, if any pictorial flattery exists, in all probability Richard had the advantage of it. Among other contemporary descriptions of Richard not generally known is the following metrical portrait.¹ The author seems inclined to apologize for drawing him as he really was :—

“ The king’s own brother, he, I mean,
 Who was deformed by nature ;
 Crook-backed and ill-conditioned,
 Worse-faced,—an ugly creature,
 Yet a great peer ; for princes—peers—
 Are not always beauteous.”

Three portraits of Anne of Warwick are in existence : two of them are from the pencil of Rous, her family priest, artist, and chronicler. He prepared the Rous roll, now in the Herald’s college, and the Beauchamp illustrated pedigree. Our artist, Mr. Harding, has preferred her portrait from the Beauchamp pedigree, because it is the best looking. Anne, in our engraving, appears as she did on her coronation-day, when the crown-matrimonial had just been placed on her brow. The crown circle of alternate crosses and pearl trefoils has four plain arches of gold, which meet on the top under a large pearl, on which is a little cross. The features of Anne are regular and elegant, of the Plantagenet cast, which she derived from her great-grandsire John of Gaunt. She wears a close dress, and is without jewels, save a row of large pearls round her throat : the royal mantle, with its cordon, is attached to her dress. Her sceptre is a plain rod, surmounted with a cross of pearls. Her hair is simply and gracefully flowing, and a veil, depending from the back of her head, relieves the heavy outline of the arched crown, which, with all its symbolical intimations of imperial dignity, is an ill exchange for the beautiful floriated circlet of our earlier queens. Another

an old judge, must have seen Richard, and had no great reason to be fond of Henry VII., since that king had sent him to prison because his son, sir Thomas More, as speaker of the commons, opposed some of his pecuniary extortions.

¹ A curious MS., in the possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill, supposed to be written by R. Glover, a herald : it is called the Honor of Cheshire.

likeness of Anne of Warwick exists in a pictorial roll of her family, belonging to the duke of Manchester;¹ it resembles the present one, though much younger. But the most curious portrait of Anne of Warwick is to be seen in the Rous roll alluded to in the commencement of this biography; she is there thin to emaciation, yet her face, which has assumed the form of a long triangle, has a most expressive character: she is not dressed royally, but wears one of the transparent gauze head-dresses seen on the portrait of her sister-in-law, queen Elizabeth Woodville. It is *outré* in form, with two enormous wings stiffened on frames; her hair is seen through it, strained back from the temples, and has the appearance of being powdered. Such was her appearance when she was worn with the consumptive illness which subsequently brought her to the grave.

From Warwick castle queen Anne and king Richard went to Coventry, where was dated, August 15, 1483, a memorandum of an account of 180*l.* owed to Richard Gowles, mercer, London, for goods delivered for the use of queen Anne, as specified in bills in the care of John Kendal, the king's secretary. The court arrived at York August 31st. The re-coronation of the king and queen, likewise the reinvestiture of prince Edward of Gloucester as prince of Wales, took place soon after at this city; measures which must have originated in the fact that the sons of Edward IV. having been put to death during the northern progress of the court, the usurper considered that oaths of allegiance, taken at the re-coronation, would be more legal than when the right heirs were alive. The overflowing paternity of Richard, which, perhaps, urged him to commit some of his crimes, thus speaks in his patents for creating his son prince of Wales:—"Whose singular wit and endowments of nature, wherewith (his young age considered) he is remarkably furnished, do portend, by the favor of God, that he will make an hon-

¹ Engraved by Mr. Drummond, in his *History of Noble Families*. The duke of Manchester is the head of Anne's kindred line of Montague. Mr. Courthope, of the Herald's college, has kindly favored the author with an excellent copy of this contemporary drawing, together with one of Anne's first husband, the Lancastrian prince of Wales.

est man.”¹ But small chance was there for such a miracle, if his life had been spared. It is curious that Richard III. should express hopes for his son's future honesty, at the very moment when he was putting him in possession of his murdered cousins' property.

After the coronation had been performed in York cathedral, queen Anne walked in grand procession through the streets of the city, holding her little son by the right hand: he wore the demi-crown appointed for the heir of England. The Middleham household-book mentions that five marks were paid to Michell Wharton for bringing the prince's jewels to York on this occasion. The same document proves that the court was at Pontefract September 15th,—that fearful fortress, recently stained with the blood of Richard's victims. Richard gave, by the way, in charity to a poor woman, 3s. 6*d.*; the charge of baiting the royal charrette was 2*d.*; and the expenses of the removal of my lord prince's household to Pontefract, 24*s.* A formidable insurrection, headed by the duke of Buckingham, recalled Richard to the metropolis: he left his son, for security, among his northern friends, but queen Anne accompanied her husband.

It is a doubtful point whether Anne approved of the crimes which thus advanced her son. Tradition declares she abhorred them, but parliamentary documents prove she shared with sir James Tyrrel the plunder of Richard's opponents, after the rebellion of Buckingham was crushed. She received one hundred marks, the king seven hundred marks, and sir James Tyrrel two manors from sir William Knyvet, being the purchase-money for his life. Anne's share of this plunder amounts to considerably more than her proportion of queen-gold. If Anne had even passively consented to the unrighteous advancement of her family, punishment quickly followed; for her son, on the last day of March, 1484, died at Middleham castle “an unhappy death.”² This expression, used by Rous, his family chron-

¹ White Kennet's notes to Bucke. The prince was seven years old, according to Rous.

² Continuator of Croyland. The June following the death of the prince, Richard III. added in his own hand, to the audit of expenses paid for the

icler, leads his readers to imagine that this boy, so deeply idolized by his guilty father, came by his end in some sudden and awful manner. His parents were not with him, but were as near as Nottingham castle when he expired.

The loss of this child, in whom all Anne's hopes and happiness were garnered, struck to her heart, and she never again knew a moment's health or comfort; she seemed even to court death eagerly. Nor was this dreadful loss her only calamity. Richard had no other child; his declining and miserable consort was not likely to bring another; and if *he* did not consider her in the way, his guilty and ruffianly satellites certainly did, for they began to whisper dark things concerning the illegality of the king's marriage, and the possibility of its being set aside. As Edward IV.'s parliament considered that it was possible for Anne to divorce Richard in 1474, it cannot be doubted that Richard could have resorted to the same manner of getting rid of her when queen. Her evident decline, however, prevented Richard from giving himself any trouble regarding a divorce; yet it did not restrain him from uttering peevish complaints to Rotherham, archbishop of York, against his wife's sickliness and disagreeable qualities. Rotherham, who had just been released from as much coercion as a king of England dared offer to a spiritual peer who had not appeared in open insurrection, ventured to prophesy, from these expressions, "that Richard's queen would suddenly depart from this world." This speech got circulated in the guard-chamber, and gave rise to a report that the queen, whose personal sufferings in a protracted decline had caused her to keep her chamber for some days, was actually dead. Anne was sitting at her toilette, with her tresses unbound, when this strange rumor was communicated to her. She considered it was the forerunner of her death by violent means, and, in a great agony, ran to her husband, with her hair dishevelled as it was, and with streaming eyes and pite-

clothing of his son, "whom God pardon,"—a proof that a lively remembrance of the boy was still active in the father's heart, and that he lost no opportunity of offering prayer for the small sins which the object of his guilty ambition might have committed.—See White Kennet's notes to Bucke.

ous sobs asked him, "What she had done to deserve death?" Richard, it is expressly said, soothed her with fair words and smiles, bidding her "be of good cheer, for in sooth she had no other cause."¹

The next report which harassed the declining and dying queen was, that her husband was impatient for her demise, that he might give his hand to his niece, the princess Elizabeth of York. This rumor had no influence on the conduct of Anne, since the continuator of the Croyland Chronicle mentions the queen's kindness to her husband's niece in these words:—"The lady Elizabeth (who had been some months out of sanctuary) was, with her four younger sisters, sent by her mother to attend the queen at court, at the Christmas festivals kept with great state in Westminster hall. They were received with all honorable courtesy by queen Anne, especially the lady Elizabeth was ranked most familiarly in the queen's favor, who treated her as a sister; but neither society that she loved, nor all the pomp and festivity of royalty, could cure the languor or heal the wound in the queen's breast for the loss of her son."² The young earl of Warwick was, after the death of Richard's son, proclaimed heir to the English throne, and as such took his seat at the royal table³ during the lifetime of his aunt, queen Anne. As these honors were withdrawn from the ill-fated boy directly after the death of the queen, it is reasonable to infer that he owed them to some influence she possessed with her husband, since young Warwick, as her sister's son, was her heir as well as his.

Within the year that deprived Anne of her only son, maternal sorrow put an end to her existence by a decline, slow enough to acquit her husband of poisoning her,—a crime of which he is accused by most writers. She died at Westminster palace on March 16, 1485, in the midst of the greatest eclipse of the sun that had happened for many years. Her funeral was most pompous and magnificent. Her husband was present, and was observed to shed tears,⁴ deemed hypocritical by the by-stander; but those who knew

¹ Holinshed. Sir Thomas More.

² Continuator of Croyland Chronicle.

³ Rous Chronicle.

⁴ Baker's Chronicle.

that he had been brought up with Anne, might suppose that he felt some instinctive yearnings of long companionship when he saw her deposited in that grave where his ambitious interests had caused him to wish her to be. Human nature, with all its conflicting passions and instincts, abounds with such inconsistencies, which are often startlingly apparent in the hardest characters.

The queen was interred near the altar at Westminster, not far from the place where subsequently was erected the monument of Anne of Cleves. No memorial marks the spot where the broken heart of the hapless Anne of Warwick found rest from as much sorrow as could possibly be crowded into the brief span of thirty-one years.

ELIZABETH OF YORK,
SURNAMED THE GOOD,
QUEEN-CONSORT OF HENRY VII.

CHAPTER I.

Elizabeth born heiress of England—Baptism—Fondness of her father Edward IV.—Mourner at her grandfather's obsequies—Promised in marriage—Reverses of fortune—Taken into sanctuary—Birth of her brother—Her father's will—Contracted to the dauphin—Education—Autograph—Marriage-contract broken—Death of her father—Takes sanctuary with her mother—Their calamities—Murder of her brothers—Again heiress of England—Betrothed to Henry Tudor—Elizabeth and her sisters declared illegitimate—Low-born snitor—His death—Kindness of queen Anne—Elizabeth received at court—Narrative of Breton—Death of Queen Anne—Addresses of Richard III.—Elizabeth is sent to Sheriff-Hutton—Biography of Henry Tudor—Engagement renewed with Elizabeth—Defeat and death of Richard III.—Progress of Elizabeth to London—Coronation of Henry—Marriage of Elizabeth and Henry—Rejoicings of the people.

THE birth of Elizabeth of York was far from reconciling the fierce baronage of England to the clandestine marriage of their young sovereign, Edward IV., with her mother,¹—a marriage which shook his throne to the foundation. The prospect of female heirs to the royal line gave no satisfaction to a population requiring from an English monarch not only the talents of the statist, but the abilities of the military leader,—not only the wisdom of the legislator, but the personal prowess of the gladiatorial champion. After three princesses (the eldest of whom was our Elizabeth) had been successively produced by the queen of Edward IV., popular discontent against the house of York reached its climax. The princess Elizabeth was born at the palace of Westminster, February 11, 1466.² She was baptized in Westminster abbey, with as much pomp as if she had been the heir-apparent of England; indeed, the attention Edward IV. bestowed upon

¹ See the Life of Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV.

² According to the inscription on her tomb in Westminster abbey.

her in her infancy was extraordinary. He was actuated by a strong presentiment that this beautiful and gracious child would ultimately prove the representative of his line.

The infant princess, at a very tender age, took her place and precedence, clothed in deep mourning, when the corpse of her grandfather, Richard duke of York, with that of his son, Edmund earl of Rutland, were reinterred at the church of Fotheringay. The bodies were exhumed from their ignoble burial at Pontefract, and conveyed into Northamptonshire with regal state. Richard duke of Gloucester, a youth of fourteen, followed them as chief mourner. Edward IV., his queen, and their two infant daughters, Elizabeth and Mary,¹ met the hearses in Fotheringay churchyard, and attended the solemn rites of the reinterment clad in black weeds. The next day the king, the queen, and the royal infants offered at requiem. Margaret countess of Richmond offered with them. Thus early in life was our Elizabeth connected with this illustrious lady, whose after-destiny was so closely interwoven with her own. There are some indications, faintly defined, that Margaret of Richmond had the charge of the young Elizabeth, since her name is mentioned immediately after hers as present and assisting at York's requiem. Wherefore should the heiress of the line of Somerset offer at the obsequies of the duke of York, the mortal enemy of her house, without some imperious court etiquette demanded her presence?

Some years passed before the important position of Elizabeth, as heiress of the realm, was altered by the birth of brothers. Her father settled on her for life the manor of Great-Lynford, in Buckinghamshire;² he likewise authorized his exchequer to pay his queen 400*l.* yearly, in liquidation of her expenses, incurred for her daughters Elizabeth and Mary; and this revenue was to be continued till their

¹ Sandford, who is supposed to have been guided by a contemporary herald's journal, dates this event July 30, 1466, and yet mentions the princess Mary as assisting at this funeral. If the herald made no mistake in his date, it must be inferred that Elizabeth was born February, 1465, instead of 1466; a date in unison with the many proofs of that fact adduced by sir Harris Nicolas in his valuable Memoir of Elizabeth of York.

² Privy-purse Expenses, and Memoir of Elizabeth, by sir Harris Nicolas.

disposal in marriage. These royal children were nursed at the palace of Shene. The hand of his infant heiress was more than once deceitfully proffered by Edward IV. as a peace-offering to his enemies when fortune frowned upon him. He thus deluded the Nevilles, when he was their prisoner at Middleham. Next he endeavored to interrupt the treaty of marriage between the Lancastrian prince of Wales and Anne of Warwick, by offering "my lady princess"¹ to queen Margaret as a wife for her son. On the subsequent flight of Edward IV. from England, the young Elizabeth and her two little sisters were the companions of their distressed mother in Westminster Sanctuary. The birth of her eldest brother Edward, in that asylum, removed the princess Elizabeth, for some years, from her dangerous proximity to the disputed garland of the realm. When liberated from the Sanctuary by her victorious father, she was carried with the rest of his children, first to her grandmother's residence of Baynard's castle, on one of the city wharves; and then to the Tower of London, and was sojourning there during the dangerous assault made on that fortress by Falconbridge from the river. The full restoration of Edward IV. succeeded these dangers, and peaceful festivals followed the re-establishment of the line of York. At a ball given in her mother's chamber at Windsor castle, in honor of the visit of Louis of Bruges, 1472, the young Elizabeth danced with her royal father, she being then six or seven years old: she afterwards danced with the duke of Buckingham, the husband of her aunt, Katherine Woodville. The same year, her father offered her in marriage to the young exiled earl of Richmond, intending by that means to beguile him into his power.

When the princess was about nine years old, her father made an expedition to France, with the avowed purpose of reconquering the acquisitions of Henry V.² Before he embarked he made his will, dated at Sandwich, in which he thus mentions Elizabeth:—

¹ See biography of Margaret of Anjou.

² *Excerpta Historica*, by sir Harris Nicolas; likewise his *Memoir of Elizabeth of York*.

"*Item.* We will that our daughter Elizabeth have ten thousand marcs towards her marriage; and that our daughter Marie have also ten thousand marcs, so that they be governed and ruled by our dearest wife the queen. . . . And if either of our said daughters do marry *thaimself* without such advice and assent, so as they be thereby disparaged (as God forbid), then she so marrying herself have no payment of her ten thousand marcs."

A French war was averted by the kingdom of France submitting to become tributary to Edward IV. In the articles of peace, Elizabeth was contracted to the dauphin Charles, eldest son of the astute monarch Louis XI.; thus was her hand for the fourth time tendered to her father's adversaries. Edward IV. surrendered to his son-in-law the titular right to the long-contested dukedom of Guienne, or Aquitaine, on condition that these territories were to be considered part of Elizabeth's dower. From the hour of her contract with the heir of France, Elizabeth was always addressed at the English court as madame la dauphine,¹ and a certain portion of the tribute that Louis XI. paid to her father was carried to account for her use as the daughter-in-law of the king. She was taught to speak and write French: she could likewise speak and write Spanish. She could, at an early age, read and write her own language; for her royal sire sent for a scrivener, "the very best in the city," who taught her and her sister Mary to write court-hand as well as himself, but not a very beautiful species of penmanship, according to the subjoined specimen, which Elizabeth inscribed in a book of devotion.²

the boke of prayer
 Elizabeth the kinges
 daughter

¹ Comines; likewise Guthrie.

² Cottonian MSS., Vesp. f. xiii.

This book is mine, Elizabeth, the king's daughter, is the meaning of the above words, which are written in the old English character, now confined to law deeds, but which was soon after superseded by the modern or Italian hand.

As the appointed time of Elizabeth's marriage with the dauphin Charles approached, her dower was settled, and rich dresses in French fashion were made for her; when suddenly, without any previous intimation, the contract was broken by Louis XI. demanding the heiress of Burgundy in marriage for the dauphin. This slight offered to Elizabeth infuriated her father so much that the agitation is said to have had a fatal effect on his health. Comines, a contemporary in the confidence of the king of France, more than once in his history expresses his indignation at seeing the tribute-money sent every year from France to Edward's "château de Londres, which had before greater heaps of treasure and precious things than it could hold." He likewise dwells with evident satisfaction on the report "that the death of Edward IV. was caused by Louis XI. rejecting the princess-royal Elizabeth as a wife for his little dauphin Charles. But," observes Comines, rather insolently, "it was very well known that the girl, who is now queen of England, was a great deal too old for monseigneur the dauphin, who is now king of France."¹ Elizabeth was four, perhaps five, years older than Charles, and there was still more disparity in person than in years; for her stature was tall and stately, and his was dwarfish.

The fortunes of the young Elizabeth suffered the most signal reverse directly she lost her royal sire and only efficient protector. From Westminster palace she was, with her second brother and young sisters, hurried by the queen her mother into the Sanctuary of Westminster, which had formerly sheltered her in childhood. But Elizabeth of York was no longer an unconscious child, who sported as gayly with her little sisters in the abbot of Westminster's garden as she did in the flowery meads of Shene; she had grown up into the beauties of early womanhood, and was the sharer of her royal mother's woes. The sad tale of that

¹ Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, p. 160.

queen's calamities has already been told by us.¹ How much the princess Elizabeth must have grieved for her two murdered brothers may be gathered from the words of her literary dependant, Bernard Andreas,² who knew her well. "The love," he says, "she bore her brothers and sisters was unheard of and almost incredible."

The treaty of betrothment, privately negotiated between Elizabeth of York and Henry of Richmond by their respective mothers,³ was the first gleam of comfort that broke on the royal prisoners in sanctuary after the murder of the innocent princes in the Tower. The young princess promised to hold faith with her betrothed; in case of her death before her contract was fulfilled, her next sister Cicely was to take her place. But it is a singular fact, that neither at this time, nor at any other period of her life, was the slightest proposal made by the partisans of the house of York for placing Elizabeth on the throne as sole sovereign. Even her near relatives, her half-brother Dorset, and her uncle Lionel Woodville, bishop of Salisbury, when they raised the standard of revolt against Richard III. at Salisbury (simultaneously with Buckingham's rebellion in the autumn of 1483), proclaimed the earl Richmond Henry VII., although he was a distant exile, who had done no more for the cause than taken an oath to marry Elizabeth if he ever had it in his power. As these nobles had but just escaped from sanctuary, which they had shared with Elizabeth of York and her mother, and must have recently and intimately known their plans and wishes, this utter silence on her claims as the heiress of Edward IV. is the more surprising. In truth, it affords another remarkable instance of the manner in which Norman prejudice in favor of Salic law had corrupted the common or unwritten law of England regarding the succession.⁴ The violation of this ancient

¹ See the Life of queen Elizabeth Woodville.

² He was her eldest son's tutor, and left a Latin Life of Henry VII. Some entries in her privy-purse expenses show that the memory of her murdered brothers was dear to her heart, even in the last year of her life.

³ See the Life of queen Elizabeth Woodville.

⁴ See Introduction, vol. i.; likewise an act of parliament, second of Mary I.,

national law had given rise to the most bloody civil wars which had vexed the country since the Conquest.

Before Buckingham's revolt took place, the royal ladies in sanctuary had enjoyed the protection of their near relatives, Dorset and bishop Lionel Woodville, who had taken refuge there in their company; and how efficient a protection an ecclesiastic of the high rank of bishop Lionel must have proved when they were sheltered in the very bosom of the church may be imagined. But the bishop and Dorset were both obliged to fly to France, owing to the utter failure of Buckingham's insurrection, and after their exile the situation of Elizabeth of York and her mother became very irksome. A cordon of soldiers, commanded by John Nesfield, a squire of Richard III.'s guard, watched night and day round the abbey, and the helpless prisoners were reduced to great distress. Thus they straggled through the sad winter of 1483, but surrendered themselves in March. Elizabeth's mother has been unjustly blamed for this measure, yet it was the evident effect of dire necessity. The princess Elizabeth was forced to own herself the illegitimate child of Edward IV.; she had to accept a wretched annuity, and, as a favor, was permitted to contemplate the prospect of marrying a private gentleman.¹ Such were the conditions of a cruel act of parliament, passed under the influence of Richard III.'s military despotism in the preceding January. The act, it is well known, was indited by bishop Stillington, the mortal foe of her mother's house, who added to this the more intolerable injury of projecting a union between Mr. William Stillington, his natural son, and the princess. This unfortunate lover of Elizabeth met with a fate far severer than his presumption merited; for, being shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, "he was (adds Comines) taken prisoner, and, by mistake, starved to death,"—a mistake perhaps instigated by some of the indignant kindred of the princess, who were then refugees in France.

quoted by Burnet, vol. ii., declaring that Mary succeeded "not by statute, but by common or oral law."

¹ See the coarsely-worded oath taken by Richard III. in presence of the lord mayor and aldermen, binding himself to protect his brother Edward's illegitimate daughters if they submitted to the above conditions.

The princess Elizabeth was certainly separated from her unfortunate mother when they left sanctuary, since that queen was placed under the control of the same officer who had so inexorably kept watch and ward round the abbey. Meantime, the princess and her sisters were received at court with some appearance of regard by Richard III., and with great affection by his queen, "who always," says a contemporary,¹ "treated Elizabeth of York as a sister." Indeed, it ought to be remembered that Elizabeth was one of Anne of Warwick's nearest female relatives, independently of the wedlock with Richard III. As the princess was seen so frequently in the company of queen Anne after leaving sanctuary, she was most likely consigned to her charge: she was certainly lodged in the palace of Westminster. Here she found her father's old friend, lord Stanley, in an office of great authority, having been appointed by the usurper steward of the royal household, a place he held in the reign of Edward IV.² It is well known that this nobleman was step-father to Henry of Richmond, the betrothed husband of the princess Elizabeth; and that his wife, Margaret Beaufort, was exiled from the court and in disgrace with the usurper, for having projected the union of her son with the princess. How Stanley contrived to exonerate himself is not ascertained.³ In fact, there is from this

¹ Continuator of the Croyland Chronicle.

² As to this fact, see Dr. Lingard, vol. v. p. 266, 4th ed. Likewise Lodge's Memoir of the Earl of Derby.

³ The reconciliation between the usurper and Stanley is matter of mystery. That Stanley himself temporized with the tyrant, and hid his time for his overthrow, is proved by the result; but that Richard should in any way rely on him, or trust to his aid in an hour of need, is by no means consistent with the character for sagacity with which it has pleased modern historians to invest that king. It is greatly to be doubted, after all, whether Richard's abilities in any wise exceeded those called into exercise by a desperate charge at the head of his cavalry forces, the species of warfare in which he excelled. Richard and Stanley (if we may trust to the metrical journal of a herald belonging to the Stanley family) had been, during the reign of Edward IV., perpetually quarrelling in the north. Stanley was, by Richard's myrmidons, wounded in the council-chamber in the Tower, when Hastings was illegally beheaded on the memorable 13th of June; yet a few days afterwards we find him witness to the "surrender of the great seal to the lord king Richard III., which took place in the first year of his reign, June 27, 1483," in that high chamber next the chapel which

period an utter hiatus in all authentic intelligence regarding the proceedings of Elizabeth, from the time when she sat with queen Anne royally attired in Westminster hall at Christmas, 1484, till the death of Richard III.

In the absence of regular information, perhaps a metrical narrative, called the "Song of the Lady Bessy,"¹ deserves some attention, being written by Humphrey Brereton, an officer and vassal belonging to lord Stanley: he is proved to have been a contemporary of Elizabeth, and his costume and language are undeniably of that era. A cautious abstract from Brereton, limited to those passages which are connected with his asserted agency in renewing Elizabeth's engagements with Henry of Richmond, here follows. The princess, according to Brereton, having accidentally met lord Stanley at a time and place convenient for conference, urged him passionately, by the name of "father Stanley," and with many reminiscences of all he owed to her father, to assist her in the restoration of her rights. At first lord Stanley repulsed her, declaring he could not break the oath he had sworn to king Richard, observing, moreover, that women were proverbially "unstable of council." Elizabeth

is in the dwelling of "Cicely duchess of York, called Baynard castle, Thames street, on the water of Thames."—Rymer, vol. xii. p. 189. Stanley is, with the exception of Buckingham, the only nobleman witness to this act of usurpation. Subsequently, the son of his wife, Margaret Beaufort (a wife whom he was known to love entirely), had been proclaimed king of England in Buckingham's revolt. Yet Margaret, though an active agent, received no other punishment than having the command of her lands and liberty given to her own husband, who naturally possessed control over both. Notwithstanding all motives for caution, Richard placed Stanley in a station of such high domestic trust that his life must every hour of the day and night have been at his mercy. The brother, sons, and nephews of Stanley, under whose command remained his feudal powers in the north, in some degree established his security against violence from Richard. But Richard could have had little reciprocal guarantee against Stanley's machinations when he appointed him guardian of his table and bed as lord steward of his palace. Nothing but Stanley's oath at Richard's coronation could have been the security of the usurper; but how, after breaking so many oaths himself, Richard could expect one kept for his sake, is marvellous. It is necessary for the reader to have a clear view of the relative positions of the usurper and the man who caused the revolution that placed Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York on the throne of England, or their history is incomprehensible.

¹ Edited by T. Hayward, Esq., F.S.A.

renewed her importunities, but when he seemed quite inflexible,—

“Her color changed as pale as lead,
Her *faux*¹ that shone as golden wire,
She tare it off beside her head.”

After this agony she sunk into a swoon, and remained some time speechless. Lord Stanley was overcome by the earnestness of her anguish. “Stand up, lady Bessy,” he said. “Now I see you do not feign, I will tell you that I have long thought of the matter as you do; but it is difficult to trust the secrecy of women, and many a man is brought to great woe by making them his confidantes.” He then added, “that his adherents would rise at his bidding, if he could go to the northwest in person, but that he durst not trust a scribe to indite his intentions in letters.” This difficulty the princess obviated, by declaring that she could “indite and write as well as the scrivener who taught her.” Then lord Stanley agreed she should write the letters without delay.

Among the other circumstances related by the princess to lord Stanley in this interview, there is one in strong coincidence with the propensity to dabble in fortune-telling and astrology, which was a weakness belonging to the house of York.² She said “that her father, being one day studying a book of magic in the palace of Westminster, was extremely agitated, even to tears; and though earls and lords were present, none durst speak to him but herself. She came and knelt before him for his blessing, upon which he threw

¹ This old word signifies a torch, or a profusion of long fair hair. There is an extraordinary similarity in sir Thomas More's description of her mother's paroxysm of anguish on hearing of the death of her sons, beginning, “Her fair hair she tare.”—See *Life of queen Elizabeth Woodville*. The quotation is from the ‘*Song of the Lady Bessy*.’

² Edward IV. and George of Clarence recriminated magical practices on each other; and Henry VII. averred that their sister, Margaret of Burgundy, tormented him more by her sorceries than by all her political cabals. Nor was the house of Lancaster free from these follies: the dark prediction that a young king of England should be destroyed by one whose name began with the letter G had been originally made for the annoyance of duke Humphrey of Gloucester, “but fulfilled in our days,” says Rous of Warwick (who records the circumstance), “by that wretch Richard III.”

his arms around her, and lifted her into a high window ; and when he had set her there, he gave her the *reason* or horoscope he had drawn, and bade her show it to no one but to lord Stanley, for he had plainly calculated that no son of his would wear the crown after him. He predicted that she should be queen, and the crown would rest in her descendants." When Stanley and the princess had agreed in their intentions,—

"We must part, lady, the earl said then,
But keep this matter secretly,
And this same night, at nine or ten,
In your chamber I think to be :
Look that you make all things ready.
Your maids shall not our counsel hear,
And I will bring no man with me,
But Humphrey Brereton,¹ my trusty squire."

That evening lord Stanley and Brereton disguised themselves in "manner strange," and went and stood at a private wicket, till the princess, recognizing Stanley by a signal made with his right hand, admitted him. It was the cold season, for there was fire in her apartment, of which Brereton gives this pretty sketch :—

"Charcoals in chimneys there were cast,
Candles on sticks were burning high ;
She oped the wicket and let him in,
Saying, 'Welcome, lord and knight so free !'
A rich chair was set for him,
Another for that fair lady.
They ate the *spice*,² and drank the wine,
To their study³ then they went ;
The lady then so fair and free,
With rudd as red as rose in May,
She kneeled down upon her knee."

In this attitude Elizabeth commenced writing the letters dictated by lord Stanley. Their contents are detailed by

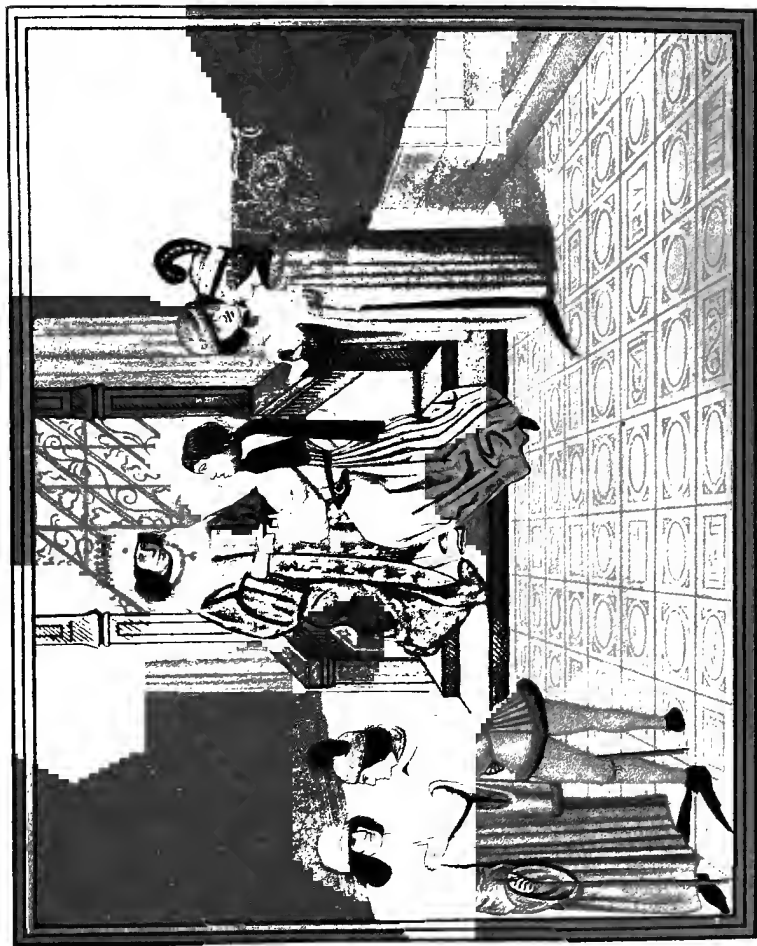
¹ This is the author of the narrative, who frequently betrays himself as a principal actor in the scene, by unconsciously assuming the first person.

² Spice means 'comfits ;' such, with cakes and sweet wine, was the evening repast in the middle ages. To this day children's sugar-plums, and all sorts of bonbons and comfits, are called *spice* in the north of England.

³ That is, they began to consult or study the business on which they were bent.

Edward 10 and Richard, Duke of Gloucester,
afterward King Richard III

From a Miniature in the Royal Collection



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Brereton. He is too exact in all points of fact, as to the genealogy and individual particulars of the persons he named, to leave a single doubt that his metrical narrative was written from facts, and by a contemporary of Elizabeth of York; for, careless as he is in regard to the general history of his era, which, indeed, had assumed neither form nor shape in his lifetime, he is wonderfully accurate in all the peculiarities of the costume and private history of his day, and the closer he is sifted, the more truthful does he seem in minute traits, which must have been forgotten had the work been written a century afterwards. The dictation of these letters proves this assertion, for he shows the odd expedients men in authority resorted to when they could neither read nor write, and therefore had to depend wholly on the fidelity of a scrivener on whose transcription they placed their seals as proof that the missive was to meet credence from the recipient party; and such person was often beset with doubts as to whether the engrossed scroll (which bore no identity of handwriting) was not a treacherous fiction sealed with a stolen signet. The expedients of the unlearned but sagacious Stanley, in this dilemma, are well worthy of attention; to convince his friends that these letters really were no forgery, he relates to each some particular incident only known between themselves, and which no false scribe could invent. To his eldest son, for instance, he bade the princess "commend him, and charged him to remember, when they parted at Salford bridge, how hard he pulled his finger, till the first joint gave way, and he exclaimed with the pain." By such token lord Stanley bade him "credit this letter, and meet him at a conference in London disguised like a Kendal merchant." Sir William Stanley was requested "to come to the conference like a merchant of Beaumorris, or Caernarvon, with a retinue of Welshmen who could speak no English;" sir John Savage, Stanley's nephew, was summoned "as a Chester merchant." But, of all, the letter to Gilbert Talbot, and the reminiscences lord Stanley recalled to him, are the richest in costume and the peculiar features of the age. Lord Stanley thus directs the princess:—

"Commend me to good Gilbert Talbot
 (A gentle squire forsooth is he);
 Once on a Friday, well I wot,
 King Richard called him traitor high.
 But Gilbert to his falchion prest
 (A bold esquire, forsooth, is he),
 There durst no serjeant him arrest,
 He is so perilous of his body.
 In Tower street¹ I met him then,
 Going to Westminster Sanctuary;
 I lighted beside the horse I rode,—
 The purse from my belt I gave him truly;²
 I bade him ride down to the north-west,
 And perchance he might live a knight to be;
 Wherefore, lady Bessy, at my request,
 Pray him to come and speak with me."

After the princess had written these despatches, and lord Stanley had sealed them with his seal,³ they agreed that Humphrey Brereton, who had always been true to king Edward IV., should set out with the letters to the north-west of England. Lord Stanley and his man slept that night in Elizabeth's suite of apartments, but she watched till dawning of day.

"And Bessy waked all that night,
 There came no sleep within her eye;
 Soon in the morn, as the day-spring,
 Up riseth the young Bessye,
 And maketh haste in her dressing.
 To Humphrey Brereton gone is she.
 And when she came to Humphrey's bower,
 With a small voice called she;
 Humphrey answered that lady bright,
 Saying, 'Who calleth here so early?'"

¹ The squabble between the king and Talbot probably took place at the Tower; and the brave squire got into Tower street, meaning to take boat to Westminster Sanctuary, when Stanley met him, and provided him with money and a steed for his flight into Cheshire.

² Stanley gave him his purse from his belt: it is in the strict costume of the era. Gilbert Talbot, the hero here described, greatly distinguished himself at Bosworth. He was dubbed knight-banneret on the field, and richly rewarded by Henry VII.; he was one of the officers of Katharine of Arragon, who made him her ranger of Needwood forest.

³ Such was the important use of the seal, when letters were written in one set hand by a scribe.

'I am king Edward's daughter right,
The countess Clere, young Bessy;
In all haste, with means and might,
Thou must come to lord Stanley!'

The lady "fair and sweet" guided Humphrey to the bedside of his master, who gave him directions for the safe delivery of six letters. Humphrey summoned sir William, the brother of lord Stanley, at Holt castle, lord Strange at Latham house, Edward and James Stanley from Manchester, with their cousin sir John Savage. Lastly, he arrived at Sheffield castle, with his missive for "Gilbert Talbot fair and free," whose reception of Elizabeth's letter is highly characteristic:—

"When he that letter looked upon,
A loud laughter laughed he.
'Fair fall that lord in his renown,
To stir and rise beginneth he;
Fair fall Bessy, that countess Clere,
That such counsel giveth truly!
Greet well my nephew, nigh of blood,
The young earl of Shrewsbury;
Bid him not dread or doubt of good,
In the Tower of London though he be:
I shall make London gate to tremble and quake,
But my nephew rescued shall be.
Commend me to that countess *clear*,
King Edward's child, young Bessy;
Tell her I trust in Jesu, who hath no peer,
To bring her her love¹ from over the sea.'"

The iteration of the expression "countess clear," which is applied, by all her partisans, to Elizabeth of York, certainly meant more than a descriptive epithet relative to her complexion, or why should the term "countess" be always annexed to it? In truth, the lady Bessy was, by indubitable right, the moment her brothers were dead, the heiress of the mighty earldom of Clere, or Clare, as the representative of her ancestress Elizabeth de Burgh,² the wife of Lionel, second son of Edward III. The title of duke of Clarence, which originally sprang from this inheritance, might be resumed by the crown; but the great earldom of Clere, or Clare, was a female fief, and devolved on Elizabeth. Her

¹ Henry of Richmond.

² See the biography of queen Philippa, vol. ii.

partisans certainly meant to greet her as its rightful and legitimate owner when they termed her "countess Clere," for however clear or bright she might be, that species of complexion by no means brought any rational connection with the title of countess.

When Brereton returned from his expedition, he found lord Stanley walking with king Richard in the palace garden.¹ Stanley gave him a sign of secrecy, and Humphrey asserted before the king, "that he had been taking a vacation of recreation among his friends in Cheshire." After a coaxing and hypocritical speech of Richard, regarding his affection for the "poor commonalty," he went to his own apartments in the palace. Brereton then obtained an interview of the princess, to whom he detailed the success of his expedition. Elizabeth received the intelligence with extraordinary gratitude, and agreed to meet her confederates in secret council when they arrived from the north. The place of meeting was an old inn in the London suburbs, between Holborn and Islington; an eagle's foot was chalked on the door, as the token of the place of meeting for the disguised gentlemen who came from Cheshire and Lancashire. The eagle's foot is one of the armorial bearings of sir Reginald Braye,² who was a retainer belonging to lord Stanley, and, as all historians³ are well aware, was deeply concerned in the revolution which placed Elizabeth and Richmond on the English throne. The inn thus indicated was conveniently stationed for the rendezvous, as travellers from the north must perforce pass the door. Thither, according to our poet, the princess and Stanley repaired secretly by night. After Elizabeth had conferred with her allies, and satisfied herself that they would not murder Richmond, out of their Yorkist prejudices, if he trusted himself among the northern powers, she agreed to

¹ Cotton-garden was one of the pleasantries or gardens of Westminster palace.

² Lady Braye, his representative (an English peeress by summons), has in her possession a portrait of sir Reginald Braye, wearing a tabard "powdered" with the eagle's foot. Brereton does not mention sir Reginald Braye, excepting by this indication; but it is sufficient, and is, moreover, one of those minute traits which verify this metrical chronicle.

³ Sir Thomas More. Holinshed. Hall.

send him a ring of betrothal, with a letter, informing him of the strength of the party propitious to the union of York and Lancaster. Humphrey Brereton undertook the dangerous task of carrying the despatches. He embarked at Liverpool, a port then little known to the rest of England; but the shipping, and all other matters there, were at the command of the house of Stanley.

When the malady of queen Anne became hopeless and she evidently drew near her end, a rumor prevailed in the palace, and from thence spread over the country, that the king, on her demise, intended to espouse his niece Elizabeth. It was a report that excited horror in every class of the English people, and in no one (as all historians expressly declare) so much as in the mind of the young princess herself, who detested the idea of the abhorrent union.¹ It may be inferred that she had not concealed her aversion from her uncle, since, after the queen's death, she was sent into restraint at the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire. Richard himself, perceiving the public disgust, gave up the idea of marrying Elizabeth. Immediately the funeral of his wife was over, he called a meeting of the civic authorities, in the great hall of St. John's, Clerkenwell, just before Easter, 1485, and, in their presence, distinctly disavowed any intention of espousing his niece, and forbade the circulation of the report, "as false and scandalous in a high degree." A little while before this proclamation, the same chronicler² states, "that a convocation of twelve doctors of divinity had sat on a case of the marriage of an uncle and niece, and had declared that the kindred was too near for a pope's bull to sanction."

If the princess Elizabeth had not manifested decided repugnance to the addresses of her uncle, she might, perhaps, have met with better treatment than consignment to a distant fortress; yet, in the face of this harsh usage, sir George Bucke, the apologist for Richard III., has had the hardihood to affirm that she was so desirous of marrying her uncle as to be anxious to hasten the death of her aunt. In confirmation of this assertion he adduces an infamous

¹ Sir Thomas More. Holinshed. Hall.

² Continuator of Croyland.

letter, which he says he saw in the cabinet of the earl of Arundel, among the Howard papers, addressed by the princess Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk, Richard's great supporter. Bucke pretends that she, in this letter, solicited the good offices of the duke of Norfolk in her favor, adding, "that the king was her joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought." So far Bucke affects to quote her words, but he adds, in a most uncandid manner, "she *hinted* her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and her apprehensions that she would *never* die."¹ Why did not Bucke quote the very words of the princess, that all the world might judge how far the expressions he called a *hint* extended? Meantime, this letter has never been seen to the present hour, and Bucke is too violent a partisan and too unfaithful an historian to be believed on his mere word. Persons often act inconsistently in respect to the characters of others, but never in regard to their own. During many trials the retiring conduct of Elizabeth bore fully out her favorite motto, which consisted of the words HUMBLE AND REVERENT. Nor is it probable that her sweet and saintly nature should have blazed out, in one sentence of a letter, into all the murderous ambition that distinguished her father and uncles, and then subsided forever into the ways of pleasantness and peace. If this princess had had a heart capable of cherishing murderous thoughts against "her kind aunt, queen Anne," she would have shown some other symptoms of a cruel and ungrateful nature. She certainly did not; therefore it is unjust to condemn her on a supposed hint in a letter which no one but an enemy ever read.²

While our princess is incarcerated in her northern prison, it is needful to bestow a few pages on the paladin appointed

¹ Bucke's Hist.; W. Kennet, p. 568.

² The house of Howard have, from that time to the present, possessed many members illustrious for their literary talents, and, above all, for their research into documentary history; and though search has been made in their archives for this royal autograph letter, yet from that hour to the present it has never been found. Sir James Mackintosh would never (as a lawyer) have given credence to sir George Bucke's mere assertion if he had known that the document was not forthcoming.

to her rescue. The romantic incidents of the early life of our first Tudor sovereign are, indeed, little known. Henry Tudor was the son of Edmund earl of Richmond¹ and Margaret Beaufort, only child of John duke of Somerset. His mother was little more than thirteen² when he was born at Pembroke castle,³ June 26, 1456. Margaret has thus prettily recorded the date of his birth in one of her letters:—"For," says the proud and happy mother, "it was on this day of St. Anne that I did bring into the world my good and gracious prince, and only-beloved son." The father of this infant survived but till the succeeding November. The countess of Richmond, afterwards the pride of English matrons, the most noble as well as most learned lady in the land, was left a widow and a mother at fourteen, with a little earl of five months old in her arms, whom she had to rear and protect amidst all the horrors of a civil war, which had just begun to rage when her husband died.

When the infant earl of Richmond was about three years old,⁴ he was presented by his fond young mother to his great-uncle Henry VI., who solemnly blessed him, and, placing his hand on the child's head, said, "This pretty boy will wear the garland in peace for which we so sinfully contend,"—an oracular saying carefully treasured by the young mother of the boy, and remembered afterwards by his party to his advantage. Soon after, the little earl was taken under the protection of his uncle, Jasper earl of Pembroke; and as he was the next heir, through his mother, to the whole ambitious race of Somerset, who were filling England with their seditious efforts to be recognized as legitimate branches of the royal line of Lancaster, the boy was conveyed to the remote castle of Pembroke, for his personal security from the inimical house of York. He was not five years old when his only protector, Jasper Tudor, was forced to fly

¹ Son of queen Katherine and Owen Tudor.—See her Life.

² Hall, 287.

³ Brooke's Succession of Kings.

⁴ Hayne's State-Papers. His mother does not mention the *year* of his birth, but he died at fifty-two, in 1508, which gives this date.—See Speed, 979.

⁵ Lord Bacon makes the infant Tudor some years older, and says he was serving Henry VI. with the ewer of water when the prediction was made; but Henry VI. had not an opportunity of thus addressing the child later in his reign.

from the lost field of Mortimer's Cross. Pembroke castle was stormed by sir William Herbert, one of Edward IV.'s partisans, and the earldom of Pembroke was given to him as a reward. The poor little earl of Richmond was found in the castle,¹ not altogether friendless, for he was protected by Philip ap Hoell, whom he in after-life described gratefully as "our old servant and well-beloved *nurriour*,"² an expression which plainly shows that Henry had a Welshman by way of nurse. The new earl of Pembroke was a just and brave man, and, moreover, had a good and merciful lady for his helpmate. So far from hurting the little prisoner whom they had seized with his uncle's castle, the lady Herbert took him to her maternal arms, and brought him up with her own family, "and in all kind of civility well and honorably educated him."³ The excellence of this good deed will be better appreciated when it is remembered that Henry was the heir of the dispossessed earl of Pembroke, and consequently was considered by some to have more right to the castle than the Herberts.

The family of lady Herbert consisted of three sons and six daughters, companions of Henry's childhood, and with the lady Maud Herbert there is reason to suppose he had formed a loving attachment. When he was fourteen, his generous protector lord Pembroke was illegally murdered by Warwick's faction, after Banbury fight. Young Tudor still remained with his maternal friend, lady Herbert, till another revolution in favor of Lancaster restored Jasper Tudor once more to his earldom and castle, who with them took re-possession of his nephew. But the few months Jasper was able to hold out the castle was a period of great danger. The nephew and uncle narrowly escaped destruction from a plot contrived by Roger Vaughan, a bold and crafty marchman, belonging to a fierce clan of his name, vowed vassals of the Mortimers and their heirs. Jasper had the satisfaction of turning the tables on Roger, by cutting off his head. But he was soon after besieged in the castle by Morgan Thomas, who, according to the orders of

¹ Hall, 287.

² Sir Harris Nicolas, *Privy-purse Expenses*, 212.

³ This most interesting passage in Henry's life is taken from Hall, 287.

Edward IV., dug a trench round the fortress, and would soon have captured its inmates if David Thomas (brother to the besieger) had not taken pity on the Tudors and favored their escape to Tenby,¹ whence with a few faithful retainers they embarked for France, and were cast by a tempest on the coast of Bretagne. Duke Francis II. received them hospitably, and for two or three years they lived peacefully, yet under some restraint.

But the existence of young Henry Tudor disquieted Edward IV., though in the very height of victorious prosperity, and he sent Stillington, bishop of Bath (the ready tool for any iniquity), on a deceitful mission to the court of Bretagne, offering Henry the hand of his eldest daughter with a princely dower, and to Jasper restoration of his earldom, if they would return to England and be his friends. Henry and Jasper were both deceived so far as to be placed without resistance in the hands of the English deputation, and the whole party were only waiting at St. Malo for a favorable wind, when the duke of Bretagne was seized with a sudden qualm of conscience: he sent his favorite, Peter Landois, to inform young Henry privately that he would be murdered if he trusted himself on board Edward's ships. It seems Edward IV. had bargained that his envoy should pay the duke of Bretagne a large sum directly the unfortunate Lancastrian nobles were surrendered. Stillington had just delivered the cash agreed upon, and this was the way the duke contrived to keep the purchase-money and save the lives of his guests. The earl of Richmond had caught a quotidian ague at St. Malo,² and was lying in such a state of suffering under its feverish fits that he troubled himself very little with the message of the duke; but the moment his affectionate uncle heard it, he summoned his faithful servants, who ran with the sick youth in their arms to take sanctuary at St. Malo, nor could any promises of Stillington induce them to come out. Edward IV. complained bitterly to duke Francis of the trick he had played him, but he well deserved to lose his money.

Meantime, the countess Margaret, the mother of the young

¹ Hall, 303.

² *Ibid.*, 323.

earl, remained at the court of Edward without exciting any great jealousy. She had married lord Henry Stafford, and was again a widow. Edward IV. gave her to his vowed partisan, lord Stanley. Her husband's esteem for her virtues was great, and her influence over him sufficient to inspire him with a very fatherly interest for her poor exiled boy, from whom she had been cruelly divided since his infancy. From the hour when young Richmond was placed in sanctuary at St. Malo, he was virtually a prisoner. As Henry considered that his life was in great danger, he resolved to render himself capable of taking orders, as a last refuge from the malice of Edward IV. With this intention, as well as for the purpose of whiling away the heavy hours of captivity, he became a proficient in Latin, and all the learning of the times.¹

The danger passed away, the learning remained to his future benefit. Yet Richmond and his uncle must have led a harassed life for many years during their exile; nor had they always the comfort of being together, for the records of Vannes prove that, after being some time in an honorable state of restraint in the capital of Bretagne, watched by guards yet treated as princes, on some suspicion of their intention to withdraw themselves, Henry and his uncle were arrested at the request of Edward IV. Jasper was confined in the castle of Joscelin, and young Henry in the castle of Elvin. The Bretons to this day point out one of the two towers of Elvin as his prison.² The death of his great persecutor Edward IV. caused an amelioration of his captivity. A few months opened to him an immediate vista to the English crown.

After the destruction of the heirs of York had been effected by their murderous uncle Richard III., Christopher Urswick came to Bretagne with a proposal from the countess Margaret to her son, that he should marry the rightful heiress of the realm, Elizabeth of York. Henry imme-

¹ Speed, 926.

² From *l'Essai sur les Antiquités du Département du Morbihan*, par J. Mahe, Chanoine de la Cathédrale de Vannes. Extract made by Rev. J. Hunter, in illustration of the 'Song of the Lady Bessy.'

diately requested an interview with the duke of Bretagne, to whom he confided his prospects, and received from him promises of assistance and permission to depart. Soon after came a gentleman, Hugh Conway, bringing great sums from his mother, with directions to effect a landing as soon as possible in Wales. Henry sailed for England with forty ships furnished him by the duke of Bretagne. According to general history, he heard of Buckingham's failure and returned immediately; yet the local traditions of Wales declare that he landed and remained in concealment for several months at Tremostyn, in Flintshire.¹ "In the ancient castle of Tremostyn, in Flintshire, is a great room at the end of a long gallery, said by the tradition of the place to have been the lodging of Henry VII. when earl of Richmond, for he resided secretly in Wales at the time he was supposed to have been in Bretagne. None of our historians," adds Pennant, "account for a certain period in Henry's life after he had departed from the protection of the duke of Bretagne. While Henry was thus lurking at Mostyn, a party of Richard's forces arrived there on suspicion, and proceeded to search the castle. He was about to dine, but had just time to leap out of a back window, and make his escape by means of a hole, which is to this day called the 'king's hole.'"²

With Henry's visit to Wales was probably connected the report mentioned in history of his desire to marry lady Katherine Herbert, the youngest daughter of his former generous protectors. After the defeat of Buckingham, he for a time lost all hope of alliance with the royal Elizabeth. His former love, Maud Herbert, had been married to the earl of Northumberland, but Henry sent word that he wished to have her younger sister.³ The messenger, however, met with the most unaccountable impediments in his journey; and before he could communicate with lady Northumberland, new schemes were agitated for his union with the princess Elizabeth, and Henry was forced to sacrifice his

¹ Pennant's *Wales*.

² Pennant. To sir Richard ap Howel, the lord of Mostyn castle, Henry VII. gave his belt and sword, worn on the day of Bosworth.

³ Hall.

private affections. The people imagined that the union of the rival roses was arranged by Providence for the purpose of putting an end to the long agonies England had endured on account of the disputed succession. Great crowds went to behold a natural prodigy of a rose-bush, which produced blossoms where the rival colors of the rose of York and Lancaster were for the first time seen blended. This the English considered was an auspicious omen.¹

It must have been about this time that the ring and letter arrived from Elizabeth of York which renewed her engagement to him. In Brereton's narrative, he declares he met the earl of Richmond at Begar monastery; this was twenty-eight miles from Rennes, conveniently situated for intercourse with England, where there were two convents connected with that of Begar on the earl of Richmond's own estate in Yorkshire. Brereton found the earl of Richmond sitting at the butts in an archery-ground; he was dressed in a black velvet surcoat, which reached to the knees: he describes him as long-faced, and pale in complexion. He was in company with lord Oxford, who had just escaped to him from his tedious imprisonment in Hammes castle, and lord Ferrers (of Groby), who was the same person as the marquess of Dorset, Elizabeth's brother: Richmond was likewise attended by a gentleman of the name of Lee. The French authors affirm that Henry was in love with Lee's daughter Katherine, but that the girl gave up his promise for fear of ruining his fortunes.² Henry received Brereton civilly: he kissed the ring of rich stones that Elizabeth had sent him, but, with the characteristic caution which had distinguished him, remained three weeks before he gave him an answer.

Once more Henry was in imminent peril, from the treachery of the Breton government. Duke Francis fell dangerously ill, and his minister, Landois, covenanted to deliver the earl into the hands of Richard III.; as it was, Richmond, who

¹ Camden's Remains.

² Prevost. It is worthy of remark that one of Elizabeth's maids of honor was mistress Lee. In every page some curious coincidence with forgotten fact is to be found in Brereton's work.

was near the French border, had to ride for his life, and with only five persons arrived safely at Angers, from whence he visited the French court, and received promises of assistance from the lady-regent, sister to Charles VIII. He followed the royal family of France to Paris, where he renewed a solemn oath to marry Elizabeth of York if he could dispossess the usurper; and the day after this oath, all the English students at the university of Paris tendered him their homage as king of England.¹ He likewise received a message from duke Francis, who, having recovered his health, disclaimed the iniquities of Landois, and promised Henry assistance for his fresh descent on England. The lady-regent of France advanced him a sum of money, but required hostages for its payment; upon which Henry very adroitly left in pledge the person of his intended brother-in-law, the marquess of Dorset, whose late communications with England had excited some suspicions.

Richmond reckoned himself a prisoner during the whole of his connection with Bretagne. "He told me," says Comines, "just before his departure, that from the time he was five years old he had been either a fugitive or a captive, and that he had endured a fifteen years' imprisonment from duke Francis, into whose hands he had fallen by extremity of weather. Indeed, I was at the court of Bretagne when he and his uncle were first seized." Edward IV. paid the duke of Bretagne a yearly sum for his safe-keeping; and, if the extreme poverty of Richard III. had permitted him to continue the pension, it is to be feared the crown of England and the hand of its heiress, the 'lovely lady Bessy,' would never have been won by Henry Tudor.

Henry sailed with the united fleets of France and Bretagne from Harfleur, August 1st, on his chivalric enterprise to win a wife and crown. His navy met with no interruption, for Richard's poverty kept the English ships inactive. The fleet safely made Milford-Haven in seven days; but Henry landed with his uncle Jasper at a place called Dale, some miles from his armament. When his uncle first set foot on his native shore, the people received him joyfully, with these significant

¹ Guthrie, vol. ii. 764.

words, "Welcome! for thou hast taken good care of thy nephew;"¹ a sarcastic reflection on the conduct of Richard III. to his nephews. This welcome was indicative of the public feeling, for Richmond was greeted everywhere on his route from Milford as a deliverer, and as far as Shrewsbury every town threw open its gates for his admittance. His old friend, lord Herbert, though not openly his partisan, secretly favored his march; but Gilbert Talbot, with the bold decision of character so well described by Brereton, joined him promptly at the head of the vassalage of his nephew, the earl of Shrewsbury:² so did sir John Savage. Henry now pressed forward for the midland counties, suffering in mind doubts respecting the conduct of the Stanleys, although he received the most comforting messages from his mother. At last he arrived at Tamworth. Lord Stanley was encamped at Atherstone, and Richard III. was advancing to Leicester. On the evening of the 20th of August, Henry had a very narrow escape; he went out from his camp at Tamworth, and met lord Stanley by assignation in the dark, in a field near Atherstone. Here Stanley explained to his son-in-law "how necessary it was for him to appear Richard's friend till the very moment when the battle joined, or the loss of his son's life would be the consequence, since Richard would not excuse him from his palace-duty without he left his heir, George lord Strange, as a hostage; that the axe was even now suspended over George's head, and would fall on the slightest symptoms of revolt shown by the Stanleys." Had Richmond been wholly satisfied, he surely would have got a guide from Stanley back to his camp, for on his return he lost his path, and wandered in the greatest peril of being captured by Richard's scouts: he dared not inquire his way, lest his foreign accent should betray him. At last rendered desperate, he knocked at the door of a lone hut on Atherstone moor, and finding therein the master, a simple shepherd, was by him refreshed, and afterwards kindly guided

¹ Gough's History of Myddle, edited by sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., and printed at the Middle Hill press.

² Hall; who strongly confirms Brereton's statement, without knowing anything of him.

to Tamworth, where he rejoined his forces, not before his army¹ had been thrown into consternation at his absence.

That very evening, at sunset, king Richard entered Leicester, mounted on a magnificent white courser, and clad in the same suit of burnished steel armor he wore at Tewkesbury; on his helmet was placed a regal crown, which he had worn ever since he joined his military muster at Nottingham. His countenance was stern and frowning, his manner that of high command, as he rode surrounded by the pomp of war in the van of the finest cavalry forces in Europe. His army, amounting to thirteen thousand men, was sufficient to have crushed Richmond's petty hand, but that its strength was impaired by secret disaffection. King Richard slept at the principal inn at Leicester (known since by the name of the Blue Boar), because Leicester castle was ruinous and uninhabitable. The room in which he passed the night is fresh in the memory of many persons: the ancient inn has been but recently destroyed, for the erection of a row of small houses. Richard occupied a ghostly gothic chamber: he slept on his military chest in the shape of a bedstead, and the discovery of his treasure, a hundred years afterwards, occasioned a horrid murder. Early in the morning of the day preceding Bosworth fight, Richard III. left Leicester by the south gate at the head of his cavalry. A poor old blind man, who had been a wheelwright, sat begging near the bridge: as the king approached he cried out, that "if the moon changed again that day, which had changed once in the course of nature that morning, king Richard would lose life and crown." He hinted, here, at the secret disaffection of the Percy² who had married Henry of Richmond's old love, Maud Herbert. As Richard rode over Leicester bridge, his left foot struck against a low wooden post. "His head shall strike against that very pile," said the oracular beggar, "as he returns this night."³

Hutton's Bosworth. This adventure is glanced at by Rapin, Gutbrie, and Speed, but most pleasingly detailed in an old chronicle printed by Hutton.

² The Percy bears the crescent as crest.

³ Twelve Strange Prophecies: Tracts, British Museum.

On the evening of the 21st the two rival armies encamped on the appropriately-named heath of Redmore, near Bosworth. Richard went out at twilight to reconnoitre: he found a sentinel fast asleep at the outposts; he promptly stabbed him to the heart, with these stern soldierly words:—"I found him asleep, and I leave him so." Such was the usurper's preparation for that fearful night of unrest, of which Shakspeare has made such poetical use. Our chroniclers¹ more briefly describe the troubled slumber of Richard on the last night of his existence, by saying that, in his sleep, he "was most terribly pulled and haled by divels." They report, moreover, that other agents were busy in the camp besides these diabolical phantasma of the tyrant's over-charged brain, for the morning light showed that some daring hand had placed a placard on the duke of Norfolk's tent, containing these lines:—

"Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold."

Notwithstanding his ill rest, Richard was the next morning energetically active, reckoning on overwhelming Richmond at once by a tremendous charge of cavalry. Richmond must have possessed great moral courage to risk a battle, for his father-in-law was, till the moment of onset, dubious in his indications. At last lord Stanley and his brother sir William joined Richmond's forces, and the odds were turned against the usurper; yet the battle raged on Redmore heath for more than two hours. King Richard made in person three furious charges, the last being the most desperate, after his friend the duke of Norfolk was slain, when Richard, overthrowing all opposers, "cut his way" to where Richmond's standard flew, in hopes of a personal encounter with his rival. After killing the standard-bearer, Brandon, "he was borne down by numbers at the foot of the hill near Amyon lays." His blood tinged the pretty brooklet which issues from the hill: it literally ran red that day, and to this hour the common people refuse to drink of its waters. The body of Richard was in a few

¹ Speed, 932. Holinshed. Hall.

minutes plundered of its armor and ornaments.¹ The crown was hidden by a soldier in a hawthorn-bush, but was soon found and carried to lord Stanley, who placed it on the head of his son-in-law, saluting him by the title of Henry VII., while the victorious army sang *Te Deum* on the blood-stained heath.

“Oh, Redmore! then it seemed thy name was not in vain.”

It was in memory of the picturesque fact that the red-berried hawthorn once sheltered the crown of England, that the house of Tudor assumed the device of a crown in a bush of the fruited hawthorn. To the same circumstance may be referred the loyal proverb of—

“Cleave to the crown, though it hang on a bush.”

While these events were transacting, the royal maiden who was to prove the prize of the victor remained in the lonely halls of the Yorkshire castle of Sheriff-Hutton, with no companion but its young and imbecile owner,² her cousin Warwick. A sudden outburst of joy throughout the country, and the thronging of the population of the district about the gates of her prison, told Elizabeth that her cause had prospered, and that Richard was overthrown. Soon after came Sir Robert Willoughby, sent by the new king, Henry VII., from Bosworth, with orders to bring the princess Elizabeth and her cousin to London with all convenient speed. The princess commenced her journey directly, and was attended by a voluntary guard of the nobility and

¹ The local traditions of Leicestershire affirm that when Richard's body was brought into Leicester, the town he had lately quitted with the utmost military pomp, it was stripped and gashed, and hanging, with the head downwards, across a horse ridden by one of his heralds, Blanche Sanglier. As the body was carried across Leicester bridge, the head dangling like a thrum-mop, it (as was very likely) struck against the piece of wood projecting from the bridge, and thus the gossips found the blind wheelwright's saying fulfilled. The nuns of the Gray Friars begged the poor maltreated corpse of their benefactor, and interred it humbly, but decently, in their church.

² Sheriff-Hutton was one of the chief baronial residences of the great earl of Warwick, and therefore the residence of his grandson, whom king Richard III. did not pretend to rob of his mother's share of the Neville inheritance. Henry VII. put him in confinement in the Tower, after Willoughby had conveyed him from Sheriff-Hutton.

gentry of the counties through which she passed, and many noble ladies likewise came to wait upon her: in this state she was escorted to London, and consigned to the care of her mother, queen Elizabeth, at Westminster palace.

Henry VII., in the mean time, set out from Leicester, and by easy journeys arrived in the metropolis. The lord mayor and citizens met him at Shoreditch, and recognized him as king of England.¹ He came, not invested with military terrors like a conqueror,—not even as an armed and mounted cavalier,—but made his entry, to the surprise of every one, in a covered chariot, a mode of travelling never before used excepting by females, “without,” adds Bacon, “it was considered necessary so to convey a traitor or enemy of the state, dangerous for the people to recognize.” His own poet, Bernard Andreas, who had accompanied him from Bretagne, welcomed him to London at Shoreditch, with Latin verses written in his praise. The king went direct to St. Paul’s, where *Te Deum* was sung, and he offered his banners, not those taken at Bosworth, but three on which were figured his devices of the fiery dragon of Cadwallader, a dun cow, and the effigy of St. George. He then retired to his lodging prepared at the palace of the bishop of London, close to St. Paul’s church-yard. While he remained the guest of the bishop, he assembled his privy council, and renewed to them his promise of espousing the princess Elizabeth of York. The discontents of the Yorkist party commenced from this era; they found with indignation that Henry chose to be recognized by parliament as the independent sovereign of England, without the least acknowledgment of the title he derived from his betrothment with their princess. His coronation took place soon after, without the association of the princess in its honors.

Elizabeth, it is said, suffered great anxiety from the reports of his intended marriage, either with the heiress of Bretagne or lady Katherine Herbert. In the course of her meditations she recalled to memory that her father had, in her infancy, offered her in marriage to “this comely prince;” perhaps she did not know the evil intentions of that treaty;

¹ Continuation of Hardyng.

at all events, she deemed herself Henry's betrothed wife, not only from motives of political expediency, but according to the sanction of her deceased parent.¹ Yet it was near Christmas, and no preparations had been made for the marriage of the royal pair, when the house of commons, on their grant to the king of tonnage and poundage for life, added to it a petition "that he would take to wife and consort the princess Elizabeth, which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings." The members of the assembled houses of parliament then rose up and bowed to the king, as a sign of their earnest cooperation in this wish: the king replied "that he was very willing so to do." He might have added, for the further satisfaction of all malcontent at the delay, that the prevalence of the two great plagues of poverty and pestilence were reasonable impediments to gorgeous and crowded ceremonies; for the private records of the exchequer prove that there was not a doit in the royal purse, and the public annals show how severely the new disease called 'the sweating sickness,' or *sudor Anglicus*, was devastating the metropolis.

The parliament was prorogued from the 10th of December till the 27th of January by the lord chancellor, who announced "that, before its reassembling, the marriage of the king and the princess Elizabeth would take place;" from which time she was treated as queen.³ A great tournament was proclaimed, and magnificent preparations made for the royal nuptials. Elizabeth and Henry were within the prohibited degrees: to obtain a special dispensation was a work of time, but in order to indulge the wishes of the nation for their immediate union, an ordinary dispensation

¹ Bernard Andreas's Memoir, quoted by Speed. ² Parliamentary History.

³ Plumpton Papers, p. 48.—Camden Society. The learned editor of this valuable collection justly points out the importance of the tenth letter as an historical document, but suggests (from another document) that a mistake is made in the date, and that parliament was appointed to reassemble on the 23d, instead of the 27th; but we think, as the royal marriage took place on the 18th, the Plumpton correspondent is right. Since "there was to be great justing," many of the peers and knights of the shire would take a part at this passage of arms, and they would be scarcely fit for business under a week or eight days.

was procured from the pope's resident legate, by which license the royal pair were united at Westminster, January 18, 1486. Their wedding-day was, in the words of Bernard Andreas, "celebrated with all religious and glorious magnificence at court, and by their people with bonfires, dancing, songs, and banquets, throughout all London." Cardinal Bouchier, who was at the same time a descendant of the royal house of Plantagenet¹ and a prince of the church, was the officiating prelate at the marriage. "His hand," according to the quaint phraseology of Fuller, who records the circumstance, "held that sweet posie, wherein the white and red roses were first tied together."

¹ By descent from Isabel Plantagenet, sister of Richard duke of York, who married Bouchier earl of Essex.

ELIZABETH OF YORK,
SURNAMED THE GOOD,
QUEEN-CONSORT OF HENRY VII.

CHAPTER II.

Epithalamium—Origin of the anthem of 'God save the king'—The queen's residence at Winchester—Delicate health—Illness with ague—Birth of prince Arthur—Queen founds the Lady-chapel at Winchester cathedral—Her dower—Meets her cousin Warwick at Shene—Joins the king at Kenilworth—Views his entry at Bishopsgate street—Goes with him to Greenwich—Her procession by water to London—Coronation—Assists at the feast of St. George—Presides at the marriages of her aunt and sisters—Party to her sister's marriage-settlement—Takes her chamber—Birth of the princess Margaret—Of prince Henry—Of the princess Elizabeth—Queen writes to the king in France—Perkin Warbeck's rebellions—Queen's progress with the king to Latham house—Queen's expenditure—Her friendship for the king's mother—The royal children—Troubles of England—Queen's sojourn at Calais—Marriages of her obildren—Death of prince Arthur—Routine of the queen's life—Expenditure—Visit to Hampton Court—Residence at the palace of the Tower—Birth of seventh child—Illness—Death—Lying in state at the Tower—Chapelle ardente—Stately funeral—Elegy by sir Thomas More—Statue—Portrait.

A VERY elegant Latin epithalamium was written on the marriage of Elizabeth of York by a learned prebendary of St. Paul's, John de Gigli.¹ It is a great curiosity, and, though too long as a whole for the limits of the present work, an English version of a few passages relating to the royal pair are subjoined.

"Hail! ever honored and auspicious day,
When in blest wedlock to a mighty king—
To Henry—bright Elizabeth is joined.
Fairest of Edward's offspring, she alone
Pleased this illustrious spouse."

Then, after much rejoicing at the happy prospect of peace and re-establishment of the ancient laws, and some unneces-

¹ Bibl. Harl., 336; date 1486. John de Gigli was afterwards, in 1497, made bishop of Worcester.

sary allusions to Nestor, Priam, Hector, and invocation of the pagan deities, the reverend poet addresses Henry to this effect :—

“Though it may please you proudly to derive
Ancestral titles from the ancient stock
Of Frankish kings, your royal forefathers,
Your beauty more commends you to our hearts,—
Features benign, and form of graceful mould,
Virtue’s concomitants which wait on you,
And with each other vie to make you shine
In splendor more adorned.”

The poet tells Henry that the fruit of war is won, the ermine has descended upon him, the crown is on his head, the sceptre in his hand, peace smiles for England, and he only requires a spouse to complete his happiness, and thus calls his attention to Elizabeth :—

“So here the most illustrious maid of York,
Deficient nor in virtue nor descent,
Most beautiful in form, whose matchless face
Adorned with most enchanting sweetness shines.
Her parents called her name Elizabeth,
And she, their first-born, should of right succeed
Her mighty sire. *Her title will be yours,*
If you unite this princess to yourself
In wedlock’s holy bond.”

Alluding to Henry’s tardiness in celebrating his nuptials, the royal *fiancée* is made to express the most passionate impatience. She says :—

“Oh, my beloved! my hope, my only bliss!
Why then defer my joy? Fairest of kings,
Whence your delay to light our bridal torch?
Our noble house contains two persons now,
But one in mind, in equal love the same.
Oh, my illustrious spouse! give o’er delay
Your sad Elizabeth entreats; and you
Will not deny Elizabeth’s request,
For we were plighted in a solemn pact,
Signed long ago by your own royal hand.”

Henry is then reminded that her youthful affections had been given to him, and that she had patiently cherished this idea for years :—

“How oft with needle, when denied the pen,
Has she on canvas traced the blessed name

Of Henry, or expressed it with her loom
 In silken threads, or 'broidered it in gold ;
 And now she seeks the fanes and hallowed shrines
 Of deities propitious to her suit,
 Imploring them to shorten her suspense,
 That she may in auspicious moment know
 The holy name of bride.

* * * * *

Your hymeneal torches now unite,
 And keep them ever pure. Oh ! royal maid,
 Put on your regal robes in loveliness.
 A thousand fair attendants round you wait,
 Of various ranks, with different offices,
 To deck your beauteous form. Lo ! this delights
 To smooth with ivory comb your golden hair,
 And that to curl and braid each shining tress,
 And wreath the sparkling jewels round your head,
 Twining your locks with gems : this one shall clasp
 The radiant necklace framed in fretted gold
 About your snowy neck, while that unfolds
 The robes that glow with gold and purple dye,
 And fits the ornaments, with patient skill,
 To your unrivalled limbs ; and here shall shine
 The costly treasures from the Orient sands.
 The sapphire, azure gem, that emulates
 Heaven's lofty arch, shall gleam, and softly there
 The verdant emerald shed its greenest light,
 And fiery carbuncle flash forth rosy rays
 From the pure gold."

The epithalamium concludes with the enthusiastic wish of the poet that a lovely and numerous progeny may bless these royal nuptials with children's children, in long succession to hold the reins of the kingdom with justice and honor. He predicts that a child shall shortly gambol in the royal halls, and grow up a worthy son of Richmond, emulating the noble qualities of his august parents, and perpetuating their name in his illustrious descendants forever. Nor was the Latin composition of the learned De Gigli the only poetical tribute to these nuptials. An anthem was written for the occasion in the following words, in which a strong resemblance will be immediately traced to "God save the king:" the similarity of the music is still stronger.¹

¹ This anthem, set to musical notes of the old square form, and with the baritone clef on the third line, genuine signs of antiquity, was found with other ancient papers in the church-chest at Gayton, Northamptonshire; the date is

“God save king Henrie wheresoe'er he be,
And for queene Elizabeth now pray wee,
And for all her noble progenye;
God save the church of Christ from any follie,
And for queene Elizabeth now pray wee.”

Three successive dispensations were granted by pope Innocent, all dated subsequently to the royal marriage. He addresses the king and queen as “thou king Henry of Lancaster, and thou Elizabeth of York;” and proceeds to state, “that as their progenitors had vexed the kingdom of England with wars and clamors, to prevent further effusion of blood it was desirable for them to unite in marriage.” He calls Elizabeth “the undoubted heir of that famous king of immortal memory, Edward IV.,” thus effacing the brand her unnatural uncle had cast on her birth. Three bulls were obtained, one after the other, before Henry could find one to please him; at last a clause was introduced, declaring that if Elizabeth died without issue, the succession of the crown was to be continued in Henry's progeny by another wife,—a great injustice to her sisters.

Elizabeth, very soon after the marriage, gave hopes that this injurious clause would prove of none effect. She retired to the city of Winchester to pass the summer, holding her court there, surrounded by her sisters, her mother, and her mother-in-law, Margaret of Richmond, for whom she appears to have cherished the greatest esteem. The king left his bride at Lent, for the purpose of making a long and dangerous progress through the northern counties, which had been so entirely devoted to Richard III. as to have upheld him on the throne by military force. It was impossible for Elizabeth, in her delicate and hopeful situation, to accompany her husband on this progress; for he had to suppress two dangerous insurrections on the road, and one notable plot laid for his destruction. At last Henry got safely to the late usurper's favorite city of York, where the good people discreetly tried the effect of a little personal flattery. At his magnificent entry they made the air

1486, the year of the marriage of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York.—See History and Origin of “God save the King,” by E. Clark, p. 26.

ring with shouts of "King Harry! king Harry! our Lord preserve that sweet and well-favored face!" And so well was this compliment taken, that Henry reduced their crowns from 16*l.* to 18*l.* 5*s.*

The queen had fixed her residence at Winchester by her husband's express desire, as he wished her to give birth to his expected heir in the castle of that city, because tradition declared it was built by king Arthur, his ancestor. The queen's bedchamber was arranged according to ancient etiquette, which had been studied sedulously by the king's mother, the countess Margaret, who has favored posterity with her written rules on the subject. The royal patient was enclosed, not only from air, but from the light of day. "Her highness's pleasure being understood as to what chamber she be delivered in, the same must be hung with rich cloth of arras,—sides, roof, windows and all, except *one* window, where it must be hanged so that she may have light when it pleaseth her. After the queen had taken to her chamber," a peculiar ceremony in royal etiquette, now obsolete, she bade farewell to all her lords and court officers, and saw none but those of her own sex, "for," continues the countess Margaret, "women were made all manner of officers, as butlers, sewers, and pages, who received all needful things at the great chamber-door." The queen gave her family a surprise, by the birth of a son some weeks sooner than was expected; yet the child was healthy, and very lively. He was born September 20, 1486, at Winchester castle. The health of the queen, it appears, was always delicate, and she suffered much from an ague that autumn. Her mother-in-law, lady Margaret, busied herself greatly at this time; for, besides regulating the etiquette of the royal lying-in chamber, she likewise arranged the pageantry of the young prince's baptism, and set forth the length and breadth of his cradle, "fair adorned with painter's craft."¹ Elizabeth of York had the satisfaction of seeing her mother distinguished by the honor of standing godmother for this precious heir. Several cross-accidents attended his baptism: the day was violently stormy, and one of his god-

¹ Ordinances of the countess Margaret, mother of Henry VII.; Harleian MS.

fathers, the stout earl of Oxford, most unaccountably kept his royal godchild waiting in the cold cathedral three hours for his appearance. Oxford came in when the ceremony was nearly over, but he was in time to perform his part, which was that of sponsor, at the confirmation; and, taking the royal babe on his arm, he presented him to the officiating prelate at Winchester high altar. Then, while the king's trumpeters and minstrels went playing before, the child was borne to the king and queen, and had the blessing of God, Our Lady, St. George, and his father and mother.¹ The king, according to ancient custom, sat by the queen's bedside, ready to give their united blessing as the concluding ceremony of the royal baptism.

It cannot be denied that Henry VII., afterwards so cunning and worldly, was, at this epoch, imbued with all the dreamy romance natural to the studious and recluse life he had led in his prison-tower of Elven, where his hours of recreation had no other amusement than stories of Arthur and Uter Pendragon. He had hitherto spent his days in Wales or Bretagne, both Celtic countries, speaking the same language and cherishing the same traditions. Much the royal brain was occupied with ballads of the 'Mort d'Arthur,' with red dragons and green leeks, besides long rolls of Welsh pedigrees, in which Noah figured about midway. It was remarkable enough that a prince, educated on the coast of France, should have returned to England with tastes so entirely formed on the most ancient lore of our island,—tastes which he now gratified by naming the heir of England Arthur, after his favorite hero and ancestor. It was a mercy he did not name the boy Cadwallader, whom, by the assistance of some painstaking Welsh heralds, he claimed as his hundredth progenitor.² It was impossible for a king, who was a connoisseur in Welsh pedigrees, to meet with a mate better suited to him in that particular, for the queen was lineal princess of Wales by virtue of her descent from Gladis, who had married one of her Mortimer

¹ Lelandi Collectanea, iv. 390.

² It was likewise reported that Cadwallader had prophesied on his death-bed the restoration of his line as sovereigns of the whole island.—Hardyng.

ancestors, and their posterity was the nearest collateral line to Llewellyn the Great.¹ The memory of the Mortimers, as the conquerors and controllers of Wales, was little esteemed by the Welsh; but the infant prince Arthur was the object of their adoration, and his perfections are still remembered in their national songs.

Elizabeth's churching was conducted with remarkable solemnity of etiquette, according to the following routine:—The queen received her officers of the household, and the officers of arms, reclining on a grand state-bed, "richly beseen in tires," being, we presume, a cap with borders, "and with beads about her neck." A duchess, or at least a countess, helped her down from the bed, and led her to the chamber-door, where two duchesses received her, and a duke led her to the chapel, where the ceremony of churching took place. One of her lords carried a taper burning before her to the altar, where she offered, and all her ladies and gentlemen offered, according to their degree. And that day the queen sat in the great chamber under the king's canopy, and also had her largess cried.² The queen's ague continued, and it was long before she recovered her health: when it was restored, she founded a Lady-chapel at Winchester cathedral, as a testimony of gratitude for the birth of her heir.

The dower of Elizabeth deviated in some particulars from those of the queens her predecessors: as she was heiress of the Mortimers, some of their possessions in Herefordshire, and part of the great patrimony of Clare, formed portions of it. Her grandmother, Cicely duchess of York, was very richly endowed on this inheritance; and as Elizabeth Woodville, the queen's mother, had likewise to be maintained, the funds were barely sufficient for all claimants. The king, "in consideration of the great expenses and charges that his most dear wife Elizabeth, queen of England, must of necessity bear in her chamber, and others divers *wises*, by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the com

¹ Blackstone. Gladis was sister to Llewellyn the Great.

² MS. of the Norroy herald, time of Henry VII., late in possession of Peter le Neve, Esq.

mons in this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, ordaineth that his dear wife the queen be able to sue in her own name, without the king, by writs, etc., all manner of forms, rents, and debts due to her; and sue in her own name in all manner of actions, and plead, and be impleaded in any of the king's courts."¹

The next year was agitated with the mysterious rebellion in behalf of the earl of Warwick, who was personated by a youth named Lambert Simnel. It was but a few months since the queen and young Warwick had been companions at Sheriff-Hutton: the public had since lost sight of him, and this rebellion was evidently got up to make the king own what had become of him. He had been kept quietly in the Tower, from whence, to prove the imposition of Lambert Simnel, he was now brought in grand procession through the city to Shene, where he had lived in 1485, and previously with Elizabeth of York, and her young brothers and sisters.² The queen received him with several noblemen, and conversed with him; but he was found to be very stupid, not knowing the difference between the commonest objects.³ The king wrote to the earl of Ormond, chamberlain to the queen, the following May, commanding him to escort her and the countess Margaret to Kenilworth, where he then was. The people were discontented that the coronation of Elizabeth had not taken place after her wedlock, and rebellions followed each other with great rapidity. Lambert Simnel fell into the king's power this autumn; and when Henry found he was a simple boy, too ignorant to be considered a responsible agent, he very magnanimously forgave him, and with good-humored ridicule promoted him to be turnspit in his kitchen at Westminster, and afterwards made him one of his falconers.

This act of grace was in honor of Elizabeth's approaching coronation. She preceded the king to London; and, on the 3d of November, 1487, she sat in a window at St. Mary's hospital, Bishopsgate street, in order to have a view of his

¹ Parliamentary Rolls, vol. vi.

² See Wardrobe-accounts of Edward IV., edited by sir Harris Nicolas, 157, 158.

³ Hall. Cardinal Pole says his uncle was as innocent as a child of a year old.

triumphant entry of the metropolis, in honor of the victory of Stoke. The queen then went with Henry to their palace at Greenwich. On the Friday preceding her coronation she went from London to Greenwich, royally accompanied on the broad-flowing Thames: all the barges of the civic companies came to meet her in procession. The bachelors' barge, whose pageant surpassed all the others, belonged to the gentleman-students of Lincoln's inn; "therein was a great red dragon," in honor of the Cadwallader dragon of the house of Tudor, "spouting flames of fire into the Thames," and "many other gentlemanly pageants, well and curiously devised, to do her highness sport and pleasure withal." This barge, rowed by the handsomest gentlemen of Lincoln's inn, kept side by side with that of Elizabeth, playing the sweetest melody, and exciting the admiration of all the citizens assembled on the banks of the river, or in boats, by the activity of the gallant rowers and the vivacity of their dragon. "When the queen landed at the Tower, the king's highness welcomed her in such manner and form as was to all the estates, being present, a very goodly sight, and right joyous and comfortable to behold."

The king then created eleven knights of the Bath; and the next day, Saturday, after dinner, Elizabeth set forth on her procession through the city to Westminster palace. The crowd was immense, it being Elizabeth's first public appearance in the metropolis as queen since her marriage, and all the Londoners were anxious to behold her in her royal apparel. She must have been well worth seeing: she had not completed her twenty-second year, her figure was, like that of her majestic father, tall and elegant, her complexion brilliantly fair, and her serene eyes and perfect features were now lighted up with the lovely expression maternity ever gives to a young woman whose disposition is truly estimable. The royal apparel, in which her loving subjects were so anxious to see her arrayed, consisted of a kirtle of white cloth of gold, damasked, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine, fastened on the breast with a great lace or cordon, curiously wrought of gold and silk, finished with rich knobs of gold and tassels. "On her fair

yellow hair,¹ hanging at length down her back, she wore a caul of pipes [a piped net-work] and a circle of gold, richly adorned with gems." Thus attired, she quitted her chamber of state in the Tower, her train borne by her sister Cicely, who was still fairer than herself. She was preceded by four baronesses, riding gray palfreys, and by her husband's uncle Jasper, as grand steward. Her old friend lord Stanley (now earl of Derby) was high-constable, and the earl of Oxford lord chamberlain. Thus attended, she entered a rich open litter, whose canopy was borne over her head by four of the new knights of the Bath. She was followed by her sister Cicely and the duchess of Bedford, her mother's sister,² in one car, and her father's sister, the duchess of Suffolk, mother to the unfortunate earl of Lincoln, lately slain fighting against Henry VII. at the battle of Stoke. The duchess of Norfolk rode in another car, and six baronesses on palfreys brought up the noble procession. The citizens hung velvets and cloth of gold from the windows of Cheap, and stationed children, dressed like angels, to sing praises to the queen as she passed on to Westminster palace.

The next morning she was attired in a kirtle of purple velvet, furred with ermine bands in front. On her hair she wore a circlet of gold, set with large pearls and colored gems. She entered Westminster hall with her attendants, and waited under a canopy of state till she proceeded to the abbey. The way thither was carpeted with striped cloth, which sort of covering had been, from time immemorial, the perquisite of the common people. But the multitude in this case crowded so eagerly to cut off pieces of the cloth, ere the queen had well passed, that before she entered the abbey several of them were trampled to death, and the procession of the queen's ladies "broken and distroubled." The princess Cicely was the queen's train-bearer; the duke of Suffolk, her aunt's husband, carried the sceptre; and the

¹ Her hair is likewise termed *flavente*, or yellow, in the epithalamium.

² Katherine Woodville, widow of the duke of Buckingham (put to death by Richard III.). She was lately married to Jasper Tudor, whom the king had rewarded with the dukedom of Bedford.

king's uncle, Jasper duke of Bedford, carried the crown. The king resolved that Elizabeth should possess the public attention solely that day: he therefore ensconced himself in a closely-latticed box, erected between the altar and the pulpit in Westminster abbey, where he remained with his mother, *perdue*, during the whole ceremony. The queen's mother was not present, but her son Dorset, who had undergone imprisonment in the Tower on suspicion during the earl of Lincoln's revolt, was liberated, and permitted to assist at his sister's coronation.¹

A stately banquet was prepared in Westminster hall, solely for the queen and those who had assisted at her coronation. The king and the countess Margaret his mother were again present as unseen spectators, occupying a latticed seat erected in the recess of a window on the left of the hall. When the queen was seated at her coronation-feast, the lord Fitzwalter, her sewer, "came before her in his surcoat with tabard-sleeves, his hood about his neck, and a towel over all, and sewed all the messes." A sewer seems to have been an officer who performed at the royal table the functions of a footman, or waiter, at a modern dinner-party; and "sewing all the messes" was presenting the hot meats in a manner fit for the queen to partake of them. "The lady Katherine Gray and mistress Ditton went under the table, and sat at the queen's feet; and the countesses of Oxford² and Rivers knelt on each side, and now and then held a kerchief before her grace. And after the feast the queen departed with God's blessing, and the rejoicing of many a true Englishman's heart."³

The next day Henry partook of the coronation festivities. The queen began the morning by hearing mass with her

¹ Ives's Select Papers.

² The countess of Oxford is the first peeress who is recorded to have earned her bread by her needle; and it is pleasant to find this long-suffering lady restored to her high rank, for after the imprisonment of her husband for his unshaken fidelity in the cause of queen Margaret, Edward IV. deprived her of her dower. She would have been starved with her little children if she had not been skilled in the use of the needle. With a spirit of perseverance which rivalled the heroism of her lord, she struggled through fifteen years of penury, till better times restored her husband, her rank, and fortune.

³ Lelandi Collectanea, vol. iv. pp. 216, 233.

husband in St. Stephen's chapel; after which "she kept her estate" (sat in royal pomp, under a canopy) in the parliament-chamber; the king's mother, who was scarcely ever separated from her daughter-in-law, was seated on her right hand. At dinner they observed the same order, and the beautiful princess Cicely sat opposite to her royal sister at the end of the board. After dinner there was a ball, at which the queen and her ladies danced. The following day the queen returned to Greenwich.

From the time of her coronation, Elizabeth appeared in public with all the splendor of an English queen. On St. George's day, 1488, she assisted at a grand festival of the order of the Garter, attired in the robes of the order. She rode with the countess of Richmond in a rich car, covered with cloth of gold, drawn by six horses, whose housings were of the same. The royal car was followed by her sister, the princess Anne, in the robes of the order, and twenty-one ladies dressed in crimson velvet, mounted on white palfreys, the reins and housings of which were covered with white roses.

The queen's aunt Katherine, widow of Buckingham, had been previously married to the duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, in the presence of Elizabeth and Henry. The viscount Welles, who was uncle by the half-blood to the king, received the hand of the queen's sister Cicely: to the heralds were given the bride's mantle and gown as fees and largess. The princess Katherine was married to the heir of the earl of Devonshire, and the princess Anne took the place of Cicely in attendance on the queen in public. She thus continued till her hand was claimed by Thomas earl of Surrey, for his heir lord Thomas Howard; this nobleman affirmed that the young pair had been betrothed in infancy in the reign of Richard III. by that king.¹ The marriage-settlement² of the lady Anne and lord Thomas was made by queen Elizabeth on one side, in behalf of her sister, and

¹ Bucke and Hutten.

² This deed is in the possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk, earl-marshal: it is dated February 12, 1495. The lady Anne had two sons, who, fortunately for themselves, died in infancy. She died early in life, and is buried under a magnificent monument at Framlingham.

the earl of Surrey for his son on the other. Henry VII. offered at the altar, and gave his sister-in-law away.

The ancient ceremonial of the queen of England taking to her chamber was always performed in earlier times, but its detail was not preserved till the autumn of 1489, when Elizabeth of York went through the formula previously to the birth of her eldest daughter Margaret. As described in a contemporary herald's journal, queen Elizabeth's brief retirement assumed the character of a religious rite. "On All-hallows'-eve," says this quaint chronicler,¹ "the queen took to her chamber at Westminster, royally accompanied; that is to say, with my lady the king's *moder*, the duchess of Norfolk, and many other *ganging* before her, and besides greater part of the nobles of the realm, being all assembled at Westminster at the parliament. She was led by the earl of Oxford and the earl of Derby (the king's father-in-law). The reverend father in God the bishop of Exeter said mass in his pontificals.² The earl of Salisbury held the towels when the queen received the Host, and the corners of the towels were golden; and after *Agnus Dei* was sung, and the bishop ceased, the queen was led as before. When she arrived at her own great chamber, she tarried in the ante-room before it, and stood under her cloth of estate; then was ordained a *voide* of refreshments. That done, my lord the queen's chamberlain,³ in very good words, desired, in the queen's name, 'all her people to pray that God would send her a good hour,' and so she entered into her chamber, which was hanged and ceiled with blue cloth of arras, enriched with gold fleurs-de-lis." No tapestry on which human figures were represented, according to this document, was suffered to adorn the royal bedchamber, "being inconvenient for ladies in such a case," lest, it may be supposed, the royal patient should be affrighted by the "figures which gloomily glare." There was a rich bed and pallet in the queen's

¹ Cottonian MS., Julius.

² Mass was probably said (though the authority does not mention it) at St. Stephen's, the private chapel of Westminster palace, situate near the royal state-chambers.

³ Sir Richard Pole, husband of Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was the queen's cousin-german.

chamber: the pallet had a fine canopy of velvet of many colors, striped with gold and garnished with red roses. Also there was an altar furnished with relics, and a very rich cupboard full of gold plate. When the queen had recommended herself to the good prayers of the lords, her chamberlain drew the traverse, or curtain, which parted the chamber, and from "thenceforth no manner of officer came within the queen's chamber, but only ladies and gentlewomen, after the old custom." This etiquette was, however, broken by the arrival of the prince of Luxembourg, ambassador-extraordinary from France, who, most earnestly desiring to see the queen, was introduced into her bed-chamber by her mother, queen Elizabeth Woodville, his near relative; no other man, excepting her lord chamberlain and Garter king-at-arms, was admitted.

The queen's retirement took place on the 1st of November, and the royal infant was born on the 29th of the same month.¹ She was named Margaret, after the king's mother, and that noble lady, as godmother, presented the babe with a silver box full of gold pieces. At the christening festivals a play was performed before the king and queen in the white hall of Westminster palace. Subsequently at the Christmas festival a court-herald complains "there were very few plays acted, on account of prevalent sickness; but there was an abbot of misrule, who made much sport." The queen's second son Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was born at Greenwich palace, June 28, 1491. He was remarkable for his great strength and robust health from his infancy. During the temporary retirement of the queen to her chamber previously to the birth of her fourth child, the death of her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, occurred: the royal infant proving a girl, was named Elizabeth, perhaps in memory of its grandmother.

Towards the close of the same year, 1492, Henry VII. undertook an invasion of France, in support of the rights of Anne of Bretagne to her father's duchy. But the queen² wrote him so many loving letters, lamenting his absence and imploring his speedy return, that he raised the siege

¹ Speed.

² Bernard Andreas's MS., quoted by Speed.

of Boulogne, made peace, and came back to England on the 3d of November. His subjects were preparing for him plenty of employment at home, by rebellions in behalf of Perkin Warbeck, who at this time commenced his personification of Richard duke of York, the queen's brother, second son of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville.¹ The remaining years of the century were involved in great trouble to the king, the queen, and the whole country, the lord chamberlain, sir William Stanley (brother to the king's father-in-law), was executed, with little form of justice, for favoring the impostor, and the court was perturbed with doubt and suspicion. The bodies of the queen's brothers were vainly sought for at the Tower, in order to disprove the claims of the pretender; and when the queen's tender love for her own family is remembered, a doubt cannot exist that her mental sufferings were acute at this crisis.

In the summer of 1495, Elizabeth accompanied the king to Latham house, on a visit to his mother and her husband, Stanley earl of Derby. Perkin Warbeck was expected to invade England every day, and the king brought his wife with him to Lancashire, in order to regain for him the popularity he had lost by the execution of sir William Stanley. Warrington bridge was at this time built for the passage of the royal pair.² While a guest at Latham house, the king's life was in danger from an odd circumstance:³ the earl of Derby was showing him the country from the leads, when the family fool, who had been much attached to sir William, the brother of his lord, lately put to death by the king, drew near, and, pointing to a precipitous part of the leads undefended by battlements, close to which the royal guest was standing, said to his lord, in the deep, low tone of vengeance, "Tom! remember Will." These three words struck the conscience of the king, and he hurried

¹ Perkin has some historical partisans, who at this day argue in behalf of his identity with the duke of York; it should be, however, noticed that he chose his time of declaring himself very suspiciously,—viz., just after the death of his supposed mother, queen Elizabeth Woodville, who alone could have recognized him.

² Song of the Lady Bessy; notes by Hayward.

³ White Kennet's Collections.

down-stairs to his mother and his consort with great precipitation. He returned with Elizabeth to London soon after this adventure, when they both attended the sergeants' feast at Ely place: the queen and her ladies dined in one room, and the king and his retinue in another.

Elizabeth was this year so deeply in debt that her consort found it necessary, after she had pawned her plate for 500*l.*, to lend her 2000*l.*¹ to satisfy her creditors. Whoever examines the privy-purse expenses of this queen, will find that her life was spent in acts of beneficence to the numerous claimants of her bounty. She loved her own sisters with the fondest affection; they were destitute, but she could not bear that princesses of the royal line of York should be wholly dependent on the English noblemen (who had married them dowerless) for the food they ate and the raiment they wore: she allowed them all, while single, an annuity of 50*l.* per annum for their private expenses, and paid to their husbands annuities for their board of 120*l.* each, besides perpetual presents. In her own person she was sufficiently economical: when she needed pocket-money, sums as low as 4*s.* 4*d.*, seldom more than 10*s.* or 20*s.* at a time, were sent to her from her accountant Richard Decons by the hands of one of her ladies, as the lady Anne Percy, or the lady Elizabeth Stafford, or mistress Lee, to be put in her majesty's purse. Then her gowns were mended, turned, and new bodied; they were freshly trimmed at an expense of 4*d.* to the tailor; they were newly hemmed when beat out at the bottom, for which he was paid 2*d.* She wore shoes which only cost 12*d.*, with latten or tin buckles;² but the rewards she proffered to her poor affectionate subjects, who brought her trifling offerings of early peas, cherries, chickens, bunches of roses, and posies of other flowers, were very high in proportion to what she paid for her own shoes. Notwithstanding the simplicity and economy of the queen's personal habits, all matters of her court-ceremonial were defined with precision rigorous as that of Chinese eti-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VII.; *Excerpta Hist.*, edited by sir H. Nicolas.

² Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; edited by sir Harris Nicolas.

quette. Thus, on New-year's morning the reception of the New-year's gifts presented by the king and queen to each other, and by their household and courtiers, was reduced to a solemn formula. "On the day of the new year, when the king came to his foot-sheet, his usher of his chamber-door said to him, 'Sire, here is a New-year's gift coming from the queen:' then the king replied, 'Let it come in.' Then the king's usher let the queen's messenger come within the *yate*"¹ (meaning the gate of the railing which surrounded the royal bed, instances of which are familiar to the public in the state-bedrooms at Hampton Court to this day, and it is probable that the scene was very similar), "Henry VII. sitting at the foot of the bed in his dressing-gown, the officers of his bedchamber having turned the top-sheet smoothly down to the foot of the bed when the royal personage rose. The queen, in the like manner, sat at her foot-sheet, and received the king's New-year's gift within the gate of her bed-railing. When this formal exchange of presents had taken place between the king and his consort, they received, seated in the same manner, the New-year's gifts of their nobles. And," adds the herald, assuming the first person, "I shall report to the queen's grace and them that be about her what rewards are to be given to them that bring her grace New-year's gifts, for I trow they are not as good as those of the king."²

The queen lost her little daughter Elizabeth in September, 1495; this infant, if her epitaph may be trusted, was singularly lovely in person. She was buried in the new chapel built by her father at Westminster abbey. A very tender friendship ever existed between the countess Margaret, the king's learned and accomplished mother, and her royal daughter-in-law: in her letters Margaret often laments the queen's delicate, or (as she terms it) *crazy* constitution. In one of them, written about this time, she thus mentions Elizabeth and her infants. It is written to the queen's chamberlain on occasion of some French gloves he had bought for the countess. "Blessed be God, the king, the

¹ MS. of Henry VII.'s Norroy herald; in possession of Peter le Neve, Esq.

² *Ibid.*

queen, and all our sweet children be in good health. The queen hath been a little *crazed* [infirm in health], but now she is well, God be thanked. Her sickness not so much amended as I would, but I trust it shall be hastily, with God's grace." The countess declares, "the gloves be right good, excepting they were too much for her hand;" and adds, with a little sly pride in the smallness of her own fingers, "that she thinks the French ladies be great ladies altogether, not only in estates, but in their persons."

Elizabeth's infants were reared and educated either at Shene or Croydon. Erasmus visited the princely children when he was the guest of lord Mountjoy; the family-picture he draws is a charming one, and, oh! how its interest is augmented when it is considered that sir Thomas More and himself filled up the grouping! He thus describes the queen's children:—"Thomas More paid me a visit when I was Mountjoy's guest, and took me for recreation a walk to a neighboring country palace, where the royal infants were abiding, prince Arthur excepted, who had completed his education. The princely children were assembled in the hall, and were surrounded by their household, to whom Mountjoy's servants added themselves. In the middle of the circle stood prince Henry, then only nine years old: he bore in his countenance a look of high rank, and an expression of royalty, yet open and courteous. On his right hand stood the princess Margaret, a child of eleven years, afterwards queen of Scotland. On the other side was the princess Mary,¹ a little one of four years of age engaged in her sports, whilst Edmund, an infant, was held in his nurse's arms." There is a group of portraits at Hampton Court representing three of these children: they have earnest eyes and great gravity of expression, but the childish features of the princess Margaret, who is then about six years of age, look oddly out of the hood-coif, the fashionable head-dress of the era; even the babies in arms wore the same head-dress.

¹ She married Louis XII. of France, and afterwards the duke of Suffolk; she was born 1498. Edmund, the queen's youngest son, was born at Greenwich, 1499, and died the succeeding year, which dates prove that the visit paid by Erasmus was during his short life.

For seven long years England was convulsed by the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. In the summer of 1495 the young king of Scotland, James IV., committed a great outrage against the English monarch, by receiving the impostor and bestowing on him the hand of the beautiful lady Katherine Gordon, who was not only a princess of the royal blood of Scotland, but, by descent from Joanna Beaufort, was one of the nearest relatives Henry VII. and his mother had.¹ Perkin invaded the English border, and Henry levied an army to give him battle, saying, "He hoped now he should see the gentleman of whom he had heard so much." Before the king departed, queen Elizabeth ornamented his basnet with her own hands with jewels; he paid, however, the expenses of her outlay, which fact rather diminishes the romance of the queen's employment. Great danger impended during the succeeding years, lest the queen and her children should finally be displaced by the impostor; for as soon as the insurrections in his favor were subdued in one quarter, they broke out in an opposite direction. Perkin appeared as if by magic in Ireland, and then invaded the Cornish coast. His western partisans brought the war close to the metropolis: a sharp action was fought at Deptford bridge and Blackheath. Henry VII. was nearly in despair of success, and seems to have been in a thorough fright till the battle of Blackheath was decided in his favor,² June, 1497. Afterwards Perkin and his bride were severally taken prisoners.³ Lady Katherine Gordon was called 'the white rose,' from her delicate beauty and the pretensions of her husband to the rights of the house of York; she loved him, and she had followed him in all his adventures since her marriage, till he left her for security in the strong fortress of St. Michael's mount, which was captured by the royalists, and lady Katherine brought prisoner to the king, who was then at Winchester palace. When she entered his

¹ The princess Jane Stuart (younger daughter of James I. of Scotland and his queen Joanna) married the earl of Huntley. The wife of Perkin was second cousin to Henry VII.

² See his letter, published in sir Henry Ellis's collection, vol. i., first series; and likewise lord Bacon's Henry VII., and Speed.

³ Perkin was taken in sanctuary, at Exeter, September, 1497.

presence she blushed excessively, and then burst into a passion of tears. King Henry remembered the near kindred of the distressed beauty to himself; he spoke kindly to her, and presented her to his queen, who took her into her service, where she remained till her second marriage with sir Matthew Cradock.¹ The compassion shown by Henry to the disconsolate 'white rose' raised some reports that he was captivated by her beauty; but he seems to have anticipated such gossip, by resigning her to the care of his queen.

There was no peace for England till after the execution of the adventurous boy who took upon himself the character of the queen's brother. For upwards of two years Henry VII. spared the life of Perkin, but, inspired with a spirit of restless daring, which showed as if he came "one way of the great Plantagenets," this youth nearly got possession of the Tower, and implicated the unfortunate earl of Warwick, his fellow-captive, in his schemes. It is reasonably supposed that Perkin was a natural son of Edward IV., for his age agrees with the time when that monarch took refuge in the Low Countries, 1470. Why Henry VII. spared his life so long is an historical mystery, unless he really was a merciful man, willing to abstain from blood if his turbulent people would have permitted him. That abstinence could no longer continue: Perkin, after undergoing many degradations, in the vain hope of dispelling his delusion of royalty, was hanged at Tyburn, November 16th, and the less justifiable execution of the earl of Warwick followed. This last prince of the race of Plantagenet was beheaded on Tower hill, November 28, 1499. The troubles and commotions of civil war entirely ceased with the existence of that unfortunate young man.

A plague so venomous broke out in England after this event, that Henry VII., fearing lest the queen should be among its victims, took her out of the country in May, and

¹ She is buried, with her second husband, at Swansea church. After the death of sir Matthew Cradock, she married a third, and then a fourth husband. For many curious particulars relative to this lady and her spouses, see Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock, by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, editor of the Stradling Papers.

the royal family resided at Calais for more than a month. Some say that the queen entertained the archduke Philip of Austria most royally while she remained at Calais ; it is, however, certain that a marriage between her beautiful little daughter Mary¹ and Charles, son of the archduke Philip (afterwards the great emperor Charles V.), was agreed on at this time, and the marriage-treaty between Arthur prince of Wales and the youngest daughter of Spain, Katharine of Arragon, was concluded, the parents of that princess, king Ferdinand of Arragon and queen Isabel of Castile, having previously demurred regarding its completion as long as the unfortunate earl of Warwick lived.² The wedlock of Arthur and Katharine finally took place in the autumn of 1501 ; it filled Elizabeth's court with joyous festivity, and she herself took an active part in the scene.³ The following January the queen presided at the betrothment of her eldest daughter Margaret with James IV. of Scotland, performed in her palace and chapel of Shene, and publicly celebrated and announced at St. Paul's cathedral.⁴ Lady Katherine, the widow of Perkin Warbeck, was in attendance on the queen at these 'fancilles,'⁵ and took precedence next to the royal family.

Much has been said regarding the coldness and unkindness of Henry VII. to his gentle partner ; but if he indulged in some public jealousy of her superior title to the crown of England, and permitted her not to govern the kingdom whose title she secured to him, at least he gave her no rival in her court or home. The nearer the private life of this pair is examined, the more does it seem replete with proofs of greater domestic happiness than usually falls to the lot of royal personages. Henry and Elizabeth were seldom

¹ Lord Bacon's Henry VII. : the marriage was never completed.

² Two Latin letters are extant, addressed by queen Elizabeth to the queen of Castile, on occasion of the betrothal of their children. The letters are words of personal interest, and are evidently composed by ecclesiastical scribes.

³ See Life of Katharine of Arragon.

⁴ For the curious particulars of this marriage, the journey and reception of the bride in Scotland, from the MS. of Somerset herald, who accompanied her, see Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. i., by Agnes Strickland, 1850.

⁵ Historical Notices of Sir M. Cradock, by the Rev. J. M. Traherne, p. 7.

apart, and many little traits may be quoted which evince unity of purpose when they were together. Among others, there is a pleasing union of their names in a valuable missal, once belonging to a lady of the queen, for this line is written in the hand of king Henry:—"Madam, I pray you remembre me, your loving maister, Henry R." Directly underneath is added, in the queen's hand:—"Madam, I pray you forget not me. Pray to God [in order] that I may have part of your prayers. Elysabeth the Quene."¹

The conjugal affection between the king and queen was now to be tried by an affliction they had little anticipated. This was the death of their promising son, Arthur prince of Wales, who died on the 2d of April, within five months of his marriage. Henry and Elizabeth were at Greenwich palace when the news arrived of their heavy loss. The king's confessor, a friar-Observant, was deputed by the privy council to break the sad news to him. Somewhat before his usual time the confessor knocked at the king's chamber-door, and when admitted he requested all present to quit the room, and approached, saying, in Latin, "If we receive good from the hand of God, shall we not patiently sustain the ill he sends us?"—"He then showed his grace that his dearest son was departed to God. When the king

¹ Sir Harris Nicolas's Memoir of Elizabeth of York, prefixed to his edition of her Privy-purse Expenses. There is a beautiful vellum illuminated MS. at Stonyhurst college, which has either belonged to Elizabeth of York or her mother. It is the Offices of the Virgin. Every margin is highly wrought by the art of the illuminator, and each hour of the office of the Virgin is headed with a painting of some incident in her life, or scriptural illustration. The volume is a small quarto, bound in oak boards; they have been covered with crimson velvet and secured with clasps, which are now gone. On the last fly-leaf but one there is written the name, "Elizabeth Plantagenet, the Queen." The two first words are in paler ink than the last, which are evidently written by a different hand. Elizabeth of York always spelled her name *Elysabeth*, and queen, *quene*. The name of Plantagenet, though not written as a surname by the earlier personages of the royal line, was proudly challenged as such by Richard duke of York and his family.—See Parliamentary Rolls, 1458-60. All these considerations make us rather attribute the autograph to the queen of Edward IV. than to her daughter, especially as, in the directions for finding Easter, a date occurs of 1463, supposed to be the date of the book. This was the time of Elizabeth Woodville's marriage, and the autograph was perhaps the joint writing of the newly-married queen and Edward IV.

understood those sorrowful heavy tidings, he sent for the queen, saying, 'that he and his wife would take their painful sorrow together.' After she was come, and saw the king her lord in that natural and painful sorrow, as I have heard say,¹ she, with full great, and constant, and comfortable words, besought him that he would, after God, consider the weal of his own noble person, of his realm, and of her. 'And,' added the queen, 'remember that my lady, your mother, had never no more children but you only, yet God, by his grace, has ever preserved you, and brought you where you are now. Over and above, God has left you yet a fair prince and two fair princesses;² and God is still where he was, and we are both young enough. As your grace's wisdom is renowned all over Christendom, you must now give proof of it by the manner of taking this misfortune.' Then the king thanked her for her good comfort. But when the queen returned to her own chamber, the natural remembrance of her great loss smote so sorrowfully on her maternal heart that her people were forced to send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace in great haste came, and with true gentle and faithful love soothed her trouble, telling her what wise counsel she had given him before, and 'that, if she would thank God for her dead son, he would do likewise.' "

This scene gives no great reason for the constant assertion that Elizabeth was the victim of conjugal infelicity, or that she was treated with coldness and dislike by her husband. But it is in this reign that faction first employed domestic slander as a weapon against the sovereign on the throne, and in this, as in many other instances, when search is made into the silent but irrefragable witnesses of contemporary journals, household-books, and letters, the direct contrary is often proved which has been reported by common rumor. Lord Bacon hints that the king's reserve was on political matters, because it extended to his mother, who was indisputably an object of his tender affection. "His mother he revered much, but listened to little.

¹ This is taken from the Herald's Journal, vol. v.; Lelandi Collectanea, p. 373.

² Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., Margaret queen of Scotland, and Mary.

His queen, notwithstanding she presented him with divers children and a crown also, could do nothing with him. To her he was nothing uxorious; but if not indulgent, he was companionable, and without personal jealousy." It is most evident that Henry was neither governed by his wife nor his mother. But, when a man governs himself well, it is not often that his wedded partner endeavors to take upon herself that trouble. Henry was, in fact, a deeply reflective and philosophic character, wholly free from those starts of irrational passion which, above all other misdoings, degrade a man in the eyes of the females of his family. Every action of this monarch seems the result of calm deliberation; no decision was left to passion or accident. "For," says Lord Bacon, "he constantly kept notes and memorials in his own hand, especially touching persons, as whom to employ, whom to reward, keeping, as it were, a journal of his thought. There is to this day a merry tale that his monkey,¹ set on, as it was thought, by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance he had left it about. Whereat the court, which liked not these pensive accounts, was much tickled with the sport." However pleased his courtiers and his monkey might be with the demolition of his royal journal, it was a great historical loss, and so must ever be considered.

The privy-purse accounts of his queen, brought to light by the inestimable labors of one of our greatest historical antiquaries,² contain many particulars of her life and manners, although they journalize but the last year of her life. She had musical tastes, and gave comparatively large sums for her instruments, which were of the piano or harpsichord species. Such was the clavichord,³ a keyed instrument of

¹ Henry VII. kept a menagerie, but had odd ideas regarding its government. He carried his notions of royal prerogative so far that he had four English mastiffs hanged as traitors because they overcame one of his lions, with whom they were set to fight. He likewise put to death one of his best falcons because he feared not to match with an eagle, ordering his falconers, in his presence, to pluck off the gallant bird's head, saying, "It was not meet for any subject to offer such wrong unto his lord and superior." These symbolical executions were meant as significant hints to his turbulent nobility.

² See *Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, edited by sir H. Nicolas.

³ 'Clavicordio' is the Italian word for harpsichord.

small size; the bass and treble were enclosed in two separate portable cases, and when played upon with both hands, were set side by side on a table before the performer. For a *pair* of clavichords, made or imported by a foreigner, the queen gave 4*l.*, all in crowns, by the hand of Hugh Denys. She caused her eldest daughter to be instructed in music, for there is an item of payment to Giles, the luter, for strings to the young queen of Scots' lute. The queen's first lady of the bedchamber, when her sisters, the princesses of York, were not in waiting, was her kinswoman lady Elizabeth Stafford, daughter to her aunt the duchess of Buckingham. This lady had a salary of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The queen had seven maids of honor, who were allowed 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each per annum. Dame Jane Guildford, who was governess to the princesses, received 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Agnes Dean, the queen's laundress, had an allowance of 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Alice Massey, the queen's midwife, was paid for the exercise of her office 10*l.*

It has been observed that the queen devoted a large part of her income to the maintenance of her sisters; but, in the last year of her life, her expenses were increased by the charges of her sister Katherine's children, owing to the disgrace and consequent impoverishment of their father, the heir of Devonshire. It seems that the sons of Edward IV.'s sister and the duke of Suffolk, lord Edmund de la Pole and his brother Richard, fled to Flanders, supposing, not unreasonably, that their turns would come next, after the execution of the young earl of Warwick. Lord William Courtenay (husband to the princess Katherine) was accused of having aided and abetted these hapless brethren in their escape; for which offence he was imprisoned, and his property seized by the king. The queen placed her destitute sister in close attendance on her own person, and took charge of her little children, sending them to be nursed at her palace of Havering-Bower. The little lady Margaret Courtenay choked herself at Havering with a fish-bone, and her brother, lord Edmund, likewise died there: the queen was at the cost of their funerals. The eldest son lived to prove a splendid favorite of his royal kinsman,

Henry VIII., and afterwards to fall a victim to his capricious malice. Some indications occur in the queen's privy-purse expenses that her health was infirm during the summer of 1502; for she made offerings at Woodstock, and the shrines of other churches, for her recovery from sickness. In August she made a progress towards the borders of Wales. Her accounts at this time show tender remembrances of her family; she clothed an old woman, who had been *norice* (nurse) to my lord prince her brother¹ (the unfortunate Edward V.), and rewarded a man who had shown hospitable attention to her uncle earl Rivers, in his distress at Pontefract, just before his execution.

The queen's seventh confinement was expected in February, 1503. In the previous autumn she declined the services of a French nurse, with whom she had conferred at Baynard's castle,² but she dismissed her with a gratuity of 6s. 8d. Another nurse, one mistress Harcourt, was recommended to her by her niece lady Katherine Gray: she came and spoke to the queen at Westminster, but was dismissed with the same sum. It was agreed that the queen's accouchement was to take place at the royal apartments of the Tower of London, and all things were prepared there for her reception. If ladies at that era had given way to nervous depression arising from association of ideas, the remembrance of the mysterious disappearance of her hapless brothers from that gloomy den of assassination was enough to have destroyed Elizabeth when sojourning at such an abiding-place. It is certain she did not remain there longer than she could help; for, instead of taking her chamber and secluding herself in close retirement, according to custom, for a month or more previously to her accouche-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York.

² This castle Mr. Lodge has proved was part of the vast Clare inheritance, and doubtless came as such, through the Mortimers, to their heir, Richard duke of York. It is supposed to have been granted to the duke of York at the murder of Humphrey duke of Gloucester; but if the duke of Gloucester, or any other of the house of Lancaster, had got possession of it, such was clear usurpation. As heiress of the house of Clare, it was part of the patrimony of Elizabeth of York, who made it her private town residence. She spent much money on its gardens.

ment, she spent that time in visits to her country palaces, and in excursions on the Thames, though the season was the depth of winter. The Christmas she passed at Richmond: her gifts are recorded as if she had shared in the usual festivities. She presented her own minstrels (of whom the chief was called by the fanciful title of marquess of Lorydon) with 20s.; to him and his associates, Janyn Marcourse and Richard Denouse, she allowed each a salary of 46s. 8d.

Elizabeth spent much of her time in listening to minstrels and *disars*, or reciters; and these *disars* sometimes took upon themselves the office of players, since she rewarded one of them, who had performed the part of a shepherd greatly to her satisfaction, with 5s. She gave William Cornish the sum of 13s. 4d. for setting the carol on Christmas-day, and presented 40s. to the king's minstrels with the 'psalms.' She gave a Spanish girl (perhaps belonging to the household of her daughter-in-law, Katharine of Arragon), who danced before her, a reward of 4s. 4d. The fools of the royal household were not forgotten: Elizabeth bestowed on Patch, her own fool, 6s. 8d., and she gave gratuities to a fool belonging to her son Henry, a functionary who bore the appropriate name of Goose. A hundred shillings were put into her royal purse for her "disport at cards" this same Christmas. She likewise made some purchases, as of a small pair of enamelled knives, for her own use; and of mistress Lock, the silkwoman, she bought "certain bonnets [caps], frontlets, and other stuff of her occupation for her own wearing, giving her 20*l.* in part payment of a bill formerly delivered," which remittance the queen signed with her own hand. She paid Hayward, the skinner (furrer), for furring a gown of crimson velvet she had caused to be made for her young daughter the queen of Scots, the cuffs of which were made of pampelyon, a sort of costly fur then fashionable. Among these items is a curious one, showing Elizabeth's personal economy: her tailor, Robert Addington, is paid sixteen-pence "for mending eight gowns of divers colors, for the queen's grace, at 2*d.* a piece." She paid, however, the large sum of 13s. 4*d.* to a man who

brought her a popinjay (a parrot). Eight-pence is charged for an ell of linen cloth "for the queen's sampler," perhaps a pattern-piece for her embroidery: Elizabeth kept embroiderers, who were chiefly Frenchwomen, constantly at work on a great state-bed, which was a perpetual expense to her for silks and gold twist. During the chief part of the year 1502 the queen was in mourning for her eldest son Arthur: all her *new* garments were black; these were a gown of black velvet, and a cloak of damask. She was in debt, and though receiving occasional benefactions from her husband, she had at this time pawned some of her plate; but her embarrassments certainly did not arise from any personal extravagance.

After Christmas, the queen was with her ladies rowed by her bargeman, Lewis Walter, and his watermen, in a great boat from Richmond to Hampton Court: the day she went there is not named, but on the 13th of January they all came back in the same manner to Richmond. She stayed at Hampton Court eight days, for the man who had the care of her barge charged for that time. It is worth noticing that Hampton Court was a favorite residence of Elizabeth of York long before cardinal Wolsey had possession of it, for in the spring of this year there is a notation that she was residing there, when she gave a poor woman a reward for bringing her a present of almond-butter. "The queen's said grace and her ladies" were finally rowed by Lewis Walter and his crew from Richmond to the Tower, apparently very late in January: each of the rowers was paid 8*d.* No intimation is recorded of the ceremonial of her taking her chamber in the Tower. Her finances were low, for she borrowed 10*l.* of one of the king's gentlemen-ushers, in order to pay the officers of the Mint their fees, which they craved as customary on account of a royal residence at the Tower. William Trende received 10*s.* for making a chest and 'armoire,' in the queen's council-chamber at the Tower, for her books and papers. The queen's sister Katherine (lady Courtenay) was in attendance at the Tower at this time, for late in January the royal purse received a supply by the hands of that lady of 46*s.* 8*d.* The

queen gave a poor woman, who brought a present of fine capons on the last day of January, a reward of 3s. 4d.; and she gave 6s. 8d. to her fool Patch, who presented her with pomegranates.¹

Elizabeth of York was the last queen who made choice of the Tower of London as a dwelling-place. She was certainly unaccompanied by the king, as it was etiquette for queens, after "taking their chamber," to remain in the deepest seclusion. Yet it must be owned that, as no queen of England had had an accouchement there since queen Philippa, and as the Tower had been fatal to some of Elizabeth's nearest relatives, the fact of her residence there is somewhat unaccountable. On Candlemas-day (February 2) the queen's accouchement took place: she brought into the world a living princess, who was named Katherine, after lady Courtenay. The fatal symptoms which threatened Elizabeth's life did not appear till a week afterwards, and must have been wholly unexpected, since the physician on whom the king depended for her restoration to health was absent at his dwelling-house beyond Gravesend. The king sent for this person, but it was in vain that Dr. Hallyswurth travelled through the night, with guides and torches, to the royal patient in the Tower: the fiat had gone forth, and the gentle, the pious, the lovely Elizabeth expired on her own birthday, February 11, 1502-3, the day that she completed her thirty-seventh year. A manuscript,² describing her death, says that her "departing was as heavy and dolorous to the king as ever was seen or heard of," and that he took with him "some of his servants, and privily departed to a solitary place to pass his sorrow, and would that no man should resort to him;" but he "sent sir Charles Somerset and sir Richard Guildford to afford the best comfort they could to the queen's servants, with good and kind words."

When the news of Elizabeth's decease spread through the city, the utmost sorrow was manifested among all ranks of her subjects. The bells of St. Paul's tolled dismally, and

¹ See Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, edited by sir H. Nicolas, pp. 6, 7, 12, 94, 95.

² Herald's Journal, 1592.

were answered by those of every church and religious house in the metropolis or its neighborhood. Meantime, the queen was embalmed at the Tower; for this purpose were allowed "sixty ells of holland cloth, ell broad; likewise gums, balms, spices, sweet wine, and wax; with which, being cered, the king's plumber closed her in lead, with an epitaph likewise in lead, showing who and what she was. The whole was chested in boards covered with black velvet, with a cross of white damask." The day after the queen's demise, Sunday, February 12th, her corpse was removed from the chamber where she died to the chapel within the Tower, under the steps of which then reposed, unknown to all, the bodies of the queen's two murdered brothers, Edward V. and Richard duke of York. Far different was the order of their sister's royal obsequies to that dark and silent hour when the trembling old priest, who had belonged to this very chapel, raised the princely victims from their unconsecrated lair and deposited them secretly within its hallowed verge. Could the ladies and officers of arms who watched around the corpse of their royal mistress in St. Mary's chapel within the Tower during the long nights which preceded her funeral have known how near to them was the mysterious resting-place of her murdered brothers, many a glance of alarm would have fathomed the beautiful arches of that structure,¹ and many a start of terror would have told when the wintry wind from the Thames waved the black draperies which hung around.

The Tower chapel was on this occasion rendered what the French call a *chapelle ardente*. The windows were railed about with burning lights, and a lighted hearse stood in the choir of the chapel. In this hearse was deposited the royal corpse, which was carried by persons of the highest rank, with a canopy borne over it by four knights; followed by lady Elizabeth Stafford and all the maids of honor, and the queen's household, two and two, "dressed in their plainest gowns," or, according to another journal, "in the saddest and simplest attire they had, with *threadden* handkerchiefs hanging down and tied under their chins." The princess Katherine, led by her brother-in-law the earl of Surrey, then

¹ It is now called the Record office, and encumbered with packages of papers.

entered the chapel, and took her place at the head of the corpse: a true mourner was she, for she had lost her best friend and only protectress. When mass was done and offerings made, the princess retired. During the watch of the night, an officer-at-arms said, in a loud voice, a paternoster for the soul of the queen at every *kyrie eleison*, and at *oremus* before the collect.

On the twelfth day after the queen's death, mass was said in the chapel early in the morning. "Then the corpse was put in a carriage covered with black velvet, with a cross of white cloth of gold, very well fringed. And an image exactly representing the queen was placed in a chair above in her rich robes of state, her very rich crown on her head, her hair about her shoulders, her sceptre in her right hand, her fingers well garnished with rings and precious stones, and on every end of the chair sat a gentlewoman-usher kneeling on the coffin, which was in this manner drawn by six horses, trapped with black velvet, from the Tower to Westminster. On the fore-horses rode two chariotmen; and on the four others, four henchmen in black gowns. On the horses were lozenges with the queen's escutcheons; by every horse walked a person in a mourning hood. At each corner of the chair was a banner of Our Lady of the Assumption, of the Salutation, and of the Nativity, to show the queen died in childhood; next, eight palfreys saddled with black velvet, bearing eight ladies of honor, who rode singly after the corpse in their slops and mantles; every horse led by a man on foot, bare-headed but in a mourning gown, followed by many lords. The lord mayor and citizens, all in mourning, brought up the rear, and at every door in the city a person stood bearing a torch. In Fenchurch and Cheapside were stationed groups of thirty-seven virgins,—the number corresponding with the queen's age,—all dressed in white, wearing chaplets of white and green, and bearing lighted tapers. From Mark lane to Temple Bar alone were 5000 torches, besides lights burning before all the parish churches, while processions of religious persons singing anthems and bearing crosses met the royal corpse from every fraternity in the city." The earl of Derby, the queen's old friend, led a procession of

nobles, who met the funeral at Temple Bar. The abbots of Westminster and Bermondsey, in black copes and bearing censers, met and censed the corpse, and then preceded it to the church-yard of St. Margaret, Westminster. Here the body was removed from the car and carried into the abbey. It was placed on a grand hearse streaming with banners and banneroles, and covered with a "cloth of majesty," the valance fringed and wrought with the queen's motto, HUMBLY AND REVERENTLY, and garnished with her arms. All the ladies and lords in attendance retired to the queen's great chamber in Westminster palace to supper. In the night, ladies, squires, and heralds watched the body in the abbey.

The next morning the remains of Elizabeth were committed to the grave; her sister Katherine attended as chief mourner. The queen's ladies offered thirty-seven palls, first kissing them, and then laying them on the body. Four of these palls were presented by her sisters, who were all present as mourners. A funeral sermon was preached by Fitzjames bishop of Rochester, from the text in Job,—*Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me.*¹ "These words," he said, "he spake in the name of England, on account of the great loss the country had sustained of that virtuous queen, her noble son the prince Arthur, and the archbishop of Canterbury." The palls were then removed from the coffin, the queen's effigy placed on St. Edward's shrine, and the ladies quitted the abbey. The prelates, with the king's chaplains, approached the hearse, and the grave was hallowed by the bishop of London: after the usual rites the body was placed in it.

Astrologers had been consulted that year on the queen's behalf, and had predicted that all sorts of good fortune would befall her in 1503. Sir Thomas More wrote an elegy for the queen, in which, with his usual sagacity, he alludes at the same time to this circumstance, and to the folly and vanity of such divinations:—

¹ "Have pity, have pity on me, my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me," being a passage from the 19th chapter of the book of Job, which chapter forms the eighth lesson read at matins at the service for the dead; or, as generally expressed, 'matins for the dead,' in the Catholic ritual.

“ Yet was I lately promised otherwise,
 This year to live in weal and in delight ;
 Lo ! to what cometh all thy blandishing promise,
 O false astrology and divinitrice,
 Of God’s secrets vaunting thyself so wise !
 How true for this year is thy prophecy ?
 The year yet lasteth, and lo ! here I lie.

“ Adieu ! mine own dear spouse, my worthy lord !
 The faithful love, that did us both combine
 In marriage and peaceable concord,
 Into your hands here do I clean resign,
 To be bestowed on your children and mine ;
 Erst were ye father, now must ye supply
 The mother’s part also, for here I lie.

“ Where are our castles now ? where are our towers ?
 Goodly Richmond, soon art thou gone from me :
 At Westminster, that costly work¹ of yours,
 Mine own dear lord, now shall I never see,
 Almighty God vouchsafe to grant that ye,
 For you and children well may edify ;
 My palace builded is, for lo ! now here I lie.

“ Farewell, my daughter, lady Margarete,
 God wot full oft it grieved hath my mind
 That ye should go where we might seldom meet ;
 Now I am gone, and have left you behind.
 O mortal folk ! but we be very blind,
 What we least fear full oft it is most nigh,
 From you depart I first,² for lo ! now here I lie.

“ Farewell, madame !³ my lord’s worthy mother ;
 Comfort your son, and he of good cheer,
 Take all at worth, for it will be no other.
 Farewell, my daughter Katharine !⁴ late the *phere*
 Unto prince Arthur, late my child so dear ;
 It booteth not for me to wail and cry,
 Pray for my son, for lo ! now here I lie.

“ Adieu, lord Henry !⁵ loving son, adieu !
 Our lord increase your honor and estate ;
 Adieu, my daughter Mary !⁶ bright of hue,
 God make you virtuous, wise, and fortunate :

¹ Henry the Seventh’s chapel.

² The young queen of Scots did not leave England till some months after her mother’s death.

³ Margaret, countess of Richmond, who survived her.

⁴ Katharine of Arragon : ‘phere’ means mate or consort.

⁵ Afterwards Henry VIII.

⁶ Princess Mary, her second daughter, celebrated for her beautiful complexion.

Adieu, sweetheart, my little daughter Kate!¹
 Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
 Thy mother never know, for lo! now here I lie.

“Lady Cicely, lady Anne, and lady Katherine,
 Farewell! my well-beloved sisters three.
 Oh, lady Bridget!² other sister mine,
 Lo here the end of worldly vanity!
 Now are you well who earthly folly flee,
 And heavenly things do praise and magnify,
 Farewell, and pray for me, for lo! now here I lie.

“Adieu, my lords! adieu, my ladies all!
 Adieu, my faithful servants every one!
 Adieu, my commons! whom I never shall
 See in this world: wherefore to Thee alone,
 Immortal God, verily three in one,
 I me commend; thy infinite mercy
 Show to thy servant, for now here I lie!”

Henry VII. survived his consort seven years: his character deteriorated after her loss. The active beneficence and the ever-liberal hand of the royal Elizabeth had probably formed a counteracting influence to the avaricious propensities of Henry VII., since it was after her death he became notorious for his rapacity and miserly habits of hoarding money. A short time after her death, the king lost his two virtuous and fearless counsellors, sir Reginald Braye, his prime-minister, and the good bishop Norton, his chancellor, who did not scruple to reprove him if he felt inclined to commit an act of injustice.³ Henry VII. frequently entered into negotiations for a second marriage, and he appears to have been remarkably particular in the personal qualifications of a consort. It was not very easy to find one who could bear comparison with the beautiful heiress of the Plantagenets. Henry VII. died in the spring of 1509, like his ancestors worn down with premature old age, and was laid by the side of his queen in the magnificent

¹ The child whose birth cost the queen her life. As sir Thomas More mentions her as in existence, it is proof that the elegy was actually written when the queen died, as the infant survived the mother but a few weeks.

² The nun-princess, Elizabeth's sister, who attended the funeral.

³ Hardyng's Continuation, p. 58.

chapel at Westminster abbey which bears his name. The portraits of Henry VII. are well known; they have a singularly wasted and woful physiognomy, which excites surprise when compared with the extreme praises his contemporaries bestowed on his beauty. The portraits were, however, chiefly taken from the cast of his face made after his death for the statue seen on his monument, therefore the sad expression is easily explained. Lady Braye possesses a portrait of this prince from the royal collection at Audley-End, in which he appears very comely, lively in expression, with his complexion bright and florid.¹

The monument of Henry and Elizabeth, which occupies the centre of his noble chapel, is the work of Torregiano, who likewise cast the effigies of the royal pair reclining thereon. Elizabeth's statue is exquisitely designed, but its merits can scarcely be appreciated by those who are not empowered to have the bronze gates of the stately sepulchre unclosed, to gaze upon the divine composure of the royal matron's beauty, serene in death. The statue strikingly resembles the portraits of the queen, many of which remain. The sweet expression of the mouth and the harmony of the features agree well with the soft repose that pervades the whole figure.² The proportions are tall; the figure is about five feet six in length; yet is considerably less than the stature of the king, who must have been more than six feet in height.

On a little white marble table, let into the bronze frieze on the queen's left hand, is the following inscription, the Italian having very oddly misspelled the queen's name:—

¹ In the chapter-house at Westminster is a splendid manuscript, containing the plan and description of his well-known chapel in the abbey. Henry VII. is depicted in miniature, perhaps too minutely for accurate resemblance: he is there fair in complexion, with yellow waving hair, different to all other representations.

² Torregiano, the famous Italian sculptor, was employed by Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to construct the tomb and cast the statues: he received 1000*l.* for his labor. He is the same person whom Benvenuto Cellini reviles for having in a passion broken the nose of Michael Angelo with a blow of his mallet. He was (after he left England) employed by Lorenzo de Medici; but his temper was so diabolical, that he quarrelled with every one.

“ Hic jacet regina *Hellisabeth*,
 Edwardi IIII. quondam regis filia,
 Edwardi V. regis nominati soror,
 Henrici VII. olim regis conjunx,
 Atque Henrici VIII. mater inelyta.
 Obitt autem sunm diem turri Londiniarum,
 Die Febrii 11, Anno Dom. 1502 [1503],
 37 annorum etate functa.”

“ Here rests queen Elizabeth,
 Daughter of Edward IV., some time monarch of this realm,
 Sister of Edward V., who bore the title of king,
 Wedded to King Henry VII.,
 The illustrious mother of Henry VIII.,
 Who closed her life
 In the [palace of the] Tower of London,
 On February 11, 1502 [1503],
 Having completed her 37th year.”

The portrait of Elizabeth with which this volume is illustrated, was from a family group painted by Holbein, under the directions of Henry VIII., in which that king, his queen Jane Seymour, his father Henry VII., and his mother Elizabeth of York, are represented standing at the four corners of an altar.¹

In the person of Elizabeth of York were united delicacy of features and complexion with elegance and majesty of stature. Her portraits are numerous, and extremely like her monumental statue. Her usual costume was a veil or scarf richly bordered with gems, put on like a hood, hanging down on each side of the face as low as her breast, the hair banded on her forehead. Several contemporaries quoted in the course of this narrative describe her as fair in complexion, with hair of pale gold like her mother, the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville. The heavenly serenity of expression in all her portraits is still more remarkable than her beauty, and leads to the conclusion that, when her subjects universally called her ‘the good queen Elizabeth,’ they spoke but the truth.

¹ It was Holbein’s masterpiece, but was burnt in the fire at Whitehall in the reign of William III.; Charles II. had, however, employed Le Sueur to make a copy of it for St. James’s palace. There is an inferior copy at Hampton Court. We sought in vain for the one at St. James’s; the domestics supposed it was burnt there in the fire that occurred in the beginning of this century.

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON,

FIRST QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Country and parents of Katharine—Place of birth—Reared in the Alhambra—Betrothed to Arthur prince of Wales—Accidents of voyage—Arrival at Plymouth—Henry VII. meets her—Introduction to prince Arthur—Katharine's Spanish dances—Her progress to London—Married to prince Arthur—Grand festivities—Residence at Ludlow—Death of prince Arthur—Widowhood—Her marriage proposed with prince Henry—Her reluctance—Is betrothed to him—Her letters to her father—Katharine's sister visits England—Katharine's troubles, deprivations, and illness—Double policy of Henry VII.—His death—Henry VIII.'s preference of Katharine—Marries her—Their coronation—Letter to her father—Birth of eldest son—Rejoicings—Death of the prince—Legacy to the queen—She is appointed queen-regent—Her letters—Flodden—King's return—May-day festival—Birth of Princess Mary—Queen intercedes for the rebel apprentices—Visit of her nephew the emperor—Queen's voyage to France—Assists at field of cloth of gold—Friendship with queen Claude—Katharine's present to the emperor—His opinion of her happiness in wedlock.

At a time when joy and prosperity were swelling in a flood-tide for her native Spain, Katharine of Arragon first saw the light; for her renowned parents, king Ferdinand of Arragon and donna Isabel queen of Castile, had made every city possessed by the Moors bow beneath their victorious arms, with the exception of Granada and Malaga, which alone bore the yoke of the infidel. Donna Isabel, the mother of Katharine, had been raised to the throne of Castile by a revolutionary act of the cortes, the people being disgusted at the imbecile profligacy of her brother, king Enrico, who was by them deposed and degraded from his regal rank. The Castilian cortes likewise illegitimated his only child and heiress, donna Juanna, on account of the shameless character of the wife of king Enrico, and bestowed the inheritance on Isabel, who was carefully edu-

ated from girlhood with reference to the queenly station she afterwards so greatly adorned. She was at the age of fourteen demanded in marriage by our Edward IV., and capriciously rejected on account of his passion for Elizabeth Woodville, an insult which left a lasting impression on the mind of the royal Castilian maid.¹ Finally, the young queen Isabel was wedded to don Ferdinand, heir of the kingdom of Arragon; and though the married sovereigns each continued to sway an independent sceptre, they governed with such connubial harmony that the whole peninsula of Spain was greatly strengthened and benefited by their union.

At the close of the year 1485, the ancient Moorish city of La Ronda had just fallen beneath the victorious arms of queen Isabel, and several other strongholds of the infidel had accompanied its surrender, when she set out from her camp in order to keep her Christmas at Toledo, which was then the metropolis of Spain. On the road the queen was brought to bed of a daughter,² at the town of Alcala de Henares, December 15, 1485. This child was the youngest of a family consisting of one prince and four princesses. The new-born infanta, though she made her appearance in this world some little time before she was expected, was, nevertheless, welcomed with infinite rejoicings by the people, and the cardinal Mendoça gave a great banquet to the maids of honor on occasion of her baptism. She was called Catalina, the name of Katharine being unknown in Spain, excepting in Latin writings. The first historical notice of this princess in Spanish chronicle is, that at the early age of four she was present at the marriage of her eldest sister, Isabel, with don Juan, heir of Portugal.

The early infancy of Katharine of Arragon was passed amidst the storms of battle and siege; for queen Isabel of Castile herself, with her young family, lodged in the magnificent camp with which her armies for years beleaguered Granada. Nor was this residence unattended with danger:

¹ See Life of queen Elizabeth Woodville.

² These particulars are taken from a beautiful Spanish MS., the property of sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, by André Bernaldes, called *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos Don Fernando y Donna Isabel*: fol. 12, 13, 41, 42, 125.

once in particular, in a desperate sally of the besieged Moors, the queen's pavilion was set on fire, and the young *infantas* rescued with great difficulty from the flames. The little Katharine accompanied her parents in their grand entry, when the seat of Moorish empire succumbed to their arms, and from that moment Granada was her home. She was then four years old, and thus early the education of the young Katharine commenced. The first objects which greeted her awakening intellect were the wonders of the *Alhambra* and the exquisite bowers of the *Generalife*; for in those royal seats of the Moorish dynasty Katharine of Arragon was reared. Queen Isabel, herself the most learned princess in Europe, devoted every moment she could spare from the business of government to the personal instruction of her four daughters, who were besides provided with tutors of great literary attainments. Katharine was able to read and write Latin in her childhood, and she was through life desirous of improvement in that language. She chiefly employed her knowledge of Latin in the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, a fact which Erasmus affirms, adding, "that she was imbued with learning, by the care of her illustrious mother, from her infant years."

It was from Granada, the bright home of her childhood, that Katharine of Arragon derived her device of the *pomegranate*, so well known to the readers of the Tudor chroniclers.¹ That fruit was at once the production of the beautiful province with which its name is connected and the armorial bearings of the conquered Moorish kings. How oft must Katharine have remembered the glorious *Alhambra*, with its shades of pomegranate and myrtle, when drooping with ill health and unkind treatment under the gray skies of the island to which she was transferred! Her betrothment to the eldest son of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII. took place in the year 1497, as mentioned

¹ This device is still to be seen among the ornaments of the well of St. Winifred, to which building Katharine of Arragon was a benefactress.—Pennant. It is likewise frequent in the ancient part of Hampton Court, particularly in the richly ornamented ceiling of cardinal Wolsey's oratory, now in private occupation, but shown to the author through the kindness of Mr. Wilson, surveyor of the palace.

in the formal state-letter written in the name of the English queen to queen Isabel of Castile.

The young spouses were allowed to correspond together, for the double purpose of cultivating mutual affection and the improvement of their Latinity,—for in Latin the love-letters were composed which passed between the Alhambra and Ludlow castle. Of course they were subjected to the *surveillance* of the two armies of tutors, preceptors, confessors, bishops, lady-governesses, and lord-governors, who were on guard and on duty at the said seats of royal education; therefore the Latin letters of Arthur and Katharine no more develop character than any other school epistles. This extract is a fair specimen:—¹ “I have read the sweet letters of your highness lately given to me,” says prince Arthur in his Latin epistle, dated Ludlow castle, 1499, “from which I easily perceived your most entire love to me. Truly those letters, traced by your own hand, have so delighted me, and made me so cheerful and jocund, that I fancied I beheld your highness, and conversed with and embraced my dearest wife. I cannot tell you what an earnest desire I feel to see your highness, and how vexatious to me is this procrastination about your coming.” Arthur endorses his letter:—“To the most illustrious and excellent princess the Lady Katharine, princess of Wales, duchess of Cornwall, and my most entirely beloved spouse.”

Dr. Puebla was then the resident minister in England from the united crowns of Spain; according to poor Katharine's subsequent experience, he proved the evil genius of her young days. At this period he was very active in penning despatches in praise of Arthur, urging that he would soon be fourteen, and that it was time that the “señora princess” should come to England; nevertheless, a twelve-month's further delay took place. “Donna Catalina” (Katharine of Arragon), says the manuscript of her native chronicler, Bernaldes, “being at Granada with the king and queen, there came ambassadors from the king of England to demand her for the prince of England, his son, called Arthur. The union was agreed upon, and she set off from Granada

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

to England, parting from the Alhambra on the 21st of May, in the year 1501. There were at the treaty the archbishops of St. Jago, Osma, and Salamanca, the count de Cabra, and the countess his wife, the commander-mayor Cardenas, and donna Elvira Manuel, chief lady of honor. The princess-infanta had likewise four young ladies as attendants. She embarked at Corunna, August 17th. Contrary winds forced her vessel back on the coast of Old Castile, which occasioned great illness to donna Catalina. After she was convalescent, she embarked more prosperously on the 26th of September in the best ship they had, of 300 tons, and after a good voyage landed at a port called *Salamonte*,¹ on the 2d of October, where the señora princess Catalina was grandly received, with much feasting and rejoicing." This was whilst she stayed at Plymouth, where the nobility and gentry of the neighboring counties crowded to do honor to their future queen, and entertained her from the time of her arrival with west-country sports and pastimes. The steward of the royal palace, lord Broke, was sent forward by Henry VII. directly the news was known of the infanta's arrival, in order "to purvey and provide" for her. The duchess of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey likewise came to attend on her. The duchess was immediately admitted into her presence, and remained with her as her companion.

King Henry himself, November 4th, set forward from his palace of Shene on his progress to meet his daughter-in-law; the weather was so very rainy, and the roads so execrably bad, that the royal party were thoroughly knocked up when they had proceeded no farther than Chertsey, where they were forced to "purvey and herbage" for their reposing that night. "Next morning, however," continues our journal², "the king's grace and all his company rose betimes, and strook the sides of their coursers with their spurs, and began to extend their progress towards East Hampstead,

¹ The port was Plymouth.

² Leland's Collectanea, vol. v. pp. 352-355. The information of these court movements has been drawn from the narrative of a herald who witnessed the whole. He has so little command of the English language in prose narrative as to be in places scarcely intelligible; but English prose was at this time in a crude state, as all such memorials were, till this era, metrical or in Latin.

when they pleasantly encountered the pure and proper presence of prince Arthur, who had set out to salute his sage father." It does not appear that the prince knew that his wife had arrived. Certainly royal travellers moved slowly in those days, for Henry never thought of proceeding farther than his seat at East Hampstead, "but full pleasantly passed over that night-season" in the company of his son. Next morning the royal personages set forth again on a journey which was truly performed at a snail's gallop, and proceeded to the plains (perhaps the downs), when the prothonotary of Spain and a party of Spanish cavaliers were seen pacing over them, bound on a most solemn errand: this was no other than to forbid the approach of the royal bridegroom and his father to the presence of the infanta, who, in the true Moorish fashion, was not to be looked upon by her betrothed till she stood at the altar,—nay, it seems doubtful if the veil of the princess was to be raised, or the eye of man to look upon her, till she was a wife. This truly Asiatic injunction of king Ferdinand threw the whole royal party into consternation, and brought them to a dead halt. King Henry was formal and ceremonious enough in all reason, but such a mode of proceeding was wholly repugnant to him as an English-born prince. Therefore, after some minutes' musing, he called round him, in the open fields, those nobles who were of his privy council, and propounded to them this odd dilemma. Although the pitiless rains of November were bepelting them, the council delivered their opinions in very wordy harangues: "The result was, "that the Spanish infanta being now in the heart of this realm, of which king Henry was master, he might look at her if he liked."

This advice Henry VII. took to the very letter; for, leaving the prince his son upon the downs, he made the best of his way forthwith to Dogmersfield, the next town, where the infanta had arrived two or three hours previously. The king's demand of seeing Katharine put all her Spanish retinue into a terrible perplexity. She seems to have been attended by the same train of prelates and nobles enumerated by Bernaldes; for a Spanish archbishop,

a bishop, and a count opposed the king's entrance to her apartments, saying, "the lady infanta had retired to her chamber." But king Henry, whose curiosity seems to have been thoroughly excited by the prohibition, protested that "if she were even in her bed, he meant to see and speak with her, for that was his mind, and the whole intent of his coming." Finding the English monarch thus determined, the infanta rose and dressed herself, and gave the king audience in her third chamber. (Neither the king nor his intended daughter-in-law could address each other in an intelligible dialect; "but," pursues our informant, who was evidently an eye-witness of the scene, "there were the most goodly words uttered to each other in the language of both parties, to as great joy and gladness as any persons conveniently might have. . . . After the which welcomes ended, the king's grace deposed his riding garments and changed them, and within half an hour the prince was announced as present,"—Arthur being, as it may be supposed, tired of waiting in a November evening on the downs. "Then the king made his second entry with the prince into the next chamber of the infanta, and there, through the interpretation of the bishops, the speeches of both countries, by the means of Latin, were understood." Prince Arthur and the infanta had been previously betrothed by proxy; the king now caused them to pledge their troth in person, which ceremony over, he withdrew with the prince to supper. After the meal, "he with his son most courteously visited the infanta in her own chamber,¹ when she and her ladies called for their minstrels, and with great goodly behavior and manner solaced themselves with dancing." It seems that prince Arthur could not join in the Spanish dances, but, to show that he was not without skill in the accomplishment, "he in like demeanor took the lady Guildford (his sister's governess), and danced right pleasantly and honorably."

"Upon the morrow, being the 7th of November, the in-

¹ The royal party are now, after the betrothment, admitted into the infanta's own bedroom: the approaches seem gradual, the first interview taking place in the third chamber.

fantia set out for Chertsey, and lodged all night at the royal palace situated there, and the next day she set forth with the intention of reaching Lambeth; but before ever she came fully to that town, this noble lady met beyond a village called Kingston-on-Thames, the duke of Buckingham on horseback, the earl of Kent, the lord Henry Stafford, and the abbot of Bury, with a train of dukes and gentlemen to the number of four hundred, all mounted and dressed in the Stafford livery of scarlet and black. After the said duke had saluted her grace, the abbot of Bury pronounced in goodly Latin a certain prolusion, welcoming her into this realm." At Kingston the lady infanta lodged all night, and in the morning was escorted by Buckingham and his splendid train to her lodging at Kennington palace, close to Lambeth. Here she continued till her own Spanish retinue, as well as the nobility of England who were appointed by king Henry as her attendants, could prepare themselves for presenting her with due honor to the English people, "who always," adds our quaint informant, "are famous for the wonderful welcomes they give to acceptable and well-beloved strangers,"—a proof that lionizing is no new trait in the English character.

While the infanta was thus escorted to Kennington, king Henry made the best of his way to his queen (Elizabeth of York), who met him at Richmond, to whom he communicated all his proceedings, "and told her how he liked the person and behavior of their new daughter-in-law." The royal pair remained till the 10th at Richmond, when the king rode to Paris garden, in Southwark, and thence he went in his barge to Baynards's castle, "situated right pleasantly on Thames' side, and full well garnished and arranged, and encompassed outside strongly with water." This situation was by no means likely to prove so agreeable in a wet November as the worthy author supposed to a princess of the sunny South, reared among the bowers of that enchanting Alhambra whose restoration is implored by the Moors in their evening prayer to this hour. While Henry VII. was occupied in orders for the arrangement of this alluvial abode, his queen (Elizabeth of York) came

down the Thames in her barge, accompanied by a most goodly company of ladies, and welcomed her son's bride to England.

Arthur prince of Wales, with a grand retinue, on the 9th of November came through Fleet street to the Wardrobe palace at Blackfriars, where he took up his abode till the day of his nuptials. Three days afterwards the infanta came in procession, with many lords and ladies, from Lambeth to Southwark, and entered the city by London bridge. She rode on a large mule, after the manner of Spain; the duke of York rode on her right, and the legate of Rome on her left hand. She wore on her head a broad round hat, the shape of a cardinal's hat, tied with a lace of gold, which kept it on her head; she had a coif of carnation color under this hat, and her hair streamed over her shoulders, "which is a rich auburn,"¹ adds the herald. The governess of the princess, donna Elvira, called 'the lady-mistress,' rode near her charge, dressed all in black, with a kerchief on her head, and black cloths hanging down beside her cheeks, like a religious woman. The saddle on which the princess Katharine rode is described as being like a small arm-chair, with staves crossing, richly ornamented. Four Spanish ladies followed, riding on mules; they wore the same broad hats as their mistress. An English lady, dressed in cloth of gold and riding on a palfrey, was appointed to lead the mule of each Spanish damsel; but as those ladies did not sit on the same side in riding as the fair English equestrians, each pair seemed to ride back to back, as if they had quarrelled, according to the observation of the herald,² who records the circumstance with evident tribulation.

The citizens prepared to welcome the infanta's entrance into the city with a grand pageant of St. Katharine, her name-saint; likewise St. Ursula, the British princess, with many virgins. At St. Paul's gate was the grandest pageant,

¹ This, in fact, is the color of her hair in all portraits in oil, among which is the one from which our portrait is engraved.

² Antiquarian Repertory, where is edited a fuller copy of Leland's Herald's Journal.

through which the lady-infanta was conducted to the place of her destination,—the bishop's palace, close to the sacred edifice where the bridal was to be celebrated.¹ Through the body of St. Paul's cathedral a long bridge of timber, six feet from the ground, was erected from the west door to the first step of the choir; in the midst of the bridge a high stage, circular like a mount, and ascended on all sides by steps, was raised. This stage was large enough for eight persons to stand on, and was the place where the marriage ceremony was performed: it was railed round, and covered with scarlet cloth. On the north side of the mount was a closely-latticed box for the king and queen, and on the south a stage for the lord mayor and civic dignitaries.

On the day of St. Erkenwald, November 14th, the young duke of York (afterwards Henry VIII., her second husband) led the infanta from the bishop's palace to St. Paul's. "Strange diversity of apparel of the country of Hispania is to be *descriven*," says the herald, "for the bride wore, at the time of her marriage, upon her head a coif of white silk, with a scarf bordered with gold, and pearl, and precious stones, five inches and a half broad, which veiled great part of her visage and her person." This was the celebrated Spanish mantilla. "Her gown was very large, both the sleeves and also the body, with many plaits; and beneath the waist, certain round hoops, bearing out their gowns from their bodies after their country manner." Such was the first arrival of the famous farthingale in England. Prince Arthur, likewise attired in white satin, made his appearance on the other side of the mount; and the hands of the princely pair were joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, nineteen bishops and mitred abbots being present. The king, the queen, and the countess of Richmond privily witnessed the ceremony from the latticed box. The bride and bridegroom then followed the archbishop and prelates to the high altar, the princess Cicely, who bore the infanta's train, being followed by a hundred ladies in costly apparel.² After mass, prince Arthur, according to the ancient custom of England, at the great door of the cathedral, in the pres-

¹ Stowe, 483. Hall, 493.

² Hall, 494.

ence of the multitude, endowed his bride with one-third of his property.¹ The princess was then led by her brother-in-law, young Henry, to the bishop's palace of St. Paul's, in the grand banqueting-room of which was the nuptial dinner prepared; she was served in gold plate, ornamented with precious stones and pearls, valued at 20,000*l.* The prince and princess of Wales remained at the bishop's palace that night. The next morning Henry VII. and the queen came in grand pomp by water from Baynard's castle, and carried Katharine and her husband back to that watery abode.² There she was closely secluded with her ladies for some days. In the pageantry which celebrated these espousals, the descent of the Spanish bride from the legitimate line of Lancaster by Philippa queen of Castile, daughter of John of Gaunt, was not forgotten. King Alphonso the astronomer, Katharine's learned ancestor, too, was introduced with all the paraphernalia of astrology, telling a brilliant fortune for her and her short-lived bridegroom. This princely pair were very prettily allegorized, she as "the western star, lady Hesperus," and he as "Arcturus."³

Upon Thursday the bride, accompanied by the royal family, came in barges to Westminster. The large space before Westminster hall was gravelled and smoothed, and a tilt set up the whole length from the water-gate to the gate that opens into King street, leading to the Sanctuary. On the south side was a stage hung with cloth of gold, and furnished with cushions of the same: on the right side entered the king and his lords; on the left the queen, the bride, and their ladies. "And round the whole area were stages built for the honest common people, which at their cost were hired by them in such numbers that nothing but visages presented themselves to the eye, without any appearance of bodies! And eftsoons, when the trumpets

¹ Rymer, vol. xii. p. 780: likewise see *Life of Marguerite of France*, queen-consort of Edward I. As princess of Wales, Katharine had in dower Wallingford castle, Cheylesmore near Coventry, the city of Coventry (crown rents), Caernarvon and Conway castles, the third of the stannaries in Cornwall, the town and lands of Macclesfield, to the amount of 5000*l.* per annum,—at least, that was the sum ostensibly allowed her afterwards as dowager-princess.

² Hall, p. 494.

³ Lord Bacon.

blew up goodly points of war, the nobility and chivalry, engaged to tilt, appeared in the arena, riding under fanciful canopies, borne by their retainers." These shall serve as specimens for the rest:—"Bourchier, earl of Essex, had a mountain of green carried over him as his pavilion; and upon it many trees, rocks, and marvellous beasts, withal, climbing up the sides: on the summit sat a goodly young lady, in her hair, pleasantly beseen. The lord marquess of Dorset, half-brother to the queen,¹ had borne over him a rich pavilion of cloth of gold, himself always riding within the same, drest in his armor." Lord William Courtenay, brother-in-law to the queen, made his "appearance riding on a red dragon led by a giant, with a great tree in his hand." Attended by similar pageantry, twenty or thirty of the tilters rode round the area, to the delight of the commonalty, who had all their especial favorites among the noble actors in the scene, and had, moreover, the infinite satisfaction of seeing them tilt with sharp spears, and, "in great jeopardy of their lives, break a great many lances on each other's bodies," though the ultimatum of pleasure was not afforded by any of these sharp spears effecting homicide. Plenty of bruises and bone-aches were the concomitants of this glorious tilting, but no further harm ensued to the noble combatants.

When the dusk of a November eve closed over this chivalrous display, the bride and all her splendid satellites transferred themselves to the more comfortable atmosphere of Westminster hall. At its upper end the royal dais was erected, and among other magnificence is noted a cupboard, which occupied the whole length of the chancery, filled with a rich treasure of plate, most of which was solid gold. The queen, the lady-bride, and the king's mother took their places on elevated seats at the king's left hand; their ladies and the royal children were all stationed on the queen's side. Prince Arthur sat at his father's right hand, and the nobility of England who were not engaged in the pageants and ballets that followed sat in their degrees on the king's side of the hall. Thus, in the ancient régime of the court,

¹ Eldest son of queen Elizabeth Woodville, by her first husband.

the sexes were divided into two opposite parties ; the king and queen, who were the chiefs of each band, were the only man and woman who sat near each other. When any dancing was required that was not included in the pageantry, a lady and a cavalier went down, one from the king's and the other from the queen's party, and figured on the dancing space before the royal platform. The diversions began with grand pageants of a mountain, a castle, and a ship, which were severally wheeled in before the royal daïs. The ship was manned by mariners, "who took care to speak wholly in seafaring terms." The castle was lighted inside gloriously, and had eight *fresh*¹ gentlewomen within, each looking out of a window. At the top of the castle sat a representative of Katharine of Arragon herself, in the Spanish garb. The castle was drawn by "marvellous beasts," gold and silver lions harnessed with huge gold chains ; but, lest the reader should be dubious regarding the possibility of such lions, the narrator (who must have been behind the scenes, and would have been a worthy assistant to master Snug the joiner) explains discreetly, "that in each of the marvellous beasts were two men, one in the fore and the other in the hind quarters, so well hid and apparelled, that nothing appeared but their legs, which were disguised after the proportion and kind of the beast they were in." Meantime, the representative of Katharine was much courted "by two well-behaved and well-beseen gentlemen, who called themselves Hope and Desire," but were treated by the bride's double with the greatest disdain. At last all differences ended, like other ballets, with a great deal of capering ; for the ladies came out of the castle, and the gentlemen from the ship and mountain, and danced a grand set of twenty-four, with "goodly roundels and divers figures, and then vanished out of sight and presence."

Then came down prince Arthur and the princess Cicely, his aunt, "and danced two *base* dances ; and then departed up again, the prince to his father and lady Cicely to the queen her sister." Eftsoons came down the bride, the prin-

¹ This term means they were dressed in new clothes, or new fashions.

cess Katharine, and one of her ladies with her, apparelled likewise in a Spanish garb, and danced other two base dances; and then both departed up to the queen. These 'base' dances are explained by etymologists to be slow and stately movements, and were called *base* or low dances, in opposition to the *la volta* dance, which, from the lofty leaps and capers cut by the performers, was termed in English the *high* dance. Perhaps Katharine's 'base' dance resembled the minuet in its slow gliding step. All the English dances described by our herald seem to have been quick and lively, for he proceeds to say, "Henry duke of York, having with him his sister lady Margaret, the young queen of Scots, in his hand, came down and danced two dances, and went up to the queen." The dancing of this pretty pair gave such satisfaction that it was renewed; when the young duke, finding himself encumbered with his dress, "suddenly threw off his robe, and danced in his jacket with the said lady Margaret in so goodly and pleasant a manner that it was to king Henry and queen Elizabeth great and singular pleasure. Then the duke departed up to the king, and the princess Margaret to the queen." The parental pride and pleasure at the performance of their children manifested by Henry VII. and his queen, slightly as it is mentioned here, affords some proof of their domestic happiness.

"On the Sunday was laid out a royal dinner in the white-hall, or parliament chamber. The king sat at the side-table, next to his own chamber,¹ with Katharine of Arragon at his right hand. At the same table sat the prothonotary of Spain, and Katharine's Spanish duenna. The queen sat at the table at the bed's feet, which was the table of most reputation of all the tables in the chamber." It seems, from this passage, that some partition had been removed, and the king's chamber and bed thrown into view,—a practice frequent in gothic castles. The evening refreshment, called

¹ That the royal bedchamber in Westminster palace opened into the white hall, or parliament chamber (actually used as the house of lords till it was burnt down in 1834), may be gathered from this narrative, and from the interview between Henry V. and his father.—See *Life of Katherine of Valois*.

the *voide*, was brought in by fourscore earls, barons, and knights, walking two and two, the ceremony of serving the *voide* being precisely as coffee is now presented after dinner; but instead of coffee and biscuits, *ipocras* and *comfits* were offered. One noble servitor presented the golden *spice-plate*, a second the cup, while a third, of lower rank, filled the cup from a golden ewer. At this *voide* Katharine of Arragon distributed the prizes won in the tilt-yard. To the duke of Buckingham she gave a diamond of great *virtue* and price; the marquess of Dorset received from her hands a ruby, and to the others were given rings set with precious stones. The court departed the next Sunday for Richmond, where, after an exordium on the proper way of spending the Sabbath, our informant tells us that, "after divine service, the king sped with the court through his goodly gardens to his gallery, upon the walls, where were lords ready set to play; some with *chesses* [chess-boards], some with tables [or backgammon], and some with cards and dice. Besides, a framework with ropes was fixed in the garden, on which went up a Spaniard, and did many wondrous and delicious points of tumbling and dancing." In the evening the pageant of a rock, drawn by three sea-horses, made its appearance at the end of the hall; on either side of the rock were mermaids, one of them being a "man-mermaid" in armor. But these mermaids were but cases, or shells, in which were perched the sweetest-voiced children of the king's chapel, "who sung right sweetly, with quaint harmony" while the pageant was progressing to the *daïs*, where sat the royal bride and the king and queen. "Instead of dancers, there were let out of the rock a great number of white doves¹ and live rabbits, which creatures flew and ran about the hall, causing great mirth and disport. Then were presented to the lords and ladies of Spain rich gifts of plate from king Henry, with thanks for the care they had taken of the princess Katharine, and they took leave for their return to Spain."

King Henry, observing that his daughter-in-law was sad

¹ This seems a Spanish custom, for the other day white doves were let loose at a festival in honor of the young queen of Spain, Isabel II.

and pensive after bidding them farewell, courteously desired that she should be called to him, with her ladies. He then took them to his library, wherein he "showed them many goodly pleasant books of works full delightful, sage, merry, and also right cunning, both in English and Latin." His prudent highness had likewise provided there a jeweller, "with many rings and huge diamonds and jewels of the most goodly fashion, and there desired her to *avise* and behold them well, and choose and select at her pleasure." When she had taken those she preferred, the king distributed the rest among her remaining Spanish ladies and her newly-appointed English maids of honor. Thus she assuaged her grief and heaviness, and became accustomed to English manners and usages.¹ Great misrepresentation has taken place regarding the age of Katharine at the time of her first marriage, one historian² even affirming she was nineteen; but as the day of her birth was at the close of the year 1485,³ it stands to reason that when she wedded Arthur, November, 1501, she had not completed her sixteenth year; while prince Arthur, who was born September 20, 1486, had just completed his fifteenth year. Katharine, therefore, instead of four years, was but ten months older than her husband.

Before Shrovetide, Katharine and Arthur departed for Ludlow castle, in Shropshire, where they were to govern the principality of Wales, holding a miniature court, modelled like that at Westminster. Katharine performed the journey to Ludlow on horseback, riding on a pillion behind her master of horse, while eleven ladies followed her on palfreys. When she was tired, she rested in a litter borne between two horses. Such was the mode of travelling before turnpike-roads had made the country traversable by wheel-carriages, for the horses which bore the litter made good their footing in paths where a wheel-carriage could not be kept upright. It appears that prince Arthur visited Oxford on the road to Ludlow, for in the memorials of that city are these particulars of his entertainment at Magdalen

¹ Herald's Journal, in Antiquarian Repertory.

² Guthrie.

³ Both Mariana and Bernaldes.

college:—"He was lodged in the apartments of the president; rushes were provided for the prince's bedchamber; he was treated with a brace of pike and a brace of tench: both his highness and his train received presents of gloves, and were refreshed with red wine, claret, and sack."

The prince and princess of Wales were deservedly popular at Ludlow, but their residence there was of short continuance; for the prince, whose learning and good qualities made him the hope of England, was suddenly taken ill, and expired April 2, 1502. Some historians declare he died of a decline, others affirm that he was very stout and robust: amidst these conflicting opinions, it is, perhaps, worth while to quote the assertion of the Spanish historian, as it certainly arose from the information of Katharine herself. "Prince Arthur died of the plague, a little while after his nuptials, being in the principality of Wales, in a place they call *Pudlo* [Ludlow]. In this house was donna Catalina left a widow, when she had been married scarcely six months."¹ This assertion is completely borne out by an observation in the herald's journal,² for, after describing the whole detail of the magnificent progress of the prince's funeral to the city of Worcester (where he was buried), it declares that few citizens were assembled in the cathedral, because of the great sickness that prevailed in Worcester.

Arthur was interred with royal pomp on the right side of the chancel of Worcester cathedral. The tomb which covers his remains is enshrined within the walls of a beautiful little chapel, designed by that distinguished statesman sir Reginald Braye. So sorely as this exquisite gem of ecclesiastical sculpture has been maltreated by the fanatic destructives who stabled their steeds in the holy fane after

¹ Bernaldes, 236.

² The herald present at prince Arthur's funeral wrote the journal occurring in Leland's Collectanea; it is replete with curious costume. "On St. Mark's day, the procession commenced from Ludlow church to Bewdley chapel. It was the foulest cold, windy, and rainy day, and the worst way [road] I have seen; and in some places the car [with the prince's body] stuck so fast in the mud that yokes of oxen were taken to draw it out, so ill was the way." Such was part of the progress to Worcester, where "with weeping and sore lamentation prince Arthur was laid in the grave."

the battle of Worcester, there is much left to interest the historical antiquarian in the curious series of the statuettes of kings and queens of England, escutcheons, and other carvings with which the walls are covered. The coronet and shield of Arthur prince of Wales, the royal arms of England, is upheld by two angels, represented by Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. The figure of the virgin widow, Katharine of Arragon, appears in several compartments of the sculpture, wearing the coronet of princess of Wales, with flowing hair, lightly covered with a wimple and veil: she holds the castle, emblematical of Castile, in her right hand. In another place she is introduced in the character of St. Katherine, with a wheel, and holding the pomegranate.¹

Prince Arthur made a will, in which he left his jewels, chains, and even his habiliments² to his sister Margaret, then betrothed to James IV. The legacy, which was not surrendered to her, caused, according to Scottish historians,³ the invasion of James IV. and the battle of Flodden. The circumstance gives rise to an important historical inference. If prince Arthur considered Katharine of Arragon as actually his wife, would he have left such personals away from her to his eldest sister? Katharine's subsequent poverty proves that she had none of his property, not even her widow-dower.

¹ The clothiers' company at Worcester is in possession of a rich pall, or mortuary cloth, which is supposed to have covered the corpse of Arthur prince of Wales on the occasion of his funeral in the cathedral of that city, and was probably presented by his royal widow, Katharine of Arragon, to that fraternity, as a memorial of their deceased prince. It is formed of alternate stripes of purple velvet and cloth of gold, emblazoned with the royal arms of England and the effigies of St. Katherine with her wheel, and many other curious devices. The pomegranate, the castle for Castile, and the imperial eagle—all emblematic of Katharine of Arragon—identify her as typified by the figure of her patron saint on this curious relic of the fifteenth century, which has been used ever since as the pall of the brethren of the clothworkers' fraternity. The altar-cloth in Wynchcombe church is of similar material and pattern, and was probably presented by Katharine.

² Abuilzements, as they are called by the Scotch.

³ Lindsay of Pitscottie, who, nearly a contemporary himself, wrote from the information of the agents of the Scottish government. The particulars of Arthur's legacy and its disastrous results are related in the Lives of the Queens of Scotland, by Agnes Strickland (Margaret Tudor, consort of James IV.).

Queen Elizabeth, the mother-in-law of Katharine, though overwhelmed with grief for the sudden loss of her eldest-born and best-beloved child, had sympathy for the young widow, thus left desolate in a strange land, whose tongue had not become familiar to her ear. The good queen sent for Katharine directly to London, and took the trouble of having a vehicle prepared for her accommodation. She ordered her tailor, John Cope, to cover a litter with black velvet and black cloth, trimmed about with black valances; the two head-pieces were bound with black ribbon, and festooned with black cloth. Such was the hearse-like conveyance sent by Elizabeth of York to bring the young widow to London. Katharine was settled at the country palace of Croydon by queen Elizabeth, and received all maternal kindness from her mother-in-law while that amiable queen lived.

An ancient turreted house, still called Arragon house, opposite Twickenham church, is pointed out as one of Katharine's dwellings during her widowhood. Her marriage-portion consisted of 200,000 crowns.¹ Half of that sum had been paid down with her. Her widow's dower consisted of one-third of the prince of Wales's revenue, but she was expected to expend that income in England. Her father and mother demurred at paying the remainder of her dowry, and expressed a wish to have their daughter and her portion returned to them. Henry VII. had an extreme desire to touch the rest of his daughter-in-law's portion, he therefore proposed a marriage between her and his surviving son, Henry. The sovereigns of Spain, her parents, accepted this offer; and it was finally agreed that, on obtaining a dispensation from the pope, Katharine should be married to her young brother-in-law, prince Henry. Katharine herself seems to have been very unhappy at this time. She wrote to her father, "that she had no inclination for a second marriage in England;"² still she begged him not to

¹ See the preceding biography; likewise sir Harris Nicolas's *Memoir of Elizabeth of York*, p. xc.; and *Privy-purse Expenses of that queen*, p. 103.

² This most important passage in history was first brought forward by Dr. Lingard, who quotes the Spanish words from Mariana's *History of Spain*.—See Lingard, vol. v. p. 333.

consider her tastes or inconvenience, but in all things to act as suited him best." It is here evident that Katharine, a sensible young woman of eighteen, felt a natural aversion to vow obedience to a boy more than five years younger than herself; yet she does not plead, as an excuse for not fulfilling so disagreeable an engagement, that she considered it repugnant to the laws of God or man. Surely, as she mentions in her home letters that her will was averse to the second English marriage, she would have likewise urged that her conscience would be outraged could she have done so with truth, but distaste and inconvenience are the strongest terms she used. She was, notwithstanding these remonstrances, betrothed to Henry prince of Wales on the 25th of June, 1504, at the house of the bishop of Salisbury, in Fleet street.¹ Queen Isabel of Castile, who was then on her death-bed, seems to have been troubled with doubts regarding her daughter's future prosperity; she sent a piteous entreaty to Rome for a copy of the bull of dispensation, as she could not die peaceably without reading it.² Isabel expired a few months after the betrothment, and Katharine, thus unhappily deprived of her admirable mother, was left a passive victim at the disposal of the two wily diplomatists, her father king Ferdinand and Henry VII.

In 1505 the pecuniary distresses of Katharine of Arragon, the nominal widow of one prince of Wales and the nominal wife of another, become manifest in a letter, September 8, 1505,³ addressed to her father, Ferdinand king of Arragon. The letter relates to the projected marriage of one of her ladies, donna Maria de Salazar, whom there is great reason to suppose is the same as the lady called by our antiquaries the lady Mary de Saluces, whose mother was of the princely house of De Foix, nearly related to the imperial family and most royal lines in Europe. "It is known to your highness," says Katharine, "how donna

¹ Speed, p. 973.

² See notation appended to this copy in lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* Such was the reason Katharine gave for having in her possession a copy of the bull.

³ Wood's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*

Maria de Salazar was lady to the queen my lady [mother], who is in blessed glory, and how her highness [queen Isabel of Castile] sent her to come with me; and in addition to the service which she did to her highness, she has served me well, and in all this had done as a worthy woman. Wherefore I supplicate your highness that, as well as on account of the one service as the other, you would command her to be paid, *since I have nothing wherewith to pay her*; and also because her sister, the wife of Monsieur d'Aymeria, has in view for her a marriage in Flanders, of which she cannot avail herself without knowing what the said donna Maria has for a marriage portion.' The letter continued to urge Ferdinand to pay to donna Maria the arrears he owed her father, captain Salazar (her high-born mother, related to Katharine herself, having wedded the captain of Ferdinand's guard). Donna Maria, however, gave up her intended marriage in Flanders, and clave to the forlorn princess as faithfully in her troublous youth as in the woful remnant of her latter days; for donna Maria remained in England, having won the heart, portionless as she was, of the heir of the illustrious house of Willoughby d'Eresby. Katharine dates her letter, and one or two others relative to the unpaid salaries of her Spanish ladies, from Durham house (Strand). This ecclesiastical palace was probably her "inn," or London residence, as it was afterwards that of queen Elizabeth when princess. It is worthy of notice that Durham house was used as a residence for members of the royal family previously to the Reformation.

Katharine became most wretched at the close of the year 1505, and her troubles were aggravated by severe illness. She attributed all the vexations of her painful situation to the meanness with which Dr. Puebla, the Spanish resident minister in England, yielded to the despotism of Henry VII. She commences her letter, dated December 2d, addressed to her royal sire, Ferdinand, with blaming this man, and thus continues:—"Your highness shall know, as I have often written to you, that since I came to England I have not had a single maravedi, except a certain sum

which was given me for food, and this is such a sum that it did not suffice without my having many debts in London ; and that which troubles me more is, to see my servants and maidens so at a loss, and that they have not wherewith to get clothes. This I believe is all done *by hand of the doctor*,¹ who, notwithstanding your highness has written, sending him word 'that he should have money from the king of England my lord, that their costs should be given them,' yet, in order not to trouble him, will rather intrench upon and neglect the service of your highness. Now, my lord, a few days ago donna Elvira de Manuel² asked my leave to go to Flanders, to get cured of a complaint that has come into her eyes, so that she lost the sight of one of them, and there is a physician in Flanders who cured the infanta Isabel of the same disease with which she is afflicted. She labored to bring him here, so as not to leave me, but could never succeed with him ; and I, since if she were blind she could not serve me, durst not hinder her journey. I begged the king of England my lord, that, until our donna Elvira should return, his highness would command that I should have as companion an old English lady, or that he should take me to court. And I imparted all this to *the doctor*, thinking to make of the rogue a true man ; but it did not avail me, because though he drew me to court (in which I have some pleasure, because I had supplicated the king for an asylum), yet he [the doctor] negotiated that the king should dismiss all my household, and take away my chamber [her establishment for the service of her chamber, as ladies and chamberwomen], and place it in a house of his own, so that I should not in any way be mistress of it."

The gist of Katharine's afflictions appears that, by Puebla's contrivance, she was to be deprived of the privilege of maintaining her little separate court and household, her Spanish ladies and officers being dismissed, and she mixed up with the English court as a mere dependant on Henry VII. The poor princess surmises that her father paid little heed to her complaints, and thus continues earnestly to supplicate him :—"I entreat your highness that you will consider that

¹ Puebla.

² Her governess, or first lady.

I am your daughter, and that you consent not that, on account of Dr. Puebla, I should have such trouble; but that you will command some ambassador to come here who may be a true servant of your highness, and for no interest will cease to do that which pertains to your service. And if in this your highness trusts me not, do you command some person to come here who may inform you of the truth. As for me, I may say to your highness, that seeing this man Dr. Puebla do so many things not like a good servant of your highness, I have had so much pain and annoyance that I have lost my health in a great measure, so that for two months I have had severe tertian fevers, and this will be the cause that I shall soon die." Katharine evidently writes under the depression of spirits and irritation of mind consequent to her painful indisposition. Although she has dwelt on the sins of this unbeloved doctor throughout her letter, she cannot close it without reiterating her request for his removal. "I presume to entreat your highness to do me so great favor as to command that *this doctor* may not remain, because he certainly does not fulfil the service of your highness, which he postpones to the worst interest which can be. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and ever increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the second of December."¹

This letter is provided with a postscript, which still further develops the tribulations of Katharine of Arragon, by showing that there was a controversy between the princess and her hard father-in-law Henry VII. regarding the amount of her dowry. King Ferdinand, and even the late queen Isabel, had reckoned Katharine's plate and jewels as part of her portion, and had deducted their value from the sum total, to the large amount of 33,000 crowns. "The king of England my lord," continues Katharine,² "will not receive anything of the plate nor of the jewels which I have used, because he told me 'that he was indignant that it should be said in his kingdom that he took away my ornaments.' And as little may your highness expect that he will take them on account, and return them to me; because I am

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

² Ibid.

certain he will not do so, nor is any such thing customary here. The king would not take them in the half of the value, because all these things are esteemed much cheaper here; and the king [Henry VII.] has so many jewels, that he desires money rather than them. I write thus to your highness, because I know that there will be great embarrassment if he will not receive them, except at a less price. It appears to me that it will be better that your highness should take them for yourself, and should give to the king of England my lord his money." No doubt this shrewd business arrangement would have suited Henry VII. right well, but it is a chance whether the letter ever reached its destination, for a translation of it exists in the Chapter-house, and the original Spanish, in Katharine's writing, is likewise in this country.¹ It only travelled into the hands of Henry VII. and his supple tool, Dr. Puebla, who must have given his master, Ferdinand, a general intimation that the princess his daughter was malcontent, and with her Spanish household murmuring against her father-in-law Henry VII.; for their exists an answer from Ferdinand, sending a stern message through this very Puebla, the object of Katharine's indignant complaints, bidding her "and her household be conformable to Henry VII., since, God willing, she has always to be in that land with this king of England my brother, her father, and with the prince of Wales [Henry] my son, and it is to be believed that he will regard his honor, and that of the princess my daughter."² This is no reply to individual detail in the piteous letter of Katharine, but how could Ferdinand reply to a despatch which to the present moment has remained in England?

The opening of the year 1506 was marked by an event which had a peculiar influence on the futurity of Katharine of Arragon. The death of her mother without male heirs had called her sister Joanna to the throne of Castile, and she embarked with her husband, Philip the Fair of Austria,³

¹ Cottonian Collection, Vespasian.

² Cottonian MS., Vespasian.

³ Son of Mary of Burgundy, heiress of the Low Countries, and Maximilian emperor of Germany.

to take possession of her inheritance. They were driven by a tempest on the western coast of England, and detained, exceedingly against their inclination, to receive the designing hospitalities of Henry VII. They were invited to Windsor castle, where Katharine of Arragon came to meet them. The royal visit is thus described in one of those herald's journals, which have preserved many other valuable details of personal traits and national customs. Queen Joanna was not sufficiently recovered from the perils of the sea to travel, and her husband arrived without her. King Philip¹ passed with Henry VII. through the royal apartments at Windsor castle "into an inner chamber, where was my lady princess [Katharine] and my lady Mary² the king's daughter, and their ladies. And after the king of Castile had kissed them, and communed with them, they went into the king's dining-chamber, where my lady princess Katharine danced in Spanish array, with a Spanish lady for her partner: then danced the lady Mary with an English lady." Katharine was desirous that her brother-in-law should show himself a pleasant and agreeable cavalier, and much she importuned him to join in the dance; but Philip was ill at ease in mind and body. He was, according to the English chroniclers, far from well, and indeed his cross answer to Katharine seems like it:—"Ever and anon my lady princess Katharine desired the king of Castile to dance; he answered, after he had excused himself once or twice, 'that he was a mariner, and yet,' added he, 'you would have me dance;' and then he continued to commune with king Henry. Katharine's seat was under the king's canopy, placed on the carpet belonging to it. After the lady Mary had tired herself with dancing, she went and sat down by her sister-in-law, near where the kings stood." Mary played on the lute and clavichords; she was a child of only nine or ten years old, and her behavior was much admired.

Queen Joanna arrived at Windsor ten days afterwards, February 10th. She came accompanied (besides her own servants) by the earl of Arundel and Lord Mountjoy; they entered by the little park, and came privately to the back

¹ Cott. MS., Vesp., Herald's MS.

² Afterwards queen of France.

of the castle to the king's new tower, where, "at the stair-foot, king Henry met with her, kissed her, and embraced her,—howbeit her husband the king of Castile, that was present with our king, had divers times desired him 'not to have taken the pains to have gone so far.'" It was now Katharine's turn to welcome her sister, and she advanced, accompanied by the little lady Mary, to kiss and embrace her. The royal *infantas* had not met for several years, and it seemed cruel that the first time they looked on each other after such an absence should be when their feelings were restrained by all the incrustations of court etiquette; they all went up into the apartments in which lodged king Philip, where Katharine was left with her sister Joanna. The morning of February 11th was devoted by the two kings to an inspection of their genealogies, for the purpose of noting the nearness of their relationship. Katharine, with the lady Mary, went back to Richmond; the next day Henry VII. followed them, and the queen of Castile, February 12th, commenced her journey back to Plymouth in the rich litter of the late queen Elizabeth. She slept at Reading palace by the way. Contrary winds, or the policy of Henry VII., detained the royal guests till the middle of April on the English coast.

Short as was the time of conference between Joanna and Katharine, it appears that the latter took encouragement, from the sight of her near relatives, to place urgently before her father Ferdinand the miserable state in which the crowned miser her father-in-law kept her. The poor young princess was in debt, and in want of everything at this period. It is likely that her averseness to become the wife of her young brother-in-law, Henry, continued in full force, since she made no effort to learn English. It will be perceived that such was the plea which she urges to induce her sire to appoint her a Spanish confessor.

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON¹ TO HER FATHER, FERDINAND KING OF ARRAGON.

[*Fragment.*]

[*April, 1506.*]

"—I cannot speak more particularly, because I know not what will become of this letter, or if it will arrive at the hands of your highness; but when don

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

Pedro d'Ayala shall come, *who is now* with the king [Philip] and the queen [Joanna] in the harbor, your highness shall know all by cyphers. I have written many times to your highness, supplicating you to order a remedy for my extreme necessity, of which letters I have never had an answer. Now I supplicate your highness, for love of our Lord, that you consider how I am your daughter, and that after Him (our Saviour) I have no other good or remedy, except in your highness; and how I am in debt in London, and this not for extravagant things, nor yet by relieving my own people [her Spanish ladies and household remaining with her], who greatly need it, but only [for] food; and how the king of England my lord will not cause them [the debts] to be satisfied, although I myself spoke to him and all those of his council, and that with tears. But he said, "that he is not bound to give me anything," and 'that even the food he gives me is of his good will, because your highness has not kept promise with him in the money of my marriage-portion.' I told him 'that in time to come your highness would discharge it.' He [Henry VII.] told me 'that was yet to see,' and 'that he did not know it.' So that, my lord, I am in the greatest trouble and anguish in the world, on the one part seeing all my people that they are ready to ask alms; on the other, the debts that I have in London. About my own person I have nothing for chemises; wherefore, by your highness's life, I have now sold some bracelets to get a dress of black velvet, for I was all but naked; for since I departed thence [from Spain] I have had nothing but two new dresses, for till now those I brought from thence have lasted me, although now I have got nothing but dresses of brocade."

The black velvet, which had been thus procured with difficulty, was as mourning for her mother; and the two new dresses she had had since her arrival from Spain, must have been her widow's mourning for her young spouse Arthur.

"I likewise supplicate your highness," she continues, "to do me so great a favor as to send me a friar of the order of St. Francesco de Osservancia,¹ who is a man of letters, for a confessor, because, as I have written at other times to your highness, *I do not understand the English language, nor know how to speak it*, and I have no confessor. And this should be, if your highness will so command it, very quickly, because you truly know the inconvenience of being without a confessor,—especially me, who for six months have been near to death; but now, thanks to our Lord, I am somewhat better, although not entirely well: this I supplicate your highness may be as soon as possible.

"Calderon, who brings this letter, has served me very well. He is now going to be married: I have not wherewith to recompense him. I supplicate your highness to do me so great a favor as to command him to be paid there [in Spain], and have him commended; for I have such care for him that any favor that your highness may do him I should receive as most signal. Our Lord guard

¹ One of the friars-Observant, whose convent near Greenwich palace was, in Katharine's prosperity, peculiarly under her patronage.

the life and royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the 22d of April.

“The humble servant of your highness, who kisses your hands,
“THE PRINCESS OF WALES.”

Addressed, To the most high and puissant lord the King, my father.

Endorsed, in Spanish, To his Highness, from the lady Princess of Wales, 22d of April, 1506.

The detail by which Katharine strives to awaken pity in the heart of her father reveals deprivations as calamitous as at any subsequent period of her life. Her illness, even unto danger of death; her difficulty of obtaining linen, and mourning for her mother; her debt and destitution in a foreign land, the language of which remains strange to her ear; and then her dialogue with Henry, the royal miser of England, and his taunting her with the very food she ate, presents an almost overcharged page of the woes of royalty. The illness of Katharine was one of those painful and long-abiding intermittents, which were the severest scourges to this country until the great benefit of the Jesuits' bark was introduced into our *materia medica* by Charles II. The residences of Katharine, whether at Durham house in London, at Richmond, or at Arragon house, Twickenham, were always on the banks of the Thames; therefore she had little chance of speedy recovery from ague. In the course of the autumn of 1506, Katharine mentioned, in a brief note, the state of her health to her sovereign and sister, Joanna queen of Castile.¹

“MOST HIGH AND POWERFUL LADY :—

Since I wrote the other day to your highness from here I have had more attacks of fever; but they have left me as you desire, so that, thanks to God, I am somewhat better now, and in better spirits. It appears to me that it is right to let your highness know, whose life, and the royal estate of your highness, our Lord prosper.

“From the humble servant of your highness, who kisses your hands.
“THE PRINCESS OF WALES.”

Endorsed, To the Queen my lady, from the lady princess of Wales, 17th of October, 1506.

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies. By mistake, this letter is supposed to be addressed to Germaine de Foix, second queen of Ferdinand of Arragon; but that lady was never queen of Castile.

At the date of this letter Joanna was a widow: she had lost her husband the preceding month. The news had evidently not reached the sick-room of Katharine of Arragon when she wrote this bulletin to her queen, who was then in an unconscious state, laboring under that long delirium brought on by her grief for the loss of Philip.

The widowhood of her sister Joanna now added another entanglement to the perplexed situation of Katharine of Arragon at the court of her father-in-law. At the time of the Spanish visit to Windsor, Henry VII. had treated for his second marriage with Philip's sister, the celebrated Margaret of Austria, widow of the duke of Savoy. For reasons best known to himself, Henry dropped all pursuit of that marriage after he had seen Joanna of Castile. Hall, the English contemporary historian, declares that the vexatious detention of Philip in England on his important voyage to Spain had broken his heart and caused his early death; the explanation of which is, that Philip was in declining health, not amended by detention during the severest part of an English winter. The mysterious protest which Henry VII. obliged his son to make, apparently the day after his fifteenth birthday, against the betrothment he had previously contracted with Katharine, either must have been connected with his own intention to become the second spouse of queen Joanna, or it must have been a positive act of insanity. It is dated, it is true, a few weeks before Joanna's widowhood; but are we certain that the date was the same as the execution of the instrument? The archives of England to this day show that Henry VII. had previously contrived to further his own purposes by tampering with documents.¹ The protest itself was literally conducted in a hole-and-corner manner, being executed by bishop Fox, the wily minister of Henry VII., and a few officials, in an unfrequented room at the basement of Shene

¹ Some entry in the Parliamentary rolls, relative to the connection of his grandmother Katherine of Valois and his grandfather Owen Tudor, he found it convenient to destroy. At the cancelled pages all the dates of the membranes have been altered by a clumsy forgery, still apparent to the ken of the historical antiquary. This information was communicated to the author by the late lamented sir Harris Nicolas.

palace.¹ The boy-prince who signed it probably knew not at the time what the ceremonial meant, or, as he fancied himself in love with Katharine, he would never have kept the secret,—and secret the transaction remained until many years afterwards, when it astounded the English public. It was, indeed, very needful to conceal it from king Ferdinand's spies, or he would not have paid the instalments of his daughter's dower, neither to Henry VII. nor Henry VIII.

The measure, mysterious as it is, must have been prompted by some scheme of selfishness on the part of Henry VII., or he would never have thrown such a mischievous stigma on the legitimacy of the heirs of his only son, while the struggle regarding the legitimacy of the children of Edward IV. was fresh in memory. As for prince Henry marrying his brother's widow if his father married her sister, no person who has the capacity to note the under-currents of history could deem, for a moment, that Henry VII. believed that such outrages would be permitted on public decorum. He knew that archbishop Warham had objected in council to prince Henry's marriage with Katharine as it was, and if the confusion of alliances and descents became more complicated, neither archbishop Warham nor the English people would have been long quiet on the subject. Henry VII.'s evident intention was to obtain the hand of the queen-regnant of Castile and the remainder of Katharine's portion. He then meant to break her marriage with his son Henry, playing off the protest by which the boy was made to renounce it,—urging, withal, the disgust of the English people and the objections of Warham. Neither Katharine nor her fortune would have been returned; he would have kept the money as personal assets due to his deceased son Arthur, pleading that the lady was to spend her income as Arthur's widow in England, according to the custom of dowagers on royal demesnes in this country. It was not easy, by any species of finesse, to induce Ferdinand of Arragon (impoverished as he was by the

¹ This intelligence is gathered from one of archbishop Warham's conversations with cardinal Wolsey, which took place at the time of Katharine's divorce.

death of his queen and partner) to pay the whole of his daughter Katharine's portion, at the risk of her being treated merely as Arthur's widow; but the English monarch, with deliberate ruthlessness, pursued the plan he had already commenced, as described in her letters, of subjecting the poor young princess in his power to every personal deprivation short of actual starvation, in order that her complaints to her surviving parent might prevail on him to remit the remainder of her portion, to obviate the plea that she could have no income from her settlement till the payments were completed.

The unfortunate queen of Castile had scarcely permitted her beloved husband's body to be buried before the king of England commenced his wooing by embassy. It was in vain king Ferdinand sent word that his daughter Joanna was fearfully insane and not fit to be married; Henry protested that he knew the lady, and was convinced that her illness was but temporary. Meantime, Henry prince of Wales began to give his astute sire some trouble in traversing his fine-drawn schemes. Suspecting that he was to be deprived of Katharine, young Henry's boyish will was immediately set on obtaining her; so that Henry VII. debarred them from meeting, lest they should form a clandestine union.¹ It must have been truly provoking for the princess to be treated as if she wished to steal a marriage, which she had designated to her father as distasteful and unsuitable.

Yet the lapse of years produced a change in Katharine's mind regarding her marriage with young Henry: he was attached to her, and the difference between their years seemed to vanish as he attained his majestic stature, while his mind assumed the cultivated tone produced by a learned education. In 1507, Katharine allowed to her father that the marriage with the prince of Wales was better for her than the miserable state of dependence and poverty with which her father-in-law had afflicted her. Katharine was totally unconscious that most of her letters to Spain were intercepted by Henry VII., and never reached the hands of

¹ Lingard, vol. v. p. 333.

her sire : such must have been the case, since she continually complains that her father never replies to the points she urgently pressed on his attention. Some of her letters were translated for the information of her persecutor, and of course her remarks and complaints raised against her infinite ill-will in his cold heart. Two letters in particular were calculated to displease him. One written for his inspection, and by his desire, warmly recommending his suit to her father for the hand of her "lady-queen and sister, Joanna of Castile," of whose woful state Katharine betrays no consciousness, either in this letter or in the private one written at the same time. The news had reached Katharine, in July, 1507, that her father had resolved on a journey to Castile, in order to induce the states there to pay the remainder of her dowry, which they stopped after the demise of the two persons so nearly connected with her happiness, being her husband Arthur and her mother queen Isabel. The sanguine spirits of youth immediately raised in the heart of Katharine lively hopes that all her troubles would be at an end when the payments of her portion were fulfilled. "So much," she writes to her father,¹ "did the cyphers of your highness avail here, that I have by them passed three or four days in such spirits as are unearthly ; and they were much needed at the time they came, for not two days before the king [Henry VII.] had said to me 'that the journey of your highness was postponed, according to report.' I felt it was said to do me fresh displeasure, so that, on all accounts, the letters of your highness were necessary to me at the conjuncture at which they arrived. I gave the credence of your highness to the king of England my lord, and he had shown to him clearly that which came in cypher. He rejoiced so much to see them, that, as I tell your highness, he told me of his great satisfaction thereupon ; and he commanded me, 'that I should write on his part to your highness, the pleasure he had of the good-will your highness by this showed.'" Without following the tedium of Henry VII.'s formal message to Ferdinand of Arragon, which Katharine transmits literally, with all its tautology,

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

it suffices to say that its tenor was, that if on king Ferdinand's arrival in Castile all was found consonant to that which he desires (*being his marriage to the queen Joanna*), he will forthwith send ambassadors with power to treat. Katharine was likewise charged by her father-in-law to transmit to her sire the jealous displeasure he felt at a recent report that the queen of Castile, her sister, was about to marry the count de Foix, through the interest of the king of France. De Foix being a peer of France, and, moreover, nearly related to Ferdinand's young queen, Germaine de Foix, inspired the ancient suitor with great alarms, for queen Germaine, having a young wife's influence with her husband, would naturally avail herself of it to advance her own family. On this point, however, the astute king of England kept silence, as it was no part of his policy to exasperate the queen of Arragon. But his orders to Katharine were, to say to her "that the French match for queen Joanna would be a great inconvenience for him, for the queen herself, and for her sons; ¹ for that with Frenchmen entering into the kingdom, there could be no security for Castile, . . . and many other things," adds Katharine, "about this which I do not say, because they are more to his purpose than to that of your highness."

Thus Katharine, placed between these two diplomatists, had no choice left but to deceive one or the other. Henry VII. dictated to her that she was to advise her father to favor his own views, as if it were her private opinion for the best. Katharine chooses to tell the truth to her father, and asks him to do, in regard to the count de Foix, what he thinks most conducive to his own service, as she thinks advice of the kind offered from her to him improper. But in regard to herself, she expressed her wish that her father, at least, would not sanction the marriage between Henry VII. and her sister. "I figure it to myself," she says, "that it must be, that your highness entertained this business in order to *terminate* [promote] my marriage; because with this bait I believe that, as to that which concerns me, things will be done better than the past when some one comes to

¹ Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, then infants.

arrange and disinvolve them, as I have written to your highness."¹ And then Katharine is very urgent that a person of dignity and responsibility may be sent, instead of the shuffling minister Puebla, to whom she attributes all her misfortunes since the death of Arthur. Her letter raises curiosity, which her detail does not gratify, regarding her treatment in England. "I believe," she says, addressing her father, Ferdinand of Arragon, "your highness would be frightened at that which I have passed through;" and that she would prefer the arrival of a properly accredited ambassador who would tell her father the truth, to the arrival of her dowry without such person. "If there were one here who would have devoted himself to the service of your highness, my tribulations would not have arrived at such an extreme, since, also, they would not have placed me as a pledge to make peace,—they would not have consented that I should lead such a life. . . . If the ambassador whom your highness has here were a man, he would not have consented,—even though I were not to be married to the prince,²—were it only considering whose daughter I am, that I should be in this kingdom with such a company in my house as I am indignant to think of it; for, in comparison with this, all the other things I have passed through I think little of. And thus I am doubly desirous on this account for my remedy, that I may not see myself as never knight's daughter was seen in the kingdom of your highness."³ Katharine proceeds to mention some conversations which she had had with Henry VII. She describes, with vivacity, how much he rejoiced in the expectation of the speedy coming of her dowry. "May it please God that it may come at the time that it is hoped for," continues the princess, very emphatically. Katharine explains to her father that the letter he would find in the king of England's packet was written at his requisition,—indeed, under his control, and shown to him. When Henry VII. had seen it, he desired his daughter-in-law to add, "that if the marriage

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

² Henry, prince of Wales.

³ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

with the count de Foix and the queen of Castile ever took place, that in the course of time Spain would be joined to France; but, as for himself, he considered himself as the true son of Ferdinand of Arragon."

The poor princess, whose detention in England was equivalent to a most perplexing captivity, is not altogether inexcusable for her double-dealing. The instalments of the dowry expected by her with anxiety, and by Henry VII. with miserly avidity, certainly arrived not at the time indicated, as the payments were not affected until after his death.¹ Chroniclers affirm that Henry VII. gave up, in the year 1508, all thoughts of matrimony; they insinuate, withal, that his young son Henry manifested some indications of seizing the English crown as his inheritance from his mother; but as it is certain that Henry VIII. submitted very peaceably to a few weeks' regency of his grandmother, Margaret of Richmond, until his eighteenth year was completed, perhaps these suspicions were ill founded.

Henry VII. expired at his favorite palace of Shene, April 22, 1509. The first desire of his successor was that his dubious engagement with Katharine of Arragon should be solemnly ratified by a public marriage. The privy council debated the marriage very earnestly. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, considered the relationship in which Katharine stood to the king, as his sister-in-law, was too near. Bishop Fox argued for the marriage, with many reasons of expediency, although he was the very person who had presided over the secret protest against it: at last the council recommended that it should take place, if Katharine's sister, queen Joanna, and their father, would agree that the marriage-portion of the princess should never be reclaimed, on any pretence whatever. Fuensalida, the new Spanish ambassador, signed a deed to this effect on the part of Ferdinand as king of Arragon, and of Joanna as queen of Castile:

¹ Two instalments were paid and acknowledged by the signatures of both the king of England and his son; the third was not received till after the death of Henry VII., but it is acknowledged by the young king in May, 1509, and the last payment was made in September, 1509, after Henry VIII. and Katharine were actually married.

this instrument was signed by Katharine herself as princess of Wales, June 7, 1509, a circumstance which entirely invalidates the assertion of the historians who declare she was married to Henry on the 3d of June. A most uncandid mystery is made of the time and place of this marriage by the earlier historians.¹ Both, however, we have satisfactorily discovered in the pages of Katharine's native chroniclers. "Donna Catalina," says Bernaldes,² wedded the brother of her first lord, who was called Enrico, in a place they call Granuche [Greenwich], on the day of St. Bernabo, [June 11th], and was crowned afterwards, on the day of St. John, with all the rejoicings in the world."—"Her father, king Ferdinand, was so well pleased," adds another Spanish historian, "at his daughter's second marriage that he celebrated it by grand festivals in Spain, particularly by the *jeu de cannes*,"³ or darting the jereed, in which Moorish sport Ferdinand assisted in person.

King Henry and queen Katharine came to the Tower from Greenwich, attended by many of the nobility, June 21st.⁴ After creating twenty-four knights, Henry, accompanied by Katharine, on the 23d of June, proceeded in state through the streets of London, which were hung for the occasion with tapestry. The inhabitants of Cornhill, as the richest citizens, displayed cloth of gold. From Cornhill and the Old Change the way was lined with young maidens dressed in virgin white, bearing palms of white wax in their hands; these damsels were marshalled and attended by priests in their richest robes, who censed the queen's procession from silver censers as it passed. Of all the pageants ever devised for royalty, this was the most ideal and beautiful. At that time Katharine was pleasing in person. "There were few women," says lord Herbert, "who could compete

¹ From Speed's account, the reader would suppose no other marriage had taken place excepting the betrothment in 1503; Hall names an evident wrong date, and gives no place; Burnet follows Speed, and no English author names the place of the marriage. Pollino, the Italian historian, asserts that Katharine was married on the day of St. John, June 25th, at the monastery of St. Benedetto, to the infinite joy of the people of London.

² Middle-Hill MS., cap. 163, f. 236.

³ Ferrara's History of Spain, vol. viii. 334.

⁴ Hall, p. 507.

with queen Katharine when in her prime." She had been married but a few days, and was attired as a bride in white embroidered satin; her hair, which was very beautiful, hung at length down her back, almost to her feet; she wore on her head a coronal set with many rich orient stones. The queen, thus attired as a royal bride, was seated in a litter of white cloth of gold, borne by two white horses. She was followed by the female nobility of England, drawn in whirlicotes, a species of car that preceded the use of coaches. Thus she proceeded to the palace of Westminster, where diligent preparation was making for the coronation next day. Cavendish asserts that all the orders for the king's coronation as well as the funeral of Henry VII. were given by Katharine: the illness of the king's grandmother and the youth of the king were, perhaps, the reasons that she had thus to exert herself.

After the coronation, the banquet was spread in Westminster hall. The king and queen proceeded from the abbey to an elevated stage at the upper end of the hall; several ladies of high rank sat under the table at the queen's feet, holding her pocket-handkerchief, table-napkins, fan, and purse. The pageantry on the occasion of this royal marriage and coronation was of a most elaborate and tedious species. One of the sports in honor of the gentle and benevolent Katharine was remarkably barbarous and savage: a miniature park was railed in before Westminster palace; deer and dogs were turned in; the deer overleaped the fences and escaped into the palace, where the hunters pursued and killed them and presented the slaughtered creatures, warm and palpitating, to the royal bride. These festivities were suddenly broken up on the 29th of June by the death of the king's grandmother, Margaret of Richmond,¹ who had been regent till two days before the coronation, when Henry VIII. completed his eighteenth year.

Few royal ladies were ever given such entire conviction of the free choice and true love of a husband as Katharine of Arragon received from Henry VIII. It was easy for him

¹ For further particulars, see Miss Halstead's interesting biography of Margaret Beaufort.

to have released himself from his engagement at the death of his father, instead of eagerly fulfilling it, and describing the state of his affections thus, addressed more than a month after the event to the father of his wife:—"Your serene highness greatly commends ourself in having completed this marriage so liberally, and, in having rejected all other ladies in the world that have been offered to us, showing hereby our singular love which we bear to your majesty, as well as to the most serene lady herself, our very well beloved consort. . . . And as regards that sincere love which we have to the most serene queen our consort, her eminent virtues daily more shine forth, blossom, and increase so much, that if we were still free, her we would yet choose for our wife before all other." Then follows a fraternal message to Katharine's sister, the unfortunate Joanna. "All these things, of course, you will be pleased to relate in our name to the most illustrious lady the queen of Castile, your daughter, our very dear kinswoman, and to commend ourself to her in singular degree."¹

Little more than a month had elapsed when Katharine wrote a confidential letter to her father,—this time, however, expressing all the exultation of unbounded happiness. Her father, when he found that she would be really raised to the rank of queen of England, had exerted himself to liquidate the arrears of her dowry, one instalment of which had been received in the preceding May, and the other was on its way to England. The young queen's heart was overflowing with gratitude to her father. "I know," she says, "that in this life I have no other good than in being your daughter, by your highness so well married that more cannot be said, except that it may well appear that it is the work of those hands of your highness, which I kiss for so signal a favor. As to the king my lord, amongst the reasons which oblige me to love him much more than myself, the one most strong, although he is my husband, is his being the so true son of your highness, with desire of greater obedience and love to serve you than ever son had to his

¹ Dated from Greenwich palace, July 26, 1509.—Egerton MSS., vol. 616, f. 35. Halliwell's Letters of Kings of England, vol. i. p. 196.

father. I have performed the office of ambassador, as your highness sent to command. . . ."¹ Katharine continues to view, in this happy frame of mind, all matters connected with England and her bridal, telling her father that these kingdoms were entirely at peace, and devoted in love to her husband and herself. "Our time," she adds, "is ever passed in continual feasts."

Katharine was nevertheless difficult to be suited in envoys from Spain. Fuensalida, although a grandee, was not much higher in her esteem than the unbeloved doctor of laws Puebla. She puts in cipher some secret matter to her father, and then proceeds to blame the Spanish ambassador for his blunders and want of tact, in discussing topics which concerned her honor and estate at the same time that he attacked her confessor. This person must have been the Spaniard Allequa, a priest who had been in her service from the period of her landing in England. He was subsequently her almoner, and through her favor was made bishop of Llandaff, pursuant to her intention thus expressed:—"It could not be thought," wrote Katharine, addressing her father, "how much the commandant de la Membilla² being here as ambassador did me disservice having said what he did, and by taking up the topics that he took up. Supposing my confessor were the worst man in the world, yet, for the sake of giving the lie to the said ambassador, I should have kept him in my service and made him a great prelate. So much the more being such a person, and so sufficient, as I believe your highness knows." Katharine, like every other queen of England who retained around her a large colony from her native country, prepared for herself sources of life-long troubles. At her accession, however, she sent away her duenna, donna Janina de Cuer, who had succeeded donna Elvira Manuel; likewise several others of her Spanish household, paying them their long arrears of from six to eight years' wages. She asks as a favor from her father that he will send the king her lord three horses, one a jennet, the other a Neapolitan, and the third a Sicilian

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

² He is the same person as Fuensalida.

steed, because he desired them much, and had entreated her to beg for them. Katharine returned to Greenwich palace after her coronation, for this remarkable letter is dated from thence, July 29th.

The mutual affection expressed in the letters written by the newly-wedded king and queen of England, proves some guide to fixing the dates of their autograph avowal of fidelity to each other still to be seen in queen Katharine's missal,¹ preserved among our royal archives. The book itself had belonged to Henry's mother, Elizabeth of York. The costume of the figures, the profusion of white roses and emblems of the house of York, show that it belongs to the era of Edward IV. Queen Katharine was subsequently its possessor. There are entries in the calendar, in common writing, of several Spanish saints, whom the English illuminator had forgotten, or was ignorant of their anniversaries; among others, Telesforo, pope and martyr. Katharine had been blamed for her neglect of the English language; but when actually queen of England, she made considerable progress in its literary composition, as her able letters will show. In the missal above mentioned is written, in her hand, a first attempt at versification, transcribed beneath the miniature of a saint of the English royal family, Saint Margaret Atheling.

"Be daly *probe*,² you shall me fynde,
To be to you both loving and kynde."

The queen's attempt at English verse is probably in answer to Henry's rather elegant protestation, in badly-spelt French, which appears at page 434, beneath a miniature representing the passion of the Saviour. The king, to all appearance, wrote this inscription when he gave his royal mother's mass-book to his queen:—"Si silon mon affection la *sufenance* [souvenance] sera in voz prieres ne seray *gers* oblié, car vre suis Henry R. à jamais." Meaning, "If your remembrance

¹ King's MS., Brit. Mus., 271, b. Brev. Rom. temp. Henry VII.

² *Proof*. The tendency of the Spaniards to substitute the *b* for *v* and *f* is well known.

is according to my affection, I shall not be forgotten in your daily prayers, for I am yours, Henry R. forever."¹

It was at the Christmas festivals at Richmond, the same year, that Henry VIII. stole from the side of the queen during the jousts, and returned in the disguise of a strange knight, astonishing all the company with the grace and vigor of his tilting. At first the king appeared ashamed of taking a public part in these gladiatorial exercises, but the applause he received on all sides soon induced him openly to appear on every occasion in the tilt-yard. Katharine kindly humored the childish taste of her husband for disguisings and maskings, by pretending great surprise when he presented himself before her in some assumed character. On one occasion, he came unexpectedly into her chamber with his cousin, Bouchier earl of Essex, and other nobles, in the disguise of Robin Hood and his men; "whereat," says Holinshed, "the queen and her ladies were greatly amazed, as well for the strange sight as for their sudden appearance." At Shrovetide, soon after, the foreign ambassadors were invited to partake with the court of a goodly banquet in the parliament chamber at Westminster, when the king, after conducting the queen to her throne, and having saluted the visitors, suddenly disappeared; but speedily returned with the earl of Essex dressed after the Turkish fashion, and the earl of Wiltshire² and Fitzwalter in the costume of Russia, with furred hats of gray, each of them having a hatchet in hand, and wearing boots with pikes turned up. Next came sir Edward Howard and sir Thomas Parr after the fashion of Persia, followed by torch-bearers with black faces, who were intended to represent Moors. The king's beautiful young sister, the princess Mary, accompanied by some of Katharine's ladies, danced a masking ballet before her; but the princess hid her fair

¹ Those who were not aware that Katharine of Arragon was entirely the wife of Henry's choice, have attributed the queen's lines to Anne Boleyn, but the handwriting is decidedly her predecessor's. Katharine, most likely, gave the book at her death to one of her Catholic friends, who, terrified at the fate of others, has cut off the queen's autograph, and endeavored to wash out her writing, which is nevertheless perfectly visible, p. 102.

² Stafford earl of Wiltshire, not the father of Annie Boleyn.

face under a black gauze mask, having assumed the character of an Ethiop queen.¹ In all these maskings and pageants, the queen's device, the pomegranate, was seen mingled with the roses of York and Lancaster, and the Tudor device of the hawthorn with its scarlet fruit.

The queen's situation promising an heir to the throne, she took to her chamber at the close of the year 1510, with the usual ceremonies, being then residing at Richmond palace. On New-year's day she brought into the world a prince, whose welcome appearance gave rise to fresh rejoicings and more elaborate pageantry. The young prince was named Henry, at a splendid christening; the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Surrey, and the king's favorite aunt, Katharine countess of Devonshire, were the sponsors to the royal babe. Before the queen's churching, the king rode on a pilgrimage to the Lady-shrine of Walsingham, in order to return thanks for the birth of his heir. On his return, grand tournaments were held in honor of the queen at Westminster. At the opening of the tournament appeared the king's favorite, sir Charles Brandon, afterwards created duke of Suffolk, who came before Katharine disguised like "hermit poor," with gray gown and lowly weeds, craving permission to tilt in her honor. When leave was given, Brandon flung off his hermit's gray, and appeared armed as a champion of proof. This was considered by the populace as a most brilliant invention.²

In the evening, when the queen was set in glorious state in the white hall at Westminster, a nobleman entered to inform her, "How that in a garden of pleasure was an arbor of gold, full of ladies, who were very desirous of showing pastime for the queen's diversion." Katharine answered, very graciously, that "I and my ladies will be happy to behold them and their pastime." Then a great curtain of arras was withdrawn, and the pageant moved forward. It was an arbor made with posts and pillars, covered with gold, about which were twined branches of hawthorn, roses, and eglantines, all made of satin and silk, according to the natural colors of the flowers. In the arbor were six fair

¹ Hall, p. 514.

² Hall, and lord Herbert.

ladies in gowns of white and green satin, their gowns covered with letters of gold, being **H** and **K**, knit together with gold lacing. Near the bower stood the king himself, and five lords dressed in purple satin, likewise covered with gold letters,—**H** and **K**; and every one had his name in letters of bullion gold. The king's name was *Cœur-loyal*, and all the rest bore some such appellations. Then the king and this company danced before Katharine's throne.

But while this fine fancy ball was performing, a very different scene was transacting at the lower end of the white hall. The golden arbor, which was intended to receive again the illustrious performers, had been rolled back to the end of the hall, where stood a vast crowd of the London populace, who were the constant witnesses of the grand doings of the English court in the middle ages, and, indeed, on some occasions, seem to have assimilated with the chorus of the Greek drama.¹ Their proceedings this evening were, however, not quite so dignified; the arbor of gold having been rolled incautiously within reach of their acquisitive fingers, the foremost began to pluck and pull at its fine ornaments; at last, they made a regular inbreak, and completely stripped the pageant of all its ornaments, nor could the lord steward of the palace repel these intruders without having recourse to a degree of violence which must have disturbed the royal ballet. Meantime, the king and his band having finished their stately 'pavons' and 'corantos high' with the utmost success, his majesty, in high good humor, bade the ladies come forward and pluck the golden letters and devices from his dress, and that of his company. Little did the young king imagine what pickers and stealers were within hearing; for scarcely had he given leave for this courtly scramble, when forward rushed the plebeian

¹ See an instance in the curious metrical description of Henry V.'s farewell to the city of London before his French expedition, in which scene the populace certainly took their part as chorus:—

“ ‘Hail, comely king!’ the mayor ’gan say:
 ‘Amen!’ cried all the commonalty.”

Whoever looks closely into the manners and customs of the middle ages will find that the English subjects were permitted to hold very close intercourse with their monarchs, who almost lived in their presence till the reign of William III.

intruders, and seizing not only on him, but his noble guests, plucked them bare of every glittering thing on their dresses with inconceivable celerity; what was worse, the poor ladies were despoiled of their jewels, and the king was stripped to his doublet and drawers. As for the unfortunate sir Thomas Knevet, who climbed on a high place, and fought for his finery, the mob carried off all his clothes. At last the guards succeeded in clearing the hall without bloodshed. The king, laughing heartily, handed the queen to the banquet in his own chamber, where the court sat down in their tattered condition, treating the whole scramble as a frolic; the king declaring that they must consider their losses as *largess* to the commonalty.¹ This strange scene throws light on the state of society at that time; for the outrage was not committed by a posse of London thieves, but by people in respectable stations of middle life, since Hall says, "One shipmaster of the port of London gat for his share in the scramble some letters of beaten gold, which he afterwards sold for 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*"

The royal infant, whose birth had caused all this uproarious joy, died February 22, 1511; indeed, he had never been well since his elaborate christening, when the tender creature had taken some cold or injury. His death is thus prettily recorded in one of the manuscript folios at the Chapter-house, Westminster:—"In the second year of our lord the king, her grace the queen bore a prince, whose soul is now among the holy Innocents of God." The queen, according to Hall, "like a natural woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the king's persuasion, she was comforted, but not shortly." Katharine could not foresee what a fatal shade the loss of her son was to throw on her after-life, when she mourned in unconscious anticipation of all her future sorrow.

A war soon after broke out with France, in which Scotland furtively joined. Sir Edward Howard, one of England's earliest naval heroes, distinguished himself in this war by his victory over sir Andrew Barton, a Scottish commander of equal valor. The gallant Howard fell gloriously

¹ Hall, p. 519.

in a desperate attack on the French galleys in Conquet bay. He was a friend of queen Katharine and her parents, having served as a volunteer at the siege of Granada; he bequeathed to her in his will a beautiful relic of antiquity, the grace-cup of Thomas à Becket. The queen subsequently restored the cup to the noble family of Howard, in whose possession it still is.¹ Sir Edward Howard had likewise, in his sailor-like will, left his whistle, then the insignia of his command, to the king; but he was seen to throw it into the sea just before he sunk, when boarding the French commander's galley.²

The succeeding year, when Henry VIII. invaded France in person, he intrusted his queen with the highest powers that had ever yet been bestowed on a female regent in England; for he not only placed the reins of government in her hands, but made her captain of all his forces,³ with the assistance of five of his nobles. She was likewise empowered to raise loans for the defence of the kingdom. The queen accompanied her royal lord to Dover, where she was invested with this high trust. "And then," says Hall, "the king took leave of the queen, and many of her ladies of their lords, which altogether made such sorrow, that it was a great dolor to behold. And so the king and all his army took ship the last day of June. The earl of Surrey, to whom had been confided the care of the north of England,

¹ See a most interesting account of his death in the Howard Memorials. Mr. Howard, of Corby, is in possession of the cup, which is at once a memorial of that most extraordinary Englishman Thomas à Becket, of one of our earliest admirals, and of Katharine of Arragon, one of our most virtuous queens. For description of it, see vol. i., Life of Eleanora of Aquitaine.

² The king invested his naval captains with this insignia, as may be proved from the narrative by sir Peter Carew of the loss of the *Mary Rose*, commanded by his brother sir George. "And first the king had secret talks with the lord admiral, and then with sir George Carew. The king took his chain from his neck with a great whistle of gold, and did put it about the neck of sir George." This happened not above an hour before sir George went on board; a few minutes after the *Mary Rose* heeled and went down, while her crew were in a state of mutiny. The gold chain and whistle is therefore, with the bones of sir George, still in the *Mary Rose*; and as the diving-bells are now bringing many curiosities from this antique wreck, this treasure may as well be sought for.

³ Rapin, vol. i. p. 752.

accompanied the queen home from Dover, comforting her as well as he might."

Katharine's letters, soon after her regency, begin to form interesting features of history ; she had at last made herself sufficiently mistress of the English language to express her thoughts, and issue her commands with clearness and decision. The following appears to be one of her earliest English letters, as it is avowedly written during the lifetime of her father. It relates to the misconduct of one of her Spanish attendants, and is addressed to Wolsey,¹ who was certainly the factotum of the royal family ; it appears to have been written on her homeward journey from Dover :—

"Mr. Almoner, touching Francesca de Casseris' matter, I thank you for your labor therein ; true it is she was my woman before she was married, but now, since she cast herself away, I have no more charge of her. For very pity to see her lost, I prayed you in Canterbury to find the means to send her home to her country. Now ye think, that with my letter of recommendation to the duchess of Savoy, she shall be content to take her into her service. This, Mr. Almoner, is not meet for her, for she is so perilous a woman that it shall be dangerous to put her in a strange house ; an' ye will do so much for me to make her go hence by the way, with the ambassador of the king, my father, it should be to me a great pleasure, and with that, ye shall bind me to you more than ever I was."

Here is benevolence, mingled with prudential forecast, arising from accurate judgment of character. She pities "the perilous woman, who has cast herself away," and wished that care might be taken of her, without danger of doing mischief in the household of another princess.

The situation of queen Katharine during her husband's absence was exactly similar to that of queen Philippa, when left regent by Edward III. Like Philippa, Katharine had to repel a Scottish invasion ; and it is no little honor to female government, that the two greatest victories won against the Scots, those of Neville's Cross and Flodden field, were gained during the administration of queens. Katharine's correspondence with Wolsey at this juncture is cheerful and friendly. She viewed the coming storm with intrepidity, worthy the daughter of that great and victorious

¹ Ellis's Letters ; first series. Wolsey, who was then a rising person, accompanied the king to France, ostensibly as his almoner, but in reality as his private secretary.

queen, Isabel of Castile, and only regrets that her removal nearer the seat of war will prevent her from hearing as speedily as usual of her husband's welfare. The following letter was written by her to Wolsey just a month before the invasion of the Scots:—

“MAISTER ALMONER:—

“I received both your letters by Coppinger and John Glyn, and I am very glad to hear how well the king passed his dangerous passage, the Frenchmen being present. . . . Ye be not so busy with the war as we be here encumbered with it,—I mean, touching mine own self, for going where I shall not so often hear from the king. All his subjects be very glad (I thank God) to be busy with the Scots, for they take it for pastime. My heart is very good to it, and I am horrible busy with making standards, banners, and badges.

“At Richmond, 13 day of August.

“KATHARINA THE QWENE.”

Henry won the battle of the Spurs,¹ August 16, 1513. It was a rout of cavalry at Guinegate, and was thus jestingly named by the French themselves, in satirical remembrance of the only weapons they used on that day. Henry VIII. sent to his queen an illustrious prisoner, Louis d'Orleans, duc de Longueville, taken at the skirmish of Guinegate, one of the few of the French chivalry who did not make an inglorious use of his spurs. It was Henry's wish that queen Katharine should entertain Longueville hospitably in her household, to which she had for some reason an objection, ostensibly the want of security; the letter addressed to Wolsey is extremely curious, as being interwoven with conciliatory passages, which the queen deemed needful to soothe some affronts the rising favorite had taken.

“QUEEN KATHARINE TO THOMAS WOLSEY.²

“September 2, 1513.

“Maister Almoner, I received your letter by the post, whereby I understand the coming of the duc [de Longueville], and how the king is content that he shall be in my household. Touching this matter, I have spoken with the council, to look and appoint what company shall be meet [proper] to attend on him. Here is none that is good for it but my lord Mountjoy, who now goeth to

¹ Sir Thomas Boleyn, sir John Seymour, and sir Thomas Parr, all knights of the king's household, and fathers of three of his succeeding queens, were engaged in this battle.—See Muster Roll, endorsed Order of the Army: Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist., vol. i. p. 1.

² Ellis's Historical Letters; third series, vol. i. p. 152.

Calais as chief captain of the 500 men. And for this cause, and also that I am not so well *accompanied* [guarded] as were convenient for his keeping here, it is thought by me and my council that it should be better the said due be (as soon as he cometh) conveyed to the Tower; specially as the Scots be so busy as they now be, and I looking for my departing every hour, it shall be a great encumbrance to me to have this prisoner here, seeing that, according to the king's mind, he must be conveyed to the Tower at my going forward. I pray you show this to the king, and with the next messenger send me an answer of his pleasure."

The queen meant by this passage her intended progress forward to the northern counties, that she might be near her army, mustering to meet the expected Scottish invasion.

"Mr. Almoner, I am sorry, knowing that I have been always so bound unto you, that now ye shall think that I am discontent without a cause, seeing that my servant asked no letter of you, nor brought none from me. The cause was, that two days before I wrote unto you by Coppinger, and this time I had no further thing to write, and with my servant's unwise demeanor I am nothing well content."

Thus did the royal Katharine condescend to soothe the jealousy of her husband's favorite, who had expressed uneasiness because her messenger had neither brought him a letter from her or asked for an epistle from him.

"For," continues the queen, "one of the greatest comforts that I have now is, to hear by your letters of the king's health, and of all your news; so I pray you, Mr. Almoner, to continue as hitherto ye have done, for I promise you that from henceforth ye shall lack none of mine, and before this ye shall have had many more, but that I think that your business scantly giveth you leisure to read my letters. From hence I have nothing to write to you more than I am sure the council informeth the king. Praying God to send us as good luck against the Scots as the king hath there.

"At Richmond, the 2d day of September.

"KATHARINE THE QWENE.

"To Maister Almoner."

The king was at this time besieging Terouenne, in concert with the emperor Maximilian, who was fighting under the English banners. Katharine alludes to this emperor, her family ally, in the following letter, which is her answer to a despatch of Wolsey's descriptive of the victory:—¹

"MAISTER ALMONER:—

"What comfort I have with the good tidings of your letter I need not write to you. The victory hath been so great, that I think none such hath ever been seen before. All England hath cause to thank God of it, and I specially, see-

¹ Ellis, first series.

ing that the king beginneth so well, which is to me a great hope that the end shall be like. I pray God send the same shortly; for if this continue so, still I trust in Him that everything shall follow thereafter to the king's pleasure and my comfort. Mr. Almoner, for the pain ye take to write to me so often, I thank you with all my heart; praying you to continue still sending me word how the king doeth, and if he keep still his good rule that he began. I think, with the company of the emperor, and with his good counsel, his grace shall not adventure himself too much, as I was afraid of before. I was very glad to hear of the meeting of them both, which hath been, to my seeming, the greatest honor to the king that ever came to prince. The emperor hath done everything like himself. I trust to God he shall be thereby known for one of the excellentest princes in the world, and taken for another man than he was before thought. Mr. Almoner, I think myself that I am so bound to him for my part, that in my letter I beseech the king to remember it."

The queen was at Richmond when she wrote this, August 25, 1513. She was preparing to make a pilgrimage to the Lady-shrine at Walsingham, in Norfolk, when the news of her Flodden victory reached her. The letter in which she announced it to Henry commences formally, but soon falls into the tender and familiar style of an affectionate wife:—

"SIR:—

"My lord Havard [Howard] hath sent me a letter open to your grace within one of mine, by the which you shall see the great victory¹ that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence, and for this cause it is no need herein to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking, this battle hath been to your grace, and all your realm, the greatest honor that could be, and more than should you win all the crown of France. Thanked be God of it, and I am sure your grace forgetteth not to do this; which shall be cause to send you many more such victories as, I trust, he shall do.

"My husband,—For hastiness with Rouge-crosse, I could not send your grace the piece of the king of Scotts' coat, which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your grace shall see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banners a king's coat. I thought to send himself to you, but our Englishmen would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have been in peace, than to have this reward. All that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surrey, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in burying the king of Scotts' body; for he hath written to me so. With the next messenger, your grace's pleasure may be herein known; and with this I make an end, praying God to send you home shortly; for, without this, no joy here can be accomplished, and for the same I pray. And now go I to Our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised so long ago to see. At Woburn,² xvi of September.

¹ From Patrick Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 76, and the gazette of the battle at the College-at-arms.

² Katharine was then abiding at her seat called the Honor of Amphill. She was probably visiting the neighboring abbey of Woburn when she wrote her letters.

"I send your grace herein a *bill* [a note], found in a Scottish man's purse, of such things as the French king sent to the said king of Scots to make war against you. Beseeching you to send Matthew hither, as soon as this messenger cometh to bring me tidings from your grace,

"Your humble wife and true servant,

"KATHARINE.

"1513."

Skelton, the poet-laureate of Henry VIII.'s court, composed verses of the most ungenerous exaltation over the fall of the Scottish monarch. In part of this poem he thus addresses the deceased king, in allusion to the absence of Henry:—

"Ye were stark mad to make a fray,
His grace being then out of the way.
Ye wanted wit, sir; at a word
Ye lost your spurs, ye lost your sword:¹
Ye might have boune to Huntley Branks,
Your pride was peevish to play such pranks."

He then breaks into the most vulgar taunts on the unconscious hero, "who laid cold in his clay."²

After the battle of Flodden, queen Katharine performed her vow of pilgrimage to the Walsingham shrine; she returned time enough to welcome the king, who landed privately at Dover the latter end of September, and rode post, *incognito*, to surprise the queen at Richmond, "where," observes Hall, "there was such a loving meeting that every one rejoiced who witnessed it." But notwithstanding this tender greeting, Henry had permitted his heart to wander from his queen during his absence, for it was during his sojourn at Calais in this campaign that he first saw the beautiful wife of Sir Gilbert Tailbois. This lady, after the death of her husband, bore Henry a son in 1519, to whom

¹ This assertion of Skelton shows that the sword of James was among the trophies of the field. It fell into the hands of lord Surrey, and after being long in possession of the Howard family, was sent by the directions of the unfortunate lord Stafford to the Herald's college, where it was shown to the author of this work by G. C. Young, Esq., York herald, together with the earl of Surrey's turquoise ring.

² The insulting neglect of the brave king of Scotland's remains was the first evil trait of character publicly shown by Henry VIII. Katharine had the corpse embalmed, to await the orders of her husband; therefore the fault rests not with her. Under pretence that he died under the pope's excommunication, it was left unburied many years in a lumber-room at Shene monastery, and appears never to have been decently committed to the earth.

he gave the name of Henry Fitzroy. For several years this was the only instance of Henry's infidelity to Katharine: his connection with lady Tailbois was carried on with little publicity. They met at a place devoted to Henry's pleasures, which he called Jericho, situated near Newhall, in Essex.

The French war concluded with a marriage between Louis XII. and the king's beautiful young sister Mary, whose heart was devoted to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Katharine accompanied the royal bride to Dover, October, 1514, and bade her an affectionate and tearful farewell; with Mary went, as attendant, Anne Boleyn, then a girl.

The November following the queen again became the mother of a living prince, but the infant died in a few days, to her infinite sorrow.¹ To celebrate her recovery, the king on New-year's night performed a ballet with the duke of Suffolk, and two noblemen and four ladies, all dressed in cloth of silver and blue velvet, after the mode of Savoy, the young and blooming duchess of Savoy being supposed to be in love with Suffolk. This mask entered the queen's presence by a great light of torches, and after dancing a long time, put off their vizors; and when they were known, the queen heartily thanked the king's grace for her good pastime, and kissed him. On the very day this ballet was danced the king of France died, and his lovely bride was left a widow after eighty-two days' marriage. In a short time she stole a match with the duke of Suffolk at Paris, who had been sent by the king to take care of her and her property. All the influence of queen Katharine, who called Wolsey to her assistance, was needful to appease the wrath of king Henry at the presumption of his favorite. The married lovers were, however, favorably received at Greenwich palace by the queen, and publicly married after the Easter of 1515. Suffolk bore as his motto, at the festival on this occasion, the well-known couplet he wrote on his marriage:—

"Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Though thou hast wedded cloth of frise."

The May-day after this royal love-match was distin-

¹ Hall, p. 572.

guished by a most picturesque and poetical festival, such as never more was witnessed in England. Katharine and the royal bride rode "a-maying" with the king, from the palace of Greenwich to Shooter's Hill. Here the archers of the king's guard met them, dressed like Robin Hood and his outlaws, and begged that the royal party "would enter the good green wood, and see how outlaws lived." On this, Henry, turning to the queen, asked her, "If she and her damsels would venture in a thicket with so many outlaws?" Katharine replied, "That where he went she was content to go." The king then handed her to a sylvan bower, formed of hawthorn-boughs, spring flowers, and moss, with apartments adjoining, where was laid out a breakfast of venison. The queen partook of the feast, and was greatly delighted with this lodge in the wilderness. When she returned towards Greenwich with the king, they met on the road a flowery car, drawn by five horses; each was ridden by a fair damsel. The ladies and their steeds personated the attributes of the spring. The horses had their names lettered on their head-gear, and the damsels theirs on their dresses. The first steed was *Caude*, or 'heat,' on him sat the lady *Humid*; the second was *Memeon*, on which rode the lady *Vert*, or 'verdure;' on the third, called *Phæton*, was the lady *Vegetive*; on the steed *Rimphon* sat the lady *Pleasaunce*; on the fifth, *Lampace*, sat lady *Sweet-odor*. In the car was the lady *May*, attended by *Flora*. All these damsels burst into sweet song when they met the queen at the foot of Shooter's Hill, and preceded the royal party, carolling hymns to the *May*, till they reached Greenwich palace. The amusements of the day concluded with the king and his brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, riding races on great coursers, which were like the Flemish breed of dray-horses. Strange races these must have been, but this is the first mention of horse-racing made in English history.¹

Katharine again became a mother, and this time her hopes were not blighted. She brought into the world a girl, February 18, 1516, who was likely to live. This infant was baptized *Mary*, after her aunt the queen of France. At the

¹ Hall, p. 582.

same time the death of the queen's father, Ferdinand of Arragon, took place, and solemn requiems were sung for him at St. Paul's. Nothing can show the disposition of Katharine, in its truly beautiful character, more than the motives which led to her intimacy with the daughter of Clarence. When Ferdinand demurred on the marriage of his daughter Katharine to prince Arthur, his excuse was, that while a male heir bearing the name of Plantagenet existed, the crown of England was not secure in the Tudor family. Whereupon Henry VII. had the innocent Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, led out to execution, without a shadow of justice. The conscience of the excellent Katharine was infinitely grieved at this murder, of which she considered herself the cause, though innocently so. As far as was in her power, she made every reparation to the relatives of the unfortunate son of Clarence. She cultivated the friendship of his sister, Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was in her household at Ludlow. She gave her infant Mary to be suckled by Katherine Pole, the relative of the countess; she treated her son Reginald Pole as if he had been her own, and it is said that she wished this gentleman to become her son-in-law.¹ The great talents of Reginald, his beauty and noble courage, distinguished him from all his brothers: he was, however, brought up to the church. Queen Katharine welcomed at her Greenwich palace queen Margaret (lately widow of James IV.), who had taken refuge with Henry VIII. from the troubles in Scotland. The Scottish queen brought her daughter by her second husband, the earl of Angus. This infant was a few months older than the princess Mary, and was in after-life her companion, being regarded with affection by king Henry, and usually treated as his favorite niece. Her name is of some consequence in history as lady Margaret Douglas.

The national jealousy of the Londoners regarding foreigners broke out into that formidable insurrection of the apprentices in London, which is called in our domestic history the 'Ill May-day' of 1517. There is no evidence that the queen unduly patronized foreigners, yet the popular

¹ Speed, 1040.

fury was directed against her countrymen. Several Spanish merchants' houses were sacked and burnt, and the inhabitants were murdered. The duke of Norfolk, who had been incensed by the recent murder of a priest of his household by the citizens, was sent to quell the uproar, and then proceeded to dispense martial law in the turbulent metropolis. This he did with such vengeance that great numbers of the unfortunate boys who had raised the riot were soon seen hanging over their masters' sign-posts. As several hundred apprentices remained captives to the vengeful duke, their mothers supposed all were to be immolated in the same manner. Calling together all their female relatives, they went to the palace, and with streaming eyes raised such a piteous wail for mercy, that the queen heard the cry of maternal agony in the retirement of her chamber. She summoned her sister-queens, Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France, to aid her; they flew with dishevelled hair to the king, and, kneeling before him, begged for pity on the misguided boys. Every one was struck with the benevolence of queen Katharine, because the rioters had directed their fury against her nation. This incident is commemorated to her honor in a ballad-poem of her times, which preserves many curious traits of that era.¹

“ ‘What if (she said) by Spanish blood
Have London's stately streets been wet,
Yet I will seek this country's good,
And pardon for their children get;

“ ‘Or else the world will speak of me,
And say queen Katharine was unkind,
And judge me still the cause to be,
These young men did misfortune find.'
And so disrobed of rich attires,
With hair unbound she sadly hies,
And of her gracious lord requires
A boon, which hardly he denies.

“ ‘The lives (quoth she) of all the blooms
Yet budding green (these youths) I crave;

¹ It is most likely by Churchyard, who was the contemporary of Katharine, and an *habitué* of her court.

Oh, let them not have timeless tombs,
 For nature longer limits gave.
 In saying so the pearled tears
 Fell trickling from her princely eyes,
 Whereat his gentle queen he cheers,
 And says, 'Stand up, sweet lady, rise.

"The lives of them I freely give,
 No means this kindness shall debar;
 Thou hast thy boon, and they may live
 To serve me in my Boulogne war.'
 No sooner was this pardon given,
 But peals of joy rang through the hall,
 As though it thundered down from heaven
 The queen's renown amongst them all.

"For which, kind queen, with joyful heart
 She heard their mothers' thanks and praise;
 And so from them did gently part,
 And lived beloved all her days.
 And at the siege of Tours,¹ in France,
 They showed themselves brave Englishmen;
 At Boulogne, too, they did advance
 St. George's lofty standard then.

"But ill May-day, and ill May-games,
 Performed in young and tender years,
 Can be no hindrance to their fames,
 Or stains of valor any ways.
 But now the watch, ordained by law,
 We see on May-day's eve at night
 Is kept, to fill the youth with awe,
 By London bands in armor bright."

The fact that Katharine brought the king five children has been disputed, but evidence exists in a letter written by Henry VIII. to his council² eighteen months after the birth of the princess Mary, in which he announces that the queen was likely to bring him an heir. Richard Pace soon after wrote to Wolsey that, after the king's return to Windsor, the queen met him at her chamber-door, and gave him information that confirmed his hopes; she soon after brought him a third son, who died as soon as he saw the light. After this disappointment, the king created Henry Fitzroy (the son he had by lady Tailbois) duke of Richmond, and owned him with a degree of parade which showed Katharine how earnestly desirous he was of male offspring. This circum-

¹ Perhaps Terouenne.

² State-Paper office, July 5, 1518.

stance seems to have given the queen more uneasiness than any jealousy ever occasioned by the boy's mother.

In the spring of 1520, queen Katharine had the satisfaction of welcoming in England her nephew, who afterwards made his name so illustrious as the emperor Charles V.; he was the eldest son of the insane queen Joanna, Katharine's sister, and was regent of Spain and possessor of Holland and the Low Countries: he had been recently elected emperor of Germany. According to bishop Godwin, the emperor arrived at Dover May 26th, on his return from Spain. Katharine awaited her nephew at the archbishop's palace at Canterbury, while Henry rode by torch-light to Dover castle, "where he arrived in the middle of the night, when the emperor, sea-weary, was fast asleep; but, being awakened with the bustle of the king's entrance into the castle, he rose and met him at the top of the stairs, where Henry embraced and welcomed him. The next morning the king brought the emperor to queen Katharine, who received him joyfully." After three days' banqueting at Canterbury, the emperor went to his navy at Sandwich, while Henry and Katharine embarked at Dover, the emperor having appointed a second meeting with them on the opposite coast.

Henry and Katharine, with their court, then proceeded to that congress with the king and queen of France, between Ardres and Guisnes, which has been called for its magnificence 'the field of cloth of gold,' and 'the golden camp.' Katharine had here the satisfaction of forming an intimacy with a royal lady, whose mind was a kindred one with her own; this was Claude queen of France, surnamed the Good. The chroniclers who dwell on this epoch notice that the queens of France and England visited each other every day in familiar intercourse. One morning, when cardinal Wolsey officiated at high mass before the assembled courts at Guisnes, the kings, Henry and Francis, received the eucharist as a pledge of the peace they so soon broke. When the cardinal advanced to the separate oratory where queen Katharine of England and queen Claude of France were kneeling side by side, these royal ladies, before they

communicated, tenderly embraced and kissed each other, in token of mutual amity and good-will. Katharine fully participated in all the tedious splendors of the 'field of gold,' for even the foot-carpet of her throne was embroidered with pearls. Lord Herbert declares that queen Claude certainly brought Anne Boleyn in her train as one of her maids of honor; but the presence of this young lady was as yet of no moment to the royal Katharine, although her mind had already been somewhat troubled by the coquetries of the other sister, Mary Boleyn, with king Henry. The emperor joined the congress of the 'camp of gold' towards its conclusion. Katharine and her court went to meet her imperial nephew at Gravelines, and he accompanied them to Calais. Henry invited him to a grand entertainment at that town, where an amphitheatre was built in imitation of a firmament. But an unfortunate storm happening the night of the festival, it blew out a thousand wax tapers, overturned the thrones erected for Henry, Katharine, and the emperor, and rendered the sun, moon, and stars unfit for use. The court looked grave, and began to whisper regarding the presumption of making a firmament. Notwithstanding this mishap, Katharine entertained her nephew for six days at Calais, till he departed to Gravelines mounted on a beautiful English horse, with a foot-cloth of gold-tissue bordered with precious stones, which Katharine had given him. The emperor Charles often spoke of his aunt's happiness, who was wedded to so magnificent a prince as Henry VIII.¹

While queen Katharine retained her place and influence, the career of improvement commenced which has ever since continued to progress in this country. With her name was connected the revival of horticulture in England. We use the term *revival*, because there is ample proof in the pages of Matthew Paris, Chaucer, and Lambarde, that many plants were cultivated in England which were totally lost after the long course of warfare, foreign and domestic, had agonized the land, and perverted her energetic population into mischievous destructives. The cherry-, the plum-, and

¹ Bishop Godwin's *Life of Henry VIII.*

the peach-tree, the laurel- and the bay-tree, are familiarly mentioned by the earlier historians, and by Chaucer; but they had vanished from the land in 1500, and had to be re-imported. When Katharine of Arragon wished for salads (an important article of food in Spain), the whole fair realm of England could not furnish one for her table, till king Henry sent for a gardener from Flanders to cultivate them for her. There were no carrots, and not an edible root grown; all the cabbages were imported from Holland; yet, as Edward II. was blamed for buying them from a Thames faggot-boat, it is evident that they were, in the thirteenth century, grown, as now, on the banks of the river. An old rhyme, often quoted, preserves the memory of the introduction of some other useful things:—

“ Hops and turkeys, carps and beer,
Came to England all in one year.”

Wherefore the hop was cultivated is rather enigmatical, since Henry VIII., who interfered in all the concerns of his subjects, from their religion to their beer-barrels, forbade them to put hops in their ale: perhaps the above sapient distich means to imply that malt-liquor was first called *beer* when brewed with hops. The rhyme is right enough regarding the turkeys, since they were first brought from North America by William Strickland,¹ the lieutenant to Sebastian Cabot, in the expeditions of discovery he undertook under the patronage of Henry VII. And this recalls to memory a curious article in the privy-purse expenses of that monarch:—“To the man in reward who found the new isle, 10*l.*”—‘The *man*’ was the illustrious Cabot; ‘the isle,’ Newfoundland. Scanty is the reward of the benefactors of the human race, dim are their records, “and few there be that find them;” while those of the destroyers are blazoned before all eyes.

¹ He was the founder of the Boynton branch of his paternal house; he was granted new armorial bearings, in remembrance of his American discoveries, by the style of Strickland of Boynton-on-the-Wold, Yorkshire, and assumed the turkey for his crest, instead of the warlike holly of the elder line. The representative of Cabot’s comrade is sir George Strickland, Bart., M.P. The portrait of this officer is still in good preservation at Boynton hall.

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON,

FIRST QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Person and manners of the king—Of the queen—Queen and Mary Boleyn—Cardinal Wolsey loses the queen's esteem—Queen's reception of Charles V.—Anne Boleyn—Failure of the queen's health—King's alienation from her—Divorce agitated—Steps taken by the queen—Queen deceived—Patient conduct—King's fear of the pestilence—Reunited to the queen—Arrival of cardinal Campeggio—Queen declines a conventual life—Rage of the king—Accuses her to his council—Legantine court—King's praises of the queen—Her interview with Wolsey and Campeggio—Appears before the legantine court—Her speech to the king—Appeal to Rome—Interview with the cardinals—Final parting with the king—Letters and autograph—Pope decides in her favor—Divorce by Cranmer—Illness—Degraded from title of queen—Her resistance—Residence at Bugden—Refuses to go to Fotheringay—Removed to Kimbolton—Her troubles regarding father Forrest—Her supplication—Her death-bed—Her farewell letter—Her will—Mourning—Place of interment—Relics at Kimbolton castle.

BEFORE the sad record of Katharine's sufferings is unrolled, let us present to the reader a description of her husband, ere his evil passions had marred his constitutional good-humor, and even his animal comeliness. It is drawn by Sebastiano Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, then resident in England. "His majesty is about twenty-nine years of age, as handsome as nature could form him above any other Christian prince,—handsomer by far than the king of France. He is exceedingly fair, and as well proportioned as possible. When he learned that the king of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow; which, being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of being of gold. He is an excellent musician and composer, an admirable horseman and wrestler. He possesses a good knowledge of the French, Latin, and Spanish languages, and is very devout. On the days on which he goes to the chase he hears

mass three times; but on the other days as often as five times. He has every day service in the queen's chamber at vespers and complin. He is uncommonly fond of the chase, and never indulges in this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. These are stationed at the different places where he purposes to stop. When one is fatigued he mounts another, and by the time he returns home they have all been used. He takes great delight in bowling, and it is the pleasantest sight in the world to see him engaged in this exercise, with his fair skin covered with a beautifully fine shirt. He plays with the hostages of France, and it is said they sport from 6000 to 8000 ducats in a day. Affable and benign, he offends no one. He has often said to the ambassador, he wished that every one was content with his condition, adding, 'we are content with our islands.'

Katharine was at this time thirty-four. The difference of years is scarcely perceptible between a pleasing woman of that age and a robust and active man of twenty-nine. In the portrait most commonly recognized as Katharine of Arragon, she appears a bowed-down and sorrow-stricken person, spare and slight in figure, and nearly fifty years old. But, even if that picture of Holbein really represents Katharine, it must be remembered that she was not near fifty all her life; therefore she ought not to be entirely identified with it, especially as all our early historians, Hall among them (who was present at the field of gold), mention her as a handsome woman. Speed calls her "beauteous," and sir John Russell, one of Henry's privy council, puts her in immediate comparison with the triumphant beauties Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, declaring,¹ she was not to be easily paralleled when in her prime. The Versailles portrait of Katharine of Arragon is almost a fac-simile of the one engraved for this biography, representing her as a serene-looking lady of thirty-three or four;² the face oval, the

¹ Lord Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 196, W. Kennet's edit.

² The miniature of Katharine of Arragon, lately sold at Strawberry hill, is one of this class of portraits, drawn for her when she was between thirty and forty, dressed in the costume of the pointed hood: it is exactly the same as Burnet's engraving. There is no doubt these Strawberry hill miniatures were part of the ancient royal collections, over which sir R. Walpole had full power.

features regular, with a sweet, calm look, but somewhat heavy, the forehead of the most extraordinary height,—phrenologists would say with benevolence greatly developed. Contrary to the general idea of Spanish ladies, Katharine had auburn hair and a light complexion. The hood cap of five corners is bordered with rich gems; the black mantilla veil depends from the back of the cap on each side, for she never gave up wholly the costume of her beloved Spain; clusters of rubies are linked with strings of pearl round her throat and waist, and a cordelière belt of the same jewels hangs to her feet. Her robe is dark-blue velvet, terminating in a graceful train bordered with fur; her sleeves are straight, with ruffles, and slashed at the wrists. Over them are great hanging sleeves of miniver fur, of the shape called *rebras*. She draws up her gown with her right hand; the petticoat is gold-colored satin, barred with gold. Her figure is stately, but somewhat column-like and solid. It realized very well the description of an Italian contemporary, who said that her form was *massive*. Our portrait is nearly similar in costume, but the resemblance in features to her nephew Charles V. is more decided.¹ There is a curious accessory peculiar to her era. She holds in one hand sprigs of lavender, for every one carried odoriferous herbs when pestilence was rife in the land, and in the reign of Henry VIII. it was seldom absent.

The routine of Katharine's life was self-denying. Her contemporaries held her in more estimation for her ascetic observances, than for her brightest practical virtues. She rose in the night to prayers, at conventual hours; she dressed herself for the day at five in the morning; beneath her regal attire she wore the habit of St. Francis, of the third order of which community she was an admitted member.² She was used to say, that she considered no part of her time so much wasted as that passed in dressing and

¹ Mr. Harding copied it from an original, in the possession of the Rev. C. E. Wylde, of Lambeth.

² The third order of St. Francis of Assisium, instituted in 1221 for those living in the world, either single or married; the members were not bound by any vow, but performed certain exercises of piety.

adorning herself. She fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and on the vigils of saints' days; she confessed at least weekly, and received the eucharist every Sunday; for two hours after dinner one of her attendants read to her books of devotion. Notwithstanding this rigorous rule of self-discipline, Katharine delighted in conversation of a lively cast; she often invited sir Thomas More to her private suppers with the king, and took the utmost pleasure in his society. The English were, for more than a century afterwards, very proud of queen Katharine's proficiency in needle-work, rich specimens of which, according to the domestic poet, Taylor, who wrote in the reign of James I., were shown in the royal apartments at the Tower:—

“I read that in the 7th king Henry's reign,
 Fair Katharine, daughter to the Castile king,
 Came into England with a pompous train
 Of Spanish ladies, which she thence did bring.
 She to the eighth king Henry married was
 (And afterwards divorced), where virtuously
 (Although a queen) yet she her days did pass
 In working with the needle curiously,
 As in the Tower, and places *moe* beside,
 Her excellent memorials may be seen,
 Whereby the needle's praise is dignified
 By her fair ladies and herself a queen.
 Thus, for her pains here, her reward is just:
 Her works proclaim her praise though she be dust.”

It may be observed, in Katharine's whole line of conduct, that she identified herself with the interests of England in all things, as if she had been a native-born queen. But she did not comply—and who can blame her?—with the customs of Englishwomen, who at that era scrupled not to accompany their husbands and brothers to cruel field-sports. The destructive excitement of seeing ferocious creatures, whether biped or quadruped, tearing their living prey, afforded no delight to the generous mind of Katharine. She pleaded that Spanish ladies were not brought up to mount on horseback and follow hawk and hound, when Henry expressed displeasure that she did not join him in his violent exercises;¹ nevertheless, she was willing to divert him by partaking in

¹ See letters of the French ambassador.

the amusements then reckoned among courtly accomplishments. For these attainments she was thus commended by a contemporary English versifier belonging to the court:—

“With stole¹ and with needle she was not to seek,
And other practisings for ladies meet,
For pastimes,—as tables, tric-trac and gleeek,²
Cards and dice.”

The great Erasmus, in some emphatic words addressed to Henry VIII., to whom he dedicated his Exposition of St. Luke, bears witness that the queen did not suffer these vain pursuits to divert her mind from duties:—“Your noble wife,”³ says he, “spends that time in reading the sacred volume which other princesses occupy in cards and dice.” The queen had expressed a wish to become the pupil of Erasmus in the Latin language, if he would have resided in England; he dedicated to her his treatise entitled Christian Matrimony, and always cited her as an example to her sex. He gives a brilliant list of the great and virtuous men who were patronized at the English court when Katharine presided as queen of Henry VIII., declaring the residence of the royal couple “ought rather to be called a seat of the Muses than a palace.” Erasmus added another sentence, which was wofully contradicted by Henry’s after-life:—“What household is there, among the subjects of their realms, that can offer an example of such united wedlock? Where can a wife be found better matched with the best of husbands?” The conduct of a man is almost invariably influenced by the moral qualities of the woman who has his heart in her keeping; and as Henry deserved these encomiums in a season of life so trying that even the prophet of God prays that “the sins of youth” may not be reckoned against him, can we believe that women of equal worth had his moral guidance in the meridian and decline of life?

For the first time in her life Katharine had, after her return from France, manifested some symptoms of jealousy,

¹ The fabric, satin or cloth, on which she worked.

² Chess, backgammon, and whist.

³ To the great honor of Erasmus, this panegyric occurs after Katharine’s misfortunes began.

which was excited by Henry's admiration for Mary Boleyn.¹ She reasoned with the young lady,² and brought her to confession that she had been in fault; court scandals declare she acknowledged her guilt to the queen, but this is scarcely consistent with the disinterested love Mary then cherished for an honorable gentleman at court, whom she directly after married. Sir Thomas Boleyn renounced Mary as his daughter because she persisted in marrying this lover, whose name was William Carey.³ He was a younger brother and wholly without fortune, yet he was a near kinsman of king Henry by descent from the Beauforts. In all probability the discussion between the queen and Mary Boleyn led to the result of that young lady marrying the man she loved; for if king Henry had provided his kinsman as a husband to rid him of Mary Boleyn, would he not have rewarded him so amply as to have satisfied her father? Instead of which, it is incontestable, from Henry's own statement (which will be subsequently quoted), that the young pair were destitute. Mary Boleyn's marriage took place January 31, 1521. The court were present, and there is every reason to believe that the queen made the usual offerings at the altar.

The duke of Buckingham, whose sad tragedy takes fatal precedence in the long list of executions in the reign of Henry VIII., had been one of Katharine's earliest friends in England, and they were always on terms of amity. He ordered a costly present to be prepared for her against New-year's day, 1520,⁴ being a large pomander or globe of gold, perforated, and formed to open and enclose a ball of perfumed paste. The pomander had the king and queen's

¹ Cardinal Pole speaks repeatedly of the passion of Henry for Mary Boleyn; he supposes her guilty from the scandals abounding at court, but a letter written by Mary (which we shall have occasion to quote) goes very far to prove her innocence.

² Sanders affirmed she had confessed her guilt to the queen.—See Burnet, vol. i. p. 260.

³ For sir Thomas Boleyn's opposition, see Love-letters of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. For Carey's illustrious descent, see Milles's Catalogue of Honor; articles Boleyn and Beaufort. Carey is named as of Henry's privy-chamber in a list of his household in 1522.—Rutland Papers, p. 102; Camden Society.

⁴ Ellis's Historical Letters; third series, vol. i. 221.

badges embossed thereon, and was suspended by a gold chain to hang at the queen's girdle. This jewel was presented to her majesty by Buckingham's confidential servant, Mr. Scott. Queen Katharine and cardinal Wolsey had lived in the greatest harmony till this time, when his increasing personal pride urged him to conduct which wholly deprived him of the queen's esteem. One day, the duke of Buckingham was holding the basin for the king to wash, when it pleased the cardinal to put in his hands. The royal blood of the duke rose in indignation, and he flung the water in Wolsey's shoes, who, with a revengeful scowl, promised Buckingham "that he would sit on his skirts." The duke treated the threat as a joke, for he came to court in a jerkin; and being asked by the king the reason of this odd costume, he replied, that "it was to prevent the cardinal from executing his threat, for if he wore no skirts they could not be sat upon." As Wolsey could find no crime to lay to the charge of Buckingham, he had recourse to the example of the preceding century, and got up among other charges an accusation of treasonable sorcery against the high-spirited noble, which speedily brought his head on the block. The just and generous queen, after uselessly pleading for him with the king, did not conceal her opinion of Wolsey's conduct in the business.

The next year her nephew, the emperor, paid a long visit at her court, the secret object of which was to excite a war against France. He landed at Dover, and came with king Henry by water to Greenwich palace, where Katharine then was. The queen received him standing at the hall-door, holding the princess Mary by the hand. Charles bent his knee and craved his aunt's blessing, which she gave him, perhaps in the character of mother-in-law, for his ostensible errand was to betroth himself with her daughter Mary, a little girl of six years old.¹ The emperor stayed six weeks in England. During his visit a bon-mot of his was circulated at court, which obtained for himself and his aunt the active enmity of Wolsey. When Charles heard of the execution of Buckingham, he said, in allusion to Wolsey's

¹ Hall.

origin and Buckingham's title, "Then has the butcher's dog pulled down the fairest buck in Christendom."¹

Queen Katharine passed the Christmas holidays of 1523 at Eltham palace, where Longland, bishop of Lincoln, undertook to show and explain to her the noble foundation of Christ's college, Oxford, just then established by cardinal Wolsey. It was the eve of the Epiphany, the queen's dinner was done, when the bishop (who is well known in history as the king's confessor) entered with the other lords into the queen's chamber. Henry himself, with Katharine, approached the place where bishop Longland stood, and said to her these words:—"Madame, my lord of Lincoln can show of my lord cardinal's college at Oxford, and what learning there is and shall be."—"And so the king departed, and I," wrote the bishop to Wolsey,² "showed the queen's grace the effect of all, and what great good should come of the same, likewise in the exposition of the Bible; and expressed to her grace the number of the house, the divine service of your college, and of the great suffrages of prayer ye have made her participant of." Wolsey had not been in favor with queen Katharine since the death of the duke of Buckingham, but he took the opportunity of thus informing her, by his friend, that she was particularly prayed for in the chapel of his new college. The queen was mollified by an attention which came home to her Catholic predilections. "I thank my good lord," she said, "for his remembrance, and that it please him for to make me *partivor* of that good prayers." Here is a little instance of Katharine's broken English,—perhaps quoted on purpose to prove to Wolsey that the conversation had taken place. The queen "was joyous and glad to hear of this notable foundation and college, speaking great honor of the same."

The war with France, which followed the emperor's visit to England, occasioned the return of Anne Boleyn to her native country,³ when she received the appointment of maid

¹ Godwin and Speed.

² Cott. MS., Vit. B v. f. 8, printed in Ellis's Historical Letters, vol. i. p. 182; letter of Longland to Wolsey.

³ Lord Herbert, confirmed by Dr. Lingard, vol. v. p. 110.

of honor to queen Katharine, of whose court she became the star. The queen rejoiced much at the triumphs of her nephew Charles V. in Italy over Francis I. Just before the disastrous battle of Pavia, news-letters were brought to her court from Pace, the king's envoy, which anticipated a signal reverse to the French. "The king," says sir Thomas More in a letter to Wolsey, "fell merrily to reading the letters of maister Pace, the contents of which highly contented him; and forthwith he declared the news on every material point, which he well noted, reading aloud to the queen's grace and those about him, who were marvellous glad to hear it." Queen Katharine, with some national pride, observed, "I am glad the Spaniards have done somewhat in Italy, in return for their departure out of Provence."¹ The court was at that time, November, 1524, at Hereford castle, where king Henry was planning a match between young Mr. Broke and one of queen Katharine's maidens.

The recent passion of Henry for Mary Boleyn probably blinded the queen to the fact that he had transferred his love, with increased vehemence, to her more fascinating and accomplished sister. His love for Anne Boleyn was nevertheless concealed even from its object, till his jealousy of young Percy caused it to be suspected by the world. Meantime, the queen's health became delicate, and her spirits lost their buoyancy. Her existence was in a very precarious state from 1525 to 1526. Probably the expectation of the queen's speedy demise prevented the king from taking immediate steps for a divorce after he had separated Anne Boleyn and young Percy. Katharine herself thought the end of her life was near. This is apparent in a letter she wrote to Wolsey, concerning the settlement in marriage of one of her ladies, who had been very attentive to her during her long affliction:—

"MY LORD:—

"It hath pleased the king to be so good lord unto me as to speak unto Arundel,² the heir, for a marriage to be had between him and one of my maids; and

¹ Original Letters, edited by sir Henry Ellis, vol. i. p. 254.

² Cavendish mentions Thomas Arndel as one of the gentlemen of cardinal

upon this I am agreed with him, having a sum of money which, being offered unto him, he shall make her sure jointure during her life, the which she cannot be sure of without the license and good will of his father, being on *live* [alive]. For the which cause I heseech you to be good and gracious lord to the said Arundel for business which he hath now to do before you, to the intent that he may have time to go to his father, and make me sure of her jointure in this present term time.

“And if this be *painful* [inconvenient] to you, I pray you, my lord, pardon me, for the *uncertainty of my life* and the goodness of my woman causeth me to make all this haste, trusting that she shall have a good husband and a sure living; and if *God would call me the next day after*, the surer it shall appear before him that I intend to help them that he good, and taketh labor doing me service. And so I make an end, recommending me unto you.

“KATHARINE THE QWENE.

“At Ampthill, the xxv day of January.”

Katharine is scarcely mentioned in history from 1525 to 1526, which time she passed in lingering malady, and to this period certainly belongs the above letter, in which she shows her usual gratitude and consideration for those who had served her. The style of the letter is different from the confidential manner of those she formerly wrote to Wolsey, yet it is in a far more friendly strain than she would have indited to him after the events which took place in the year 1527, when the king's long-meditated divorce from her was publicly agitated¹ by Wolsey's agency. The first indications of the king's intentions were his frequent lamentations to his confessor, Dr. Longland, that his conscience was grieved by his marriage with his brother's widow, mixed with regrets for the failure of male offspring, and of the queen's hopeless state of ill health. Wolsey's enmity to the queen and her nephew caused him to be an inciter of the divorce; he had always, for the promotion of his power, kept a circle of court spies about Katharine, and all his insidious arts were redoubled at this juncture. “If the queen was intimate with any lady, to that person he was familiar in conversation and liberal in gifts, in order to make her reveal all she said and did. . . . I know one

Wolsey's privy-chamber, hence the queen's request of leave of absence for him: the name of the queen's lady does not occur. The letter, in its original orthography, is printed in the *Retrospective Review*, 502.

¹ Charles V. was aware in 1525 or 1526 that the king meant to divorce his aunt.

lady," adds Tindal, the celebrated scriptural translator, "who left the court for no other reason than that she would no longer betray her majesty." As a means of introducing the subject of the invalidity of his marriage with Katharine to his privy council, Henry asserted that, at Easter, 1527, the French ambassador, being the bishop of Tarbes, had questioned the legitimacy of the princess Mary.¹ Of course the most confidential of the king's advisers suggested cautiously the expediency of a divorce. These particulars came to the queen's ears about a month after, but how, notwithstanding all the activity of their spies, neither Henry nor Wolsey could ever tell. That she took prompt measures in this exigence is apparent in a curious series of letters from Wolsey to the king, dated from July 1 to 19, 1527. From them may be gathered that the queen despatched her faithful servant, Francis Phillipps, to Spain, to consult her nephew; but Wolsey took care to have him intercepted. "He feigns to go," says Wolsey, "to visit his mother, now sickly and aged; but your highness taketh it surely in the right, that it is chiefly for disclosing your secret matter² to the emperor, and to devise means and ways how it may be impeached. Wherefore your highness hath right prudently devised, so that his passage into Spain should be letted and stopped; for if the said matter should come to the emperor's ears, it should be no little hinderance to your grace's particulars: howbeit, if he pass by sea, there can be nothing devised."

While the king and his minister were thus employed circumventing, by base underhand expedients, the friendless queen's natural right to consult her relative, she made no mystery of her resolution to appeal to legal means of defending her cause. She laid her case before her confessor, bishop Fisher, and retained him as her counsel, in case the ecclesiastical inquiry should take place. After these requisite precautions, she discussed the whole matter with her husband: her manner of doing so is thus described by the

¹ State-Papers, Wolsey's letter to the king, vol. i. pp. 194, 196, 198, 220, for these particulars; but there is not the least evidence that the bishop of Tarbes ever acted in this manner.

² The divorce.

pen of Wolsey in one of his letters at this epoch, written during his journey to Dover, when he went on an embassy to France:—"The first night," says he, "I lodged at sir John Wiltshire's house, where met me my lord of Canterbury [archbishop Warham], with whom, after communication on your grace's secret matter, I showed him that the knowledge thereof is come to the queen's grace, and how displeasantly she taketh it; and what your highness *hath done for the staying and pacification of her*, by declaring to her that your grace hath nothing intended nor done, but only for the searching and trying out the truth upon occasion given by the doubts moved by the bishop of Tarbes. And noting his countenance, gesture, and manner, I perceive he is not much altered from his first fashion;¹ expressly affirming that, however displeasantly the queen might take it, yet the truth and judgment of the law must have place. . . . He," adds Wolsey, "somewhat marvelled how the queen should come to the knowledge thereof, and by whom, thinking your grace might coustrain her to show her informers." Thus, from the best authority, it is plainly evident that Henry soothed the poor queen by hypocritical dissimulation, persuading her that the scruple of the bishop of Tarbes was the sole cause of the point being mooted, and that the ecclesiastical inquiry respecting the validity of her marriage was only instituted that it might never be questioned to the prejudice of their child. With such plausible explanation, Katharine, after a "short tragedy," rested tolerably well satisfied, and waited patiently for the good result promised by the king. To her rival (who was now well known at court to be such) she behaved with invariable sweetness. Once only she gave her an intimation that she was aware of her ambitious views. The queen was playing at cards with Anne Boleyn, when she thus addressed her:—"My lady Anne, you have the good hap ever to stop at a king; but you are like others, you will have all or none." By this gentle reproach queen Katharine, in some degree, vindi-

¹ Warham had from the first opposed the marriage in council. He was the most formidable of the opponents of Katharine because he was consistent throughout, and therefore it may be considered his opinion was a sincere one.

cates the honor of her rival, intimating that Anne Boleyn would be the king's wife or nothing to him. Cavendish, who records this pretty anecdote, likewise bears witness that the queen at this trying crisis "behaved like a very patient Grissel."

While matters remained in this state at court, a dismal pestilence¹ broke out in the metropolis, and, several of the royal household dying suddenly, the king, who had made such pathetic harangues regarding the pains he had in his conscience arising from his marriage with the queen, was now seized with a true fit of compunction.² Its symptoms were indicated by his sending Anne Boleyn home to her friends, and returning to the company and conversation of his queen, and sharing in her devout exercises. His recreations, during this quarantine, were compounding with his physician, Dr. Butts, spasmodic plasters, ointments, decoctions, and lotions. The recipe for one of these precious compositions was made public, for the benefit of England, under the name of "the king's own plaster." Moreover, the king made thirty-nine wills; and confessed his sins every day. Henry's penitence was precisely of the same nature as that described in some oft-quoted lines relative to his sable majesty "when sick:" the pest abated, the king's jovial spirits returned; he wrote love-letters perpetually to his beautiful favorite, and huffed away his wife. The cardinal-legate Campeggio having arrived to hold the court of inquiry regarding the validity of his marriage, he was once more elate with hope of long life and a new bridal. The representations of Wolsey to the pope had raised the idea at Rome that it was the wish of Katharine to retire from the world and devote herself to a religious life, leaving Henry at liberty to form a second marriage. There is little doubt that, from Katharine's ascetic habits, the king and his minister imagined she could be easily induced to take this step, from which, however, her duties as a

¹ Hall gives the date of this temporary return to Katharine (the particulars of which he dare not mention), by saying the pestilence broke out May, 1528; it continued through June.

² Ellis's Letters; first series, vol. i. p. 286.

mother wholly debarred her. Henry had not anticipated the slightest difficulty in the divorce; in fact, he was encouraged by more than one recent example. His sister the queen of Scotland had divorced her second husband the earl of Angus, and taken to herself a third spouse, whom she was afterwards anxious to dismiss for a fourth. Louis the XII. had previously discharged his wife, Jane of Valois, with little trouble.

When the legate Campeggio arrived in England in the autumn of 1628, Katharine, in an interview with him, became aware of the false impression the pontiff had received of her intentions. She immediately adopted a course of conduct which proved that she had no intention of religious profession; and this elicited a burst of vindictive fury from Henry, who at once threw aside the hypocritical mask he had worn, and permitted all the malice of his nature to blaze out in hideous colors. His obsequious council¹ "were informed," they said, "of a design to kill the king and the cardinal, in which conspiracy, if it could be proved the queen had any hand, she must not expect to be spared. That she had not shown, either in public or in the hours of retirement, as much love for the king as she ought; and now that the king was very pensive, she manifested great signs of joy, setting all people to dancing and other diversions. This she did out of spite to the king, as it was contrary to her temper and ordinary behavior. She showed herself much abroad, too, and by civilities and gracious bowing of her head (which was not her custom formerly), she sought to work upon the affections of the people. From all which the king concluded that she hated him. Therefore, as his council in their consciences thought his life was in danger, they advised him to separate himself from the queen, both at bed and board, and above all to take the princess Mary from her." To this paper, which is still in existence, there is appended a Latin note in the handwriting of Wolsey, purporting "that the queen was a fool to resist the king's will; that her offspring had not received the blessing of heaven; and that an abstract of the pope's

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

original bull of dispensation,¹ which she had sent for from Spain, was a forgery." This order of council was laid before the queen with the intention of frightening her into a convent. One sting the malice of her persecutors had inserted bitterer than death,—the separation from her child. But Katharine was not intimidated; the only effect it had was, that Wolsey heard her speak her mind on the subject of his conduct the first opportunity that occurred; and this came shortly.

On Sunday afternoon, the 8th of November, 1528, the king convoked all his nobility, judges, and council in the great room of his palace at Bridewell, and made a speech, which Hall declares he heard, and recorded as much "as his wit would bear away."² "If it be adjudged," said Henry, "that the queen is my lawful wife, nothing will be more pleasant or more acceptable to me, both for the clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions I know to be in her. For I assure you all that, besides her noble parentage, she is a woman of most gentleness, humility, and buxomness; yea, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility she is without comparison. So that if I were to marry again, I would choose her above all women. But if it is determined in judgment that our marriage is against God's law, then shall I sorrow parting from so good a lady and loving companion. These be the sores that vex my mind; these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, for the declaration of which I have assembled you together; and now you may depart." It was a strange sight to witness the effect this oration had upon the hearers: some sighed and said nothing; others were sorry to hear that the king was so troubled in his conscience; while many, who wished well to the queen, were grieved that the matter was thus far publicly opened.

Soon after, the two cardinal-legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, requested an interview of the queen at the same palace, to announce that they were about to hold a court of inquiry regarding her marriage. "Alas! my lords," an-

¹ Either by accident or design, the original instrument was not forthcoming in England.

² Hall, p. 754.

swered the queen,¹ "is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and no objection made before? Divers prelates and lords, privy councillors of the king, are yet alive, who then adjudged our marriage good and lawful; and now to say it is detestable is a great marvel to me, especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the natural affection my father, king Ferdinand, bare unto me. I think that neither of our fathers were so unwise and weak in judgment but they foresaw what would follow our marriage. The king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there obtained a dispensation that I, being the one brother's wife, might without scruple of conscience marry the other brother lawfully, which license, under lead [under leaden seal], I have yet to show, which makes me say and surely believe (as my first marriage was not completed) that my second is good and lawful. . . . But of this trouble," she continued, turning to cardinal Wolsey, "I may only thank you, my lord of York, because I ever wondered at your pride and vainglory, and abhorred your voluptuous life, and little cared for your presumption and tyranny; therefore of malice have you kindled this fire, especially for the great grudge you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom you hate worsor than a scorpion, because he would not gratify your ambition, by making you pope by force; and therefore have you said, more than once, you would trouble him and his friends,—and you have kept him true promise, for of all his wars and vexations, he may only thank you. As for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to by this new-found doubt God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause." Wolsey denied these charges, but the queen gave no credit to his protestations. He had, indeed, involved England in an unpopular war with the emperor, and, in order to gratify his private resentments, totally overlooked the earnest desire the English ever had to remain in close

¹ "These words," said Hall (p. 756), "were spoken in French, and written down by Campeggio's secretary, who was present, and then I translated them as well as I could."

commercial alliance with the Low Countries, then possessed by the queen's kindred. The English had gratefully and affectionately regarded Katharine as the link that united their interests with the opposite coast; and so unpopular was the idea of her divorce, that one of the king's agents, Dr. Wakefield, expressed some fear lest the people should stone him, if they knew he was concerned in divorcing the queen. The emperor Charles was deeply hurt at the turn affairs had taken;¹ he expressed his intention to afford all the protection in his power to his aunt, "who, he said, was an orphan and stranger in England. If the pope pronounced against her, he would bow to his decision; if in her favor, he would support her and her daughter as far as his ability would permit."

In the great hall of the palace at Blackfriars was prepared a solemn court; the two legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, had each a chair of cloth of gold placed before a table covered with rich tapestry. On the right of the court was a canopy, under which was a chair and cushions of tissue for the king, and on the left a rich chair for the queen. It was not till the 28th of May, 1529, that the court summoned the royal parties. The king answered by two proctors; the queen entered, attended by four bishops and a great train of ladies, and making an obeisance with much reverence to the legates, appealed from them, as prejudiced and incompetent judges, to the court of Rome. She then departed. The court sat every week, and heard arguments on both sides, but seemed as far off as ever in coming to any decision. At last the king and queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to attend the court in person on the 18th of June. When the crier called, "Henry, king of England, come into court," he answered, "Here," in a loud voice from under his canopy, and proceeded to make an oration on the excellence of his wife, and his extreme unwillingness to part from her, excepting to soothe the pains and pangs inflicted on him by his conscience. Then "Katharine, queen of England," was cited into court. The queen was already present, seated in

¹ Charles assented the English herald, sent to declare a most unprovoked war on him, that the whole strife was stirred up by Wolsey.

her chair of gold tissue ; she answered by protesting against the legality of the court, on the grounds that all her judges held benefices presented by her opponent. The cardinals denied the justice of her appeal to Rome on these grounds. Her name was again called : she rose a second time. She took no notice of the legates, but crossed herself with much fervor, and, attended by her ladies, made a circuit of the court to where the king sat, and knelt down before him, saying,¹ in her broken English :—" Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves there hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have some right and justice. Take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor stranger, born out of your dominions ; I have here no unprejudiced counsellor, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within your realm. Alas ! alas ! wherein have I offended you ? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure. I have been pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance ; I loved all those you loved, only for your sake, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. This twenty years have I been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of the world, which has been no fault of mine. I put it to your conscience whether I came not to you a maid ? If you have since found any dishonor in my conduct, then I am content to depart, albeit to my great shame and disparagement ; but if none there be, then I beseech you, thus lowly, to let me remain in my proper state. The king your father was accounted in his day as a second Solomon for wisdom ; and my father, Ferdinand, was esteemed one of the wisest kings that had ever reigned in Spain ; both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom and royal behavior. Also, as me-seemeth, they had in their days as learned and judicious counsellors as are at present in this realm, who then thought our marriage good and lawful ; therefore it is a wonder to me to hear what new inventions are brought up against me, who never meant aught but honestly. Ye cause me to stand to

¹ Cavendish, vol. i. p. 109.

the judgment of this new court, whercin ye do me much wrong if ye intend any kind of cruelty ; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, since your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me, as they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will. Therefore most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity and for the love of God, who is the just Judge of all, to spare me the sentence of this new court until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take ; and if ye will not extend to me this favor, your pleasure be fulfilled, and to God do I commit my cause."

The queen rose up in tears, and, instead of returning to her seat, made a low obeisance to the king and walked out of court. "Madame," said Griffiths, her receiver-general, on whose arm she leaned, "you are called back ;" for the crier made the hall ring with the summons, "Katharine, queen of England, come again into court." The queen replied to Griffiths, "I hear it well enough ; but on—on, go you on, for this is no court wherein I can have justice. Proceed, therefore." Sanders asserts that she added, "I never before disputed the will of my husband, and I shall take the first opportunity to ask pardon for my disobedience." But, in truth, the spirit of just indignation which supported her through the above scene is little consistent with such superfluous dutifulness to a husband who was in the act of renouncing her.

When the crier was tired of calling queen Katharine back into court, Henry, who saw the deep impression her pathetic appeal had made on all present, commenced one of his orations, lamenting "that his conscience should urge the divorce of such a queen, who had ever been a devoted wife, full of all gentleness and virtue." What could the members of his council (in whose memories the murderous accusations he had secretly brought against Katharine were fresh) have thought of the duplicity of his tongue ? But unblushing falsehood is a trait in Henry's character, which his domestic history can alone set in a proper light. It is supposed that a blunt, rough-spoken man is incapable of deceit, a mistake which causes the toleration of a good deal of ill behavior

in society. Henry VIII., the head of the order of bluff speakers, is a noted instance of the fallacy of this rule. At the request of cardinal Wolsey, the king then proceeded in his speech to exonerate him from having prompted the divorce, and declared that "the admonitions of his confessor had first raised the doubt in his mind,¹ together with the demurs of the French ambassador regarding the legitimacy of his only child." It has been affirmed by Hall, that it was the Spanish ambassador who first raised this doubt; but the king's silence on this head in his speech of vindication is sufficient proof of the falseness of this assertion.² The king, turning to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, added, "that on this doubt being raised, he had applied to him for license of inquiry, which was granted, signed by all the bishops." Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who was one of the queen's counsellors, declared he had not signed it. "Here is your hand and seal," replied the king. Fisher pronounced it "a forgery;" when archbishop Warham declared Fisher had permitted it to be signed for him. This Fisher firmly denied, saying, "If he wished it to be done, why could he not have done it himself?" Weary of the dispute, the king dissolved the court. From that moment Fisher, who had been the king's tutor, and was supposed to be much beloved by him, became the object of his deadly hatred, which pursued him to the scaffold, and even beyond it.

Katharine was again summoned before the court, June 25th; and on refusing to appear, was declared contumacious. An appeal to the pope, signed in every page with her own hand, was, however, given in, and read on her part. She likewise wrote to her nephew, declaring she would suffer

¹ Dr. Draycot (the chaplain of the king's confessor, bishop Longland) affirmed to sir Thomas More, that the bishop declared to him, that instead of his starting the point of the illegality of king Henry's marriage at confession, the king was perpetually urging it to him. Longland afterwards deeply repented having listened to the king in the matter.—Burnet, vol. iii.

² Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 33, acknowledges he was led into error by repeating this assertion, which is likewise made by Speed. The truth is, that the emperor had reproached Henry with offering him his young daughter in marriage, *when he knew he was meditating divorcing the mother, and declaring his child illegitimate*; it is a proof that the king's intentions were known to Charles V. before his marriage with his empress in 1525.

death rather than compromise the legitimacy of her child. The perplexed legates now paused in their proceedings: they declared that courts never sat in Rome from July to October, and that they must follow the example of their head. At this delay Anne Boleyn so worked upon the feelings of her lover that he was in an agony of impatience. He sent for Wolsey, to consult with him on the best means of bringing the queen to comply with the divorce. Wolsey remained an hour with the king, hearing him storm in all the fury of unbridled passion. At last Wolsey returned to his barge: the bishop of Carlisle, who was waiting in it at Blackfriars stairs, observed "that it was warm weather."—"Yea, my lord," said Wolsey, "and if you had been chafed as I have been, you would say it was *hot*." That night, by the time he had been in bed at Whitehall two hours, the earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, called him up, and desired him, in the name of the king, to repair instantly to Bridewell palace, that he might, in company with Campeggio, be ready to wait on the queen in the morning with proposals for a private accommodation. It is said that Wolsey was imprudent enough to rate the earl for his eagerness in the matter so soundly that he knelt by the bedside and wept bitterly all the time the cardinal was dressing himself.

Early that morning Wolsey and Campeggio came by water to Bridewell, and requested a private interview with the queen. She was at work with her maids, and came to them, where they awaited her in her presence-chamber, with a skein of red silk about her neck. She thanked them for their visit, and said "she would give them a hearing, though she imagined they came on business which required much deliberation and a brain stronger than hers. . . . You see," continued the queen, showing the silk, "my employment; in this way I pass my time with my maids, who are indeed none of the ablest counsellors; yet have I no other in England, and Spain, where there are those on whom I could rely, is, God knoweth, far off."—"If it please your grace," replied Wolsey,¹ "to go into your privy-cham-

¹ Cavendish, from whom this scene is taken.

ber, we will show you the cause of our coming."—"My lord," said the queen, "if you have anything to say, speak it openly before these folk, for I fear nothing that can be alleged against me, but I would all the world should see and hear it. Therefore speak your minds openly, I pray." Then began Wolsey to address her in Latin. "Pray, good my lord," replied the queen, "speak to me in English, for I can, thank God, speak and understand English, though I *do* know some Latin." Her attainments in Latin were great, but in this manner she spoke of her own acquirements.

Then Wolsey unfolded the king's message, which was to offer her everything she could name in riches and honors, and to place the princess Mary next in order of succession to the issue by the second marriage, if she would consent to the divorce. "My lord," returned the queen, "I thank you for your good will, but I cannot answer you suddenly, for I was set among my maids at work, little dreaming of such a visit, and I need counsel in a matter which touches me so nearly; but as for any in England, their counsel is not for my profit. Alas! my lords, I am a poor woman, lacking wit to answer persons of wisdom as ye be in so weighty a matter. Therefore, I pray you, be good unto me, a poor woman, destitute of counsel in a foreign land, and your advice I would be glad to hear."—"Upon this," says Cavendish, who was a witness of the scene thus far, "the queen went to her withdrawing-room with the legates, and remained there some time in earnest conversation. What passed no one knew, but accommodation of the dispute was as far off as ever." Yet it must be observed, that from this interview the queen gained over both legates to her cause; indeed they never would pronounce against her, and this was the head and front of the king's enmity to his former favorite Wolsey. That minister had assuredly encouraged the separation between the king and queen in its earlier stages, in hopes of marrying his master to the brilliant and noble-minded sister of Francis I., Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alençon. That admirable lady, when the reversion of king Henry's hand was mentioned to her, replied, "That if she had had no other objection, she knew

that listening to such a proposal would break the heart of queen Katharine; therefore she would none of it."

Wolsey now found that all the pains he had taken to injure Katharine, his once beneficent mistress and friend, was but to exalt Anne Boleyn, his active enemy. When the legantine court resumed its sittings, the king's counsel pressed the legates to give judgment. Campeggio now took the lead and positively refused, declaring their determination to refer the matter to the pontiff. This court, from which so much had been expected by the impatient king, was then dissolved. On this, the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, striking his hand so violently on the table that he made every one start, swore rudely that "No good had ever befallen England since cardinals came there." Wolsey retorted with spirit, "That if it had not been for one cardinal at least, the duke of Suffolk would have lost his head, and lost the opportunity of reviling cardinals at that time."

Queen Katharine was now taken from the palace of Bridewell by the king, who still remained her malcontent husband. The royal pair went on a progress together, and the bishop of Bayonne, in his letters, affirms that there was no apparent diminution of affection between the king and queen; although they were accompanied by Anne Boleyn, the queen showed no marks of jealousy or anger against her. The royal progress first tarried at the More, a royal manor in Hertfordshire, and then bent its course to Grafton, in Northamptonshire. Here Campeggio went to bid farewell to the king. Wolsey accompanied him, but was almost driven from the royal abode by the king's attendants. He had one interview with Henry,—it was his last.¹ Eustace Chapuys, otherwise Capucius, in his despatches of the autumn of 1530 to Charles V., his master, gives some intelligence respecting queen Katharine at this agonizing period. "The queen's ailment," says the ambassador, "continues as bad or worse than ever. † The king absents himself from her as much as possible, and is always here (at London) with the *lady* [Anne], whilst the queen is at Richmond.

¹ See the succeeding Life of Anne Boleyn.

He has never been so long without visiting her as now, but states, in excuse, that a death from the plague has taken place near her residence. He has resumed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun; this is, however, only lost time, for the queen will never take such a step. The continual uneasiness which she endures causes her to entreat your majesty, as well in my letters as yours, that her suit be brought to a final conclusion."¹ Katharine was sinking under the agony of hope deferred. Norfolk, Thomas Boleyn, and his daughter ruled all events; they were working the ruin of Wolsey, whom the queen pitied, although in the earlier stages of the divorce he had been ranked among her enemies. One of the ministers of Henry VIII., then on his way to Rome, Gregory Cassal, held some secret communication with queen Katharine, and by singular means. "Sire, within the last few days," writes Capucius to Charles V., "a present of poultry has been sent to the queen by the duchess of Norfolk, and with it an orange, in which was enclosed a letter from Gregory Cassal, which I deem proper to send to your majesty. The queen thinks the duchess of Norfolk sent this present of her own accord, and out of the love she bears her, but I fear it was done with the knowledge of her husband; at all events, this seems to open a way for the queen to communicate secretly."² The truth was, the most furious dissensions raged between the duke of Norfolk and his wife: if he championed the king and Anne Boleyn, she was likely to take the opposite side of the question. The divorce excited the greatest interest among all sorts and conditions of persons in England. The women, from high to low, took the part of the queen; while unmarried men, or those on whom the marriage-yoke sat heavily, were partisans of Henry. That Christmas the king and queen passed at Greenwich, and the usual festivities of masks and banquets took place. Henry caressed the princess Mary with more than his usual tenderness, and Katharine was treated with the respect due to the queen of England. All this was to induce her to withdraw her appeal

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by William Bradford, M.A., p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322, 323. November 27, 1530.

³ Hall. Speed.

from Rome, and submit her cause to the decision of any four prelates or secular lawyers in England. Katharine refused to authorize this proceeding; the king in sullen anger broke up all the court diversions, and retired, after Easter, to Whitehall, a palace he had just forced from Wolsey belonging to the see of York.

The queen was residing at Greenwich, Whitsuntide, 1531, when the king sent to her a deputation from his council, announcing that he had, by the advice of Dr. Cranmer, obtained the opinions of the universities of Europe concerning the divorce, and found several which considered it expedient; he therefore entreated her, for the quieting of his conscience, that she would refer the matter to the arbitration of four English prelates and four nobles. The queen received the message in her chamber, and thus replied to it:—"God grant my husband a quiet conscience; but I mean to abide by no decision excepting that of Rome."¹ The king heard her determination with gloom and fury. He accompanied the queen to Windsor after the festival of Trinity, 1531; but on the 14th of June he left the royal castle, and sent to Katharine imperious orders to depart from thence before his return. "Go where I may," was the reply of the forsaken queen, "I am his wife, and for him will I pray!" She immediately retired from Windsor castle, and never again beheld her husband or child. Her first abiding-place was her manor of the More, in Hertfordshire; she then settled at Amptill, whence she wrote to pope Clement, informing him of her expulsion from her husband's court.

Katharine had hitherto been the princess Mary's principal teacher in the Latin language: she was now separated from her, but more intent on her benefit than desirous of saddening her young heart with complaints of wrongs, she wrote the following sensible letter, recommending attention to her studies under her new tutor, Dr. Featherstone:—²

¹ Hall.

² There is reason to suppose this tutor of Mary was afterwards put to death by Henry at that dreadful execution in Smithfield, where Abell, one of Katharine's chaplains, and two Catholics were butchered, according to their doom, for

"DAUGHTER:—

"I pray you think not that forgetfulness has caused me to keep Charles so long here, and answered not your good letter, in the which I perceive ye would know how I do. I am in that case, that the absence of the king and you troubleth me. My health is metely good; and I trust in God that he, who sent it me, doth it to the best, and will shortly turn all to come with good effect. And in the mean time I am very glad to hear from you, especially when they show me that ye be well amended. I pray God to continue it to his pleasure.

"As for your writing in Latin, I am glad that ye shall *change from me* to maister Federston, for that shall do you much good to learn from him to write right; but yet sometimes I would be glad, when ye do write to maister Federston of your own inditing, when he hath read it that I may see it, for it shall be a great comfort to me to see you keep your Latin, and fair writing and all. And so I pray to recommend me to my lady of Salisbūry. At Woburn, this Friday night.

your loving mother
Katharina the queen

While yet resident at Ampthill, Katharine wrote to her daughter another letter full of excellent advice, praying her to submit to her father's will. The wise queen justly considered that if Mary did not exasperate her father, he would, at one time or other, acknowledge her rights as a child; and, at her teuder age, her opinion on the divorce could be of no moment. At the conclusion of this letter, the queen desires to be remembered to her dear good lady of Salisbury, Mary's governess; "tell her," adds the pious Katharine, "that to the kingdom of Heaven we never come but through many troubles."¹ Another letter of the queen was written to Cromwell on occasion of having heard news that the princess was ill. Katharine sues thus humbly to Henry's agent for permission to see her child, saying, that "A little comfort and mirth she would take with me would

treason; and, at the same time, the pious Dr. Barnes and two Protestants were burnt alive.

¹ Hearne's Sylloge. The letter, like some others written when she was sojourning at Ampthill, is dated Woburn.

be a half-health to her. For my love let this be done." Yet this maternal request was cruelly refused.

At this juncture pope Clement addressed a private letter of exhortation to Henry, advising him to take home queen Katharine and put away "one Anna," whom he kept about him. A public instrument from Rome soon followed this exordium, which confirms the legality of Henry and Katharine's marriage, and pronounced their offspring legitimate. At first the king was staggered, and resolved to suspend his efforts to obtain the divorce. Cromwell offered his advice at that critical moment to separate the English church from the supremacy of Rome, and at the same time to enrich the king's exhausted finances by the seizure of church property. The consequences of this stupendous step fill many vast folios devoted to the mighty questions of contending creeds and differing interests,—questions which must be left undiscussed here; the object of these unambitious pages is but to trace its effects on one faithful feminine heart, wrung with all the woes that pertain to a forsaken wife and bereaved mother. The death of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, in 1532, and the appointment of the king's esteemed theologian, Dr. Cranmer, in his place, gave a prospect of the conclusion of the long-agitated question of the divorce. The king resolved to cut the Gordian knot of his wedlock by a decision pronounced under his own supremacy. He therefore married Anne Boleyn in the commencement of the following year.

Insurrections and tumults were raised in many parts of the kingdom against the king's marriage with "Nan Bullen," as she was irreverently styled by the common people. If the queen had not been the great and good woman she was, she might have given her faithless husband and triumphant rival no little uneasiness by heading a party with her daughter, especially as the court of Rome had pronounced her marriage good and her offspring legitimate. The house of commons had declared in her favor by presenting a petition, moved by one of their members named Tems, requesting the king to take home queen Katharine.¹ The first step Cranmer took as archbishop of Canterbury was to address

¹ Lord Herbert, p. 156 (W. Kennet).

a letter to the king, requesting permission to settle the question of the divorce. An archiepiscopal court was accordingly held at Dunstable, six miles from the queen's residence. Here Katharine was repeatedly cited to appear, but she carefully avoided giving the least sign of recognition that such tribunal existed. Finally, she was declared contumacious; and the sentence that her marriage was null and void, and never had been good, was read before two notaries in the Lady-chapel of Dunstable priory.¹ Leave was given both to Katharine and the king to marry elsewhere if they chose. On the day after Ascension-day, May 23, 1533, this important decision was pronounced.²

Sorrow had made cruel havoc in the health of the hapless queen while these slow drops of bitterness were distilling. When lord Mountjoy, her former page, was deputed to inform her that she was degraded from the rank of queen of England to that of dowager-princess of Wales, she was on a sick-bed: it was some days before she could permit the interview, which is thus reported by Mountjoy:—"Thursday, July 3d. She commanded her chamberlain should bring into her privy-chamber as many of her servants as he could inform of her wishes: 'for,' she said, 'she thought it a long season since she saw them.' Her grace was then lying upon her pallet, because she had pricked her foot with a pin, so that she might not well stand or go, and also sore annoyed with a cough. Perceiving that many of her servants were there assembled, who might hear what should be said, she then demanded, 'Whether we had our charge to say by mouth or by writing?' We said, 'Both.' But as soon as we began to declare and read that the articles were addressed to the princess-dowager, she made exception to that name, saying, she was 'not princess-dowager, but the queen, and, withal, the king's true wife,—had been crowned and anointed queen, and had by the king lawful issue; wherefore the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her lifetime.'" ³ It was in vain that

¹ Lord Herbert, p. 163 (W. Kennet).

² Ibid.

³ State-Papers of Henry VIII.; published under a royal commission of William IV., part i. pp. 397-402.

Mountjoy and his coadjutors alternately offered bribes and used threats. Katharine remained firm in her determination; she treated all offers of augmentation to her income with queenly contempt. They proceeded to tell her, if she retained the name of queen, she would (for a vain desire and appetite of glory) provoke the king's highness, not only against her whole household, to their hinderance and undoing, but be an occasion that the king should withdraw his fatherly love from her honorable and dearest daughter, the lady princess Mary, which ought to move her if no other cause did.

This was the first time threats had been aimed at the daughter, in case the mother continued impracticable. Katharine still continued unsubdued; she answered, "As to any vainglory, it was not that she desired the name of a queen, but only for the discharge of her conscience to declare herself the king's true wife, and not his harlot, for the last twenty-four years. As to the princess her daughter, she was the king's true child; and as God had given her unto them, so, for her part, she would render her again to the king as his daughter, to do with her as should stand with his pleasure, trusting to God that she would prove an honest woman; and that neither for her daughter, her servants, her possessions, or any worldly adversity, or the king's displeasure, that might ensue, would she yield in this cause to put her soul in danger; and that they should not be feared that have power to kill the body, but He only that hath power over the soul." Katharine then exerted her queenly authority by commanding the minutes of this conference to be brought to her, and drew her pen through the words "princess-dowager" wherever they occurred. The paper still remains in our national archives with the alterations made by her agitated hand. She demanded a copy, that she might translate it into Spanish; and the scene concluded with her protestations that she would "never relinquish the name of queen." Indeed, the implicit obedience Henry's agents paid her, even when these came to dispute her title, proved how completely she was versed in the science of command. Her servants had been summoned

by Mountjoy to take an oath to serve her but as princess of Wales, which she forbade them to do; therefore many left her service, and she was waited upon by a very few, whom the king excused from the oath.

The same summer, her residence was transferred to Bugden (now called Buckden), a palace belonging to the bishop of Lincoln, four miles from Huntingdon. Her routine of life is most interestingly described in a curious manuscript of Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, a contemporary, whose testimony is well worth attention, because it shows that the great and excellent Katharine continued to view her rival, Anne Boleyn, in the same Christian light as before, even in the last consummation of her bitterest trials, considering her as an object of deep pity rather than resentment. Katharine thus displays the highest power of talent bestowed on the human species, an exquisite and accurate judgment of character. Most correctly did she appreciate both Henry and his giddy partner. "I have credibly heard," says Dr. Harpsfield, "that, at a time of her sorest troubles, one of her gentlewomen began to curse Anne Boleyn. The queen dried her streaming eyes, and said, earnestly, 'Hold your peace! Curse not—curse her not, but rather pray for her; for even now is the time fast coming when you shall have reason to pity her and lament her case.' And so it chanced indeed. . . . At Bugden," pursues Harpsfield, "queen Katharine spent her solitary life in much prayer, great alms and abstinence; and when she was not this way occupied, then was she and her gentlewomen working with their own hands something wrought in needlework, costly and artificially, which she intended, to the honor of God, to bestow on some of the churches. There was in the said house of Bugden a chamber with a window that had a prospect into the chapel, out of the which she might hear divine service. In this chamber she enclosed herself, sequestered from all other company, a great part of the night and day, and upon her knees used to pray at the same window, leaning upon the stones of the same. There were some of her gentlewomen who curiously marked all her doings, and reported that oftentimes they found the said

Middleham Castle, in **Dorkshire**

*Favorite residence of Richard III and his queen, Anne
of Warwick*

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stones, where her head had reclined, wet as though a shower had rained upon them. It was credibly thought that, in the time of her prayer, she removed the cushions that ordinarily lay in the window, and that the said stones were imbrued with the tears of her devout eyes when she prayed for strength to subdue the agonies of wronged affections."

The queen regained in some degree her cheerfulness and peace of mind at Bugden, where the country people began to love her exceedingly. They visited her frequently out of pure respect, and she received the tokens of regard they daily showed her most sweetly and graciously.¹ Her returning tranquillity was interrupted by archbishop Lee and bishop Tunstal,² who came to read to her six articles, showing why she ought to be considered only as prince Arthur's widow, and that she ought to resign the title of queen. "We admonished her, likewise," they declared in their despatch to Henry, "not to call herself your highness's *wief*; for that your highness was discharged of that marriage made with her, and had contracted new marriage with your dearest *wief* queen Anne, and forasmuch (as thanked be God) fair issue has already sprung of this marriage, and more is likely to follow by God's grace." The last remnant of Katharine's patience gave way at this tirade: in a climax of choler and agony she vowed, "she would never quit the title of queen, which she would persist to retain till death, concluding with the declaration that she *was* the king's wife and not his subject, and therefore not liable to his acts of parliament." A great historian³ most aptly remarks, "that Henry's repudiated wife was the only person who could defy him with impunity: she had lost his love, but never forfeited his esteem." The queen, in the midst of these degradations, retained some faithful friends, and had many imprudent partisans. Reginald Pole, whom she loved with a mother's tenderness, had passionately espoused her cause long before it had occasioned the division from Rome. The ladies of Henry's court exerted their eloquence in conversa-

¹ Harpsfield; likewise Burnet, vol. i. p. 184.

² State-Paper office, dated May 21st, Huntingdon. This must have been in the transactions of 1534.

³ Dr. Lingard.

tion so warmly against the divorce and the exaltation of Anne Boleyn, that the king sent two of the most contumacious to the Tower. One of these (and the fact is remarkable) was lady Rochford,¹ who had been lady of the bed-chamber to Katharine, and was the wife of Anne Boleyn's brother. But the most troublesome of the queen's partisans was Elizabeth Barton, an epileptic nun, called the 'holy maid of Kent,' who mixed the subject of the divorce and Katharine's name with the dreams of her delirious somnambulism. Henry's mortal vengeance soon fell on the poor woman and several of her followers, who mistook her for a prophetess. This affair, for lack of other matter, was made an excuse of accusing sir Thomas More, who had only spoken to the epileptic to remonstrate with her and her followers on their follies.

A reign of terror now ruled the shuddering realm. Erasmus, who was the intimate friend of Henry's two most illustrious victims, bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, thus forcibly describes their loss and the state of their country:— "In England, death has either snatched every one (of worth) away, or fear has shrunk them up." From the time of the executions of Fisher and More, Katharine's health became worse. She was willing to live for her daughter, and thinking the air of Bugden too damp for her constitution, she requested the king to appoint her an abiding-place nearer the metropolis.² Henry, with his usual brutality, issued his orders to Cromwell that she should be removed to Fotheringay castle.³ This seat had been inherited by the king as part of the patrimony of his mother, Elizabeth of York, and the demesne had been settled on Katharine as part of her dower. Leland records "that she did great costs in refreshing it." It was, notwithstanding all the queen's cost "in refreshing," a place notorious for its bad air, as will be easily remembered by those conversant with the sad history of Mary queen of Scots, and to it Katharine positively refused to go, "unless bound with ropes." She seems to have bitterly regretted drawing the attention of the king to her removal, for he sent the duke of Suffolk to break up

¹ Dr. Lingard, vol. vi. p. 198.

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*

her household at Bugden; and in what spirit he fulfilled this commission, his letter,¹ written to the duke of Norfolk for the information of the privy council, can witness:—

“MY LORD:—

“Because we have written to the king’s highness, we shall only advertise you that we find here the most obstinate woman that may be; insomuch that, as we think, surely there is no other remedy than to convey her by force from hence to Somersame.² Concerning this, we have nothing in our instructions; we pray your good lordship that with speed we may have knowledge of the king’s express pleasure, at the furthest by Sunday night [December 21], or else there shall not be time before the feast [Christmas-day] to remove her. My lord, we have had no small travail to induce the servants to take the new oath. Notwithstanding, now many of them are sworn, with promise to serve the king’s highness according to his pleasure. My lord, we found things here far from the king’s expectation, we assure you, as more at our return ye shall know.

“Moreover, whereas Tomeo³ was appointed to be clerk comptroller here in this house, and Wilbrahim with my lady princess [Elizabeth], we understand that your lordship hath taken Tomeo to serve my lady princess, and discharged Wilbrahim, whereby this house is disappointed of that necessary officer.

“Bugden, Friday, 19 of Dec.”

A bull of excommunication had at last been fulminated against Henry, and was recently published at Flanders, a measure which incited him thus to torment his wife, who had, poor soul! tried earnestly to shield him from it. She had formerly interfered, at his request, to obviate some of the inconveniences of his struggle with the pope, before he had made the schism from Rome. Her love still interposed to avert from him a blow, which, according to her belief, was the heaviest that could fall on living man, although that blow was aimed to avenge her. “I understand to-day,”⁴ writes cardinal Pole to his friend Priuli, “that if the queen, the aunt of Cæsar [the emperor Charles], had not interfered, the anathema would have already gone out against the king.” So little did the loving Katharine de-

¹ State-Papers, vol. i.

² Somarsham, says Heylin, was a palace belonging to the bishop and church of Ely.

³ He was afterwards in the service of Anne of Cleves. His name declares him a Spaniard.

⁴ Pole’s Letters, 445. The cardinal is so far from meaning to eulogize the queen for her temperate conduct, that he indulges in some indignant remarks that a woman should thus have the power of suspending the decrees of the church.

serve the cruel conduct that attended her expulsion from Bugden.

The commissioners at Bugden proceeded to examine the queen's servants, who were very earnest in entreaties to be dismissed rather than retained in her service if they were forced to abjure their oaths to her as queen; for they could not take the second oath without perjury, neither could any inducement prevail on Katharine to say she should consider them as her dutiful servants if they called her the princess-dowager. Both her almoner and receiver implored her to yield in this point, yet she persisted in her determination. The rest of the household refused to take the oath against her wish, and the commissioners questioned them regarding the persons who had persuaded them so earnestly that Katharine was queen. At last the servants declared that the chaplains, Abell and Barker,¹ had strengthened them in this belief. "Upon which," says the commissioners to Henry, "we called and examined these men, and found them stiffly standing in their conscience that she was queen, and the king's lawful wife, and that no man sworn to serve her as queen might change that oath without perjury, and they acknowledged they had showed the same to as many as asked their counsel, whereupon we have committed them to the porter's ward, with liberty to speak to no one but their keeper." With some difficulty the household was made up, and the bishop of Llandaff, an old Spanish priest of the name of Allequa, who had served Katharine before her marriage, was suffered to remain with her.

Sir Edmund Bedingfeld bore the nominal office of steward of her household, but was in reality the castellan who held her in custody. He wrote to the privy council at this period, giving a minute detail of the conversation that passed between him and Katharine on the subject of her household. The papers are half obliterated by fire, yet the following particulars, throwing much intelligence on her private life,

¹ Harleian MS. 283, p. 102 (Art. 44). This despatch from the council has been endorsed 1532, an evident mistake, since many circumstances prove it was the removal from Bugden, December, 1534, that is under discussion: and this arrest of Abell and his colleague agrees with the Privy Council-book.

are legible.¹ She desired to retain "her confessor, her physician, and her *potecary*; two men-servants, and as many women as it should please the king's grace to appoint; and that they should take no oath, but only to the king and to her, but to *none other woman*." A glance at the oath required will show the reasons of this expression. It was no wonder the queen objected that her servants should be thus exhorted:—"Ye shall swear to bear faith, troth, and obedience only to the king's grace, and to the heirs of his body by his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, queen Anne."²—"As to my physician and *potecary*," continues queen Katharine, "they be my countrymen: the king knoweth them as well as I do. They have continued many years with me, and have (I thank them) taken great pains with me; for I am oftentimes sickly, as the king's grace doth know right well. And I require their attendance for the preservation of my poor bodie, that I may live as long as it pleaseth God. They are faithful and diligent in my service, and also daily do they pray that the king's royal estate long may endure. But if they take any other oath than they have taken to the king and me (to serve me), I shall never trust them again, for in so doing I should live continually in fear of my life with them. Wherefore I trust the king, of his high honor and goodness, and for the great love that hath been betwixt him and me (which love in me now is as faithful to him as ever it was, so take I God to record), will not use extremity with me, my request being so reasonable."

This gentle and truly feminine supplication appears fairly reported by sir Edmund. The Spanish physician and apothecary certainly remained in queen Katharine's household; but the confessor, Dr. Abell,³ was separated from it at this juncture. The next despatch, signed R. Sussex, gives the information that Abell had departed, and implies that he was a great loss to Katharine, because he could speak Spanish, in which language she was ever confessed, "and she

¹ Privy Council, Henry VIII., edited by sir Harris Nicolas, pp. 347, 349.

² See the oath, Parliamentary History; 2d edition, vol. iii. p. 108.

³ He was afterwards put to a cruel death by Henry VIII.

will use no other for that purpose." Father Forrest, her former confessor, had been thrown into Newgate at an early period of the divorce, and the difficulty was now to find a confessor agreeable both to Henry and his divorced wife. "The bishop of Llandaff," continues the king's agent, "will do less harm than any other to tarry and be her ghostly father." The reason was, that the old Spaniard was timid and quiet, and had implored Katharine to yield to expediency. "But against all humanity and reason," continues Sussex, "she still persists that she will not remove, saying, that although your grace have the power, yet *ne* may she, *ne* will she go, unless drawn with ropes." In this dilemma, the king's directions are required "what to do, if she persisteth in her obstinacy; and that she will, we surely think, for in her wilfulness she may fall sick and keep her bed, refusing to put on her clothes."¹

The queen objected to Fotheringay on account of its malaria from the banks of the river Nene, and likewise to go to any residence belonging to the dower granted her by prince Arthur, lest she should tacitly compromise her cause. She told Thomas Vaux, one of her officers, "that she had no mind to go to Fotheringay, and that she would not go thither though all provisions were made for her; yet from the place where she was she much wished to go." Vaux was a spy, who communicated all she said to Cromwell. At last Kimbolton castle was appointed for her, a situation she considered as particularly noxious to her health.² Indeed, the air of the counties of Huntingdoushire, Northamptonshire, or Bedfordshire, however wholesome it might be to those accustomed to breathe it as natives, was not likely to be salubrious to a person reared under the sunny skies of Granada.

At the termination of the contest relative to her change of residence, the duke of Suffolk behaved with such personal insolence to the repudiated queen that she left his presence abruptly; she was, nevertheless, taken to Kimbolton castle,

¹ State-Papers, p. 453; this despatch is dated December 31, 1534.

² Encyc. Brit. Pollino says the air was noxious on account of damp.

where she commenced the dreary new year of 1535, with her comforts greatly diminished. Notwithstanding 5000*l.* was her nominal income as prince Arthur's widow, it was so ill-paid that sir Edmund Bedingfeld, during the lingering malady that followed her arrival at Kimbolton, wrote, more than once, that the household was utterly devoid of money. An instance occurred, while Katharine lived at Kimbolton, which proved that her neighbors of low degree were desirous to propitiate her, though fallen from her queenly state. A poor man, ploughing near Grantham, found a huge brass pot, containing a large helmet of pure gold, set with precious stones, with some chains of silver and ancient defaced rolls of parchment, "all which he presented," says Harrison in his description of England,¹ "to queen Katharine, then living near Peterborough." The queen was then in a dying state, and these treasures fell into the hands of the king's agents at Kimbolton castle.

The persecution Henry was carrying on against the unfortunate father Forrest, Katharine's former confessor, caused inexpressible anguish to her at Kimbolton. The only information on this subject is to be found in the Church History of Pollino, from which we translate this passage:— "But chiefly to be deplored was the barbarous cruelty used against the venerable old man father John Forrest, who had been confessor to the queen, and for this reason was one of the first of her friends who were incarcerated. He had been thrown into hard durance, and for two years had the old man remained among thieves and persons of infamous characters, and had endured the cruellest torments. Queen Katharine, who considered herself the cause of his intolerable miseries, felt herself obliged to write to him, saying, 'how much the thought of his sufferings grieved her, and moved her to pity, and to write him a letter of comfort, although she dreaded lest it should be intercepted and occasion his death.' Nevertheless, he safely received it when in the prison of London called *Porta-nuovo*" (New-gate). He answered it by a letter, of which the following is an abstract:—

¹ Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 217.

“SERENEST QUEEN AND DAUGHTER IN CHRIST:—

“Your servant Thomas gave me your majesty’s letter, which found me in great affliction, yet in constant hope of release by means of death from the captivity of this miserable body. Not only did your letter infinitely comfort me, but it excited in me patience and joy.

“Christ Jesu give you, daughter and lady of mine, above all mortal delights, which are of brief continuance, the joy of seeing his divine presence for evermore! Remember me in your most fervent oraisons; pray that I may fight the battle to which I am called and finally overcome, nor give up for the heavy pains and atrocious torments prepared for me. Would it become this white beard and these hoary locks to give way in aught that concerns the glory of God? Would it become, lady mine, an old man to be appalled with childish fear who has seen sixty-four years of life, and forty of those has worn the habit of the glorious St. Francis? Weaned from terrestrial things, what is there for me if I have not strength to aspire to those of God? But as to you, lady mine and daughter in Christ, sincerely beloved, in life and death I will continue to think of you, and pray God in his mercy to send you from heaven, according to the greatness of your sorrows, solace and consolation. Pray to God for your devoted servant, the more fervently when you hear of horrid torments prepared for me.

“I send your majesty, for consolation in your prayers, my rosary, for they tell me that of my life but three days remain.”¹

The situation this unfortunate man had held as confessor to Katharine was the origin of his persecution, the king being desirous of forcing from him some admission that his queen might have made in confession, which would authorize the divorce in a greater degree. Abell, the queen’s other confessor, was detained in as cruel confinement, and both were put to the most horrible deaths. Father Forrest was burnt alive in a manner too terrible for description; but, contrary to his own anticipations, his dreadful doom was not executed till two years after the death of the queen.

Pollino says that the signora Lisabetta Ammonia,² the faithful lady of the queen, wrote a letter to father Forrest, informing him of the continual tears and grief that oppressed Katharine on his account, ever since his sentence:—“That the queen could feel no ease or comfort till she had sent to him to know whether there was aught she could do to avert from him his fate?” adding, “that she was herself languishing under incurable infirmity, and that the fury and rage of the king would infallibly cut short her life. It

¹ Pollino, pp. 126–129.

² It is probable that this name, thus Italianized, means Elizabeth lady Hammond.

was but last Monday the king had sent some of his council to the queen's house to make search for persons or things he thought were hidden there; and his agents, with faces full of rage and angry words, had exceedingly hurried and terrified queen Katharine." Forrest sent word, "that in justification of her cause he was content to suffer all things." He wrote in a similar strain to his fellow-sufferer Abell, and to many domestics of the queen, who had excited the wrath of the king for their extreme attachment to her.

The close of this sad year left the queen on her death-bed. As she held no correspondence with the court, the king received the first intimation of her danger from Eustachio Capucius,¹ the resident Spanish ambassador. Cromwell instantly wrote to sir Edmund Bedingfeld, rating him "because foreigners heard intelligence from the king's own castles sooner than himself." Sir Edmund excused himself by saying, "that his fidelity in executing the orders of the king rendered him no favorite with the lady-dowager, therefore she concealed everything from him."² Meantime, he sent for the queen's Spanish physician, and questioned him regarding her state of health; the answer was, "Sir, she doth continue in pain, and can take but little rest; if the sickness continueth in force, she cannot remain long."—"I am informed," proceeds sir Edmund, "by her said doctor, that he had moved her to take some more counsel of physic: but her reply was,—'I will in nowise have any other physician, but wholly commit myself to the pleasure of God.'"

When Katharine found the welcome hand of death was on her, she sent to the king a pathetic entreaty to indulge her in a last interview with her child,³ imploring him not to withhold Mary from receiving her last blessing. This request was denied.⁴ A few days before she expired, she

¹ He is the Capucius of Shakspeare; but his despatches are signed Eustace Chapuys.

² State-Papers. ³ Cardinal Pole's Works; see Lingard, vol. v. p. 236.

⁴ The following curious incident must have happened about the same period; it shows that Henry VIII. and his acknowledged family were prayed for by his church after a preface of panegyric, likewise the extreme jealousy with which any acknowledgment of the unfortunate Katharine as queen was regarded.—State-Papers, vol. i. p. 427. The hishop of Bath and Wells thought it necessary

caused one of her maids to come to her bedside and write a farewell letter to the king, which she dictated in the following words:—

“MY LORD AND DEAR HUSBAND:—

“I commend me unto you. The hour of my death draweth fast on, and, my case being such, the tender love I owe you forceth me, with a few words, to put you in remembrance of the health and safeguard of your soul, which you ought to prefer before all worldly matters and before the care and tendering of your own body, for the which you have cast me into many miseries and yourself into many cares. For my part I do pardon you all; yea, I do wish and devoutly pray God that He will also pardon you.

“For the rest I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I heretofore desired. I entreat you also, on behalf of my maids, to give them marriage-portions, which is not much, they being but three. For all my other servants I solicit a year's pay more than their due, lest they should be unprovided for.

“Lastly do I vow that mine eyes desire you above all things.”

It appears, from contemporary authority,¹ that king Henry received queen Katharine's letter some days before her death. He shed tears on perusing it, and sent to Capucius, entreating him to hasten to Kimbolton, to greet Katharine kindly from him. It has been generally supposed that the king gave leave to lady Willoughby, the friend and

to write to Cromwell in explanation of an unfortunate slip of the tongue made by an old canon when praying for the royal family in his cathedral. He says, “Dr. Carsley, canon, when he came to *bidding off the beads*, after a very honorable mention made of the king's highness, said these words:—‘That, according to our most bounden duty, we should pray for his grace, and for the lady *Katharine* the queen, and also by express name for the lady Elizabeth, princess, their daughter.’” Now the bishop of Bath and Wells had no inclination to undergo the doom of Fisher and More by a report reaching the ears of the tyrant that Katharine was prayed for as queen in his presence, and in his cathedral. He therefore “immediately showed the canon his error, and reprov'd him for the same. The truth was,” continued the bishop, “he was staggered a season, and would by no means allow that he had spoken a word of the lady Katharine; but at last, being assured by me and others that he had spoken it, he openly, before all the audience, acknowledged his error and fault, and seemed very sorry for it, saying, ‘I call God to witness that I thought not of the lady Katharine; I meant only queen Anne, for I know no *mo* queens but her.’ The man is reported to be a good man, but he is not much under the age of eighty. There was no one there but might well perceive that the word escaped him unawares. Notwithstanding, I thought it my duty to advertise yon thereof, and, by my fidelity to God and my king, so you have the whole plain truth.”

¹ Pollino, p. 132.

countrywoman¹ of his dying queen, to visit and comfort her; but there is reason to believe, from the following narrative, that this faithful lady made her way to her without Henry's sanction:—It was at nightfall, about six o'clock on New-year's day, when lady Willoughby arrived at Kimbolton castle-gate, almost perished with cold and exhausted with fatigue from her dreary journey, being much discomposed, withal, by a fall from her horse. Chamberlayne and Bedingfeld demanded of her the license that authorized her to visit Katharine. She piteously represented her sufferings, and begged to come to the fire; her countenance was overcast with grief and dismay. She told them that, "From the tidings she had heard by the way, she never expected to see the *princess-dowager* alive;" adding, "she had plenty of letters sufficient to exonerate the king's officers, which she would show them in the morning." By her eloquence she prevailed on them to usher her into her dying friend's chamber; but when once she was safely ensconced therein, "we neither saw her again, nor beheld any of her letters," says Bedingfeld, from whose despatch of exculpation this information is derived.² Thus it is evident that she never left the chamber of death, but the stern castellans dared not remove her by violence from the bedside of the beloved friend for whose sake she had encountered so many dangers.

Eustachio Capucius, the emperor's ambassador, arrived at Kimbolton, January 2d. After dinner he was introduced into the dying queen's chamber, where he stayed a quarter of an hour. Bedingfeld was present at the interview, but was much disappointed that he could send no information

¹ Lady Willoughby had been one of queen Katharine's maids of honor, who accompanied her from Spain. Her name was Mary de Salines, or Salucci; she was of illustrious descent, and related, through the house of De Foix, to most of the royal families of Europe. During the prosperity of Katharine of Arragon, this lady married lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and had by him an only child, named Katharine after the queen, who was the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and became a leading character in the religious contests of the times. Lady Willoughby was left a widow in 1527, the time when Katharine of Arragon's troubles began.—Dugdale: likewise information given by the Rev. Mr. Hunter, Augmentation-office.

² Strype's Memorials.

as to what passed, for Katharine conversed with the ambassador only in Spanish. He had hopes, however, that if Mr. Vaux was present, he could make out what they said. At five o'clock the same afternoon, Katharine sent her physician for Capucius, but there was little chance of the spy Vaux learning any intelligence, since no man but the ambassador's attendant was permitted to enter the royal chamber. They stayed with the queen half an hour, and paid her similar visits next day, when none but her trusty women were permitted to be present, who either knew no Spanish, or would not betray what passed if they did. Lady Willoughby, of course, spoke to her dying friend in the dear language of their native Castile. Katharine expired in the presence of Capucius and lady Willoughby with the utmost calmness. In the words of Dr. Harpsfield,¹ "she changed this woful troublesome existence for the serenity of the celestial life, and her terrestrial ingrate husband for that heavenly spouse who will never divorce her, and with whom she will reign in glory forever."

Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, the castellan in whose custody she expired, announced the demise of the sorrow-stricken queen in these words:—² "January the 7th, about ten o'clock, the lady-dowager was *aneled* with the holy ointment, master Chamberlayne and I being called to the same, and before two in the afternoon she departed to God. I beseech you that the king may be advertised of the same." He added the following postscript to his despatch to Cromwell that announced her death:—"Sir, the groom of the chaundry here can sere her, who shall do that feat; and further, I shall send for a plumber to close her body in lead, the which must needs shortly be done, for that may not tarry. Sir, I have no money, and I beseech your aid with all speed. Written at Kimbolton, about 3 o'clock, afternoon."

The will of Katharine of Arragon, it is evident, from various foreign idioms, was of her own composition. It is as follows:—³

¹ Translated by Hearne. Katharine's letter, previously quoted, is from his Latin narrative; it varies a little from the usual version.

² State-Papers, i. p. 452.

³ Strype's Mem., vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I, Katharine, etc., supplicate and desire king Henry VIII., my good lord, that it may please him of his grace, and in alms and for the service of God, to let me have the goods which I do hold, as well in silver and gold as in other things, and also the same that is due to me in money for the time past, to the intent that I may pay my debts and recompense my servants for the good services they have done for me. The same I desire as *affectuously* as I may, for the necessity wherein I am ready to die and to yield my soul unto God.

"First, I supplicate that my body be buried in a convent of Observant-friars. *Item*, that for my soul may be said 500 masses. *Item*, that some personage go to Our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage; and, in going, by the way to deal [distribute in alms] twenty nobles. *Item*, I appoint to *maistris* Darel 20*l.* for her marriage. *Item*, I ordain the collar of gold, which I brought out of Spain, be to my daughter. *Item*, I ordain to *maistris* Blanche 100*l.* *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Margery and Mr. Whyller, to each of them 40*l.* *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Mary, my physician's wife, and to Mrs. Isabel, daughter to Mr. Marguerite, to each of them 40*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to my physician the year's coming wages. *Item*, I ordain to Francisco Phillippo¹ all that I owe him; and besides that 40*l.* I ordain to master John, my apothecary, his wages for the year coming; and besides that, all that is due to him. I ordain that Mr. Whyller be paid his expenses about the making of my gown; and besides that 20*l.* I give to Philip, to Antony, and to Bastien, to every one of them 20*l.* I ordain to the *little* maidens 10*l.* to every one of them. I ordain my goldsmith to be paid his wages for the year coming; and besides that, all that is due to him. I ordain that my *lavenderer* [laundress] be paid that which is due to her and her wages for the year coming. I ordain to Isabel de Vergas 20*l.* *Item*, to my ghostly father his wages for the year coming.

"*Item*. It may please the king, my good lord, to cause church-ornaments to be made of my gowns, *which he holdeth*, to serve the convent *thereas* I shall be buried; and the furs of the same I give to my daughter."

Ralph Sadler, and several other underlings of the privy council, have their names prefixed, who were evidently the administrators appointed by the king. This will prove how slight were the debts of the conscientious queen, yet she felt anxiety concerning them. On her just mind, even the obligations she owed her laundress had their due weight. It furnishes, too, another instance of the pitiful meanness of Henry VIII. The sentence alluding to the disposal of her gowns "which he holdeth," will not be lost on female readers, and shows plainly that he had detained the best part of his wife's wardrobe; it is likewise evident that the gold collar brought from Spain was the only jewel in her possession. Will it be believed that, notwithstanding Henry

¹ This faithful servant, who is called by Wolsey Francis Phillipps (p. 157), was evidently a Spaniard.

shed tears over her last letter, he sent his creature, lawyer Rich, to see whether he could not seize all her property without paying her trifling legacies and obligations! The letter of Rich, dated from Kimbolton, January 19th, is extant: it is a notable specimen of legal chicanery. "To seize her grace's goods as your own," he says, "would be repugnant to your majesty's own laws; and I think, with your grace's favor, it would rather enforce *her blind opinion* while she lived than otherwise;" namely, that she was the king's lawful wife. He then puts the king into an underhand way of possessing himself of poor Katharine's slender spoils, by advising him "to administer by means of the bishop of Lincoln for her as *princess-dowager*, and then to confiscate all as insufficient to defray her funeral charges!" Whether the debtors and legatees of the broken-hearted queen were ever satisfied is a doubtful point; but from a contemporary letter of a privy councillor, it seems that one of her three faithful ladies, Mrs. Elizabeth Darell (the daughter of an ancient line still extant in Kent), was paid her legacy. The other ladies, Blanche and Isabel de Vergas, were from Spain,—a fact Shakspeare has not forgotten. The name of Patience, remembered in his scene as Katharine's sweet songstress, does not occur; perhaps she was reckoned among the *little* maidens, who are likewise the legatees of their unfortunate patroness.

The property Katharine could claim for the liquidation of her debts and obligations to her faithful servants was, even by Henry's own arbitrary decisions, considerable, being the arrears of the 5000*l.* per annum due from her jointure as Arthur's widow. This stipend, either from malice or poverty, had not been paid her. A scanty maintenance was (as may be seen by the foregoing despatches from Bedingfeld) all that Katharine received from her faithless spouse; and when the noble portion she had brought into England is remembered, such dishonesty appears the more intolerable. Even a new gown, it will be observed by the will, was obtained on trust. It appears likely that Katharine possessed no more of her jewels than were on her person when she was expelled from Windsor castle by

the fiat of her brutal lord. The particulars of Katharine's funeral are chiefly to be gathered from a letter sent by Henry VIII. to Grace lady Bedingfeld, wife to sir Edmund:—

“HENRY REX,

“*To our right dear and well-beloved Lady Bedingfeld.*

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy out of this transitory life the right excellent princess our dearest sister the lady Katharine, relict of our natural brother prince Arthur, of famous memory, deceased, and that we intend to have her body interred according to her honor and estate; at the interment whereof (and for other ceremonies to be done at her funeral, and in conveyance of her corpse from Kimbolton, where it now lieth, to Peterborough, where the same is to be buried) it is requisite to have the presence of a good many ladies of honor: You shall understand that we have appointed you to be there one of the principal mourners, and therefore desire you to be in readiness at Kimbolton the 25th of this month, and so to attend on the said corpse till the same shall be hurried. Letting you further *wit*, that for the mourning apparel of your own person we send you by this hearer [a certain number of] yards of black cloth, and black cloth for two gentlewomen to wait upon you, and for two gentlewomen and for eight yeomen; all which apparel you must cause in the mean time to be made up, as shall appertain. And concerning the habiliment of linen for your head and face, we shall before the day limited send the same to you accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, January 10th.

“P.S. For saving of time, if this order is shown to sir William Poulett (living at the Friars-Augustine's, London), comptroller of our household, the cloth and linen for the head¹ shall be delivered.”

A circular, nearly to the same effect, summoned the principal gentry in the neighborhood of Kimbolton castle to attend the body of the king's dearest sister (as he chose to call his repudiated queen) from Kimbolton castle to Peterborough abbey, on the 26th of January. Thus it is plain that the king did not comply with her last request regarding her place of burial. A local tradition declares that her funeral approached Peterborough by an ancient way from Kimbolton, called Bygrame's lane. The last abbot of Peterborough, John Chambers, performed her obsequies. The place of burial was in the church, between two pillars on

¹ Here is a curious proof of the manner in which the sovereign condescends to deal out from his stores articles pertaining to female dress, none of which were considered too trifling to receive the sanction of his royal hand and seal. This letter is copied from Notes to vol. v. of Dr. Lingard, p. 349: the original is in the possession of sir Henry Bedingfeld, Bart., of Oxborough hall, Norfolk.

the north side of the choir, near to the great altar. From the Italian contemporary historian we translate this passage:—"At Greenwich, king Henry observed the day of Katharine's burial with solemn obsequies,¹ all his servants and himself attending them dressed in mourning. He commanded his whole court to do the same. Queen Anne Boleyn would not obey; but, in sign of gladness, dressed herself and all the ladies of her household in yellow, and, amidst them all, exulted for the death of her rival. 'I am grieved,' she said, 'not that she is dead, but for the vaunting of the good end she made.' She had reason to say this, for nothing was talked of but the Christian death-bed of Katharine; and numberless books and papers were written in her praise, blaming king Henry's actions, and all the world celebrated the obsequies of queen Katharine."²

A short time after queen Katharine's interment, some friends of hers ventured the suggestion to king Henry, "that it would well become his greatness to rear a stately monument to her memory." He answered, that "He would have to her memory one of the goodliest monuments in Christendom." This was the beautiful abbey-church of Peterborough, which he spared, on account of its being her resting-place, from the general destruction that soon after overwhelmed all monasteries. Thus the whole of that magnificent structure may be considered the monument of Katharine of Arragon, although the actual place of her repose was never distinguished excepting by a brass plate.³ It will be shown, in the course of these biographies, that her daughter Mary intended that her beloved mother should share her tomb. A hearse covered with a black velvet pall, on which was wrought a large cross of cloth of silver, and embossed with silver scutcheons of Spain, stood over her grave for several

¹ It must always be remembered that *obsequies*, though the word is often used by modern poets as synonymous to funeral rites, was a service fondly meant to benefit the soul of the deceased, often performed by dear friends at distant places.

² Pollino, p. 129.

³ The spot of her interment was long pointed out by the centegenarian sexton, old Scarlett, who buried her, and lived long enough to inter another royal victim, Mary queen of Scots, in the same cathedral.

years. At first it was surrounded with tapers, as may be proved by the following curious piece of intelligence sent to Cromwell by John de Ponti, one of his agents, who wrote to him "that the day before the lady Anne Boleyn was beheaded, the tapers that stood about queen Katharine's sepulchre kindled of themselves; and after matins were done to *Deo gratias*, the said tapers quenched of themselves; and that the king had sent thirty men to the abbey where queen Katharine was buried, and it was true of this light continuing from day to day."¹ Whoever performed this trick was never discovered, neither was the person who abstracted the rich pall that covered the queen's hearse and substituted a mean one, which likewise vanished in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, 1643. The old verger at Peterborough cathedral, when he pointed out the small brass plate which briefly certifies the place where the mortal remains of Katharine of Arragon repose, said, in 1847, "that his father, who preceded him in his office, saw the coffin of that unfortunate queen when it was exhumed, about seventy years ago, during the repairs of that part of the church. It was very strongly fastened, and no one attempted to open it, as it was considered a sacrilegious act, at that time, to disturb the ashes of the dead for the sake of unveiling the secrets of the grave. His father, however, being somewhat of an antiquary, was desirous of making what discoveries he could; he bored a hole with a gimlet, and introduced a long wire into the coffin, with which he drew out a fragment of black and silver brocade, whereby he ascertained the material of her funeral robes. The black and silver stuff was damp, and mouldered away when exposed to the air, but afforded by its aroma, satisfactory evidence that the royal remains had undergone the process of embalming." The chamber, hung with tapestry, in which Katharine of Arragon expired, is to this day shown at Kimbolton castle: the tapestry covers a little door leading to a closet still called by her name. One of her travelling portmanteaus has remained at Kimbolton ever since her sad removal from Bugden. It is covered with scarlet velvet, and the queen's in-

¹ Gunton's Hist. of Peterborough, p. 57; and Patrick's Supplement, p. 330.

initials, **K R**, with the regal crown, are conspicuous on the lid; there are two drawers beneath the trunk. Its preservation may be attributed to its having been used as the depository of the robes of the earls and dukes of Manchester.¹ A monument was raised to the memory of Katharine so lately as the end of the last century. "I have lately been at lord Ossory's, at Amptill," wrote Horace Walpole² to the antiquary Cole. "You know Katharine of Arragon lived some time there: nothing remains of the castle, nor any marks of residence but a small bit of her garden. I proposed to lord Ossory to erect a cross to her memory, and he will." The cross was raised by lord Ossory: it cost him 100*l*. The following lines were engraved on it from the pen of Horace Walpole:—

"In days of old, here Amptill's towers were seen,
The mournful refuge of an injured queen;
Here flowed her pure but unavailing tears,
Here blinded zeal sustained her sinking years;
Yet freedom hence her radiant banners waved,
And Love avenged a realm by priests enslaved;
From Katharine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,
And Luther's light from Henry's lawless bed."

The grand abilities of Katharine of Arragon, her unstained integrity of word and action, united with intrepid firmness, commanded even from her enemies that deep respect which her sweetness, benevolence, and other saintly virtues would not have obtained, unsupported by these high queenly qualities. Sustained by her own innate grandeur of soul, her piety and lofty rectitude, she passed through all her bitter trials without calumny succeeding in fixing a spot on her name. Among many eulogists, one mighty genius, who was nearly her contemporary, has done her the noblest justice. In fact, Shakspeare alone has properly appreciated and vividly portrayed the great talents, as well as the moral worth, of the right royal Katharine of Arragon.

¹ Kimbolton castle was the principal residence of the earls and dukes of Manchester.

² He was then lord Orford; the letter is dated June 22d, 1772.—Cole's MSS. Brit. Museum.

ANNE BOLEYN,

SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Descent and parentage—Place of birth—Early education—Maid of honor to the queen of France—Her letter to her father—Enters the service of queen Claude—Her accomplishments—Returns to England—Proposed marriage—Becomes maid of honor to queen Katharine—Her first interview with the king—His admiration—Courtèd by lord Percy—Jealousy of Henry VIII.—Wolsey divides Anne and Percy—Her resentment—She is sent from court—King's visit to her—She repulses him—His love-letters—Henry's persevering courtship—Her dissimulation—Anne's enmity to Wolsey—Wyatt's passion for her—Steals her tablets—Anger of Henry—Anne's retirement during the pestilence—King's letters to her—Her illness—Henry's anxiety—Divorce agitated—Anne returns to court—Dismissed to Hever—Henry's letters—Anne's establishment in London—Her levees—Her letter to Gardiner—Her copy of Tindal's Bible—Effects Wolsey's ruin—King's presents to her—Book of divination—Dialogue with Anne Saville—Anne Boleyn's death predicted—Created marchioness of Pembroke—Goes to France with the king—His grants to her—Her gambling propensities.

THERE is no name in the annals of female royalty over which the enchantments of poetry and romance have cast such bewildering spells as that of Anne Boleyn. Her wit, her beauty, and the striking vicissitudes of her fate, combined with the peculiar mobility of her character, have invested her with an interest not commonly excited by a woman, in whom vanity and ambition were the leading traits. Tacitus said of the empress Poppea, "that with her, love was not an affair of the heart, but a matter of diplomacy;" and this observation appears no less applicable to Anne Boleyn, affording, withal, a convincing reason that she never incurred the crimes for which she was brought to the block. Unfortunately for the cause of truth, the eventful tragedy of her life has been so differently recorded by the chroniclers of the two great contending parties in

whose religious and political struggle she was involved, that it is sometimes difficult to maintain the balance faithfully between the contradictory statements of champion and accuser. Prejudice, on the one hand, has converted her faults into virtues; and, on the other, transformed even her charms into deformity, and described her as a monster, both in mind and person. It would be well for the memory of the lovely Boleyn, if all the other detractions of her foes could be disproved by evidence as incontrovertible as that which Hans Holbein's faithful pencil has left in vindication of her beauty. Her character has, for the last three centuries, occupied a doubtful, and therefore a debatable point in history; and philosophic readers will do well, in perusing her memorials, to confine their attention to those characteristics in which both her panegyrists and accusers agree, without allowing their opinions to be biassed by the unsupported assertions of either.

The family of Boleyn, Bullen, or, as it was anciently spelt, Boulen, was of French origin, and appears to have been first settled in Norfolk. Thomas Boleyn of Salle, in Norfolk, the patriarch of Anne Boleyn's line, was a younger brother of the estatesman of the family; he married Anna, the daughter of sir John Bracton, and bound their eldest son, Geoffrey Boleyn, apprentice to a mercer. He was probably a thriving London trader himself, for he died in that city, 1411, and was buried in the church of St. Lawrence-Pountney. Geoffrey became very prosperous, and may certainly be regarded as one of the most distinguished citizens of London. He married Anna, daughter of the lord of Hoo and Hastings. He was master of the mercers' company in 1424, and was sheriff of London during the stormy and difficult times of the wars of the roses, and not unfrequently exchanged the mercer's yard for the sword, to preserve the city from the outrages of the rival factions. He was lord mayor in the year 1457, and by his wisdom, courage, and unremitting exertions, maintained tranquillity in his jurisdiction during the memorable congress between the hostile partisans of York and Lancaster for the accommodation of their differences. He died in 1471, and left the magnificent

sum of 1000*l.* to poor householders of London.¹ He established his family on the sure foundation of landed property, purchasing Blickling hall and manor, in Norfolk, from sir John Falstolf, and the manor and castle of Hever from the Cobhams of Kent. After the death of this good and great citizen, his son, sir William Boleyn, eschewed the city and became a courtier; he was made knight of the Bath at Richard III.'s coronation. Thomas, the father of Anne Boleyn, distinguished himself in the reign of Henry VII. as a brave leader against the Cornish insurgents. He was the son of sir William Boleyn, of Blickling, Norfolk, by Margaret,² daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, last earl of Ormond, which ancient title was revived in the person of sir Thomas Boleyn, who was, by maternal descent, the representative of one of the most illustrious of the Norman noblesse. Sir Thomas Boleyn obtained for his wife the lady Elizabeth Howard, the daughter of the renowned earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk, by his first wife Margaret Tylney. Sir Thomas Boleyn was brought into close connection with royalty through the marriage of his wife's brother, the lord Thomas Howard, with the lady Anne Plantagenet, sister to Henry VII.'s queen. He was appointed knight of the body at the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign, and advanced to many other preferments, as will be seen hereafter. The lady Boleyn was one of the reigning beauties of the court of Katharine of Arragon, and took a leading part in all the masks and royal pageantry which marked the smiling commencement of the reign of Henry. It was not till long after the grave had closed over lady Boleyn, that the malignant spirit of party attempted to fling an absurd scandal on her memory, by pretending that Anne Boleyn was the offspring of her amours with the king during

¹ Stowe's Annals.

² This lady shared patrimony equal to 30,000*l.* per annum of our circulation, exclusive of considerable domains in Ireland, many rich jewels, and 40,000*l.* in money: besides Rochford, she had the manors of Smeton, Lee, Hawkswell hall, and Radings. Her great estate of Rochford hall had been granted by Edward IV. to his sister, the duchess of Exeter; and on her death to earl Rivers, the brother of queen Elizabeth Woodville. On the accession of Henry VII. it was restored to the heiress of the Butlers, its rightful possessors.

the absence of sir Thomas Boleyn on an embassy to France.¹ But, independently of the fact that sir Thomas Boleyn was not ambassador to France till many years after the birth of all his children, Henry VIII. was a boy under the care of his tutors at the period of Anne's birth, even if that event took place in the year 1507, the date given by Camden. Lord Herbert, however, says expressly, that Anne Boleyn was twenty years old when she returned from France in 1521, so that she must have been born about 1501. She was the eldest daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn and the lady Elizabeth.

Hever castle in Kent, Rochford hall in Essex, and Blickling hall in Norfolk have each been named by historians and topographers as the birthplace of Anne Boleyn. The evidences are strongly in favor of Blickling hall: the local tradition that Anne Boleyn was born there is so general that it pervades all classes in that neighborhood, even to the peasantry. This is confirmed by Blomfield, the accurate historian of that county;² and also by that diligent antiquarian, sir Henry Spelman, in his *Icena*, in which we find the following passage:—"To the left lies Blickling, once the seat of the Boleyns, from whence sprung Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltshire, and Anne Boleyn, the mother of the divine queen Elizabeth. To Blickling was decreed the honor of Anne Boleyn's birth." As sir Henry Spelman was a Norfolk man, and the contemporary of queen Elizabeth, we think his testimony, borne out as it is by the opinion of the late noble owner of the domain,³ is conclusive. No fairer spot than Blickling is to be seen in the county of Norfolk. Those magnificent arcaded avenues of stately oaks and giant chestnut-trees, whose majestic vistas stretch across the velvet verdure of the widely-extended park, reminding us, as we walk beneath their solemn shades, of green cathedral aisles, were in their meridian glory three hundred and forty years ago, when Anne Boleyn first saw the light in the adjacent mansion. The room where she

¹ Brookes's Succession.

² Blomfield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. iii., folio; 2d edition.

³ The earl of Buckinghamshire's letters: "Anne Boleyn was born here."

was born was shown till that portion of the venerable abode of the Boleyns was demolished to make way for modern improvements.¹ Some relics of the ancient edifice have been evidently united to the new building, and the servants were formerly in fear of a domestic spectre, whom they called 'old Bullen.' One room, called 'old Bullen's study,' was shut up, on account of the supernatural terrors of the household. There are statues of Anne Boleyn and queen Elizabeth on the staircase of wainscot, painted white.

The first years of Anne Boleyn's life were spent at Blickling, with her sister Mary and her brother George, afterwards the unfortunate viscount Rochford. Thomas Wyatt, the celebrated poet, was in all probability her playfellow, for his father sir Henry Wyatt was her father's coadjutor in the government of Norwich castle, and when the Boleyns removed to Hever castle, in Kent, the Wyatts were still their neighbors, residing at Allington in the same county. The first misfortune that befell Anne was the loss of her mother, lady Boleyn, who died in the year 1512, of puerperal fever.² She was interred in the splendid chapel and mausoleum of her own illustrious kindred, the Howards, at Lambeth.³ Sir Thomas Boleyn married again; at what period of his life we have no record, but it is certain that Anne's step-mother was a Norfolk woman of humble origin, and it has been observed that queen Elizabeth was connected, in consequence of this second marriage of her grandfather, with numerous families in Norfolk of a mean station in that county.⁴

¹ After the death of Anne Boleyn's father, Blickling fell into the possession of the infamous lady Rochford, on whom it had possibly been settled as dower. When lady Rochford was committed to the Tower with queen Katharine Howard, Henry VIII. sent his sharks to pillage Blickling. After lady Rochford's execution, Blickling was granted to sir Francis Boleyn, a kinsman of the family. If Mary Boleyn had had any peculiar claims on Henry's remembrance, it is scarcely probable that she and her children would have been thus wrongfully deprived of their patrimony.

² Howard Memorials, by Mr. Howard of Corhy.

³ The chapel at Lambeth church, from which all traces of magnificence were removed in the revolution of 1640.

⁴ Thoms's Traditions; Camden Society. The fact that the lady Boleyn so prominent in history, who is evidently the person on whom scandal glances as

After the death of lady Boleyn, Anne resided at Hever castle, under the superintendence of a French governess called Simonette, and other instructors, by whom she was very carefully educated, and acquired an early proficiency in music, needle-work, and many other accomplishments. While her father was at court, or elsewhere, Anne constantly corresponded with him. Her letters were fairly written by her own hand, both in her own language and in French. These acquirements, which were rare indeed among ladies in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign, rendered Anne a desirable *souvante* to the princess Mary Tudor, king Henry's youngest sister, when she was affianced to Louis XII. of France, in September, 1514. This also makes it certain that Anne was at least double the age stated by her biographers, for it is neither likely that a child of seven years old would have acquired the knowledge which Anne possessed at that time, or that an appointment would have been sought, much less obtained, for her in the suite of the departing princess. Certainly, both nurse and governess would have been required for a maid of honor of that tender age. The letter written by Anne to her father in French, on the joyful news that she was to come to court to receive the honor of presentation to queen Katharine, expresses the feelings of a young lady of seventeen on the contemplation of such an event, and not those of a little child:—

“SIR:—

“I find by your letter that you wish me to appear at court in a manner becoming a respectable female; and likewise that the queen will condescend to enter into conversation with me. At this I rejoice, as I do to think that conversing with so sensible and elegant a princess will make me even more desirous of continuing to speak and to write good French; the more as it is by your earnest advice, which (I acquaint you by this present writing) I shall follow to the best of my ability. Sir, I entreat you to excuse me if this letter is badly written. I can assure you the spelling proceeds entirely from my own head, while the other letters were the work of my hands alone; and Semmonet tells me she has left the letter to be composed by myself, that nobody else may know what I am writing to you. I therefore pray you not to suffer your superior knowledge to conquer the inclination which (you say) you have to advance me; for it seems

the mistress of Henry VIII., was *not* Anne Boleyn's mother, throws a new light on the history of the court. It ought to be noted how completely Mr. Thoms's Norfolk MSS. and the Howard Memorials agree on this point.

to me you are certain . . . where, if you please, you may fulfil your promise. As to myself, rest assured that I shall not ungratefully look upon this fatherly office as one that might be dispensed with; nor will it tend to diminish the affection you are in quest of, resolved as I am to lead as holy a life as you may please to desire of me; indeed, my love for you is founded on so firm a basis that it can never be impaired. I put an end to this my lucubration, after having very humbly craved your good-will and affection. Written at Hever, by

“Your very humble and obedient daughter,

“ANNA DE BOULLAN.”¹

It is impossible to believe that such a letter was written by an infant of seven years old, unassisted by her governess.

Anne Boleyn is named in the lists of the English retinue of Mary queen of France as her fourth maid of honor. Her coadjutors in this office were the grand-daughters of Elizabeth Woodville, lady Anne Gray and Elizabeth Gray, sisters to the marquess of Dorset: they were cousins to king Henry. The other was the youngest daughter of lord Dacre. The document in which they are named is preserved in the Cottonian library, and is signed by Louis XII. Four was the smallest number of maids of honor that could have been appointed for a queen of France, and assuredly a child of seven years old would scarcely have been included among them, especially at a time when the etiquettes of royalty were so much more rigidly observed than at present. There can be no doubt that mademoiselle de Boleyn, as she is called in that catalogue, was of full age to take a part in all the pageantry and processions connected with the royal bridal, and to perform the duties pertaining to her office, which could not have been the case had she been under fourteen years of age.

The fair young Boleyn, as one of the maids of honor to the princess Mary, had, of course, a place assigned to her near the person of the royal bride at the grand ceremonial of the espousal of that princess to Louis XII. of France, which was solemnized August 13, 1514, in the church of the Gray Friars, Greenwich, the duke of Longueville acting as the proxy of his sovereign.² In September, Anne attended her

¹ The above translation of the original French letter, preserved among archbishop Parker's MSS., Coll. Corp. Christi, Cantabr., is from the invaluable collection of royal letters edited by sir Henry Ellis; second series, vol. ii.

² Lingard.

new mistress to Dover, who was accompanied by the king and queen, and all the court. At Dover they tarried a whole month on account of the tempestuous winds, which did great damage on that coast, causing the wrecks of several gallant ships, with awful loss of lives. It was not till the 2d of October that the weather was sufficiently calm to admit of the passage of the royal bride.¹ Long before the dawn of that day, Anne and the rest of the noble attendants, who were all lodged in Dover castle, were roused up to embark with their royal mistress. King Henry conducted his best-loved sister to the sea-side, and there kissed her, and committed her to the care of God, the fortune of the sea, and the governance of the French king, her husband.² She and her retinue went on board at four o'clock in the morning. Anne Boleyn, though bidding adieu to her native land, was encouraged by the presence of her father sir Thomas Boleyn, her grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and her uncle the earl of Surrey, who were associated in the honor of delivering the princess to the king of France. Great perils were encountered on the voyage, for a tempestuous hurricane presently arose and scattered the fleet. The ship in which Anne sailed with her royal mistress was separated from the convoy, and was in imminent danger for some hours; and when at last she made the harbor of Boulogne, the master drove her aground in the mouth of the haven. Fortunately the boats were in readiness, and the terrified ladies were safely conveyed to the shore. Wet and exhausted as the fair voyagers were, they were compelled to rally their spirits the instant they landed, in order to receive, with the best grace their forlorn condition would permit, the compliments of a distinguished company of French princes, prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen, who were waiting on the strand to offer their homage to their beautiful young queen. To say nothing of the inconvenience, it must have been mortifying enough to Mary and her ladies to make their first appearance before the gallants of the court of France in the plight of a water-goddess and her attendant Nereids. Thus was the future queen of Eng-

¹ Hall.

² Ibid.

land, Anne Boleyn, initiated into some of the pains and penalties of grandeur, to which she served her early apprenticeship in the court of the graceful princess whom she was in after-days to call sister.

The fair travellers were conducted with solemn pomp to the town of Boulogne, where they obtained needful rest and refreshment, with the liberty of changing their wet garments. Anne proceeded with her royal mistress and the rest of the train, by easy journeys, till within four miles of Abbeville, when the bride and all her ladies, clad in glittering robes, mounted white palfreys, forming an equestrian procession of seven-and-thirty. Queen Mary's palfrey was trapped with cloth of gold: her ladies were dressed in crimson velvet, a costume peculiarly becoming to the sparkling black eyes and warm brunette complexion of the youthful maid of honor. A series of splendid pageants graced the public entrance of queen Mary and her ladies into Abbeville. On the following Monday, being St. Denis's day, Anne Boleyn was an assistant at the nuptials of her royal mistress with the king of France, which were solemnized with great pomp in the church of Abbeville. After the mass was done, there was a sumptuous banquet, at which the queen's English ladies were feasted, and received especial marks of respect. But the next day, October 10th, the scene changed, and, to the consternation and sorrow of the young queen, and the lively indignation of her followers, all her attendants, male and female, including her nurse, whom she called 'her mother Guildford,' were dismissed by the king her husband, and ordered to return home. Anne Boleyn and two other ladies were the only exceptions to this sweeping sentence.¹ She therefore witnessed all the pageants that were given in honor of the royal nuptials, and took a part in the fêtes. Her skill in the French language was doubtless the reason of her detention, and in this she must have been very serviceable to her royal mistress, who, but for her company, would have been left a forlorn stranger in her own court. It has been stated by a French biographer, from the authority of records

¹ Lingard. Benger. Thompson. Herbert.

of contemporary date, that when sir Thomas Boleyn returned to England, he placed his daughter, whose education he did not consider complete, in a seminary, probably a convent, in the village of Brie, a few miles from Paris, under the especial care of his friend and kinsman Du Moulin, lord of Brie and Fontenaye.¹

Whether Anne remained with her royal mistress till the death of Louis XII. broke the fetter which had bound the reluctant princess to a joyless home, and left her free to return to England as the happy wife of the man of her heart, or the previous jealousy of the French court against Mary's English attendants extended at last to her young maid of honor and caused her removal to Brie, cannot be ascertained. It is, however, certain that she did not return to England with queen Mary, but entered the service of the consort of Francis I., queen Claude, the daughter of the deceased king Louis XII. This princess, who was a truly amiable and excellent woman, endeavored to revive all the moral restraints and correct demeanor of the court of her mother, Anne of Bretagne. Queen Claude was always surrounded by a number of young ladies, who walked in procession with her to mass, and formed part of her state whenever she appeared in public. In private she directed their labors at the loom or embroidery-frame, and endeavored, by every means in her power, to give a virtuous and devotional bias to their thoughts and conversation. The society of gentlemen was prohibited to these maidens.² How the rules and regulations prescribed by this sober-minded queen suited the lively genius of her volatile English maid of honor, we leave our readers to judge after they have perused the following description, which the viscount Chateaubriant, one of the

¹ The abbé Libouf, who mentions this circumstance, considers that the French progenitor of the Boleyns formerly emanated from this very village, as Brockart, in his *Life of Du Moulin*, proves, by an ancient document which he quotes, that Gaultier de Boleyn, the ancestor of Anne, was a vassal kinsman to the lord of Brie in 1344. That Anne Boleyn received much kindness from the lord of Brie and his family is also inferred by this gentleman from the manner in which her daughter, queen Elizabeth, urged the French ambassador to bring the murderers of the wife of one of the family to justice.

² Brantome.

courtiers of Francis I., has left of the personal characteristics of the fair Boleyn:—"She possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. She likewise danced the English dances, leaping and jumping with infinite grace and agility. Moreover, she invented many new figures and steps, which are yet known by her name, or by those of the gallant partners with whom she danced them. She was well skilled in all games fashionable at courts. Besides singing like a siren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than king David, and handled cleverly both *flute* and *rebec*.¹ She dressed with marvellous taste, and devised new modes, which were followed by the fairest ladies of the French court; but none wore them with her gracefulness, in which she rivalled Venus."² Our modern taste could dispense with her skill on the flute and fiddle, and likewise with her agile leaps and jumps in the dance, but every age varies in its appreciation of accomplishments. Like musical talent, poetical genius is often manifested in persons of the same descent. Anne Boleyn was cousin-german to the first English poet of her day, the celebrated earl of Surrey, and her brother, George Boleyn, was a lyrist of no little fame in the gallant court of Henry VIII. Several of his poems are published with those by sir Thomas Wyatt, her lover and faithful friend.

The French chroniclers have preserved a description of the costume Anne Boleyn wore at the court of Francis I. She had a *bourrelet* or cape of blue velvet, trimmed with points; at the end of each hung a little bell of gold. She wore a vest of blue velvet starred with silver, and a surcoat of watered silk lined with miniver, with large hanging sleeves, which hid her hands from the curiosity of the courtiers; her little feet were covered with blue velvet brodequins, the insteps were adorned each with a diamond star.

¹ In the original extract, "*elle manoit fort gentilment fluste et rebec.*" The rebec was a little violin with three strings.

² This extract is made from the manuscript of the count by M. Jacob, the learned octogenarian bibliopole of Paris. He says that the unedited memoirs of the count de Chateaubriant are "*trop hardis pour voir le jour.*"

On her head she wore a golden-colored aureole of some kind of plaited gauze, and her hair fell in ringlets. This is not the attire in which her portraits are familiar to the English, but it was the dress of her youth. If we may believe Sanders, Blackwood, and, indeed, many of the French historians, Anne Boleyn did not pass through the ordeal of the gay court of Francis I. without scandal. Francis himself has been particularly named in connection with these reports, but as nothing like proof has been stated in confirmation of such aspersions, she was probably innocent of anything beyond levity of manner. Even in the present age it may be observed that ladies who aim at becoming leaders of the *beau monde* not unfrequently acquire that species of undesirable notoriety which causes them to be regarded as *blazé*. It is possible that Anne Boleyn might be so considered by the more sedate ladies in the service of queen Claude.

Anne Boleyn is not mentioned as one of the company at the "field of the cloth of gold," yet it is almost certain that she was present in the train of her royal mistress, queen Claude. Her father, her step-mother, her uncle sir Edward Boleyn and his wife, and all her noble kindred of the Howard line were there, so that we may reasonably conclude that she graced that splendid *réunion* of all that was gay, gallant, and beautiful in the assembled courts of France and England. Our limits will not permit us to enter into the details of that last gorgeous page in the annals of chivalry; records of darker hue and deeper interest are before us than those of the royal pageantry in the plain of Ardres, where, if Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn looked upon each other, it was not as lovers. His fancy, we can scarcely venture to say his heart, was at that time occupied with her younger sister, Mary Boleyn; and Anne would naturally aim her brilliant glances at the young and noble bachelors, among whom she might reasonably expect to find a fitting mate.

At what period Anne Boleyn exchanged the service of the good queen Claude for the more lively household of that royal *belle esprit*, Margaret duchess of Alençon, and afterwards queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., is not

exactly known. Her return to England, according to the most authentic accounts, took place in the year 1522. Some historians of modern date have supposed that she remained in France till 1527, but this is decidedly an error, as we shall very soon prove from incontrovertible evidence.¹ Lord Herbert, who gives the first date, assures us that he has examined very carefully many manuscripts and records, both French and English, on this subject, and, as he gives a very favorable view of Anne Boleyn's character, there is no reason why he should have misrepresented a point of some consequence in her life. We give the noble historian's sketch of Anne at this period, transcribed, as he tells us, from the then unpublished manuscripts of George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to cardinal Wolsey:—"This gentlewoman being descended on the father's side from one of the heirs of the earl of Ormond, and on the mother's from the house of Norfolk, was from her childhood of that singular beauty and towardness, that her parents took all possible care for her good education. Therefore, besides all the usual branches of virtuous instruction, they gave her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing, and dancing, insomuch that, when she composed her hands to play and her voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance that three harmonies concurred; likewise when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion. Briefly, it seems that the most attractive perfections were evident in her. Yet did not our king love her at first sight, nor before she had lived some time in France, whither, in the train of the queen of France, and in company of a sister of the marquess of Dorset, she went A.D. 1514. After the death of Louis XII. she did not return with the dowager, but was received into a place of much honor with the other queen, and then with the duchess of Alençon, where she stayed till some difference grew betwixt our king and Francis; therefore, as saith Du Tillet, and our records, 'about the time when our students at Paris were remanded, she likewise

¹ From Du Tillet, Fiddes, Herbert, State-Papers, Lingard, Duplex, Tindal's notes on Rapin.

left Paris, her parents not thinking fit for her to stay any longer.'"¹

In confirmation of this statement, Fiddes also informs us that Francis I. complained to the English ambassador, "that the English scholars and the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn had returned home."² When a disputed matter happens to be linked with a public event, there can be no real difficulty in fixing the date, at least not to those historians who, instead of following the assertions of others, refer to the fountain-heads of history. There was another cause for Anne's return to England in that year; this was the dispute between sir Thomas Boleyn and the male heirs of the Butlers for the inheritance of the last earl of Wiltshire, Anne's great-grandfather, which had proceeded to such a height, that the earl of Surrey suggested to the king that the best way of composing their differences would be by a matrimonial alliance between a daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn and the heir of his opponent, sir Piers Butler.³ Henry agreed, and directed Wolsey to bring about the marriage. Mary Boleyn had been married to William Carey nine months before Wolsey received this interesting commission in November, 1521; therefore Anne was recalled from France for the purpose of being made the bond of peace between her father and their rival kinsman, Piers the Red.⁴

With so many graces of person and manners as were possessed by Anne Boleyn, it is remarkable that she had not previously disposed of both hand and heart to some noble cavalier in the gay and gallant court of France; but she appears to have been free from every sort of engagement when she returned to England. She was then, lord Herbert tells us, about twenty years of age, but according to the French historians, Rastal, a contemporary, and Leti (who all affirm that she was fifteen when she entered the service of Mary Tudor queen of France), she must have

¹ Lord Herbert's Henry VIII.; in White Kennet, vol. ii. fol. 122.

² Fiddes's Wolsey, 268.

³ State-Papers, published by Government, ii. 57.

⁴ Lingard, Hist. England, vol. vi. p. 172.

been two years older. The first time Henry saw her after her return to England was in her father's garden at Hever, where, it is said,¹ he encountered her by accident, and, admiring her beauty and graceful demeanor, he entered into conversation with her; when he was so much charmed with her sprightly wit that on his return to Westminster he told Wolsey, "that he had been discoursing with a young lady who had the wit of an angel, and was worthy of a crown."—"It is sufficient if your majesty finds her worthy of your love," was the shrewd rejoinder. Henry said "that he feared she would never condescend in that way."—"Great princes," observed Wolsey, "if they choose to play the lover, have that in their power which would mollify a heart of steel." Our author avers "that Wolsey, having a desire to get all the power of state into his own hands, would have been glad to see the king engrossed in the intoxication of a love-affair, and that he was the first person who suggested Anne Boleyn's appointment as maid of honor to the queen."²

"There was at this time presented to the eye of the court," says the poet Wyatt, "the rare and admirable beauty of the fresh and young lady Anne Boleyn, to be attending upon the queen. In this noble *imp* the graces of nature, adorned by gracious education, seemed even at the first to have promised bliss unto her in after-times. She was taken at that time to have a beauty, not so *whitely*, clear, and fresh, but above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excellent by her favor, passing sweet and cheerful, and was enhanced by her noble presence of shape and fashion, representing both mildness and majesty more than can be expressed." Wyatt is rapturous in his commendations of her musical skill and the exquisite sweetness of her voice,

¹ Gregorio Leti.

² In Leti's Life of Queen Elizabeth there is a modernized Italian translation of a letter purporting to be from Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII., expressing great delight at her appointment as maid of honor to the queen, as it would afford her the means of being oftener in his presence; but independently of the absence of those traits that generally verify a genuine letter, it bears every appearance of being a commonplace forgery. Anne Boleyn never wrote in a coarse, fulsome style, under any circumstances.

both in singing and in speaking. In the true spirit of a lover, the courtly poet, when he mentions the malformation of the little finger of the left hand, on which there was a double nail with something like an indication of a sixth finger, says, "but that which in others might have been regarded as a defect, was to her an occasion of additional grace by the skilful manner in which she concealed it from observation." On this account Anne always wore the hanging sleeves, previously mentioned by Chateaubriant as her peculiar fashion when in France. This mode, which was introduced by her into the court of Katharine of Arragon, was eagerly copied by the other ladies. Her taste and skill in dress are mentioned even by Sanders, who tells us, "she was unrivalled in the gracefulness of her attire, and the fertility of her invention in devising new patterns, which were imitated by all the court belles, by whom she was regarded as the glass of fashion." The same author gives us the following description of her person from a contemporary,¹ not quite so enthusiastic in his ideas of her personal charms as her admirer, the poetical Wyatt:—"Anne Boleyn was in stature rather tall and slender, with an oval face, black hair, and a complexion inclining to sallow: one of her upper teeth projected a little. She appeared at times to suffer from asthma. On her left hand a sixth finger might be perceived: on her throat there was a protuberance." This is confirmed by Chateaubriant, who describes it as a disagreeably large mole, resembling a strawberry; this she carefully covered with an ornamented collar-band, a fashion which was blindly imitated by the rest of the maids of honor, though they had never before thought of wearing anything of the kind. "Her face and figure were in other respects symmetrical," continues Sanders; "beauty and sprightliness sat on her lips; in readiness of repartee, skill in the dance, and in playing on the lute, she was unsurpassed."

Having thus placed before our readers the testimony of

¹ Which contemporary is cardinal Pole, in whose Latin letters we have seen all Sanders's intelligence concerning Anne Boleyn, who was, withal, Reginald Pole's kinswoman.

friend and foe, as to the charms and accomplishments of the fair Boleyn, we will proceed to describe the allowance and rules that were observed with regard to the table of the ladies in the household of queen Katharine, to which Anne was now attached. Each maid of honor was allowed a woman-servant and a spaniel as her attendants; the *bouche* of court afforded ample sustenance, not only to the lady herself, but her retainers, both biped and quadruped, were their appetites ever so voracious. A chine of beef, a manchet, and a *chet* loaf offered a plentiful breakfast for the three; to these viands was added a gallon of ale, which could only be discussed by two of the party. The brewer was enjoined to put neither hops nor brimstone into their ale, the first being deemed as horrible an adulteration as the last. The maids of honor, like officers in the army and navy at the present day, dined at mess, a circumstance which shows how very ancient that familiar term is. "Seven messes of ladies dined at the same table in the great chamber. Manchets, beef, mutton, ale, and wine were served to them in abundance, to which were added hens, pigeons, and rabbits. On fast-days their mess was supplied with salt salmon, salted eels, whittings, gurnet, plaice, and flounders. Such of the ladies as were peers' daughters had stabling allowed them."¹

There was a striking resemblance between Anne Boleyn and her sister Mary, the previous object of Henry's attention; but Mary was the fairest, the most delicately featured, and the most feminine of the two. In Anne, the more powerful charms of genius, wit, and fascination triumphed over every defect which prevented her from being considered a perfect beauty, and rendered her the leading star of the English court. Yet it was her likeness to her sister which, perhaps, in the first instance constituted her chief attraction with the king, who soon became secretly enamoured of her, though he concealed the state of his mind. As for the fair Boleyn herself, at the very time when most surrounded with admirers she appears to have been least sensible to the pride of conquest, having engaged herself in

¹ Household-books of Henry VIII.

a romantic love-affair with Henry lord Percy, the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, regardless of the family arrangement by which she was pledged to become the wife of the heir of sir Piers Butler. Percy, like herself, had been destined by paternal policy to a matrimonial engagement wherein affection had no share. He had exhibited great reluctance to fulfil the contract into which his father had entered for him in his boyhood with the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury,¹ and it was still unratified on his part when he appeared at court as an *élève* of cardinal Wolsey. The office which Percy filled about the person of the minister required that he should attend him to the palace daily, which he did; and while his patron was closeted with the king, or engaged at the council-board, he was accustomed to resort to the queen's antechamber, where he passed the time in dalliance with the maids of honor. At last he singled out mistress Anne as the object of his exclusive attention, and, from their frequent meetings, such love was nourished between them that a promise of marriage was exchanged, and, reckless alike of the previous engagements which had been made for them in other quarters by their parents, they became what was then called trothplight, or insured to each other.²

Percy, like a true lover, gloried in his passion and made no secret of his engagement, which was at length whispered to the king by some envious busybody, who had probably observed that Henry was not insensible to the charms of Anne Boleyn. The pangs of jealousy occasioned by this intelligence, it is said, first awakened the monarch to the state of his own feelings towards his fair subject,³ in whose

¹ Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. pp. 20, 21. In a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury from his priest, Thomas Allen, concerning the contract between the earl of Northumberland and the earl of Shrewsbury for their children, Thomas Allen says:—"The question hath been asked of my lord of Northumberland of the marriage of his son; he hath answered, 'I have concluded with my lord Shrewsbury.' He hath been desired to bring lord Percy to court. He answered, 'When he is better learned, and well acquainted with his wife, shortly after he shall come to court.'" Such was the intelligence written to the earl of Shrewsbury by his family priest so early as May 24, 1516.

² Cavendish. Nott's Life of Surrey.

³ Cavendish. Herbert. Tytler.

conversation he had always taken the liveliest pleasure, without being himself aware that he regarded her with emotions inconsistent with his duty as a married man. As for the young lady herself, she appears to have been wholly unconscious of the impression she had made on her sovereign's heart. In fact, as her whole thoughts were employed in securing a far more desirable object,—namely, her marriage with the heir of the illustrious and wealthy house of Percy,—it is scarcely probable that she incurred the risk of alarming her honorable lover by coquetries with the king. Under these circumstances, we think Anne Boleyn must be acquitted of having purposely attracted the attention of Henry in the first instance. On the contrary, she must, at this peculiar crisis, have regarded his passion as the greatest misfortune that could have befallen her, as it was the means of preventing her marriage with the only man whom we have the slightest reason to believe she ever loved.

If Anne, however, regarded the king with indifference, his feelings towards her were such that he could not brook the thought of seeing her the wife of another, though aware that it was not in his power to marry her himself.¹ With the characteristic selfishness of his nature, he determined to separate the lovers. Accordingly he sent for Wolsey, and, expressing himself very angrily on the subject of the contract into which Anne Boleyn and Percy had entered, charged him to take prompt steps for dissolving their engagement.² The cardinal, in great perplexity, returned to his house at Westminster, and sending for lord Percy, there, before several of his servants, he rudely addressed him in these words:—³ “I marvel not a little at thy folly, that thou wouldst thus attempt to *assure* [contract] thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the court, Anne Bullen. Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For, after thy father's death, thou art likely to inherit and enjoy one of the noblest earldoms in the kingdom; and therefore it had been most meet and

¹ Cavendish. Herbert. Tytler. Guthrie.

² Cavendish's Wolsey. Herhert.

³ The whole scene is in the words of Cavendish, who was present.

convenient for thee to have had thy father's consent in this case, and to have acquainted the king's majesty therewith, requiring his princely favor, and in all such matters submitting thy proceedings unto his highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but I am assured would have so provided thy purpose that he would have advanced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thy degree and honor, and so by thy wise behavior mightest have grown into his high favor, to thy great advancement. But now, see what you have done through your wilfulness! You have not only offended your father, but also your loving sovereign lord, and matched yourself with such a one as neither the king nor your father will consent to; and hereof I put thee out of doubt that I will send for thy father, who, at his coming, shall either break this unadvised bargain or else disinherit thee forever. The king's majesty will also complain of thee to thy father, and require no less than I have said, because he intended to prefer Anne Bullen to another, wherein the king had already *travailed* [taken trouble]; and being almost at a point with one for her (though she knew it not), yet hath the king, like a politic prince, conveyed the matter in such sort that she will be, I doubt not, upon his grace's mention, glad and agreeable to the same."

"Sir," quoth the lord Percy, weeping, "I knew not the king's pleasure, and am sorry for it. I considered I am of good years, and thought myself able to provide me a convenient wife as my fancy should please me, not doubting but that my lord and father would have been right well content. Though she be but a simple maid, and a knight to her father, yet is she descended of right noble parentage, for her mother is high of the Norfolk blood, and her father descended of the earl of Ormond, being one of the earl's heirs-general. Why then, sir, should I be anything scrupulous to match with her, in regard of her estate and descent, equal with mine when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly beseech your grace's favor therein, and also to entreat the king's majesty, on my behalf, for his princely favor in this matter, which I cannot for-

sake."—"Lo, sirs," quoth the cardinal to us, pursues Cavendish, who was a witness of this conference, "ye may see what wisdom is in this wilful boy's head! I thought that, when thou heardest the king's pleasure and intention herein, thou wouldst have relented, and put thyself and thy voluptuous act wholly to the king's will and pleasure, and by him to have been ordered as his grace should have thought good."—"Sir," quoth the lord Percy, "so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far before so many worthy witnesses that I know not how to discharge myself and my conscience."—"Why," quoth the cardinal, "thinkest thou that the king and I know not what we have to do in as weighty matters as this? Yes, I warrant thee: but I see no submission in thee to that purpose."—"Forsooth, my lord," quoth lord Percy, "if it please your grace. I will submit myself wholly to the king and your grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of a weighty burden thereof."—"Well, then," quoth my lord cardinal, "I will send for your father out of the north, and he and we shall take such order as—in the mean season I charge thee that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abide the king's indignation." With these words¹ he rose up, and went into his chamber.

Nor was this unceremonious lecture the only mortification the unfortunate lover was doomed to receive. His father, the earl of Northumberland, a man in whose cold heart and narrow mind the extremes of pride and meanness met, came with all speed out of the north, having received a summons in the king's name; and, going first to Wolsey's house to inquire into the matter, was received by that proud statesman in his gallery, "where," says Cavendish, "they had a long and secret communication." Then (after priming himself for the business with a cup of the cardinal's wine) he seated himself on a bench which stood at the end of the gallery for the use of the serving-men, and calling his son to him, he rated him in the following harsh words,² while Percy stood cap in hand before him:—"Son," quoth he, "even as thou hast been, and always wert,

¹ Cavendish.

² Ibid.

a proud, licentious, and unthinking waster, so hast thou now declared thyself; and therefore what joy, what comfort, or pleasure, or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus, without discretion, hast misused thyself? having neither regard unto me, thy natural father, nor yet to the king, thy sovereign lord, nor to the weal of thy own estate, but hast unadvisedly assured thyself unto her, for whom the king is with thee highly displeased, whose displeasure is intolerable for any subject to bear. But his grace, considering the lightness of thy head and wilful qualities of thy person (his indignation were able to ruin me and my posterity utterly),—yet he (being my singular good lord and favorable prince), and also my lord cardinal my good lord, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy light act, and doth lament thy folly rather than malign me for the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound than we conceive of. I pray God that this may be a sufficient admonition to thee to use thyself more wisely hereafter, for assure thyself that, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last earl of our house. For thy natural inclinations, thou art masterful and prodigal to consume all that thy progenitors have, with great travail, gathered together; but I trust (I assure thee) so to order my succession that thou shalt consume thereof but little.” Then telling Percy that he did not mean to make him his heir, having other boys whom he trusted would prove themselves wiser men, he threatened to choose the most promising of those for his successor. To crown all, he bade Wolsey’s servants mark his words, and besought “them not to be sparing in telling his son of his faults; then bidding him ‘Go his ways to his lord and master and serve him diligently,’ he departed to his barge.”¹

A contemporary document has lately been discovered in the State-Paper office,² which bears the strongest evidence

¹ Although Cavendish has not given the dates when these events occurred, he relates them in chronological order with other matters, which verify the year as precisely as if he had noted it in figures.

² By sir Henry Ellis, in the Cromwell correspondence. See the third series

of being the transcript of a letter written by Percy in his first trouble at the prospect of being compelled to absent himself from Anne Boleyn, and expressing, as the reader will see, great perplexity and uneasiness at having incurred the anger of the king without being at all aware of the cause. The nature of his offence had not then, probably, been explained to him by Wolsey. This letter, which has neither date nor signature, is as follows:—

“MR. MELTON:—

“This shall be to advertise you, that *maistres Anne is changed from that she was at 1* when we iij were last together. Wherefore I pray you that ye, by no devil’s sake, but according to the truth, ever justify as ye shall make answer before God, and do not suffer her in my absence to be married to any other man. I must go to my master² wheresoever he be, for the lord privy-seal desireth much to speak with me; whom if I should speak with in my master’s absence, it would cause me [to] lose my head. And yet I know myself as true a man to my prince as liveth, whom (as my friends informeth me), the lord privy-seal saith, I have offended grievously in my words. No more to you, but to have me commended unto ‘maistres’ Anne; and bid her remember her promise, which none can loose but God only, to whom I shall daily during my life commend.

“To maister James be this delivered with speed.”

The following notation certifies the fact that the above is only a copy, which had cost the transcriber great trouble:—

“Some words in the original hereof be rent out of this letter, which John Uvedale, by guess, hath made sententious, as is before deciphered, as near as he can imagine.”³

The person to whom this letter is addressed is evidently a mutual friend and confidant of both parties, possessing—as we infer from the writer’s earnest entreaties to him not to allow ‘maistres’ Anne to be married to any other man in his absence—peculiar influence with her father. It is possible that the transcriber has erroneously written Mr. Melton instead of Mr. ‘Skelton,’ the kinsman of the Boleyns,

of *Original Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 132, 133, where this curious document is printed in the original orthography, which, in order to render the sense clear to general readers, is modernized in my quotation.

¹ Changed her abode.

² *Query?* Wolsey.

³ Cromwell’s object in making this transcript was, in all probability, to show it up in evidence of Anne’s pre-contract to Percy, as a convenient pretext for nullifying her subsequent marriage with Henry, when the fickle tyrant wished to give her place to Jane Seymour, and invalidate the legitimacy of their daughter Elizabeth.

who subsequently obtained great preferment in the court through the favor of Anne Boleyn.

Sir Henry Ellis says of this letter, "It relates to some sort of engagement not likely now to be explained, but evidently before Anne Boleyn could have had a thought of being raised to a throne." It is surprising that the learned editor should not have been struck with the peculiar similarity of circumstances, which leads to the presumption that it was written by Percy at the time when he had unwittingly incurred the displeasure of his imperious master the cardinal, and the anger of the king, for having engaged himself to Anne Boleyn. The writer of this letter is in the service of a master powerful enough to cause him to lose his head for a very slight offence. No one but Wolsey could inspire such an apprehension, and Percy was under his control. The peril of loss of head proves the elevated rank of the party, for if he had been merely one of the gentlemen of the court, or even a knight like sir Henry Norris, he would not have been in danger of the axe, but the halter; and, as there is not the slightest reason to believe that Anne Boleyn ever gave a promise of marriage to any nobleman but Percy, the natural inference is that the letter emanated from him.

The luckless heir of Northumberland was, in the sequel, not only commanded to avoid the company of 'maistres' Anne, but driven from the court, and compelled to fulfil his involuntary contract to lady Mary Talbot, one of the daughters of the earl of Shrewsbury.¹ It was therefore not Anne's inconstancy, but his own pusillanimity which broke the love-plight between them. If Percy had possessed firmness enough to remain constant to his beloved Anne, he would soon have been at liberty to please himself; for the proud earl his father died three years after he had, by forcing him into a heartless marriage, rendered him the most miserable of men.²

¹ The earl of Surrey, in a letter "scribbled the 12th day of September, 1523," says, "The marriage of my lord Percy shall be with my lord steward's daughter, whereof I am glad. The chief baron is with my lord of Northumberland to conclude the marriage."—Cited by Dr. Lingard, *Hist. England*, vol. vi. p. 112.

² Archives of the house of Percy.

Burnet, after adverting to Cavendish's account of Anne Boleyn's engagement with Percy, as the only satisfactory guide for the date of her first appearance in the court of Henry VIII., adds this remark:—"Had that writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us."¹ That date of Percy's marriage, in the autumn of 1523, proves that he could not have sought Anne Boleyn's hand in the year 1527, when he had been nearly four years the husband of another lady of the highest rank; besides, he was no longer the lord Percy, or in Wolsey's household in that year, but earl of Northumberland and his own master, as the archives of the house of Percy prove.² These stubborn facts verify the statements of Herbert and Fiddes, that Anne Boleyn returned to England in 1522, at which period this important episode in her life commenced, and the king gave the first indications of a passion which has left such memorable traces in the history of his country. Henry's jealous pique at the preference Anne Boleyn had shown for Percy, induced him to inflict upon her the mortification of discharging her from queen Katharine's household, and dismissing her to her father's house. "Whereat," says Cavendish, "mistress Anne was greatly displeased, promising that if ever it lay in her power, she would be revenged on the cardinal; and yet he was not altogether to be blamed, as he acted by the king's command." Anne Boleyn, having no idea of the real quarter whence the blow proceeded by which she was deprived of her lover and the splendid prospect that had flattered her, naturally regarded the interference of Wolsey as a piece of gratuitous impertinence of his own, and, in the bitterness of disappointed love, nourished that vindictive spirit against him which no after submissions could mollify. She continued for a long time to brood over her wrongs and disappointed hopes in the stately solitude of Hever castle, in Kent, where her father and step-mother then resided. There appears to have been little

¹ Hist. Reformation, vol. i. p. 43.

² See Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 112; Brooke's Succession; Milles's Catalogue of Honor; and letters of Bryan, Higden, and the earl of Cumberland to Heneage, touching the funeral of Percy's father.—Chapter-house MSS.

intercourse, after her father's second marriage, with her noble maternal kindred, as sir Thomas Boleyn's name is never mentioned in the Howard-book among the visitors to the duke of Norfolk from the date of his first lady's death. There is reason to believe that Anne was tenderly attached to her step-mother, and much beloved by her.

After a period sufficient to allow for the subsiding of ordinary feelings of displeasure had elapsed, the king paid an unexpected visit to Hever castle. But Anne was either too indignant to offer her homage to the tyrant whose royal caprice had deprived her of her affianced husband, or her father, feeling the evil of having the reputation of one lovely daughter blighted by the attentions of the king, would not suffer her to appear; for she took to her chamber, under pretence of indisposition, on Henry's arrival at the castle, and never left it till after his departure.¹ It was doubtless to propitiate the offended beauty that Henry, on the 18th of June, 1525, advanced her father sir Thomas Boleyn to the peerage by the style and title of viscount Rochford, one of the long-contested titles of the house of Ormond.² He also, with the evident intention of drawing the whole family to his court once more, bestowed on the newly-created viscount the high office of treasurer of the royal household, and appointed William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, a gentleman of the privy-chamber.

It must have been towards the end of this summer that Anne addressed the following affectionate letter to her friend lady Wingfield, which is signed, in the pride of her new nobility, Anne "Rocheford." It is evidently a letter of condolence. The trouble under which Anne begs her to take comfort is, of course, the death of her husband, sir Richard Wingfield, who died at Toledo, July 15, 1525, during his embassy to the emperor Charles V.

"MADAME:—

"I pray you, as you love me, to give credence to my servant, this bearer, touching your removing, and anything else he shall tell you of my behalf, for I will desire you to do nothing but that shall he for your weal; and, madame, though at all times I have not showed the love that I bear you as much as it was

¹ Benger's Life of Anne Boleyn.

² Lingard.

indeed, yet now I trust that you shall well prove that I loved you a great deal more than I made feign for; and assuredly, next mine own mother,¹ I know no woman alive that I love better, and at length, with God's grace, you shall prove that it is unfeigned. And I trust you do know me for such a one, that I will write nothing to comfort you in your trouble, but I will abide by it as long as I live; and therefore I pray you leave your indiscreet trouble, both for displeasing God, and also for displeasing me, that doth love you so entirely. And trusting in God that you will thus do, I make an end, with the ill hand of

“Your own assured friend during my life,

“ANNE ROCHEFORD.

“To my lady Wingfield, this be delivered.”²

It is scarcely probable that Anne continued unconscious of the king's passion, when he followed up all the favors conferred on her family by presenting a costly offering of jewels to herself; but when Henry proceeded to avow his love, she recoiled from his lawless addresses with the natural abhorrence of a virtuous woman, and falling on her knees she made this reply:—³ “I think, most noble and worthy king, your majesty speaks these words in mirth to prove me, without intent of degrading your princely self. Therefore to ease you of the labor of asking me any such question hereafter, I beseech your highness, most earnestly, to desist and take this my answer (which I speak from the depth of my soul) in good part. Most noble king! I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which will be the greatest and best part of the dowry I shall bring my husband.” Henry, having flattered himself that he had only to signify his preference in order to receive the encouragement which is too often accorded to the suit of a royal lover,—

“Suit lightly made, and short-lived pain,
For monarchs seldom sigh in vain,”—

met this earnest repulse with the assurance that “he should at least continue to hope.”—“I understand not, most mighty

¹ As lady Elizabeth Howard, Anne's real mother, died in 1512, it must be her step-mother of whom she speaks with so much regard. The princess Mary styles Jane Seymour ‘her mother,’ and even ‘her most natural mother the queen.’

² Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies. The above letter derives its sole importance from being addressed to the lady whose alleged death-bed deposition regarding the mysterious offences for which Anne was beheaded is supposed to have been the cause of her condemnation. ³ MS., Sloane, 2495, p. 197.

king, how you should retain such hope," she proudly rejoined. "Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already; your mistress I will not be."¹

Those historians who have consigned the name of Anne Boleyn to unmixed infamy have distorted this beautiful instance of lofty spirit and maidenly discretion into a proof of her subtlety, as if she had anticipated a like result to that which had followed the repulse given by Elizabeth Woodville to Edward IV. But the case was wholly different, as Edward was a bachelor and Henry a married man; therefore Anne Boleyn very properly reminded Henry that she could not be his wife, because he had a queen. This speech affords no intimation that her answer would have been favorable to his wishes, even if he had been free to offer her his hand. Keenly feeling, and deeply resenting, as she undoubtedly did, the loss of Percy, she was not of a temper to reward the royal libertine for compelling her betrothed to break his contract with her and wed another.

The manner in which Anne repelled her enamoured sovereign's addresses only added fuel to his flame, and he assailed the reluctant beauty with a series of love-letters of the most passionate character. The originals of these letters are still preserved in the Vatican, having been stolen from the royal cabinet and conveyed thither. Burnet was prepared to consider them as forgeries; but, says he, "directly I saw them, I was too well acquainted with Henry's hand to doubt their authenticity."² In the absence of all dates, the arrangement of these letters becomes matter of opinion, and we are disposed to think the following was written soon after the circumstances to which we have just alluded, containing as it does an earnest expostulation from Henry against her continued refusal to appear at his court:—

"TO MY MISTRESS:—

"As the time seems very long since I heard from you, or concerning your health, the great love I have for you has constrained me to send this bearer, to

¹ MS., Sloane, No. 2495. Tytler. Sharon Turner.

² They are chiefly in old French. We have seen a faithful transcript from the original MS. in the collection of sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill.

be better informed both of your health and pleasure, particularly because, since my last parting with you, I have been told that you have entirely changed the mind in which I left you, and that you neither mean to come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough marvel at, being persuaded in my own mind that I have never committed any offence against you. And it seems hard, in return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of the woman in the world that I value the most; and if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure the distance of our two persons would be equally irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.

“Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence afflicts me. I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but if I heard for certain that you yourself desired it, I could but mourn my ill fortune, and strive by degrees to abate of my folly. And so, for lack of time, I make an end of this rude letter, beseeching you to give the hearer credence in all he will tell you from me.

“Written by the hand of your entire servant,

“H. R.”

The relative terms of mistress and servant, which the king uses so frequently in this correspondence, belonged to the gallantry of the chivalric ages, and were not yet obsolete. Anne's replies were evidently of a most unsatisfactory nature to Henry, as we perceive from the following remonstrance, which occurs at an early stage of the correspondence:—

“By revolving in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret them, whether to my disadvantage (as I understand some others) or not. I beseech you earnestly to let me know your real mind, as to the love between us two. It is needful for me to obtain this answer of you, having been for a whole year wounded with the dart of love, and not yet assured whether I shall succeed in finding a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from declaring you my mistress, lest it should prove that you only entertain for me an ordinary regard. But if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, heart and person, to me, who will be, as I have been, your most loyal servant (if your rigor does not forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you out of my thoughts and affections, and serving you only. I beg you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend; but if it does not please you to answer me in writing, let me know some place where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart.

“No more, for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him who would willingly remain

“Yours,

“H. REX.”

Notwithstanding all these submissions on the part of her royal lover, it is certain that Anne Boleyn continued to absent herself. Indeed, as all traces of her disappear from the annals and correspondence of the period, it may reasonably be inferred that it was at this juncture she went back to France, and entered the service of Margaret duchess of Alençon, the French court having reassembled in the year 1525-26 with renewed splendor, to celebrate with a series of fêtes and rejoicings the emancipation of Francis I. from his captivity. All historians agree that Anne returned to England with her father in the year 1527, when he was recalled from his diplomatic mission; but those who have not taken the trouble of tracing the dates of Percy's marriage and his subsequent succession to the earldom, erroneously assert that her acquaintance with the king commenced that year.

After an absence of four years, Anne Boleyn resumed her place in the palace of queen Katharine, in compliance, it is supposed, with her father's commands, and received the homage of her enamoured sovereign in a less repulsive manner than she had done while her heart was freshly bleeding for the loss of the man whom she had passionately desired to marry. If her regrets were softened by the influence of time and absence, it is certain that her resentment continued in full force against Wolsey for his conduct with regard to Percy, and was treasured up against a day of vengeance; "she having," says Cavendish, "always a prime grudge against my lord cardinal for breaking the contract between her and lord Percy, supposing it to be his own device and no other's. And she at last knowing the king's pleasure and the depth of his secrets, then began to look very haughty and stout, lacking no manner of rich apparel or jewels that money could purchase."

Henry's passion for Anne and her ill-will to his favorite minister were soon apparent to the magnates of the court, who, disgusted with the pride and despotic conduct of the latter, were eager to avail themselves of her influence to accomplish his fall. Wolsey, perceiving the danger that threatened him, exerted all his arts of pleasing to conciliate

the offended beauty, and prepared many feasts and masks to entertain her and the king at his own house. This induced her to treat him with feigned civility, but the hatred of a vindictive person dissembled is always far more perilous than the open violence of a declared foe. Anne, however, went further than dissembling, for she condescended to the use of the most deceitful blandishments in order to persuade the cardinal that she had a great regard for him. "This day," writes Heneage to Wolsey,¹ "as the king was going to dinner, 'maistres' Anne spake to me, and said 'she was afraid your grace had forgotten her, because you sent her no token with Forest;' and said, 'she thought that was the matter that he came not to her.' And I showed her that he came from your grace very *timely* ;² and also that your grace had such mind upon those letters sent by him, that your grace did not remember to send any letters by mine; and," pursues Heneage, "my lady her mother [step-mother] desired me to send unto your grace, to desire your grace to bestow a morsel of tunny upon her."³ The date of this letter, March 4th, shows that it was Lent, and the Boleyn ladies were hungering after all sorts of dainty fish, such as graced the cardinal's sumptuous board. Anne, in particular, appears to have been very much of an epicure; for though the king sent that night, as Heneage informs Wolsey, a dish from his own table by him for mistress Anne's supper,⁴ of which she kindly invited him to partake, yet even that did not content her, for while Heneage and she were discussing it, she was hankering after Wolsey's dainties, and expressing her wish "for some of his good meat, as carpes, shrimpes,⁵ and other delicacies. I beseech your grace, pardon me," continues Heneage, who appears to draw strange conclusions from those cravings, "that I am so bold as to write unto your grace hereof; it is but the conceit and mind of a woman." Anne Boleyn was at Windsor at this time, as the letter is dated from that place.

The question of Henry's divorce from Katharine was now

¹ Original Letters, sir H. Ellis; third series.

² Meaning early.

³ Ellis's Original Letters; third series.

⁴ Ibid. Heneage was then in waiting on king Henry.

⁵ Ibid.

mysteriously agitated under the name of "the king's secret matter," and Wolsey, far from suspecting the real object for which the king was desirous of riding himself of his consort, became the blind instrument of opening the path for the elevation of his fair enemy to a throne. The intrigues which prefaced the public proceedings for the divorce have been related in the life of Katharine of Arragon. A splendid farewell fête was given to the French ambassadors at Greenwich, May 5, 1527, and at the mask with which the midnight ball concluded the king gave a public mark of his preference for Anne Boleyn by selecting her for his partner.¹ It was at this period, perhaps, that Henry caused the following sonnet, of his own composition, to be sung to the reluctant object of his regard, thus pointing out, with characteristic arrogance, the difference in their relative positions, and the inutility of resistance on her part:—

"The eagle's force subdues each bird that flies:
 What metal can resist the flaming fire?
 Doth not the sun dazzle the clearest eyes,
 And melt the ice, and make the frost retire?
 The hardest stones are pierced through with tools,
 The wisest are with princes made but fools."²

Henry's new passion became obvious even to the queen, and occasioned her to upbraid him with his perfidy, but it does not appear that she condescended to discuss the matter with Anne. Wolsey's appointment to the embassy to France is stated by Cavendish to have been contrived by the intrigues of Anne Boleyn, at the instigation of his enemies, who were desirous of getting him out of England. During the absence of Wolsey the influence of Anne increased beyond measure, and the "king's secret matter" ceased to be a mystery to those who did not shut their eyes to the signs of the times. Wolsey, indeed, had suffered himself to be so completely duped by Henry's diplomatic feints, as to have committed himself at the French court by entering into negotiations for uniting his master to Renée of France, the sister of the deceased queen Claude. Meantime, a treatise

¹ MSS. de Brienne, fol. 80.

² Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 388.

on the unlawfulness of his present marriage was compounded by the king and some of his favorite divines. How painfully and laboriously the royal theologian toiled in this literary labyrinth is evidenced by a letter written by himself to the fair lady whose bright eyes had afflicted him with such unwonted qualms of conscience that he had been fain to add the pains and penalties of authorship to the cares of government for her sake. This curious letter must have been written in the summer of 1527, during one of those temporary absences with which Anne Boleyn occasionally tantalized him:—

“MINE OWN SWEET HEART:—

“This shall be to advertise you of the great loneness that I find since your departing, for, I assure you, me-thinketh the time longer since your departing now last, than I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love causeth it, for otherwise I would not have thought it possible that for so little awhile it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming towards you, me-thinketh my pains be half relieved, and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter. In token whereof I have spent above four hours this day upon it, which has caused me to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head.”¹ . . .

Henry's impatience for the accomplishment of his wishes made him dissatisfied with Wolsey's diplomatic caution with regard to his “matter;” and, having hitherto found the cardinal subservient to all his wishes, he recalled him to England, and confided to him his desire of making Anne Boleyn his wife.² Thunderstruck at this disclosure, the minister threw himself at the feet of his royal master, and remained several hours on his knees reasoning with him on the infatuation of his conduct, but without effect. Henry's passion was again quickened by the stimulus of jealousy, for about this time we find Anne coquetting with sir Thomas

¹ Dr. Lingard considers the expressions with which this letter concludes too coarse to be transcribed. Sharon Turner, on the contrary, who quotes the whole letter, regards it as one of the proofs of Henry's respect for Anne Boleyn's virtue. “It requires no great correctness of taste,” says Turner, “to feel that those letters are written in very decorous, affectionate, and earnest terms, and with the feelings and phrase that men use to honorable and modest women.” It is, nevertheless, difficult to imagine any woman of honorable principles receiving and treasuring such letters from a married man.

² Cavendish. Lingard.

Wyatt, her early friend and devoted admirer. Wyatt, Surrey, George Boleyn, and Anne Boleyn were the most accomplished quartette in the court of Henry VIII. The ties of blood which united the two Boleyns with their cousin Surrey were not so powerfully felt as the attraction which a sympathy of tastes and pursuits created between them and Wyatt. Anne Boleyn might, perhaps, have consoled herself for the loss of Percy by marrying Wyatt; but, unfortunately, his hand was pledged to another before her contract with the heir of Northumberland was broken. Her French education had, however, taught her to regard adulation as a welcome tribute to her charms, and she permitted his attentions.

A very curious incident occurred during this perilous flirtation, as it would be called in modern parlance, which throws some light on the progress of Henry's courtship at this time. "One day, while Anne Boleyn was very earnest on her embroidery, Wyatt was hovering about her, talking and complimenting her (for which their relative employments about the king and queen gave him good opportunity), he twitched from her a jewelled tablet, which hung by a lace or chain out of her pocket. This he thrust into his bosom, and, notwithstanding her earnest entreaties, never would restore it to her, but wore it about his neck under his cassock. Now and then he showed it to her in order to persuade her to let him retain it as a mark of her favor, or at all events to prove a subject of conversation with her, in which he had great delight. Anne Boleyn, perceiving his drift, permitted him to keep it without further comment, as a trifle not worth further contest. Henry VIII. watched them both with anxious jealousy, and quickly perceived that the more sir Thomas Wyatt hovered about the lady the more she avoided him. . . . Well pleased at her conduct, the king," says sir Thomas Wyatt, "fell to win her by treaty of marriage, and in his talk on that matter took from her a ring, which he ever wore upon his little finger."

Anne Boleyn had gained some little wisdom by her disappointment in regard to Percy, for Wyatt declares "that

all this she carried with great secrecy." Far different was the conduct of the king, who was extremely anxious to display his triumph over Wyatt. Within a few days after, he was playing at bowls with Wyatt, the duke of Suffolk, and sir Francis Bryau. Henry was in high good humor, but affirmed that in the cast of the bowl he had surpassed his competitor Wyatt. Both Wyatt and his partner declared, "By his leave it was not so." The king, however, continued pointing with his finger on which he had Anne Boleyn's ring, and, smiling significantly, said, "Wyatt, I tell thee it is *mine*." The ring, which was well known to him, at last caught the eye of sir Thomas Wyatt, who paused a little to rally his spirits. Then taking from his bosom the chain to which hung the tablet, which the king likewise remembered well, and had noted it when worn by Anne Boleyn, he said, "And if it may like your majesty to give me leave to measure the cast with *this*, I have good hopes yet it will be mine." Wyatt then busied himself with measuring the space between the bowls with the chain of the tablet, and boldly pronounced the game to be his. "It may be so," exclaimed the monarch, haughtily spurning from him the disputed bowl; "but then I am deceived!" and, with an angry brow, he broke up the sport. This double-meaning dialogue was understood by few or none but themselves; but the king retired to his chamber with his countenance expressive of the resentment he felt. He soon took an opportunity of reproaching Anne Boleyn with giving love-tokens to Wyatt, when the lady clearly proved, to the great satisfaction of her royal lover, that her tablet had been snatched from her and kept by superior strength.¹

No one who dispassionately reflects on these passages in Anne's conduct can reconcile it either with her duty to her royal mistress, or those feelings of feminine delicacy which would make a young and beautiful woman tremble at the

¹ On this circumstance, related by Wyatt himself, has been founded the calumny repeated by Sanders and many French and Spanish writers, and by the Catholic historians in general, that Wyatt had confessed to Henry an intrigue with Anne Boleyn; but the high favor in which he continued with *both*, plainly proves that Wyatt's passion was not permitted by the lady to transgress farther than he describes in the above narration.

impropriety of becoming an object of contention between two married men. Wyatt prudently resigned the fair prize to his royal rival, and if Anne abstained from compliance with the unhallowed solicitations of the king, it must, we fear, be ascribed rather to her caution than her virtue, for she had overstepped the restraints of moral rectitude when she first permitted herself to encourage his attentions. In the hour that Anne Boleyn did this she took her first step towards a scaffold, and prepared for herself a doom which fully exemplifies the warning, "Those who sow the whirlwind must expect to reap the storm." Ambition had now entered her head; she saw that the admiration of the sovereign had rendered her the centre of attraction to all who sought his favor, and she felt the fatal charms of power,—not merely the power which beauty, wit, and fascination had given her, but that of political influence. In a word, she swayed the will of the arbiter of Europe, and she had determined to share his throne as soon as her royal mistress could be dispossessed. The Christmas festival was celebrated with more than usual splendor at Greenwich that year, and Anne Boleyn, not the queen, was the *prima donna* at all the tournaments, masks, banquets, and balls with which the king endeavored to beguile the lingering torments of suspense occasioned by the obstacles which Wolsey's diplomatic craft continued to interpose in the proceedings for the divorce.

When Henry's treatise on the illegality of his present marriage was completed, in the pride of authorship he ordered it to be shown to the greatest literary genius of his court, sir Thomas More, with a demand of his opinion. Too honest to flatter, and too wise to criticise the work of the royal pedant, More extricated himself from the dilemma by pleading his ignorance of theology. The treatise was, however, presented to pope Clement; and Stephen Gardiner (then known by the humble name of Mr. Stephen) was, with Edmund Fox, the king's almoner, deputed to wring from that pontiff a declaration in unison with the prohibition in Scripture against marriage with a brother's widow. This, and some other equivocal concessions, having been obtained, Fox returned to England, and, proceeding to Greenwich,

communicated the progress that had been made to the king, who received him in Anne Boleyn's apartments. Anne, whose sanguine temper, combined with feminine inexperience in ecclesiastical law, made her fancy that the papal sanction to the divorce was implied in the instruments exhibited to the king, was agitated with transports of exultation, and bestowed more liberal promises of patronage on the bearer of these unmeaning documents than became her. Wolsey was included in a commission with cardinal Campeggio to try the validity of the king's marriage, and, under the influence of his enamoured master, had written a letter to the pope, describing Anne Boleyn as a model of female excellence, in order to controvert the scandals that were already current at Rome respecting her connection with the king.

In this position were affairs when the noted epidemic called 'the sweating sickness' broke out, June 1st, in the court. Henry, in his first alarm, yielded to the persuasions of Wolsey and his spiritual directors, and sent the fair Boleyn home to her father at Hever castle, while he effected a temporary reconciliation with his injured queen. His penitentiary exercises with Katharine did not, however, deter him from pursuing his amatory correspondence with her absent rival. Here is one of the letters which appears to have been addressed to Anne while at Hever castle:—¹

“MY MISTRESS AND MY FRIEND:—

“My heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands, and we supplicate to be commended to your good graces, and that by absence your affections may not be diminished to us. For that would be to augment our pain, which would be a great pity, since absence gives enough, and more than I ever thought could be felt. This brings to my mind a fact in astronomy, which is, that the further the poles are from the sun, notwithstanding, the more scorching is his heat. Thus is it with our love; absence has placed distance between us, nevertheless fervor increases,—at least on my part. I hope the same from you, assuring you that in my case the anguish of absence is so great, that it would be intolerable were it not for the firm hope I have of your indissoluble affection towards me. In order to remind you of it, and because I cannot in person be in your presence, I send you the thing which comes nearest that is possible; that is to say, my

¹ Printed at the end of Robert of Avesbury.

picture, and the whole device, which you already know of, set in bracelets, wishing myself in their place when it pleases you. This is from the hand of

“Your servant and friend,

“H. R.”

Fears for the health of his absent favorite certainly dictated the following letter from Henry to Anne:—

“The uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me exceedingly, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing certain tidings. But now, since you have as yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as it is with us. For when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets-de-chambre, and your brother¹ fell ill, but are now quite well; and since we have returned to your house at Hunsdon² we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family, and I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that, in truth, in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere, have died of it. For which reason I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, or to be too uneasy at our absence, for wherever I am, I am yours. And yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for whoever will struggle against fate is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end: wherefore comfort yourself and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, for I hope shortly to make you sing ‘*le renvoyé*.’³

“No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts.”

One of the earliest victims to the pestilence was Anne's brother-in-law, William Carey,⁴ gentleman of the bedchamber to the king. A letter, written by Anne to the king in behalf of her sister Mary, now left a destitute widow with two infants, elicits from Henry this mysterious reply, in which no lingering symptom of tenderness for the former object of his fickle regard is discernible:—

¹ This was George Boleyn.

² Hunsdon. This seat, so noted as the nursery of Henry VIII.'s children, originally belonged to the Boleyns, and was purchased by the king from them.

³ This was probably the refrain of some pretty French roundelay she used to sing.

⁴ He was only just released from his duty in the royal bedchamber, in which he had slept for several nights. Bryan Tuke writes to Wolsey:—“Now is news come that Mr. Carey is dead of the sweat, whom, at my first coming, I met near this place; and he said to me, that he had been with his wife at Plashey, and would not be seen in the king's residence, because he wanted to ride and hunt. Our Lord have mercy on his soul, and hold his hand over us!”—Cott. MS., Vesp. c. iv. f. 237.

"In regard to your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welche¹ to write to my lord [her father] my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not deceive Adam; for surely, whatever is said, it cannot stand with his honor but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter,² now in her extreme necessity. No more to you at this time, mine own darling, but awhile I would we were together an evening.

"With the hand of yours, "H. R."

This metaphor of Eve has allusion to the step-mother of Mary and Anne Boleyn, who had been extremely averse to Mary's love-match; but the king seems to suppose that she would not, after his mandate, dare to prejudice the father against his distressed child. We shall soon find the indiscreet Mary in disgrace with all parties, on account of her incorrigible predilection for making love-matches.

Anne and her father were both seized with this alarming epidemic early in June. The agitating intelligence of the peril of his beloved was conveyed to Henry by express at midnight. He instantly despatched his physician, Dr. Butts, to her assistance, and indited the following tender epistle to her:—

"The most displeasing news that could occur came to me suddenly at night. On three accounts I must lament it. One, to hear of the illness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own: I would willingly bear half of what you suffer to cure you. The second, from the fear that I shall have to endure my wearisome absence much longer, which has hitherto given me all the vexation that was possible. The third, because my physician (in whom I have most confidence) is absent at the very time when he could have given me the greatest pleasure. But I hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my chief joys on earth; that is, the cure of my mistress. Yet, from the want of him, I send you my second (Dr. Butts), and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. By your doing this, I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world.

"Written by that secretary who is, and forever will be, your loyal and most assured servant, "H. R."

Henry was at Hunsdon, June 23, 1528, where he was attended by his secretary Bryan Tuke, who assisted him in

¹ Sir Walter Welche, one of the six gentlemen of his privy-chamber.

² The expression in the letter of *natural* daughter does not mean *illegitimate* daughter, but points out that she was sir Thomas's daughter by the ties of *nature*, while she was but the *step-daughter* of lady Boleyn. The term *natural* for illegitimate was not used till the last century.

some of his writings in favor of his divorce, evidently much against the secretary's inclination. The king used to commune secretly with his physician, and sup apart in a tower; and as he passed by the chamber of Bryan, would "turn in," and examine what he had written, and chat on news, and talk of anything on his mind. Among other matters he told him "how mistress Anne and lord Rochford both had the sickness, and what jeopardy they have been in by the turning in of the sweat before the time; of the endeavors of Dr. Butts, who went to them and returned; and finally, of their perfect recovery."¹ Anne was in imminent danger, but through the skill and care of Dr. Butts she was preserved to fulfil a darker destiny. The shadow of death had passed from over her, but the solemn warning was unheeded, and she fearlessly pressed onward to the fatal accomplishment of her wishes.

The first use she made of her convalescence was to employ Heneage to pen the following deceitful message from her to cardinal Wolsey:—"Maistres Anne is very well amended, and commended her humbly to your grace, and thinketh it long till she speak with you."² She soon after wrote to the cardinal herself, and it seems difficult to imagine how a woman of her haughty spirit could condescend to use the abject style which at this period marks her letters to her unforgiven foe. It is, however, possible that this dissimulation was enjoined by Henry, when he paid her his promised visit after her recovery from the sickness, at which time they must have compounded this partnership epistle³ with the view of beguiling Wolsey into forwarding their desire at the approaching convention:—

"MY LORD:—

"In my most humble wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive from this bearer that you do, the which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do not know the great pains and

¹ Letter of Bryan Tuke to Wolsey, Cotton. MS., c. iv. f. 237.

² State-Papers, vol. i.

³ Harleian Miscellany.

troubles you have taken for me, both night and day, is ever to be recompensed on my part, but *alonely* [only] in loving you (next to the king's grace) above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proof of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm the same writing to be true, and I do trust you think the same. My lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the legate, for I do hope (an' they come from you) they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more an' it were possible, as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a steadfast hope, I make an end of my letter. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be—"¹

"P.S. by king Henry. The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set my hand, desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I *ensure* you that there is neither of us but greatly desireth to see you, and are joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse, notwithstanding we trust, by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God), shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would.

"By your loving sovereign and friend,

"H. R."

The king had, according to the French ambassador, become infuriated with Wolsey at the delay of the divorce, and had used "terrible terms" to him. Wolsey, towards the middle of July, fell sick of the pestilence, or pretended to be so, in order to work on the king's affection, or to procure some respite till the arrival of Campeggio. Anne Boleyn sent him the following letter, which, from mentioning this illness, is supposed to have been written at the end of July, 1528:—

"MY LORD:—

"In my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your grace, of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are escaped; and that is, the king's grace and you, not doubting that God has preserved you both for great causes known *alonely* [only] of His high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much. And if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send

¹ This letter has been attributed to queen Katharine and Henry VIII. It has no signature, but the manner of composition is precisely the same with the next letter by Anne Boleyn.

this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains. In the which I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my good will in the stead of the power; the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth, whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honor. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

“Your humble and obedient servant,

“ANNE BOLEYN.”

There is a difficulty in reading and understanding the letters of Anne Boleyn, on account of an evident want of sincerity. Another of these epistles, meant to propitiate Wolsey, regarding the trial of the validity of queen Katharine's marriage, is a repetition, with very little variation, of the professions in the above. She “humbly thanks him for his travail in seeking to bring to pass the greatest weal that is possible to come to any creature living, and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in compare to his highness.” The earnestness of her protestations of favor and affection to the cardinal, in case he should succeed in making her queen, is apparent in the following words, which are still to be seen in the British Museum, written by her hand, and subscribed with her autograph, as follows:—

“I assure you that after this matter is brought to bear, you shall find as your *bound* (in the mean time) to owe you my service, and then look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it.

*Your humble and
obedient servant
Anne Boleyn*

That occasional doubts and misgivings were entertained by Anne, as to the stability of Henry's regard and the real nature of his intentions, may be gathered from the device of a jewel presented by her to the royal lover, to which he alludes in the following letter:—

"For a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it), I return to you my most hearty thanks, not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation and the too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me; for I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I were not assisted by your great humanity and favor, which I have always sought to seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, ¹ *Aut illic aut nullibi*.

"The demonstrations of your affections are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me forever to honor, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but outdo you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible.

"I desire, also, that if at any time before this I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my person was so too. God can do it, if he pleases, to whom I pray once a day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long till we see one another. Written by the hand of that secretary, who, in heart, body, and will is

"Votre loyal et plus assuré serviteur

H^s autr  *ne cherche* *H^s*

It must have been nearly at this crisis that the king was induced to declare to Anne Boleyn and her father, that it was his intention to make her his consort whenever he should be released from his present marriage. After this intimation, he became a frequent visitor at Hever castle. He used to ride thither privately from Eltham or Greenwich. The local tradition of Hever points out a certain

¹ The original of this letter is written in French. The letters are seventeen in all; eight of these are written in English, and nine of the earlier in French. Two of the French letters have the fanciful heart signature, with the French words on each side of the heart, signifying *Henry seeks Anne Boleyn, no other*: and the word of power, *Rex*. One French letter is signed with H. R., and the heart enclosing A. B. without the words; another has merely the king's initials, with the French words *ma aimable* written on each side. The English letters are signed in three different modes, with the initials of the king's name as above, without other additions. Some have a small *h* and the *Rex* contraction; another the word *Henry*, very well written, and the *Rex* contraction; this last is added to a small French letter (No. 8), ending in cipher, in answer to an evident request for a place in the royal household. The fantastic signature at the conclusion is appended to more than one of Henry's letters.

hill which commanded a view of the castle, where he used to sound his bugle to give notice of his approach. The oak-panelled chamber and the antique gallery are still shown at the castle where he used to have interviews with Anne Boleyn. "She stood still upon her guard," says Wyatt, "and was not easily carried away with all this appearance of happiness; first, on account of the love she bare ever to the queen whom she served, a personage of great virtue; and secondly, she imagined that there was less freedom in her union with her lord and king than with one more agreeable to her."

Her love of pleasure and thirst for admiration rendered Anne impatient to emerge from the retirement of Hever castle; and the fears of the pestilence having entirely passed away, she returned to court on the 18th of August. The French ambassador, Du Bellai, who had predicted that her influence would entirely decay with absence, thus announces her reappearance in his reports to his own government:—"Mademoiselle de Boleyn has at last returned to the court, and I believe the king to be so infatuated with her that God alone could abate his madness." The queen was sent to Greenwich, and her fair rival was lodged in a splendid suite of apartments contiguous to those of the king.¹ The time-serving portion of the courtiers flattered the weakness of the sovereign by offering their adulation to the beautiful and accomplished object of his passion. She was supported by the powerful influence of her maternal kinsmen, the duke of Norfolk and his brethren, men who were illustrious, not only by their high rank and descent from the monarchs of England and France, but by the services they had rendered their country, both by sea and land; yet the voice of the great body of the people was against her. They felt the cause of their injured, their virtuous queen as their own; and their indignation was so decidedly manifested, that Henry, despotic as he was, ventured not to oppose the popular clamor for the dismissal of his fair favorite.² Power might uphold, the sophistry of party defend, the position of

¹ Le Grand. Tytler. Lingard.

² Herbert, in White Kennet, vol. i. p. 106.

Anne Boleyn at this crisis, but on the grounds of morality and religion it could never be justified. The legate was expected from Rome to try the validity of the king's marriage with Katharine, and, as Henry founded his objections on scruples of conscience, it was judged most prudent to keep passion behind the scenes till the farce was ended. Anne Boleyn was accordingly required by her royal lover to retire to Hever castle for the present. This sort of temporizing policy was not agreeable to her, but the king insisted upon her departure; "whereat," to use the quaint but expressive phrase of a contemporary, "she smoked." So great, indeed, was her displeasure, that she vowed she would return to court no more, after having been dismissed in such an abrupt and uncourteous fashion.

Henry, who was greatly troubled at the perversity of mistress Anne, did everything in his power to conciliate her. He continued to write the most impassioned letters to her, and to give her the earliest intelligence of the progress of the expected legate. That Anne at first maintained an obdurate silence is evinced by one of Henry's letters, which we insert:—

"Although, my mistress, it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you; that is, to hear good news from you, and to have an answer to my last letter, yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant (seeing that otherwise he can know nothing) to inquire the health of his mistress; and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant, I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprise me of your welfare. I pray this may continue as long as I desire mine own. And to cause you yet oftener to remember me, I send you, by the bearer of this, a buck killed last evening, very late, by mine own hand,—hoping, that when you eat of it, you may think of the hunter. From want of room, I must end my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother.

"H. R."

Cardinal Campeggio's frequent fits of the gout had retarded his opening the legantine court, which was expected speedily to pronounce the divorce. It has been conjectured that the delay was wilful, in order that Henry's fickle temper might weary of his passion before the sentence was pronounced. Anne Boleyn was certainly of this opinion, and expressly declared that Campeggio's illness was feigned.

The next letter shows that the king was of a different opinion, and it is apparent that he thought she had acted unreasonably in the anger she had lately manifested against himself:—

“To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts with the bridle of reason, I assure you all the greatness of the world could not counterpoise, for my satisfaction, the knowledge and certainty thereof. Therefore, good sweetheart, continue the same, not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter, for thereby shall come, both to you and me, the greatest quietness that may be in this world.

“The cause why the hearer stays so long is, the gear¹ I have had to dress up for you, which I trust, ere long, to see you occupy; and then I trust to occupy yours, which shall be recompense enough to me for all my pains and labor.

“The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate² doth somewhat retard this access to your person, but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompense his demur. For I know well when he hath said (touching the saying and bruit noise³ that he is thought imperial) ‘that it shall be well known in this matter that he is not *imperial*;⁴ and this for lack of time. “Farewell.”

According to Stowe, and some others, the revenues of the see of Durham (or, at any rate, that portion of the immunities of the bishopric which were situated in the metropolis) were bestowed by Henry on Anne Boleyn while she yet retained the name of maid of honor to his queen. It is certain that Durham house became by some means the London residence of herself and her parents.⁵ It was pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, on the very spot in the Strand now occupied by the Adelphi buildings. This, however, did not content Anne, and when, after an absence of two months, she consented, by the entreaties of the king, sec-

¹ Supposed the furnishing and decking of Suffolk house.

² Cardinal Campeggio, whom Anne Boleyn suspected of a political fit of the gout.

³ ‘Regarding the popular report,’ is the meaning of this strange sentence.

⁴ Meaning that he was not devoted to the interests of queen Katharine’s nephew, the emperor.

⁵ Pennant. It is curious to trace the possessions of queen Elizabeth as Anne Boleyn’s heiress; when she was princess, this Durham house was her town residence, and was afterwards granted by her to sir Walter Raleigh. “It was a stately house, built in the reign of Henry III. by Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham: the hall is stately and high, supported with lofty marble pillars. It standeth upon Thames, very pleasantly. Her majesty [Elizabeth] hath given the use thereof to sir Walter Raleigh.”—Norden’s Survey: Camden Society.

Anne Boleyn

Solbein Drawing

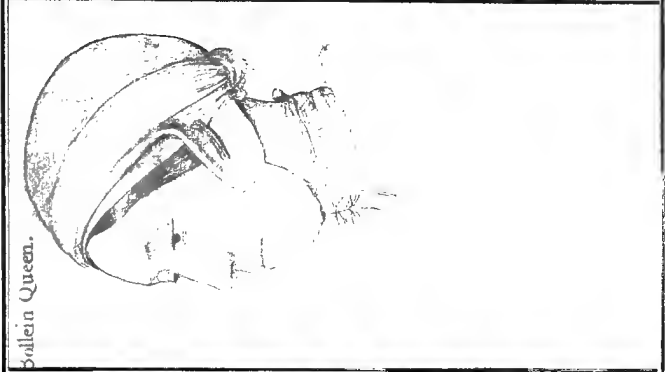
Bollina Box Henrici Octavo.

After the Painting by François Clouet now in the possession of Général Herillier, Paris.

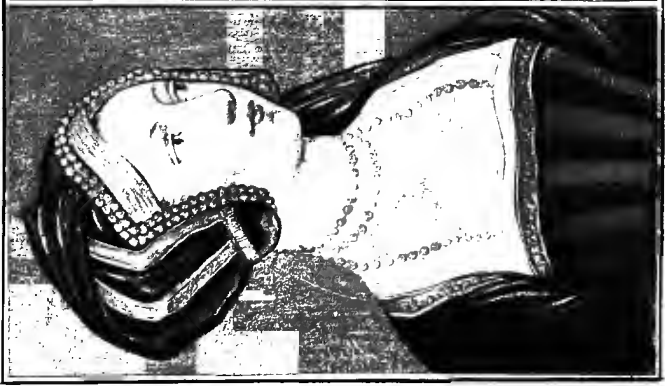
Believed by experts to be improperly marked. Now in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

A panel, by an unknown artist of the German School of the XVI Century, which hung in the bed-chamber of Queen Elizabeth until 1585. Now in Windsor Castle.

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Ballein Queen.



onded by the commands and even the tears of her father, to return to court, it was only on condition that a more splendid and commodious residence should be allotted her. Henry took infinite pains to please her in this matter, and at length employed Wolsey as his agent in securing Suffolk house for her abode. This is announced to Anne in the following letter :—

“DARLING :—

“As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten one by my lord cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more show you. As touching our other affairs, I assure you there can be no more done or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for; so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialties whereof were both too long to be written, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefore, till you repair hither I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long, for I have caused my lord your father to make his provisions with speed.”

In another letter he wishes her father to hasten their arrival in London, saying, “I entreat you, my mistress, to tell your father from me, that I beg him to advance but two days the designated time, that it may be earlier than the old term, or at least on the day prefixed. Otherwise I shall think he is not disposed to assist lovers as he promised, nor according to my expectations.”

Suffolk house was contiguous to Wolsey's splendid new-built palace, York house, known afterwards by the name of Whitehall. Henry took the opportunity of borrowing this mansion of the cardinal, as affording better facilities for unobserved intercourse with Anne than his own royal abode at Westminster. The monarch liked York house so well that he never returned it, either to its defrauded master or to the see of York. Before these arrangements were well completed, the king had the annoyance of learning that all he wrote in confidence to Anne Boleyn was publicly known in London soon after, which caused him to write this admonition to the incautious beauty :—

“DARLING :—

“I heartily commend me to you, ascertaining you that I am a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall, on my part, declare unto you, to whom I pray you will give full credit, for it were too long to write. In my last letters,

I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you; this is better known in London than anything that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel, but *lack of discreet* handling must needs be the cause. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handling, but upon your own. Writ with the hand of him that longs to be yours." ¹

The reproof contained in this letter is gentle, considering the provocation, and shows how extremely Anne Boleyn was indulged by her lover. It develops, likewise, a great weakness in her character, that of tattling and boasting to all around her of the arrangement the king was making at London to have access to her presence without ostensibly living under the same roof with her.

Anne took possession of the stately mansion which her enamoured sovereign had provided for her early in December, for on the 9th of that month the French ambassador writes, "Mademoiselle de Boulan has arrived, and the king has placed her in very fine lodgings, immediately adjoining to his own; and there, every day, more court is paid to her than *she* ever paid to the queen." Henry, indeed, induced his courtiers to attend the daily levees which she, like a rival queen, held with all the pomp of royalty. She had her ladies in waiting, her train-bearer, and her chaplains, and dispensed patronage both in church and state. At Christmas the king joined his family at Greenwich, and Anne Boleyn outraged all propriety by accompanying him. She and the queen, however, were not supposed to associate. The queen kept open house as usual, and mistress Boleyn held her revels apart.² Scandal, of course, was busy with her name;³ what lady who submitted to occupy a position so suspicious could escape with a reputation unblemished? The reports of the foreign ambassadors, especially those of France and Venice, are full of those rumors, which might have been foreseen by any female who had the slightest delicacy of mind. The apathy of Anne Boleyn to such imputations can only be accounted for by her residence in the licentious court of Francis I., where she had seen the

¹ This billet appears to be the last in the series of Henry's celebrated love-letters to Anne Boleyn.

² I. Evêque de Bayonne, p. 231.

³ *Ibid.* Turner, vol. ii. p. 516.

countess Chateaubriant and the duchess d'Étampes treated with the distinction of princesses, and tolerated by the ladies of the royal family. Even her own illustrious and high-minded patroness, Margaret duchess of Alençon, had condescended to avail herself of the influence of D'Étampes over the mind of Francis in more instances than one,—a melancholy proof of the deterioration of the moral standard of *diplomates*.

In the commencement of the year 1529, Gardiner was again despatched to Rome to plead for the divorce. It is a curious fact that on the 4th of April Anne Boleyn sent him a present of cramp-rings, accompanied with the following letter.¹ It is expressed in a style which shows she either considered him as her friend, or was desirous of persuading him that she thought him such :—

“ MR. STEPHEN :—²

“ I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind you have to do me pleasure, not doubting but as much as it is possible for man's wit to imagine you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you will put me in a study how to reward your high service. I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first : for that was but a rejoicing hope, which, ceasing, the lack of it does put to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know. Therefore do I trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending.

“ Mr. Stephen, I send you here the cramp-rings for you, and Mr. Gregory (Cassal), and Mr. Peter ; pray you to distribute them both, as *she* that (you may assure them) will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall be in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health.

“ Written at Greenwich the 4th day of April,

“ By your assured friend,

“ ANN BOLLEIN.”

There is something remarkable connected with this present of cramp-rings, seeing that by a superstition, parallel to the kings of England curing ‘the evil’ by their touch, the queens of England were supposed to possess the power alone of consecrating cramp-rings. The question naturally arises,

¹ Le Grand. Ellis, Royal Letters ; first series.

² State-Paper, MSS. No. 123. Gardiner's Christian name was Stephen. The letter in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 265. In Tytler's lately published letters from the State-Papers, the envoys of Mary I. request there may be sent some newly-blessed cramp-rings for distribution.

how came Anne Boleyn in the year 1529 by a sufficient number of cramp-rings for Gardiner to distribute among the English ambassage to the pope, if she had not taken upon herself the queenly office of consecrating them? ¹

It is remarkable that those cruel persecutors of our early reformers, Gardiner and Bonner, were the most active of all the ecclesiastics for the divorce, and that Cranmer was brought forward as an *élève* of Gardiner for the same purpose: all three were under the especial patronage of Anne Boleyn, and rose to greatness chiefly through her influence. Cranmer, when he was first encountered by Gardiner at the house of Mr. Cressy, at Waltham, was occupied in the tuition of Mr. Cressy's sons. His eloquence and learning attracted the attention of Gardiner, who, to prove him, introduced the topic of the divorce, and asked in what manner he would proceed if the conduct of that affair were intrusted to him? "I would obtain the opinion of the most learned universities in Europe on the validity of a marriage contracted under such circumstances," was the reply. Gardiner communicated this rejoinder to the king; on which Henry made this characteristic exclamation, "He has gotten the sow by the right ear." The plan was adopted, and Cranmer was immediately received into the family of Anne

¹ In Burnet, vol. ii. p. 266 of Records, is to be found the whole Latin formula of this singular and forgotten office pertaining to our English queens. It is entitled the Office of Consecrating the Cramp-rings; and certain Prayers to be used by the Queen's highness in the consecration of the Cramp-ring. It commences with the Psalm of *Deus misereatur nostri*: then follows a Latin prayer invoking the aid of the holy Spirit. The rings then lying in one basin or more, a prayer to be said over them, from which we learn the rings were made of metal (silver, we think), and were to expel all livid venom of serpents. The rings were blessed with an invocation to the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and signed frequently with the cross; in the last benediction, the request is made "that the rings may restore contracted nerves." A psalm of benediction follows, and a prayer "against the frauds of devils." These prayers being said, "the queen's highness rubbeth the rings between her hands," saying, *Sanctifice, Domine, annulos istos*, etc.: the rest of the prayer implies, "that as her hands rub the rings, the virtue of the holy oil wherewith she was anointed might be infused into their metal, and by grace of God be efficacious." The ceremony concludes with holy water being poured into the basins, and further prayers. The manuscripts from which Burnet copied this service were written for the use of queen Mary I.

Boleyn's father,¹ where he was treated with much regard. Soon after he was preferred to the office of chaplain to the king, and ever enjoyed the confidence and favor of the fair Anne Boleyn, whose theological opinions he is supposed to have greatly influenced.

The first introduction of Tindal's translations of the holy Scriptures was, according to Strype, effected while Anne Boleyn was the all-powerful favorite of Henry, served with royal pomp, and attended by a suite of maids of honor like a queen. Among the ladies of her retinue there was a fair young gentlewoman called mistress Gaynsford, who was beloved by Anne's equerry, a youth of noble lineage, named George Zouch. In the course of their 'love tricks,' George one day snatched a book out of young mistress Gaynsford's hands, to which she was attending more than he approved when in his company. It was no other than Tindal's translation of the Gospels, which had been lent to her by her mistress Anne Boleyn, to whom it had been privately presented by one of the Reformers. It was proscribed by cardinal Wolsey, and kept secretly from the king. Mistress Gaynsford, knowing its importance, tried to get it back from her lover, but George Zouch remained perversely obstinate, and kept it to tease her. One day he went with other courtiers to the king's chapel, when he took it into his head to read the book he had snatched from his beloved, and was soon so utterly absorbed in its contents that the service was over before he was conscious of the lapse of time. The dean of the chapel, wishing to see what book the young gentleman was perusing with such attention, took it out of his hand; when, finding it was the prohibited version of the Scriptures, he carried it to cardinal Wolsey. Meantime, Anne Boleyn asked mistress Gaynsford for the book she had lent her, who, greatly terrified at its loss, confessed that George Zouch had stolen it, and detained it to

¹ It was at Durham house that Cranmer was domesticated with the Boleyns, and when the earl of Wiltshire was absent, he used to transmit from thence particulars of the proceedings and the welfare of his family. "The countess" (lady Boleyn), he writes, "is well. The king and the lady Anne rode to Windsor yesterday, and to-night they be expected at Hampton Court."—Strype's *Cranmer*.

torment her. Anne Boleyn sent for George and inquired into the matter. When she heard the fate of the book she was not angry with the lovers; "But," said she, "it shall be the dearest book that ever dean or cardinal detained." She then hastened to the king, and entreated that he would interpose to recover her stolen volume, a request with which he instantly complied. The first use she made of her recovered treasure was to entreat the king to examine it, and this incident had a great effect in producing the change that followed.¹

This circumstance is supposed to have precipitated the fall of Wolsey. Anne Boleyn had not forgiven, she never did forgive, the interference which had deprived her of her first love, Percy. The anger she had conceived against the cardinal on that occasion remained, after a lapse of six years, an unquenchable fire. In the hope of making him an instrument in her aggrandizement, she had, as we have seen, condescended to employ the arts of flattery, till she perceived that he was playing a game as fine and as false with her as she with him, and that it was no part of his intention to make her an amend for the loss of a countess's coronet by assisting her to encircle her brow with a queenly diadem. She had, moreover, shrewd reason to suspect, however fairly he might carry it with her, that he was the man who secretly incited the popular cry, "We'll have no Anne Bullen! Nan Bullen shall not be our queen!" Anne dissembled no longer than till Wolsey (entangled in the perplexities of the net he had woven for his own destruction) had committed himself irrevocably with the queen, and at the same time incurred the suspicions of the king by his sinuous conduct. She then placed in Henry's hands letters written by the cardinal to Rome, which afforded proofs of his duplicity. These she had obtained from her kinsman, sir Francis Bryan, and they weighed heavily

¹ Sir Thomas Wyatt likewise relates this anecdote, but he affirms that the book was Tindal's *Christian Obedience*; it is scarcely probable that an essay of mere precept could be so absorbing as the scriptural narratives, which, read for the first time, with all their beauty of simplicity and pathos, would have extraordinary power of captivation.

against the minister. She had already obtained more than one signal triumph over him, especially in the case of sir Thomas Cheney, whom Wolsey had injuriously driven from the court. Cheney entreated the intercession of Anne Boleyn with the sovereign, and she pleaded his cause so successfully that he was recalled, whilst Wolsey received a reprimand.¹

Having once declared her hostility, Anne was not of a temper to recede; she pursued her advantage with steady implacability, and in this she was fiercely seconded by her uncle Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, and—but at this no one can wonder—her defrauded lover Percy, whose compulsory marriage with lady Mary Talbot had rendered him the most wretched of men. An opportunity of inflicting an overwhelming blow on the cardinal soon offered. Wolsey, who was determined not to lose his credit with the sovereign without a struggle, after many repulses obtained permission to accompany Campeggio when that legate went to take leave of the king at Grafton. Campeggio received the most scrupulous attention, and stately apartments were provided for his use, but Wolsey was forced to be indebted to the civility of Henry Norris for the temporary accommodation of a chamber. This was an ominous beginning; and the courtiers awaited with intense curiosity the result of Wolsey's reception in the presence-chamber. But when the monarch entered, and Wolsey tendered the homage of his knee, a sudden revulsion in his favor evidently took place in the royal mind. Henry raised him up with both hands, and led him to the window, where he held a long private conference with him, to the dismay of the adverse party. "The king," says Cavendish, "dined the same day with Mrs. Anne Boleyn in her chamber, who kept state there more like a queen than a simple maid."²

"I heard it reported," pursues our author, "by those who waited on the king at dinner, that mistress Anne Boleyn was offended, as much as she durst, that the king did so graciously entertain my lord cardinal, saying, 'Sir, is it

¹ Bishop of Bayonne, 291.

² Singer's edition of Cavendish's Wolsey, vol. i. p. 174.

not a marvellous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you with all your subjects?"—"How so?" said the king. "Forsooth," she replied, "there is not a man in your whole nation of England worth a hundred pounds but he hath indebted you to him;" alluding to the late loan, an expedient in the ways and means of government which originated with that bold statesman, and has formed a fatal precedent for later times. "Well, well," quoth the king; "for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you, or any one else."—"Nay, quoth she, "besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts and places of this nation to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a nobleman but, if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads ere this."—"Then I perceive," said the king, "you are none of my lord cardinal's friends."—"Why, sir," replied she, "I have no cause, nor any that love you; no more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings." Before the fair Boleyn had fully concluded schooling her royal lover on the financial sins of his favorite minister, "the waiters had dined, and came and took up the tables, so no more was heard for that time of their discourse."

"You may perceive by this," observes our author,¹ "how the old malice was not forgotten. The king, for that time, departed from Mrs. Anne Boleyn, and came to the chamber of presence, and called for my lord [Wolsey], and in the window had a long discourse with him. Afterwards the king took him by the hand, and led him into the privy-chamber, and sat in consultation with him all alone, without any other of the lords, till it was dark night, which blanked all his enemies very sore, who had no other way but by Mrs. Anne Boleyn, in whom was all their trust and affiance for the accomplishment of their enterprises, for without her they feared all their purposes would be frustrated." The king had promised to see Wolsey again in the morning,

¹ Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

but the interview was prevented by the adverse influence of the fair intriguante, who had traversed all his hopes by prevailing on the king to attend her in an equestrian excursion. These are the words in which the faithful Cavendish records the fact:—"This sudden departure of the king was the especial labor of mistress Anne Boleyn, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till after the departure of the cardinals. The king rode that morning to view a piece of ground to make a park of (which was afterwards, and is at this time, called Harewell park), where mistress Anne had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my lord cardinal's departure." It is probable, while dallying with her in the gay green wood at their sylvan meal, that Anne Boleyn extorted from her royal lover the solemn promise never to see or speak with Wolsey again which is mentioned by the bishop of Bayonne.¹

The mysterious disappearance of Henry's love-letters to Anne Boleyn from the royal cabinet of York house, and the anxiety of the monarch to prevent these records of his private feelings from being carried out of his realm, caused him to offer an unparalleled affront to the departing legate Campeggio, by ordering his baggage² to be ransacked at

¹ Du Bellai, the French ambassador, attributes the fall of Wolsey entirely to the ill offices of Anne Boleyn. In one of his letters, speaking of the cardinal, for whom he expresses great commiseration, he says, "The worst of the evil is, that mademoiselle de Boulen has made her friend promise that he never will hear him speak, for she well thinks that he cannot help having pity upon him."

² If we may judge of the treasures the poor legate was carrying away, by the sample of those of which an accidental *exposé* was made on his entrance into London, one would suppose, indeed, that the chance of food for the royal rapacity was but small, and this lends the greater probability to Dr. Lingard's idea, that the ostensible charge was a pretence to make a search for the lost papers. Speed gives a langbable description of an accident in Fleet street, owing to the wanton, high-pampered mules belonging to cardinal Wolsey running away with his brother-cardinal's luggage, when the fardels and portmanteaus burst, and out fell such a selection of old shoes, patched gaberdines, and ancient garments of all kinds, together with roasted eggs and dry crusts provided against the assaults of hunger by the way, that the purse-pride of the beholders (which was as thoroughly a national trait in London then as at present) was much gratified by the display of the poverty of the legantine baggage. Capucius, in his despatches to his master, Charles V., mentions that Campeggio had steadfastly refused the

Dover, under pretence that he was conveying Wolsey's treasure out of the kingdom.¹ Nothing was found of a suspicious nature, for he had already sent the stolen effusions of Henry's passion to Rome, where they are still shown at the Vatican.

The vengeance of Anne Boleyn continued to follow Wolsey after the departure of his colleague, and on the 9th of October two bills were filed against him by the attorney-general, charging him with having exercised his legantine authority in England contrary to the law of the land. Wolsey said, "He knew that there was a *night crow* that possessed the royal ear against him, and misrepresented all his actions,"—an expression that significantly pointed at Anne Boleyn. Capucius, the resident ambassador of the emperor, kept a wary eye on all the proceedings of Anne Boleyn. He dates the fall of Wolsey from his surrender of the seals, on St. Luke's day, 1530; and after relating the well-known fact that the disgraced minister had sent in a list, written in his own hand, of all his valuable effects, desiring the king's acceptance of them, he adds the following new historical circumstance:—"Yesterday the king came from Greenwich to view the said effects. He took with him only his lady-love, her mother, and one gentleman of the bedchamber."² Wolsey, who perhaps hoped that his fair foe had been softened by the inquisition she had just made into the stores of treasure he had resigned, humbly solicited the good offices of sir Henry Norris to intercede for him, and anxiously, from time to time, inquired of him, "if the displeasures of my lady Anne, as he now called her, were somewhat abated, her favor being the only help and remedy."³ The lingering regard of Henry for his former favorite was openly manifested when he was told, at Christmas, that the cardinal was sore sick and like to die, for he expressed great concern, and sent Dr. Butts, his

bribes that Henry VIII. continually offered him while he was in England.—Correspondence of Charles V.; edited by W. Bradford, M.A., 1851.

¹ State-Papers, 332.

² Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V., edited by W. Bradford, M.A., p. 291.

³ Cavendish's Wolsey.

physician, to attend him. When Butts returned, the king said to him, "Have you seen yonder man?"—"Yes, sir," was the reply. "How do you like him?" demanded the king. "Sir," said Dr. Butts, "if you will have him dead, I will warrant you that he will be dead within four days if he receive not comfort shortly from you."—"Marry! God forbid," cried the king,¹ "that he should die, for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds. I pray you go to him, and do you your care to him."—"Then must your grace," said Dr. Butts, "send him some comfortable message."—"So I will," replied the king, "by you; therefore make speed to him again, and deliver this ring from me for a token;" in the which ring was the king's image engraven with a ruby, as like the king as might be desired. "This ring he knoweth well," continued Henry, "for he gave me the same. Tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart for anything, and bid him be of good comfort."—"Then spake the king to Mrs. Anne Boleyn, saying, 'Good sweetheart, as you love me, send the cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing you shall deserve our thanks.' She, being disposed not to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, but incontinently took her tablet of gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to Dr. Butts with very gentle and loving words."² When the compassionate physician returned to his broken-hearted patient at Esher, and delivered the tokens from the king and Anne Boleyn, with the most soothing words he could devise on the king and Mrs. Anne's behalf, Wolsey raised himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for the good comfort he had brought him.

The king sent three more of his physicians to consult with Butts on Wolsey's case, and in four days they set him on his feet again. He was, however, too near the court to please the rival power that crossed his star; for Anne Boleyn held no terms with any one who showed him

¹ Cavendish's Wolsey.

² *Ibid.* See the vignette on the title-page, which illustrates this historical scene.

pity. Capucius wrote to his imperial master the result of a conversation he had with Russell, who affirmed that, on account of a few words in favor of the cardinal he had said to the king, the *lady* had held him in dudgeon, and refused to speak to him for a whole month.¹ The duke of Norfolk told Capucius that his niece was enraged against himself because he had not used all his influence to complete the ruin of Wolsey. As she complained to the king of this conduct, her uncle, Norfolk, sent word to him by Cromwell, "that if he departed not instantly for the north, he would tear him with his teeth."²

When Cromwell reported this message to his patron, Wolsey significantly intimated to him the real quarter whence the attack proceeded, and predicted further evil to himself from the increasing ascendancy of Anne Boleyn. While Wolsey was absent at his see, the king began to feel his loss. One day at council he rated the Norfolk ministry for some deficiency or neglect, and regretted the time when the cardinal presided. "Since that hour," writes Capucius to Charles V., "the duke, the lady [Anne], and the father [Thomas Boleyn] have never ceased plotting against the cardinal. The *lady* especially has wept and lamented over her lost time and honor, and threatened the king 'that she should go away.' They say the king has had enough to do to quiet her, and even though he entreated her most affectionately, and with tears in his eyes, not to leave him, nothing would satisfy her but the arrest of the cardinal."³ The king could not be brought up to the point the niece, the uncle, and the father required without greater provocation, which was given by the testimony of a Venetian physician, long an inmate of Wolsey's household, who had not followed him to his northern archbishopric. This man the trio enticed to the duke of Norfolk's house, where he was induced to bear testimony "that cardinal Wolsey had written to the pope, asking him to excommunicate the king and lay an interdict on England, if he did not dismiss the *lady* and

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., p. 311.

² Cavendish's Wolsey.

³ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by W. Bradford, M.A.: despatch of Capucius, February 6, 1530-31, pp. 324, 325.

treat Katharine with proper respect." Such evidence was sufficient for the purposes of Anne Boleyn, and the cardinal's arrest was the consequence. Capucius does not believe in the imputation on Wolsey, because he thinks, favorable as it was to the queen's cause, he should have heard of it from the duke of Norfolk, "who was," he adds, "a bad dissembler." He treats it as a fabrication of Anne to complete Wolsey's ruin. He reports that she had already persuaded the king to have a prison-chamber prepared for his old minister in the Tower, the same in which his victim the duke of Buckingham spent his last days.¹ Her vengeance was not satisfied till she had succeeded in obtaining his arrest for high treason, after he had retired to Cawood, near York, when, as if to bring to his mind the cause that had incurred this deadly hatred, her former lover, Percy, then earl of Northumberland, was the person employed to execute the royal warrant. The happiness of this young nobleman had been irreparably blighted by his separation from the woman of his heart and his compulsory marriage with another. He trembled with violent agitation when he arrested Wolsey, whom he treated in a very ignominious manner, causing his legs to be bound to the stirrups of his mule like a common malefactor. But before he approached his ominous place of destination the unhappy prisoner expired at Leicester, and obtained his release by death without the aid of the executioner.

The duke of Norfolk, Anne's maternal uncle,² was now the

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by W. Bradford, M.A.

² The following very curious account of this great peer is given in the Reports of Ludovico Falier, ambassador from Venice to England, under the date 10th November, 1531, to the senate of Venice. The MS. is preserved in the Correr Museum in that city:—"There used to be twelve duchies, but from their disobedience and turbulence the duchies have been annexed to the crown, excepting three,—namely, Richmond, who is the grand admiral and his majesty's natural son, and he has an annual income of 10,000 ducats. The second is the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard, son-in-law to the duke of Buckingham, the constable of England. He is the treasurer-general, or lord high-treasurer, and his majesty's chief vassal, with a rental of 20,000 ducats. The king employs him more than any other person in all affairs, and since the cardinal's death his authority and power have increased: all affairs devolve on him. The duke is of most noble English descent, and that very influential person the duke of

president of the cabinet, and with the duke of Suffolk and her father¹ the earl of Wiltshire, sir Thomas More, Fitzwilliam, and Stephen Gardiner, formed a junta by whom the affairs of the realm were conducted; but, according to the reports of the French ambassador, Anne Boleyn was the ruling power, whose influence directed all. She kept her Christmas again at Greenwich in rival splendor to the queen, and received many costly gifts and gratuities from the enamoured sovereign.

The entries connected with Anne Boleyn in Henry's privy-purse accounts are curious, and in some measure tend to elucidate the peculiar terms on which they stood. There is, on the 22d of November, 1529, the following item:—"Paid to Cecill, for a yard and a quarter of purple velvet for maistress Anne, xijs. viiij*d*. The same day paid to Walter Walshe, for certain stuff prepared for maistress Anne of divers persons," to the amount of 21*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.² On the last day of December, 110*l*. is paid to her by the king's command.³ On the 16th of May, 1530, her tailor and skinner (furrier) are paid from the royal privy-purse, for goods and workmanship for my lady Anne. On the 29th, 1*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. is paid for bows, arrows, shafts, broadheads, braser, and shooting-glove, for my lady Anne.⁴

On the 5th of June, a reward of 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to a servant of the lord mayor of London for bringing cherries to lady Anne.⁵ On the 8th of the following September, 10*l*. is paid to the wife of the Dove (that is, of the man who keeps a shop with that sign) for linen cloth for her. On the 25th, the singular entry occurs of 10*s*. paid by the king for a cow that Urian, Anne's Breton greyhound, had killed.

Buckingham was his father-in-law. He is sage, prudent, liberal, pleasing, and subtle; he confers with everybody, and is most exceedingly well versed in royal administration; he discourses admirably concerning the affairs of the world, and, in fine, aspires to yet greater elevation. He evinces ill-will towards foreigners, and especially towards our Venetian nation; he is fifty-eight years old, of low stature, with a spare frame and dark hair; he has two sons.

¹ He was created earl of Wiltshiro in England, with remainder to his heirs-male, and earl of Ormond in Ireland, with remainder to his heirs-general, on the 8th of December, 1529.

² Sir H. Nicolas, *Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

This animal (not the most amiable pet in the world for a maid of honor) was probably brought by Anne from France. The name of *Urian*, which is one of the appellations of the foul fiend, appears indicative of his evil conditions. His exploit savors of the wolf-hound propensities. On the 13th of December 13*l.* is paid to the wife of the Dove, her linen-draper, for linen and other necessaries. Towards the end of the month the sum of 5*l.* is delivered to Anne in groats for play-money. On the 30th, 100*l.* is delivered to her by the king's command, towards her New-year's gift.¹ The sum of 4*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* is paid to Adington, the skinner, for furring my lady Anne's gowns.²

It might be about this period that the following incident occurred to Anne Boleyn. A book, assuming to be of a prophetic character, was, by some mysterious agency, placed in her chamber one day. It seems to have been of a similar class with the oracular hieroglyphic almanacs of succeeding centuries, having within its pages certain figures marked with the letter H upon one, A on another, and K on a third; which were expounded as the king and his wives, and to her person certain destruction was predicted if she married the king. Anne, finding the book, took it up, and seeing the contents, she called her principal attendant, a young lady, named Anne Saville.³ "Come hither, Nan," said she. "See, here is a book of prophecies; this is the king, this is the queen, wringing her hands and mourning, and this is myself, with my head cut off." Anne Saville answered, "If I thought it true, I would not myself have him were he an emperor." "Tut! Nan," replied Anne Boleyn; "I think the book a bauble, and I am resolved to have him, that my issue may be royal, whatever may become of me." This story is the more deserving of credence, because related in Wyatt's memorials of Anne Boleyn. It proves either that her mind was free from superstition, or that she regarded the production as a device of some of the queen's friends, who might have taken that method of deterring her from her

¹ Sir H. Nicolas, *Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 101. ² *Ibid.*

³ The lady who afterwards bore Anne's train when she was created marchioness of Pembroke.

ambitious designs on the crown-matrimonial of England. It shows, also, her determination to be a queen, *coute qui coute*.

In the spring of 1530 her father, now earl of Wiltshire, was appointed, with several eminent divines, to attend the congress between the pope and the emperor at Bologna, on the part of Henry VIII. The earl, when introduced into the presence of Clement, gave great offence by refusing to comply with the usual ceremony of kissing his holiness's toe, and, if we may believe Fox,¹ "his lordship's dog made matters worse by biting it." The emperor, when the earl attempted to offer his arguments in favor of the divorce, "bade him be silent, and allow his less-interested colleagues to speak;" adding, "you are a party in the cause."² Boleyn, with undaunted spirit, replied, "That he came not there as a father, but as the representative of his sovereign: that if the emperor acquiesced in his royal master's wish, he should rejoice; but if not, his displeasure was of no consequence."³ Nevertheless, the earl and his colleagues offered Charles 300,000 crowns as the price of his consent to the divorce.⁴

Among the items for which Anne Boleyn was chargeable to Henry's privy-purse in the year 1531 are:—"Wearing-apparel furnished by George Taylor and John Scot to the amount of 18*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; also 40*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* to the said Taylor and Adington the skinner, for furs and work done for her; and 18*l.* odd to Lilgrave the embroiderer, on account of his bill for stuff made for my lady Anne." The sum of 35*l.* is paid to John Scot, on account of his bill for the fair favorite, and other sums to be expended in her service. Then a farm is purchased for her at Greenwich, and paid for by the king. In April upwards of 40*l.* is disbursed to Rasmus, the armorer (supposed herald-painter), for garnishing her desk with gold and other decorations.⁵ Notwithstanding all these presents and gratuities, added to the fine income she possessed, Anne was frequently in debt. The privy-purse expenses bear record that she pawned one of her jewels for

¹ Martyrology, p. 520. Mrs. Thompson's Court of Henry VIII.

² Le Grand.

³ Le Grand. Tytler.

⁴ Lingard.

⁵ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., by Nicolas.

20/. to her sister Mary, who was really in straitened circumstances. This jewel was redeemed by the king's order on the 21st of November, 1530. Henry constantly had to pay the tailor's, furrier's, and mercer's bills of his fair unthrifty favorite, to whom his indulgence appears to have been unbounded.

Anne, however, had her anxieties at this crisis, for the opinion of all Christendom was so much against the divorce that Henry was disposed to waver. Even the leaders of the Protestant church had much to say against the proceedings of Anne at this period. In answer to a question of Bucer, whether Anne Boleyn had children by the king, "I do not know," replied his friend, "that she has any acknowledged as such. They may probably be brought up in private (which, if I am not mistaken, I have heard more than once), though there are those that positively deny it. She is young, good-looking, and of a rather dark complexion; he is himself in the vigor of his age, indeed you never saw a taller or more noble-looking personage."¹ Luther himself declared, "That he would rather allow the king to take two wives, than dissolve his present marriage,"² and the pope had already caused a secret suggestion of the same kind to be made to Cassal; but it went no farther,³ such an arrangement not being very likely to please either of the ladies. At last, Cromwell's bold expedient of separating England from the papal see smoothed Anne Boleyn's path to the queenly chair. Her royal mistress was expelled from Windsor, and she became the king's constant companion; she rode with him on all his progresses, and, with glaring disregard to propriety, occupied apartments contiguous to his own. The dazzling prospect of a crown had rendered

¹ Zurich Letters, Simon Grynæus to Martin Bucer: Parker Society, p. 553, November, 1531. Grynæus was agent to Henry VIII. for collecting the opinions of foreign universities regarding the divorce. In the same collection of letters there is a noble one of that true reformer, the mild Philip Melancthon, firmly in favor of the unhappy Katharine of Arragon. "As to myself," says Melancthon, "I will have nothing to do with the business. If any one recommends a divorce, he shall perform his part without me."—*Ibid.*, p. 556.

² Lutheri Epist., Halse, 1717, p. 290.

³ See Gregory Cassal's letter, in Herbert.

Anne forgetful of that delicacy of feeling which should have taught her to regard a stain as a wound. In May, 1532, the privy-purse expenses of king Henry bear record of the following extravagant item on account of my lady Anne of Rochford, as she is there called,—namely, “Twenty-two Flemish ells of gold arras, at forty-six shillings and eightpence a yard, seventy-four pounds twelve and fourpence.” A few days afterwards we find:—“*Item*, the 22d day, paid the sergeant of the cellar for that he won of my lady Anne at the bowls; and paid, by the king’s command, twelve pounds seven and sixpence.” It was not always that my lady Anne lost at games of chance, to which she was much addicted; repeated records occur in the privy-purse expenses of her winnings of her royal lover. In May, 1531, money is delivered to her to play; and yet the king pays various sums of 4*l.*, 15*l.*, and odd shillings, for his losses to her.

Some cause, perhaps the anxiety connected with her doubtful position in Henry’s court, had faded the beauty of Anne Boleyn at this period; for the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Capello, gives anything but a flattering description of her personal charms in a letter to the senate, as related by Sanuto, December 7, 1532. He says, “My lady Anne is not the most beautiful in the world; her form is irregular and flat, her flesh has a swarthy tinge, she has a long neck, a large mouth, but very fine black eyes.” He adds, “that it was generally reported that she had borne a son to the king, that had died soon after its birth.” Such reports, however unfounded they might be, were the natural consequences of her doubtful situation in the court.

On the 29th of May, Anne removed from Greenwich to Durham house, and the royal watermen were rewarded by the king with 16*s.* for conveying her thither by water. In June a costly cloak and evening dress (familiarily termed a night-gown) were provided for her at the king’s especial charge. For the amusement of such of our fair readers as may wish to see a specimen of a milliner’s bill of the sixteenth century for the reigning beauty of the court, we transcribe the account from that valuable work, the Privy-

purse Expenses of Henry VIII., for which we are indebted to the indefatigable research of sir Harris Nicolas :—

	£	s.	d.
“ Item. Paid to John Malte for twelve yards of black satin for a cloak for my lady Anne, at 8s. the yard	4	16	0
For making the same cloak	0	5	0
A yard of black velvet for edging the same	0	13	4
Three yards and three-quarters of black velvet to line the collar and vents [armholes]	1	16	0
Two yards of black satin to line the sleeves of the said cloak, at 8s. the yard	0	16	0
Eleven yards of Bruges satin to line the rest of the cloak, at 2s. 4d. the yard	1	5	8
Two yards of buckram to line the upper sleeves of the said cloak	0	2	0
The whole cost of the cloak is	£9	4	8”

The night-gown, which was also made of black satin lined with black taffeta, stiffened with buckram and trimmed with black velvet, cost 10*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; at the same time sixteen yards of green damask, at 8*s.* a yard, were purchased for her.¹ In August the same year, lady Russell, the wife of one of the most climbing of Henry's *parvenu* ministers, endeavored to propitiate the fair favorite by the present of a stag and a greyhound. Anne transferred this offering to the king, who rewarded lady Russell's servant with 40*s.*²

Anne was now fast approaching to the lofty mark at which she had been aiming for the last five years. On the 1st of September the same year, as a preparatory step for her elevation to a still higher rank, Henry created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, a royal title which had last been borne by his uncle, Jasper Tudor. The king rendered the honor conferred on his betrothed the more marked, because it identified her with his own family. The preamble to Anne Boleyn's patent of creation as marchioness is couched in language deserving note.³ The king declares his motives for taking this step are,—because a monarch ought to surround his throne with many peers of the worthiest of both sexes, especially those who are of royal blood; for this reason “We, by the consent of the nobility

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., pp. 222, 223.

² Privy-purse Exp., p. 245.

³ Milles's Catalogue of Honor, p. 41.

of our kingdom present, do make, create, and ennoble our cousin Anne Rochford, one of the daughters of our well-beloved cousin Thomas earl of Wiltshire and of Ormond, keeper of our privy-seal, to be marchioness of Pembroke; and also, by putting on of a mantle and the setting of a coronet of gold on her head, do really invest unto her the name, title, etc., and to her heirs-male." He adds a grant to Anne and her heirs of 35*l.* per annum out of the crown-rents of the county of Pembroke, to be paid by the sheriff. Her father, Gardiner, and the duke of Norfolk are among the witnesses of this charter, which was made the 1st of September, 1532.¹

Many instances had occurred of great peerages falling to ladies, but this is the first of a female peer being created. Anne was then staying, with almost queenly pomp, at Windsor castle, and there the ceremony took place which made her a peeress of the realm. "The king, attended by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the French ambassador, and many peers, besides the privy council, went on Sunday, September 1st, to the state apartment in Windsor castle, called by some 'the chamber of salutation,' and by others 'the presence-chamber,' and seated himself in the chair of state. To this room Anne Boleyn was conducted by a great train of courtiers and the nobility, both lords and ladies. First entered Garter king-at-arms, bearing the king's patent of nobility. After Garter came the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of Norfolk and cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, carrying on her left arm a robe of state, made of crimson velvet furred with ermine, and in her right hand a coronet of gold. She was followed by Anne Boleyn herself, with

¹ The original of this patent is preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It gives Anne Boleyn precedence, and her heirs after her, over all the other marchionesses in England. There were, at that time, two marchionesses closely allied to the royal family,—namely, the marchioness of Dorset, the king's own niece, and wife to his cousin the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville, and the marchioness of Exeter, whose husband was the son of his aunt, the princess Katherine Plantagenet. The usual clause touching the legitimacy of the offspring by whom the title was to be inherited is omitted in Anne Boleyn's patent. An omission which of course was regarded by her enemies as intentional, and liable to constructions not the most flattering to her virtue. She is designated as lady *marques* in the instrument.

her hair loose hanging about her shoulders, attired in her inner garment, called a surcoat, of crimson velvet, lined with ermine also, and with short sleeves: she walked between Elizabeth countess of Rutland and Dorothy countess of Sussex, and she was followed by many noble gentlewomen. While she approached the king's royal seat, she thrice made her obeisance; and when she arrived before him, she kneeled. The charter having been presented to the king, he delivered it to his secretary Gardiner, who read it aloud; and when he came to the words *mantillæ inductionem*, the king took the robe of state from the lady Mary and put it on Anne Boleyn's shoulders; and at the words *circuli aurei*, the lady Mary handed him the coronet, which he placed on the brow of the new-made marchioness. When the charter was read he presented it to her, together with another that secured to her a pension of 1000*l.* per annum during her life, for maintaining that dignity. She then gave the king humble thanks, and with the coronet on her head, and invested with the robe, she retired, the trumpets sounding most melodiously as she departed from the presence-chamber. A largess was cried on her gift to Garter king-at-arms of 8*l.*, and to his officers of 11*l.*; while Henry gave a largess of 5*l.* on the occasion."¹

The sum of 30*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* was paid from the royal privy-purse for the materials of which Anne Boleyn's robes were made for her investiture as marchioness of Pembroke.² Henry presented her with some miniatures by Holbein, magnificently set in jewels, as ornaments for her person. The unpublished MSS. in the Chapter-house, Westminster, bear record of a costly donation of gold, silver, and parcel-gilt plate, presented by the king to Anne Boleyn on this occasion, to the value of 1188*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* The articles in this curious inventory consist of cups, flagons, bowls, trenchers, goblets with covers, having the royal arms on shields; spoons, salts, chandeliers, and a chafing-dish. She had an establishment which outvied that of the sister and nieces of the king. She had a train-bearer, three ladies of the

¹ Milles's Catalogue of Honor, p. 42.

² Privy-purse Expenses; sir H. Nicolas.

bedchamber, and four maids of honor, all of them daughters of barons or knights; three gentlemen in waiting; six officers, all knights or barons; and more than thirty domestics. In most of the royal architecture which was under progress during the divorce, and while Anne Boleyn was beloved by the king, their initial ciphers were introduced, entwined with a true-lover's knot. This is still to be seen at Cambridge, where the choir of King's college is separated from the ante-chapel by a screen, added in the year 1534, in which are these ciphers and knot, besides the arms of England empaled with those of Boleyn.¹

Just before the visit Henry made to France in company with Anne Boleyn as marchioness of Pembroke, cardinal du Bellai, ambassador from Francis I., thus describes their proceedings:—"I am alone every day with the king when we are hunting; he chats familiarly with me, and sometimes madame Anne joins our party. Each of them are equipt with bow and arrows, which is, as you know, their mode of following the chase. Sometimes he places us both in a station to see him shoot the deer; and whenever he arrives near any house belonging to his courtiers, he alights to tell them of the feats he has performed. Madame Anne has presented me a complete set of hunting-gear, consisting of a cap, a bow and arrows, and a greyhound. I do not tell you this as a boast of the lady's favors, but to show how much king Henry prizes me as the representative of our monarch, for whatever that lady does is directed by

¹ The achievement of queen Anne Boleyn stands neatly carved on the large wood screen as you go up to the choir in King's college chapel, Cambridge, being quarterly France and England, empaling quarterly of six pieces; 1, gules, three lions passant, gardant, or, on a label of three points, azure, and fleurs-de-lys of the second, Lancaster; 2, azure, seme of flowers-de-luce, or, a label of three points, gules, Angoulême; 3, gules, a lion passant, gardant, or. These three augmentations were given her by Henry VIII. when he created her marchioness of Pembroke. Rochford, Brotherton, and Warren follow those of Butler of Ormond.—Camden's Remains, p. 217. "It is a singular fact," observes sir H. Nicolas, "that when Henry VIII. granted armorial ensigns to Anne Boleyn, then marchioness of Pembroke, he took especial care to show her *royal* and illustrious descent through the *Howards*, by introducing the arms of Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I., and of the Warrens, earls of Surrey, from the Howard shield."

him." This despatch is dated from Hanwell: so is the following, which is written to intimate that king Henry much desired that Anne Boleyn should be invited to his approaching congress with Francis I. "If our sovereign," says Bellai, "wishes to gratify the king of England, he can do nothing better than invite madame Anne with him to Calais, and entertain her there with great respect." The next sentence is not complimentary to the reputation of Anne Boleyn, for the ambassador adds:—"Nevertheless, it will be desirable that the king of France brings no company of ladies (indeed there is always better cheer without them); but in case they *must* come, he had better bring only the queen of Navarre to Boulogne. I shall not mention with whom, or from whence, this idea originates, being pledged to secrecy, but be assured I do not write without authority. As to the queen of France,¹ not for the world would he [Henry VIII.] meet her, for he says he would as soon see the devil as a lady in a Spanish dress."

It was at the period between Anne Boleyn's creation as marchioness of Pembroke and her recognition as queen that Wyatt addressed to her the following lines, in which he bids farewell to her as a lover:—

"Forget not yet the tried intent
Of such a truth as I have meant;
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet.

"Forget not yet when first began
The weary life ye know; since when
The suit, the service none tell can,
Forget not yet.

"Forget not yet the great *assays* [trials],
The cruel wrongs, the scornful ways,
The painful patience and delays,
Forget not yet.

"Forget not, oh! forget not this,
How long ago hath been and is
The love that never meant amiss,
Forget not yet.

¹ Eleanor of Austria, sister to Charles V., and consequently niece to Katharine of Arragon; she was the second wife of Francis I., and niece to the ill-treated Katharine of Arragon.

“ Forget not now thine own approved,
 The which so constant hath thee loved,
 Whose steadfast faith hath never moved,
 Forget not yet.”

The state of horticulture in England at this period may be traced by some very interesting items in the privy-purse expenses of Henry VIII. in the summer of 1532, in which are recorded rewards paid to sundry poor women, on various days, for bringing the king presents of apples, pears, barberries, peaches, artichokes, filberts, and other fruits. His gardeners from Beaulieu, Greenwich, and Hampton bring him grapes, oranges, cucumbers, melons, cherries, strawberries, pomegranates, citrons, plums, lettuces, and, in short, almost every kind of luxury that could be supplied for the royal table in modern times. The first specimens of porcelain, or china, on record ever introduced into England, are mentioned by Henry Huttoft, surveyor of the customs at Southampton, in a letter to Cromwell about this period, announcing the arrival of a present of novelties for king Henry VIII., consisting of the following articles:—“Two musk cats, three little ‘munkkeys,’ a marmozet; a shirt, or upper vesture, of fine cambric, wrought with white silk in every part, which is very fair for a such-like thing; a chest of nuts of India, containing xl. which be greater than a man’s fist [cocoa-nuts, of course]; and three potts of erthe payntid, called *Porseland*.¹ Howbeit, the merchant saith, before they shall be presented, there shall be to every one of these things certain preparations, such as chains of gold and silver, with colours and other things according, for the furniture of the same.” These dainty chains, we think, must have been intended for the furniture of the cats, monkeys, and marmoset. In contradistinction to queen Katharine, who was fond of those animals, Anne Boleyn expressed the greatest abhorrence of monkeys.

On the 4th of October was paid, by Henry’s orders, 56*l.* for certain silks provided for apparel for Anne, who is styled my lady *marques* of Pembroke, and the same day 38*l.* 10*s.*

¹ Original Letters, edited by sir H. Ellis; third series.

10*d.* for furring the same.¹ Probably she had her share, also, in the jewels, mercery, and millinery for which the royal privy-purse accounts are charged, to the amount of more than 12,000*l.*, at the same time. The following day, the only daughter of the sovereign receives the noble gift of 10*l.*² On the 13th of October, Anne, attended by the marchioness of Derby and a chosen retinue of ladies, arrived at Dover in the royal train; and early on the following morning they all embarked for Calais, where they arrived at ten in the forenoon. On the 14th the grand-master of France sent a present of grapes and pears to the fair Boleyn. The same day Henry gave her further marks of his favor, by granting her a settlement of lands in Wales, Essex, Herts, and Somersetshire. On the 21st they progressed with great pomp to Boulogne, to meet the French king. Henry and Francis approached each other bare-headed, and embraced. Francis was not accompanied either by his queen, his sister, or indeed by any ladies,—a mortifying circumstance to Anne Boleyn, since nothing could afford a more decided proof of the questionable light in which she was regarded at this time by her old friends at the court of France. Hall gives an elaborate account of the munificence of Henry's entertainment at Boulogne, where Francis, in the capacity of host, furnished the cheer and paid all costs.³

Though Anne sojourned four days with Henry at Boulogne, the absence of the ladies of the French king's family prevented her from appearing at the festivities that were provided for her royal lover. On the 25th she returned with the two kings to Calais, where, for the honor of his realm, our English Harry had caused preparations⁴ to be made for the reception of the French sovereign and his court which can only be paralleled in the gorgeous details of Oriental romance; where, however, silver, and gold, and pearls are supplied by the writer cost-free, while Henry must have drained his exchequer to furnish the banqueting-chamber at Calais, which is thus described by Hall:—"It was hung with

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.

² *Ibid.*

³ MS. Harl., No. 303, p. 4.

⁴ Herbert. Lingard. Tytler. Turner. Hall.

tissue raised with silver, and framed with cloth of silver raised with gold. The seams of the same were covered with broad wreaths of goldsmiths' work, full of stones and pearls. In this chamber was a cupboard of seven stages high, all plate of gold, and no gilt plate. Besides that, there hung ten branches of silver-gilt, and ten branches all white silver, every branch hanging by a long chain of the same sort, bearing two lights of wax. The French king was served three courses, dressed after the French fashion; and the king of England had like courses, after the English fashion. The first course of every kind was forty dishes, the second sixty, the third eighty, which were costly and pleasant. After supper on the Sunday evening, 28th of October, came in the marchioness of Pembroke, with seven ladies, in masking apparel of strange fashion, made of cloth of gold slashed with crimson tinsel satin, puffed with cloth of silver, and knit with laces of gold.¹ These ladies were led into the state-chamber just described by four damsels dressed in crimson satin, with tabards of pine cypress. Then the lady marchioness took the French king, the countess of Derby the king of Navarre, and every lady took a lord. In dancing, king Henry removed the ladies' visors, so that their beauties were shown."² The French king then discovered that he had danced with an old acquaintance, the lovely English maid of honor of his first queen, for whose departure he had chidden the English ambassador ten years before. He conversed with her some little time apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at 15,000 crowns.³ On the 30th of this festive month "the two sovereigns mounted their horses, and Henry having conducted his royal guest to the verge of his dominions, they dismounted on French ground; and there they joined hands with loving behavior and hearty words, embraced each other, and so parted."⁴ The weather was so tempestuous that Anne and her royal lover were detained a fortnight at Calais after the departure of Francis I. On the 14th of November they safely crossed the Channel, and landed at Dover.

The favorite diversion of Anne Boleyn and the king seems

¹ Hall, p. 794.

² Ibid.

³ Le Grand. Lingard.

⁴ Hall.

to have been cards and dice. Henry's losses at games of chance were enormous; but Anne, with the single exception of the sum she lost to the sergeant of the cellar at bowls, appears to be a fortunate gamester. On the 20th of November we observe the following entry in Henry's privy-purse expenses:—"Delivered to the king's grace at Stone 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which his grace lost at *pope Julius's game* to my lady *marques* [Anne Boleyn], Mr. Bryan, and maister Weston." On the 25th, Henry loses twenty crowns to the same party at the same game; and the following day, 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the 28th, Anne again wins, 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in a single-handed game of cards with her royal lover. The next day Henry is the loser of 4*l.* at pope Julius's game; and also, on the 31st, sixteen crowns at the same to Anne and young Weston.¹ Such entries are little to the credit of any of the persons concerned. Pope Julius's game,² which was at this time so greatly in vogue in the court of Henry VIII., was probably the origin of the vulgar round-game called in modern times 'Pope-Joan.' The various points in that game, such as matrimony, intrigue, pope, and the stops, appear to have borne significant allusion to the relative situations in the royal drama of the divorce, and the interference of the pope and his agents in preventing the king's marriage with his beautiful favorite, Anne Boleyn.

It is well known that the Observant-friars of Greenwich rendered themselves highly obnoxious to Henry by their determined opposition to his divorce from their royal patroness, queen Katharine; but even in this house Anne Boleyn had a partisan. Her charity to the mother of one of the lay-brothers, Richard Lyst, led him warmly to espouse her cause, "for which," he assures "her grace," as he styles her in a letter addressed to her soon after she was created marchioness of Pembroke, "he suffered oftentimes rebukes and much trouble."

¹ Young Weston, one of the gamblers at these orgies, was among the unfortunate victims of Henry's jealousy of Anne Boleyn.

² In the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. it is called *pope July's game*, in evident mockery of Julius II., the copy of whose *breve* of dispensation had been lately produced by Katharine of Arragon as an important document in favor of the legality of her marriage with Henry VIII.

“Also, madame,” continues he, “oftentimes in derision I have been called your chaplain; howbeit, as yet I never took no orders to be priest, but with the grace of Jesu I do intend in time, and I trust within this ij year and less, to say *an hundred masses* for your prosperous state, both spiritual and corporeal; for now I am at liberty to be a priest, whereas before I was bound to the contrary, by the reason that I was made sure to a young woman in the way of marriage before I came to religion, hut now she is departed to the mercy of God.”¹

Can any one suppose that the writer of this letter, who is no babe in point of worldly wisdom, would have mentioned his hope of saying one hundred masses as an acceptable service to a person who did not profess a belief in their efficacy? But, however Anne Boleyn might, for her own personal interests, ally herself politically with the rising party who supported the Reformation, she continued, to the end of her life, to conform to the ceremonials and ritual authorized by king Henry's church, which retained every dogma, every observance, every superstition believed and practised by Roman Catholics, save the supremacy of the pope. Anne's future mass-sayer, Richard Lyst, goes on to extol her beneficence to his poor mother, adding significant hints how acceptable additional donations would be, and intimating the channel through which she could transmit them.

¹ Original Letters, edited by sir Henry Ellis; vol. ii. p. 248, third series.

ANNE BOLEYN, SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Anne Boleyn's marriage with Henry VIII.—Its public celebration—Her coronation—Pageants and festivities—Opposition by the Catholics—Birth of princess Elizabeth—Settlement of the crown on Anne's issue—Henry and Anne excommunicated—Anne supports the Reformation and translation of the Scriptures—Her altered manners—Protects Latimer—Exults in queen Katharine's death—Loses Henry's affection—Discovers his passion for Jane Seymour—Bears a dead son—Anger of the king—Arrest of Brereton—Anne's dialogue with Smeaton—Jousts at Greenwich—King's angry departure—Arrest of Anne's brother and others—She is carried to the Tower—Her despair—Accused by Smeaton—Her letter to the king—Trial of Anne—Sentence—Her speech—Her marriage dissolved—Execution of her brother and others—Her poems—Behavior on the scaffold—Fidelity of her maids—Gift to Wyatt's sister—Dying speech—Beheaded—Hasty burial—Norfolk tradition—King Henry's remorse.

THE time and place of Anne Boleyn's marriage with Henry VIII. are disputed points in history. Some authors have affirmed that she was privately united to the king at Dover the same day they returned from France, being the festival of St. Erkenwald;¹ according to others, the nuptials were secretly performed in the presence of the earl and countess of Wiltshire, and the duke and duchess of Norfolk, in the chapel of Sopewell nunnery. This report, perhaps, was caused by a temporary retreat of Anne to that convent after her return from France, and the secret resort of the king to meet her there at a yew-tree, about a mile from this cloistered shade, of which the learned lady Juliana Berners was formerly the prioress. The unpopularity of this union was

¹ It is an odd coincidence that the papal bull, denouncing the sentence of excommunication against king Henry and Anne Boleyn if they presumed to marry, is dated the day after their interdicted nuptials are said to have taken place at Dover.—Hall. Holinshed.

the cause of the profound secrecy with which the nuptials between Henry and his fair subject were solemnized; for the same cause it was necessary to keep the fact from publicity as long as it was possible to do so.

It is among the historical traditions of Anne's native county, Norfolk, that she was privately married to the king at Blickling hall. Blomfield says¹ that Henry came there expressly for this purpose. This report is alluded to by a Norfolk poet, Stephenson, in his lines on the visit of Charles II. and his queen, Catharine of Braganza, to Blickling hall:—

“Blickling two monarchs and two queens has seen;
One king fetched hence, another brought a queen.”

The testimony of Wyatt, however, who was not only a contemporary, but a witness too deeply interested not to be correct on such a point, confirms the assertions of Stowe and Godwin that this event, so fatal to the bride, who was to purchase the brief possession of a crown with the loss of her head, took place on St. Paul's day, January 25, 1533. “On the morning of that day, at a very early hour,” says a contemporary, “Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, received the unwonted order to celebrate mass in an unfrequented attic in the west turret of Whitehall. There he found the king, attended by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of the chamber, and the marchioness of Pembroke, accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Saville, afterwards lady Berkeley.² On being required to perform the nuptial rite between his sovereign and the marchioness, in the presence of three witnesses assembled, the chaplain hesitated; but Henry is said to have assured him that the pope had pronounced in favor of the divorce, and that he had the dispensation for a second marriage in his possession.³

¹ Blomfield's History of Norfolk.

² Le Grand. Tytler. Lingard. Benger. Mrs. Thompson.

³ This portion of the narrative we are inclined to doubt; since Henry, weary of the delays attending the prosecution of the divorce, which in its procrastinated tedium can only be compared to a modern chancery suit, had resolved upon the bold measure of treating his marriage with queen Katharine as a nullity. As for the scruples of Rowland Lee, they were more likely to have been overcome by the promise of the mitre of the bishopric of Lichfield, than by the fiction of a papal dispensation for the interdicted marriage.

As soon as the marriage ceremony had been performed, the parties separated in silence before it was light, and viscount Rochford, the brother of the bride, was despatched to announce the event in confidence to Francis I. Such is the account preserved in a contemporary MS.¹ of the romantic circumstances, as to time and place, under which the fair ill-fated Anne Boleyn received the nuptial ring from the hand that was so soon to sign her death-warrant, and also that of her fellow-victim, Henry Norris, one of the three witnesses of her marriage. That this step had been taken by the king, not only without the knowledge but against the advice of his council and most confidential advisers, may be inferred from the fact that even Cranmer knew not of it, as he himself writes to his friend Hawkins, "till a fortnight after the marriage had been performed," which, he says, "took place about St. Paul's day."² He was himself consecrated archbishop of Canterbury two months afterwards.

Anne remained in great retirement, as the nature of the case required, for her royal consort was still, in the opinion of the majority of his subjects, the husband of another lady. It was, however, found impossible to conceal the marriage without affecting the legitimacy of the expected heir to the crown. For this cause, therefore, on Easter-eve, which this year was April 12th, the king again openly solemnized his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and she went in state as his queen. "On the 8th of May, Cranmer presided at the public tribunal at Dunstable, which it was thought expedient to hold on the former marriage. The proceedings terminated May 23d, when Cranmer pronounced not a divorce, but a sentence that the king's marriage with Katharine had been, and was, a nullity and invalid, having been contracted against the divine law. Five days after, he gave at Lambeth a judicial confirmation to Henry's union with Anne Boleyn."³ Anne's queenly establishment

¹ This narrative was presented to queen Mary. It is quoted by four modern historians, Dr. Lingard, Mr. Tytler, Miss Benger, and Mrs. Thompson.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 81.

³ In this brief, clear statement from Sharon Turner are condensed the volumi-

was immediately arranged, in which two of her own relatives, with whom she had hitherto been on bad terms, were given appointments,—namely, her brother's wife, lady Rochford, and lady Boleyn, the wife of her uncle sir Edward Boleyn.

At the establishment of Anne's household, a great multiplication of her portraits took place, all in one costume, which has given the general idea of her style of person and dress. The only one of this kind, painted on oak panel "as a tablet," which possesses a genuine pedigree, having been in the family of the late general Thornton¹ nearly three hundred years, is copied as our engraving. It was the etiquette for each of the officers of a royal household to possess a portrait of the king or queen. Before the art of locket miniatures was brought to perfection, these official portraits were painted on oak panel, about eight or nine inches square, and the face and bust appear within a ring. These were called tablets, or table-portraits. The well-known features of the oval-faced beauty are, in the Thornton portrait, painted with exquisite delicacy, though in the brunette style; the eyes are rich brown, the hair entirely drawn back under a species of banded coif; the lips beautiful, with a remarkable depth between the chin and under lip. The majesty of the head, and proud composure of expression, are remarkable; the contour of the chest, though it is long, and the form of the throat and shoulders, assist the fine air of the head. The gown is square in the bust; it seems of amber or tawny velvet, studded with emeralds; a drapery of green velvet is on the shoulders. A double string of pearls passes round the throat, and between them appears some indication of the enlargement which no engraver can be induced to copy. The "Anne Boleyn" cap in this original portrait is well defined: a frontlet made of the five-cornered frame of double strings of pearls, is first fitted to the face; at the back is a green velvet hood with broad

nous proceedings of this affair from all the heavy documentary records which have been collected by earlier historians, and which we have also examined.

¹ It was purchased at the sale of his effects after his decease, at his house, Grosvenor-gate, and is now the property of the author.

scarf lappets: one of these is thrown over the back of the hood, the other hangs on the right shoulder, in graceful folds.

Among the first tributes offered to Anne on her new dignity was a small present from her zealous partisan Richard Lyst, who took an early opportunity of reminding her grace of the uncomfortable predicament in which he had placed himself with his brethren the Observant-friars by his opposition to friar Forrest in her honor, and requesting her to be good and gracious unto him. His letter on this subject is addressed to Cromwell, whom he favors with some particulars of his former mode of living, which are illustrative of the domestic statistics of the period. He says:—

“I have made and composed iij glasses with waters, and I have sent two of them to the queen’s grace for a poor token; and so now, by my kinsman the bearer of this letter, I send unto your mastership the third glass with water for a poor token. I was in time past my lord cardinal’s servant, and also dwelled in London in Cheapside viij years, and made many waters for my lord cardinal, and much ipocras also, and served him of much spice; and I was both a grocer and a poticARRIER [apothecary]. And so now I have exercised one point of mine *old* occupation in making of the foresaid waters, which waters will keep in their virtne and strength these two years, if they be well kept. I beseech your mastership to have me meekly commended unto the quyne’s grace, and desire her grace to remember my poor mother, her continual beedwoman.”¹

As early as the 28th of April, Henry had issued his letters of summons to the wives of his peers, requiring them “to give their attendance, they and their women, at the approaching solemnity of his dearest wife queen Anne’s procession from Greenwich to the Tower, and at her coronation, which is to take place on the feast of Pentecost; wherefore he requires them to be at his manor of Greenwich on the Friday before that feast, to attend the said queen from thence to the Tower of London that day, and the next day to ride with her through the city of London with her on horseback.” The ladies are commanded in this circular to provide themselves and their women with white or gray palfreys for the occasion, promising that “the caparisons

¹ Original Letters, sir H. Ellis; third series. Richard Lyst left his convent and became a secular priest in 1535: he was presented to the vicarage of St. Dunstan’s West.

of those to be ridden by themselves shall be furnished by the master of the horse to our said dearest wife the queen, save the bits and bosses; but that the liveries for their female followers, as well as their horse-gear, are to be provided by the ladies themselves, in such wise as shall do honor to themselves and the solemnity."¹ Their own robes are to be delivered to them on demand by the keeper of the royal wardrobe, which proves that it was the custom of the crown to furnish the robes of the peeresses.

Early in May, 1534, king Henry made proclamation that all who had claims to do customary service at the coronation of a queen of England were to urge them before the duke of Suffolk, temporary high-steward of England, then holding his court in the Star-chamber. The noblest and greatest in the land immediately made good their rights to serve the fair Boleyn as queen-consort of England. The lord mayor at the same time received letters from the king notifying that the coronation of queen Anne was to take place at Westminster the Whit-Sunday ensuing, and willing him to fetch her grace previously by water from Greenwich to the Tower. At a common council held on this matter, the lord mayor, who belonged to the worshipful craft of the haberdashers, and bore the very appropriate name of Peacock, issued his mandate to his brethren the haberdashers to fit up and ornament a foist or wafter (which was a sort of gun-boat); likewise a barge for the bachelors, well garnished with streamers and banners.²

The broad bosom of the Thames was the theatre of this commencing scene of Anne Boleyn's triumph. In obedience to the royal order, the lord mayor and his civic train embarked at New-stairs at one o'clock, May 19th. In the city state-barge was stationed a band, playing on instruments called shalms and shag-bushes; but, notwithstanding these uncivilized names, we are informed "they made goodly harmony." The great men of the city were dressed in scarlet; all had about their necks heavy gold chains, and those who were knights wore the collar of SS. Fifty barges of the city companies followed the lord mayor. Every one in

¹ Summons to the lady Cobham, MS. Harl. 283, f. 96.

² Hall, p. 800.

London who could procure boat or wherry embarked on the Thames that May morning, and either accompanied the chief of the city to Greenwich, or, resting on their oars, awaited in advantageous positions to get a view of that triumphant beauty who had displaced the right royal Katharine, and was now to be publicly shown as their queen. The lord mayor's barge was immediately preceded by the foist, bristling at the sides with the small artillery called by our forefathers falcons and demi-falcons, culverins and chambers. On the deck, the place of honor was occupied by a dragon, which capered and twirled a tremendous long tail, and spat wild-fire perpetually into the Thames. Round about the dragon was arranged a company of attendant monsters and *salvage* men, very terrible, who vomited wild-fire, and performed the most extraordinary antics. Ever and anon the city artillerymen persuaded some of the ordnance of the foist to go off, to the mingled terror and delight of the worthy commonalty, who floated round about as near as they durst. On the right of the lord mayor was the bachelors' barge, and on the left another foist, the deck of which was occupied by a pageant representing Anne Boleyn's own device, and meant especially to flatter her. It was a mount round about which sat virgins singing her praises in sweet chorus. From the mount issued a stem of gold with branches of red and white roses; in midst of them sat a white falcon crowned, and beneath, the queen's somewhat presumptuous motto, ME AND MINE.¹ She had assumed the white falcon as her symbol from the crest of her maternal ancestors, the Butlers, and the whole device proclaimed her vaunt that by her was to be continued the line of the blended roses of Plantagenet.

The barges were fitted up with innumerable little colored flags; at the end of each hung a small bell, which, wavering in the wind, sent forth a low chime. Thus the gay flotilla

¹ Camden's Remains. "A white-crowned falcon, holding a sceptre in one foot and perched on a golden stem, out of which grew white and red roses, with the motto *MIHI ET MEÆ*, 'me and mine,' was the vainglorious device of Anne Boleyn." This device of the falcon may be seen in the grained roof of the antique gate-way at Hampton Court leading to the river, with the initials H. A. It was probably finished after the fall of Wolsey.

rowed merrily past Greenwich, and then all turned about, so that the barges of the lowest rank prepared to lead the way back to London ; and the lord mayor and his attendant pageantry cast anchor just before Greenwich palace, and while they waited the fair queen's pleasure made the goodliest melody. Precisely at three o'clock Anne issued from her palace, attired in cloth of gold, and attended by a fair bevy of maidens. When the queen entered her barge, those of the citizens moved forwards. She was immediately preceded by the lord mayor, while the bachelors' barge claimed their privilege of rowing on the right of the royal barge, sounding points of triumph with trumpets and wind-instruments, in which the queen took particular delight. The barge of her father the earl of Wiltshire, that of the duke of Suffolk, and many of the nobility followed that of the queen. Thus was she attended up the Thames till she came opposite the Tower, when a marvellous peal of guns was shot off. Henry was in that ominous fortress, awaiting the arrival of her who was still the desire of his heart and the delight of his eyes. At her landing, the lord chamberlain and the heralds were ready to receive her, and brought her to the king, who, with loving countenance, welcomed her at the postern by the water-side. As soon as he met her, he kissed her, and she turned about and thanked the lord mayor very gracefully before he returned to his barge. After the royal pair had entered the Tower, "the barges hovered before it the whole evening, making the goodliest melody ;" while the dragon and his attendant *salvage* monsters continued capering and casting forth flame with increased vivacity, as the twilight of a mid-May eve descended on the admiring multitude. The noble river in front of the Tower of London was covered with boats and skiffs of every sort, size, color, and gaudy ornament. The city poured forth its humbler population in crowds on the neighboring wharves : the adjacent bridge, then crested with fortified turrets and embattled gate-ways, swarmed with human life. It was a scene peculiar to its era, which can never occur again, for modern times have neither the power nor material to emulate it. In the midst of that

picturesque splendor, who could have anticipated what was in store for Anne Boleyn on the second anniversary of that gay and glorious day? and what was to be transacted within the gloomy circle of that royal fortress, of which she then took such proud possession, when May 19th had twice returned again?

The queen sojourned with her husband at the Tower some days, during which time seventeen young noblemen and gentlemen were made knights of the Bath, as attendants on her coronation. The royal progress through the city, which was usual to all the queens her predecessors on the eve of their coronations, was appointed for Anne Boleyn on the last day of May, and never was this ceremony performed with more pomp. The city was gravelled from the Tower to Temple Bar, and railed on one side of the streets, so "that the people should not be hurt by the horses." Cornhill and Gracechurch street were hung with crimson and scarlet, and most part of the Chepe with cloth of gold and velvet. "The lord mayor, sir Stephen Peacock, went in a gown of crimson velvet and a goodly collar of SS to receive the queen at the Tower gate. The first in her procession was the retinue of the French ambassador, in blue velvet and sleeves of yellow and blue; then the judges, and next to them the new-made knights of the Bath, in violet gowns and hoods purpled with miniver, like doctors. After them the abbots; then the nobility and bishops. The archbishop of York rode with the ambassador of Venice, and Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the French ambassador,"—these ambassadors being the men whose gossiping journals have furnished us with much personal information regarding the domestic history of the court at this era. "After them rode two esquires, wearing the ducal coronet of Normandy and Aquitaine, the ducal robes being rolled baldric-wise, and worn across the breast. Then the lord mayor with his mace, and Garter in his dress of ceremony. After them lord William Howard as earl-marshal, being deputy for the duke of Norfolk, then ambassador in France. On his right hand rode the duke of Suffolk, who that day filled the office of lord high-constable of England, bearing the verge of silver

which denoted that office.”¹ Whether his thoughts were on the glaring pageantry around him, or on his royal and loving spouse then dying at Westhorpe hall in Suffolk, no chronicler informs us; but we doubt if those who examine the tenor of his actions must not class Charles Brandon among the most heartless of court favorites.

Then came the bright object of all this parade, Anne Boleyn, seated in an open litter,—

“Opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.”

“The litter was covered with cloth of gold shot with white, and the two palfreys which supported the litter were clad, heads and all, in a garb of white damask, and were led by the queen’s footmen. Anne was dressed in a surcoat of silver tissue, and a mantle of the same, lined with ermine; her dark tresses were worn flowing down her shoulders, but on her head she wore a coif, with a circlet of precious rubies. Over her was borne a canopy of cloth of gold, carried by four knights on foot. The queen’s litter was preceded by her chancellor, and followed by her chamberlain, lord Borrough; ² William Cosyns, her master of horse, led her own palfrey, bearing only a rich side-saddle, trapped down to the ground with cloth of gold. After came seven ladies, riding on palfreys, in crimson velvet, trimmed with cloth of gold, and two chariots, covered with red cloth of gold; in the first of which were the old duchess of Norfolk and the marchioness of Dorset, and in the other chariot were four ladies of the bedchamber. Fourteen other court ladies followed, with thirty of their waiting-maids on horseback, in silk and velvet; and then followed the guard, in coats ornamented with beaten gold.” In Fenchurch street they all came to a pause to view a pageant of children apparelled like merchants, who welcomed the queen with two proper propositions in French and English. At Gracechurch street corner

¹ The two great offices of hereditary high-steward and hereditary high-constable of England were then in abeyance, since the first merged in the crown with Henry IV., and the last was forfeited by the duke of Buckingham. Henry’s favorite, Suffolk, performed both alternately at this era.

² The step-son of Henry’s sixth queen, Katharine Parr.

was a "marvellous cunning pageant," made by the merchants of the Steel-yard, of mount Parnassus, with Apollo and all his attendants, who made speeches. They were placed about a fountain of Helicon, which sprang up, in four jets, several yards high, and fell in a cup at top, and overflowed. This fountain of Helicon "did run with right good Rhenish wine all that day, for the refreshment of the multitude." The next pageant was that of the white falcon, described in the water procession, with this difference, that the falcon sat uncrowned among the red and white roses, and an angel flew down, "with great melody, and placed a close crown¹ of gold on the falcon's head as the queen came opposite. St. Anne was near, with her descendants; and one of the children of Mary Cleophas made to the queen a goodly oration on the fruitfulness of St. Anne. At the conduit of Cornhill sat the three Graces on a throne, and before it was a spring of grace continually running with good wine. Before the fountain sat a poet, who declared to the queen the properties of each of the three, every one of whom gave her a gift of grace. The conduit of Cheapside ran, at one end white wine, and at the other claret, all that afternoon."

"At Cheapside cross stood all the aldermen, from among whom advanced master Walter, the city recorder, who presented the queen with a purse, containing a thousand marks of gold, which she very thankfully accepted, with many goodly words. At the little conduit of Cheapside was a rich pageant, full of melody and song, where Pallas, Venus, and Juno gave the queen their apple of gold, divided in three compartments, being wisdom, riches, and felicity. Over the gate of St. Paul's was a pageant of three ladies, and in a circle over their heads was written, in Latin words, 'Proceed, queen Anne, and reign prosperously:' the lady sitting in the middle had a tablet, on which was written, 'Come, friend, and receive the crown;' the lady on the right had a tablet of silver, on which was written, 'Lord, direct my steps;' and the third lady had on a tablet of gold, written with azure letters, 'Confide in the Lord:' and these ladies

¹ Meaning the coronation-crown, closed at top with arches, the white falcon representing the queen.

cast down wafers, on which these words were stamped. On a scaffold, at the east end of St. Paul's, stood two hundred children, well appalled, who rehearsed to the queen many goodly verses of poets translated into English, which she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly burnished with gold and bice; and on the leads of St. Martin's church stood a choir of men and children, singing new ballads in her praise. Fleet street conduit was finely painted, all the scutcheons and angels were refreshed, and the chime melodiously sounding; on it was four turrets, and in each turret a cardinal virtue, which promised the queen never to leave her, but ever to be aiding and comforting her: and in the midst of the tower, closely concealed, was a concert of solemn instruments, which made a heavenly noise, and was much regarded and praised by the queen; and, besides all this, the said conduit ran with red and white wine all that afternoon. Thus the queen was brought to Westminster hall, which was richly hung with golden arras, and newly glazed. The queen rode in her litter to the very midst of the hall, where she was taken out, and led up to the high dais, and placed under the canopy of state. On the left side was a cupboard of ten stages, filled with cups and goblets of gold marvellous to behold. In a short time was brought to the queen 'a solemn service in great standing spice-plates, and a *voide* of spice (which was no other than comfits or sugar-plums), besides ipocras and other wines, which the queen sent down to her ladies. When they had partaken, she gave thanks to the lord mayor, and to the ladies and nobles who had attended on her. She then withdrew herself, with a few ladies, to the white hall, and changed her dress, and remained with the king at Westminster that night.'

The bright morrow was that coronation-day, the grand desideratum on which the heart and wishes of Anne Boleyn had been for so many years steadfastly fixed. It was Whitsunday, and the 1st of June,—of all days the most lovely in England, when the fresh smile of spring still blends with early summer. That morning of high festival saw the queen early at her toilet, for she entered Westminster hall with

her ladies a little after eight, and stood under her canopy of state in her surcoat and mantle of purple velvet, lined with ermine, and the circlet of rubies she wore the preceding day. Then came the monks of Westminster in rich copes, and the bishops and abbots in their splendid copes and mitres. The ray-cloth (striped-cloth) was spread all the way from the daïs in Westminster hall, through the sanctuary and palace, up to the high altar in Westminster abbey. The usual procession of nobles officiating then set forth, among whom might be remarked the "marquess of Dorset, bearing the queen's sceptre, the earl of Arundel, with the rod of ivory and the dove, who went side by side. The earl of Oxford, lord high-chamberlain for the day, walked after them bearing the crown; after him came the duke of Suffolk, as temporary lord high-steward of England, bearing a long silver wand, and the lord William Howard, with the marshal's staff. Then came the queen, the bishops of London and Winchester walking on each side of her, holding up the lappets of her robe; and the freemen of the Cinque-ports, called barons, dressed in crimson, with blue points to their sleeves, bore her canopy. The queen's train was borne by the old duchess of Norfolk, and she was followed by the female nobility of England in surcoats of scarlet velvet with narrow sleeves, the stomachers barred with ermine, the degree of the nobility being indicated by the number of the ermine bars. The knights' wives were in scarlet, but they had no trains, neither had the queen's gentlewomen. Then the queen was set in a rich chair, between the choir and the high altar. And after she had rested herself awhile, she descended to the high altar, and there prostrated herself while Cranmer said certain collects. Then she rose up, and he anointed her on the head and breast, and she was led up again; and after many oraisons he set the crown of St. Edward on her head, and delivered to her the sceptres, and all the choir sang *Te Deum*. Which done, the archbishop took from her head the crown of St. Edward, being heavy, and set on the crown made for her, and so went to mass; and when the offertory came, she descended again to the altar and there offered, being

still crowned, and then ascended to her chair of state, where she sat till *Agnus Dei* was sung; and then she went down and kneeled before the altar, and received of Cranmer the eucharist, and returned to her place again. After mass was over she went to St. Edward's shrine, and there offered, and withdrew into a little place, made *for the nonce*, on one side of the choir.¹ The nobility had in the mean time assumed their coronets; and when the queen had reposed herself, she returned with the procession in the former order, excepting that the proud and triumphant father of the queen supported her sceptre hand, and on her left hand she was assisted by lord Talbot, as deputy for his father the earl of Shrewsbury. Thus she was led into Westminster hall, and then to her withdrawing-chamber, where she waited till the banquet was prepared."

Meantime, every lord who owed services at a coronation prepared them according to his duty. The duke of Suffolk, as high-steward, was richly appalled, his doublet and jacket being set with orient pearl, and his courser trapped to the ground with crimson velvet, having letters of beaten gold thereon; and by his side rode about the hall the lord William Howard, earl-marshal for his brother, whose robe was crimson velvet, and the housings of his steed purple velvet, with white lions on it, cut out on white satin and embroidered. The earl of Essex was the queen's carver; the earl of Sussex her sewer; the earl of Arundel her chief butler, on whom twelve citizens of London did wait at the cupboard. The earl of Derby was her cup-bearer; the viscount Lisle her pantler; the lord Burgoyne chief larderer; and the mayor of Oxford kept the buttery bar; while her late lover, sir Thomas Wyatt, of poetical celebrity, acted for his father sir Henry Wyatt as chief ewerer, and claimed the office of pouring scented water on the queen's hands. When all these functionaries were at their stations, the queen entered the hall with her canopy borne over her. She washed, and sat down to table under the canopy of

¹ Hall, whose narrative is generally followed in this account, pp. 800-804. It is evident Cranmer performed the Catholic celebration of the mass at this ceremony.

state; on the right side of her chair stood the countess of Oxford, and on the left stood the countess of Worcester, all the dinner-time; and they often held a "fine cloth before the queen's face, whenever she listed to spit, or do otherwise at her pleasure,"—a most extraordinary office, certainly, but first appointed at an earlier and less refined era than even the reign of Henry VIII. "And under the table went two gentlewomen, and sat at the queen's feet during the dinner." When the queen and all these attendants had taken their places, the duke of Suffolk and lord William Howard rode into the hall on horseback, escorting the sewer and the knights of the Bath, each bearing a dish of the first course for the queen's table, twenty-seven dishes, besides "subtleties of ships made of colored wax, marvellous and gorgeous to behold." While this service was done, the trumpets standing in the window at the nethermost end of the hall played melodiously. "And all the tables in the hall were served so quickly, it was a marvel." The king took no part in all this grand ceremonial, but remained in the cloister of St. Stephen's,¹ where was made a little closet, in which he stood privately with several ambassadors, beholding all the service it was his pleasure should be offered to his new queen.

While the dinner was proceeding, "the duke of Suffolk and lord William Howard rode up and down the hall, cheering the lords and ladies, and the lord mayor and his brethren; and when these had dined, they commanded them to stand still in their places or on their forms, till the queen had washed. Then she arose and stood in the midst of the hall, to whom the earl of Sussex brought a goodly spice-plate, and served her with comfits. After him the lord mayor brought a standing cup of gold, set in a cup of assay; and after she had drunk she gave him the cups, according to the claims of the city, thanking him and his brethren for their pains. Then she went under her canopy, borne over her to the door of her chamber, where she turned about, and gave the canopy, with the golden bells and all, to the barons of the Cinque-ports, according to their claim, with great

¹ These most beautiful cloisters are nearly in their original state at this time.

thanks for their service. Then the lord mayor, bearing the gold cup in his hand, with his brethren passed through Westminster hall to the barge, and so did all the other noblemen and gentlemen return to their barges, for it was then six o'clock." On the following day, Whit-Monday, there were jousts in the tilt-yard before the king and queen.¹

Henry, notwithstanding his separation from the see of Rome, was desirous of obtaining the pope's sanction to his second marriage,² but the fulminations from Clement were manifold on the occasion of the interdicted nuptials. That pontiff annulled Cranmer's sentence on Henry's first marriage, and on the 11th of July published his bull, excommunicating Henry and Anne, unless they separated before the ensuing September, when the new queen expected her confinement. Henry sent ambassadors to the foreign courts, announcing his marriage with his fair subject, and his reasons for what he had done. These were also set forth to his discontented lieges in the north of England by the archbishop of York, in a sermon, with this appropriate text:—"I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come."³ Some ecclesiastics were not so complaisant to the king, but branded him from the pulpit with the name of a polygamist, and exhorted him to return to his lawful wife. Anne came in for a tenfold share of reviling, as the cause of his guilt. At Greenwich, friar Peyto preached boldly before the newly-wedded pair, and in no measured terms denounced the most awful judgments on them both,—comparing the sovereign to Ahab, and telling him that, "like that accursed Israelitish king, his blood would be licked by dogs."⁴ Cardinal Pole addressed letters of the most impassioned eloquence to his royal kinsman, reproaching him with his proceedings. Anne is styled by him "Jezebel," "sorceress," and many other offensive names; while, with the most cutting irony, in reply to those who had eulogized her virtue in rejecting all terms but those of queenship from her royal lover, he adds, "She must needs be chaste, as she chose to be the king's wife rather than his mistress; but," pursues he, "she must have known how soon he was

¹ Hall. Holinshed.

² Burnet.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Holinshed. Hall.

sated with those who had served him in the latter quality, and if she wanted other examples, her sister was enough." The Catholic historians have too hastily construed these reproaches into evidences of Mary Boleyn's frailty. Mary was, indeed, tempted by the king, but, having been convinced of the impropriety of receiving the addresses of a married man, preserved herself from guilt by becoming the virtuous wife of a private gentleman. No one who dispassionately reads the king's letter in reply to an application from Anne Boleyn in behalf of her sister, when left a widow in destitute circumstances, can believe that Mary had been his mistress. Soon after Anne's elevation to a royal station, the widowed Mary gave great offence to her ambitious family, and also to the king and queen, by making a second love-match with sir W. Stafford. The following very interesting letter from Mary to that man of universal business, Cromwell, entreating his good offices, bespeaks the feelings of a high-minded and virtuous matron, not those of the forsaken mistress of the man who had raised her sister to a throne:—

"MASTER SECRETARY:—

"After my poor recommendations, which *is* smally to be regarded from a poor banished creature, this shall be to desire you to be good to my poor husband and me, for it is not unknown to you the high displeasure that both he and I have of the king's highness and the queen's grace, by reason of our marriage without their knowledge." [After much penitence expressed, she proceeds] "And, good master secretary, sue for us to the king's highness, and beseech his highness that it will please him of his goodness to speak to the queen's grace for us; for I perceive her grace is so highly displeased with us both, that, without the king be so good lord to us as to sue for us, we are never like to recover her grace's favor, which is too heavy to bear. For God's sake help us, for we have now been married a quarter of a year, I thank God, and too late now to recall that again. But if I were at my liberty and might choose, I assure you, master secretary, I had rather beg my bread with him *than be the greatest queen christened*."

"And I beseech you, good master secretary, pray my lord and father and my lady [she means lady Boleyn, but she does not call her mother] to be good to us, and let me have their blessings, and my husband their good-will. Also, I pray my lord Norfolk and my brother [lord Rochford] to be good to us. I dare not write to them, they are so cruel against us."—(Written between 1533 and 1536.)

Anne endeavored to strengthen her family connection and her own influence by inducing the king to marry his

illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, to her beautiful cousin the lady Mary Howard, daughter of the duke of Norfolk. "The king's grace," writes the duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell, "had never a penny for my lady of Richmond, for queen Anne got the marriage clear for my lord my husband. When she did favor my lord my husband, I heard queen Anne say that if my lord of Richmond did die, that my daughter should have above a thousand pounds a year to her jointure." From letters written by Anne to Cromwell and others, there is reason to believe that much church preferment passed through her hands. Joyce, the dispossessed prioress of Catesby, affirms "that the queen undertook to negotiate with king Henry the terms of a pecuniary composition of two thousand marks, to induce him to allow that house to stand, but had not been able to obtain a decided answer from his grace." Joyce offers a bribe to Cromwell in addition to the sum which the queen had proffered to the king in behalf of this convent. "Master Onley, continues she, "saith he hath a grant of the house; but my very trust is in God and you to help forward that the queen's grace may obtain her request that the house may stand."¹ There is a letter in existence, addressed by Anne to the magistrates of Bristol,² telling them she desires a friend of hers to be preferred to be the head of the college of St. John Baptist in their town, at the death of the present incumbent; also she signifies her wish that the next advowsons in the said college may be granted to sir Edward Baynton, her chamberlain, Nicholas Shaston, D.D., her almoner,³ and David Hutton. What claim sir Edward Baynton could have to be coupled with a reverend divine as a candidate for church preferment is not otherwise explained by the queen, than that he is one of her trusty and well-beloved counsellors and her chamberlain.

At this season Anne enjoyed all that grandeur and power

¹ Wood's Letters.

² Ibid.

³ Shaston, or Shaxton, was considered an advocate for the principles of the Reformation, which exposed him to the terrors of persecution; but he avoided the fiery crown of martyrdom, and subsequently acted a part little to his credit, when Anne Askew and her fellow-victims were consigned to the flames.

could bestow. Henry, withal, in order to exalt her to the utmost in her queenly dignity, caused her initial **A** to be crowned and associated with his own regal **H** on the gold and silver coins that were struck after their marriage. Henry VIII. was the first and last monarch of England who offered this compliment to his consorts,—a brief and dearly-purchased honor it was to some of those unhappy ladies. Francis I. sent very friendly messages and compliments of congratulation by queen Anne's uncle Norfolk, not only to the king, but to herself, at which both were highly gratified. Henry, who fully persuaded himself that the infant of which Anne expected soon to be the mother would prove a son, invited king Francis to become its sponsor. Francis obligingly signified his consent to the duke of Norfolk, and it was agreed that the anticipated boy should be named either Henry or Edward ;¹ but, to the great disappointment of king Henry, on the 7th of September, 1533, queen Anne, after very dangerous travail, gave birth, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, to a daughter, afterwards the renowned queen Elizabeth.² This event, so auspicious to England, took place in the old palace of Placentia at Greenwich, in an apartment called the 'chamber of the virgins,' because the tapestry with which it was hung illustrated the parable of the ten wise and the ten foolish virgins. When Anne was informed that, instead of the eagerly anticipated boy whom the king expected her to bear, she had brought forth a daughter, she sought with ready wit to console Henry for the disappointment in the sex of the infant by endeavoring to attach unwonted importance to a princess born under what might then be considered peculiarly felicitous circumstances. "Henceforth," said she, "they may with reason call this room the 'chamber of virgins,' for a virgin is now born in it on the vigil of that auspicious day when the church commemorates the nativity of our blessed lady the Virgin Mary."³ The 'prince's chamber,' in which our kings, in the last century, always robed when they attended the house of lords, was hung with curious old tapestry, representing the birth of queen Elizabeth,⁴

¹ Burnet.² State-Papers.³ Leti.⁴ Pennant's London.

Anne Boleyn being in bed with her noble attendants on one side, and the nurse with the child on the other; Henry VIII. and his courtiers in the distance waiting for the intelligence, which one seems despatched to bring to the impatient sire.

So confident had Henry been of the realization of his passionate desire of a son, that in the circular which was sent to the nobility in queen Anne's name, announcing the birth of her child, the word *prince* was written in the first instance, and an *s* was added after the queen's delivery. This curious fact has led Lodge and other celebrated writers into the error that Anne Boleyn brought Henry VIII. a living son, the addition of the feminizing *s* having probably been omitted in some of the copies of the circular, of which we give the transcript:—

"TO LORD COBHAM, BY THE QUEEN.

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it hath pleased the goodness of Almighty God, of his infinite mercy and grace, to send to us at this time good speed in the deliverance and bringing forth of a prince, to the great joy, *rejoice*, and infinite comfort of my lord, us, and all his good subjects of this his realm, for the which his inestimable benevolence, so showed unto us, we have no little cause to give high thanks, laud, and praising our said Maker, like as we do, most lowly, humbly, and with all the inward desire of our heart. And inasmuch as we undoubtedly trust, that this our good speed is to your great pleasure, comfort, and consolation, we therefore, by these our letters, advertise you thereof, desiring and heartily praying you to give, with us, unto Almighty God high thanks, glory, laud, and praising; and to pray for the good health, prosperity, and continual preservation of the said prince accordingly. Given under our signet, at my lord's manor of Greenwich, the 7th¹ day of September, in the 20th year of my said lord's reign."

Anne's disappointment in the sex of her infant was not the only vexation she was doomed to suffer on the birth of her daughter. While the first powerful instincts of maternal love were thrilling in every vein, she earnestly desired to enjoy the delight of nourishing her babe from her own bosom. Henry, with characteristic selfishness, forbade it, giving as his reason, not the rigorous etiquette of royalty, which denies the peasant-mother's sweet privilege to queens,

¹ State-Papers, vol. i. p. 407. 'Princess' was always spelled at that era with only one *s*. There is reason to suppose that these circulars were always thus prepared.

**Court of King's Bench, with the Five Scarlet-robed
Judges. Time of Henry VI**

*From a Miniature in the Possession of the London Society
of Antiquaries*



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but the probability that his rest would be broken by such an arrangement, and the frequent presence of the infant princess in his chamber might be attended with inconvenience to himself. It was, of course, through Anne's influence with her royal husband that her grandfather's widow, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, obtained the appointment of state governess to the new-born princess, together with the fair mansion and all the rich furniture he had presented to Anne when he created her marchioness of Pembroke.¹

The succession was entailed by act of parliament on this infant, in default of heirs-male: persons were required at the same time to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to swear fealty to the king's heirs by queen Anne, which excluded the princess Mary from the succession. Fisher bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More refused to take this twofold oath, on scruples of conscience; both had previously enjoyed a great degree of Henry's favor, both had much to lose and nothing to gain by their rejection of a test which they regarded as a snare. They were the fast friends of queen Katharine, and had incurred the animosity of her triumphant rival by counselling the king against forsaking the wife of his youth. The resentment of Anne Boleyn is supposed to have influenced the king to bring these faithful servants to the scaffold. The integrity of sir Thomas More as lord chancellor had been some time before impugned by Anne's father, the earl of Wiltshire, but, like pure gold from the crucible, it shone more brightly from the trial.²

When More's beloved daughter, Margaret Roper, visited him in the Tower, he asked her, "How queen Anne did?" "In faith, father," she replied, "never better. There is nothing else in the court but dancing and sporting."—"Never better?" said he. "Alas! Meg, alas! it pitieth me to think into what misery, poor soul, she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances, that she will

¹ Leti. Anne Boleyn was very fond of the old duchess, who was only her step-grandmother, and in consequence of espousing her cause in the feud between the duke of Norfolk and her, incurred the implacable hatred of that vindictive peer.

² Roper's Life of More. Hoddesden. More's Life of More.

spurn our heads off like foot-balls, but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance.”—“And how prophetically he spoke these words,” adds the kindred biographer of More, “the end of her tragedy proved.”¹ The account of sir Thomas More’s execution was brought to Henry while he was playing at tables with Anne: he cast his eyes reproachfully upon her, and said, “Thou art the cause of this man’s death.” Then rising up, he left his unfinished game, and shut himself up in his chamber in great perturbation of spirit.² “Had we been master of such a servant,” exclaimed the emperor Charles to the English ambassador, with a burst of generous feeling, “we would rather have lost the fairest city in our dominions than such a counsellor.”

John Coke, the secretary of a guild of English merchants at Antwerp, wrote a complaint to Cromwell³ of the contempt in which king Henry and his new queen were held in that favorite city of Charles V., and how they were mocked and caricatured there; “For,” said this informant, “a naughty person of Antwerp resorted to the town of Barow this Easter *mart* [fair] with images and pictures in cloth to sell,”—these pictures in cloth seem to have been paintings on canvas, at that time a new art, at least to the English,—“among which cloth pictures he had the picture of our lord the king (whom our Lord preserve). And this day, setting up the king’s picture on the burse to sell, he pinned upon its body a wench painted in cloth, holding a pair of scales in her hand: in one scale was figured two hands as united, and in the other scale a feather, with a ‘scripture’ [inscription] over her head, saying, ‘Love is lighter than a feather.’ Whereat the Spaniards and Dutch took great pleasure in deriding, jesting, and laughing thereat, speaking opprobrious words against his most noble grace, and the most gracious queen Anne, his bed-fellow.” Master John Coke lost no time in denouncing the “said naughty picture-merchant to the authorities of Barow; but all the redress he got was, that no hurt was meant;”

¹ More’s Life of More, and Roper’s More.

² More’s Life of More.

³ Historical Letters, by sir H. Ellis; second series, vol. ii. p. 44.

and he gives a hint that the naughty person had been whispered, by a Spaniard in authority, "to let the offensive picture stand, and he should be borne out."

A remarkable page in the state-papers of France proves how soon the crowned beauty felt her precarious situation. Francis I., being desirous of making an irreconcilable rupture between Charles V. and Henry VIII., proposed marrying Anne Boleyn's daughter, the infant Elizabeth, to his third son, the duke of Angoulême. The marriage Anne Boleyn desired with passion, in order to interest the king of France to support her in the favor of her cruel and inconstant husband, who had ever ready reasons of conscience to effect a vacancy in his throne and bed, when he had a new candidate for those places. "I have," says the continuator of Castlenau, "a letter written February 5, 1535, to admiral Chabot, Francis I.'s prime-minister, by Palamedes Gontier, his secretary, which alludes thus early to the anxieties of the new queen. 'The secretary Palamedes, being introduced to Henry VIII. in the matted gallery at Westminster, after chatting and talking familiarly, pressed the king to take in hand some way with his daughter Mary, to hinder the competition with Elizabeth, if that princess married the son of France. The king said his youngest daughter had been proclaimed princess and heiress; people had been sworn on that matter, and every one took Mary for the bastard she was: but Mary was in his hands, and like to be; no one cared what became of her.' Therefore," he continued, "it would be better that my brother Francis should try to alter the bishop of Rome's opinions of my first marriage, and then all the English people would hold no contrary opinions on that head."¹ Nevertheless, it came out in conversation, that if Elizabeth died, leaving her sire without heirs-male, Mary would succeed, but not unless such was the case.²

Palamedes had, besides, a commission to treat for a visit and interview to take place between the two queens, being no other than Eleanor of Austria, queen of France, and the

¹ Additions to Castlenau, by Le Laboureur; folio, p. 405, vol. i., King's library, Brit. Mus.

² *Ibid.*, 408.

then queen of England, Anne Boleyn. Strange as it may appear, such was the visit expected to take place after Easter in Normandy, to which the queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I. (former mistress of Anne Boleyn), was expected to come. Henry VIII. had some difficulty in believing that the noble matron Eleanor would encounter Anne Boleyn. Henry being soon after at his chapel of Westminster palace (St. Stephen's), during service sent his secretary Cromwell to search for Palamedes Gontier; he was then with M. de Morrette, the ostensible ambassador, but all the communication was with the lively and active Palamedes, who was introduced into a little closet of the chapel, where Henry, affecting to hear divine service, discussed private politics. "I did not," says Palamedes, in his despatch to his master, "forget to tell what you ordered me, that the queen [evidently Eleanor of Austria] had no other inclination than that of Henry VIII., without bearing affection to her brother [Charles V.] nor her aunt [Katharine of Arragon]." Palamedes presented a letter to the king, containing a request from Francis I. for the collar of the Garter for one of his great men; but Henry VIII. explained, "there had been but a single vacancy, which investiture he had sent within a few days to his nephew, the king of Scots."¹

"Monseigneur," continues Palamedes, "I was kept all this morning by Cromwell, and after dinner he led me to the *salle* of the queen, Anne Boleyn: the king was there. I made to the said lady reverence, and presented her your letters, showing entirely what I had to say from you. I saw her at the proposition astonished,"—probably at meeting the royal Eleanor. "She complained of my long delay, which had caused and engendered in the king her spouse many strange thoughts, of which, she said, there was great need that a remedy should be thought of, unless the king her brother [Francis I.] would that she should not be mad-

¹ The State-papers prove that this investiture took place as early as March 4, 1534-35. The embassy had to travel to Scotland, therefore it had been despatched about the date of this paper, February 5.—Additions to Castlenau, vol. i. p. 412.

dened and lost ; for she found herself near to that, and more in pain and trouble than she had been since her espousals. She charged me to pray and require you on her part regarding the affair, of which she could not speak so amply to me as she would, for fear of where she was and of the eyes that were watching her countenance, not only of the said lord her husband, but of the princes with him. She told me she could not write, that she could not see me, and could no longer talk with me ; with which language she left me, and went out with this lord king into the same hall I was introduced to the other day, where the dancers could not stand up to form themselves till the said lady came. Assuring you, monsieur, that the said lady, as I well know, is not at her ease, presuming, on my poor judgment, that she has doubts and suspicions of this king, which I mentioned to you before I took this journey." During the said dances, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Cromwell and others, formed a council.¹ The congress of queens thus projected never took place. The anxieties of Anne Boleyn proceeded from jealousy of the unfortunate princess Mary, lest any political change should bring the daughter of queen Katharine forward as a rival to her own child. It is to be feared that her persecutions of Mary were aggravated by the discussion Henry and Palamedes held in the closet of St. Stephen's chapel.

On the 30th of August, 1535, the new pope, Paul III., thundered forth his anathema against Henry and Anne provided they did not separate, declaring their issue illegitimate, and forbidding Henry's subjects to pay him their allegiance. Henry fortified himself by seeking the alliance of the Protestant princes of Germany. The decided opposition of the see of Rome and the ecclesiastics of that church against Anne Boleyn's marriage with the king, and her recognition as queen of England, led her to espouse the cause of the infant Reformation as a matter of party ; but as she adhered to all the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic ritual, and professed the doctrine of transubstantiation, a Protestant she cannot be called with truth. The martyrdoms of

¹ Signed, A Londres, le 5 jour de Fevrier, Palamedes Gontier.

Bilney, of Frith, and several other pious reformers, were perpetrated while she was in the height of her power; and though it would be unjust to attribute to her the murderous cruelty exercised by Henry and his spiritual advisers, there is no record of any intercession used by her to preserve these blameless martyrs from the flames. Yet it is scarcely likely that to have saved them would have been a work of greater difficulty than compassing the destruction of her political opponents. The only great boon that the Reformation owes to Anne Boleyn is, that the translation of the Scriptures was sanctioned through her influence. There is an interesting letter in Ellis's royal collection, signed "Anne the Queen," for the protection of a merchant, who was involved in peril for importing from Holland some of those precious copies of the Bible, which, as yet, were contraband pearls of great price in England. Her own private copy of Tindal's translation is still in existence.

One or two traits of Anne's domestic tastes are unfolded in the correspondence of the viscountess Lisle, which lady, being ambitious of obtaining appointments for two of her daughters in the royal household, took infinite pains to discover what sort of offerings would be most agreeable to the queen. Her inquiries elicited the fact, from second-hand authority, "that the queen's grace set much store by a pretty dog," and delighted so much in one called 'little Purboy,' that when he was unfortunately killed by a fall, no one durst inform her of it till the king's grace took upon himself to break the matter to her.¹ Would that the courtier had also recorded the manner in which bluff king Hal communicated to his then entirely beloved consort the tragic fate of his diminutive canine rival in her affections. Anne's gracious reception of two presents from lady Lisle is thus certified to the noble sender of the same by a friend in the royal household, who, in reply to a letter inquiring how the queen's grace liked her present, a linnet, and some dotterels, —rare birds, which were then esteemed "a dainty dish to set before a queen," writes,—“Pleaseth you to understand that her grace liked them both very well; the one for being

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal Ladies, vol. ii. p. 311.

a special good dish, and the other for a pleasant singing-bird, which doth not cease at no time to give her grace rejoicing with her pleasant song.”¹ The important how and when the foreign dainties my lady Lisle had sent to tickle the palate of our epicure queen were served up at the royal table are thus gravely communicated by a friend who had taken the pains of ascertaining the particulars from persons behind the scenes:—“The queen did appoint six of your dottrels for her supper, six for Monday dinner, and six for supper. My lord of Rochford presented them himself, and showed her how they were killed new at twelve of the clock in Dover; of the which she was glad, and spake many good words towards your ladyship’s good report, as I was informed by them that stood by; and Harris hath made deliverance of your birds and images, and all is well.” Yet lady Lisle did not obtain the appointment for her daughters.²

In the autumn of the year 1535, queen Anne was flattered with the hope of bringing a male heir to the throne, to the great joy of the king. Anne was now at the summit of human greatness. She had won the great political game for which she had, in the bitterness of disappointed love, vindictively entered the lists with the veteran statesman who had separated her from the man of her heart: she had wreaked the vengeance she had vowed for the loss of Percy, and laid the pride and power of Wolsey in the dust; she had wrested the crown-matrimonial from the brow of the royal Katharine; the laws of primogeniture had been reversed, that the succession to the throne might be vested in her issue, and the two men who were the most deservedly venerated by the king and the people of England, More and Fisher, had been sacrificed to her displeasure. But in all these triumphs there was little to satisfy the mind of a woman whose natural impulses were those of virtue, but who had violated the most sacred ties for the gratification of the evil passions of pride, vanity, and revenge. Anne Boleyn was a reader of the Scriptures, and must have felt the awful force of that text which says, “What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own

¹ Wood’s *Letters of Royal Ladies*, vol. ii. p. 312.

² *Ibid.*

soul?" Conscious of her own responsibility, and finding far more thorns than roses in the tangled, weary labyrinth of greatness, Anne directed her thoughts to the only true source of happiness,—religion, which had hitherto been practised by her rather as a matter of state policy than as the emanation from a vital principle in the soul. She became grave and composed in manner, and, ceasing to occupy herself in the gay pursuits of pleasure, or the boisterous excitement of the chase, spent her hours of domestic retirement with her ladies, as her royal mistress Katharine had formerly done before her,—in needlework and discreet communication.¹ Wyatt tells us that the matchless tapestry at Hampton Court was for the most part wrought by the skilful hand of this queen and her ladies; "But far more precious," he says, "in the sight of God, were those works which she caused her maidens and those about her daily to execute in shirts and other garments for the use of the poor; and not contented with that, her eye of charity, her hand of bounty, passed through the whole land: each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her,—all times will remember it."

The change that had taken place in the manners of Anne Boleyn and her court has been attributed to the influence of the celebrated reformer, Hugh Latimer,² whom she had rescued from the durance to which Stokesley bishop of London had committed him. But for the powerful protection of Anne, Latimer would, in all probability, have been called to testify the sincerity of his principles at the stake five-and-twenty years before he was clothed with the fiery robes of martyrdom. At her earnest solicitation the king interposed, and Latimer was restored to liberty. The queen next expressed a wish to see and hear the rescued preacher; and Latimer, instead of addressing his royal protectress in the language of servile adulation, reminded her of the vanity of earthly greatness, and the delusions of human hopes and expectations. Anne listened with humility, and entreated

¹ Hentzner, the celebrated German traveller, when he visited Hampton Court, was shown a bed the tester of which was worked by Anne Boleyn, and presented by her to her husband, Henry VIII.

² Benger's Anne Boleyn.

him to point out whatever appeared amiss in her conduct and deportment. Latimer, in reply, seriously represented to her how much it behooved her not only to impress the duties of morality and piety on her attendants, but to enforce her precepts by example. Anne, far from being offended at his sincerity, appointed him for one of her chaplains, and afterwards obtained his promotion to the see of Worcester. To her credit it is also recorded that she directed a certain sum from her privy-purse to be distributed to every village in England, for the relief of its distressed inhabitants. With greater wisdom she planned the institution of a variety of manufactures, with a view of giving more permanent assistance to those who were destitute of a livelihood and without employment. For the last nine months of her life she distributed 14,000*l.* in alms; she also caused many promising youths to be educated and sent to college at her expense, with the intention of rendering their talents and learning serviceable in the church.¹ In all these things Anne performed the duties of a good woman and an enlightened queen; and had she attained to her royal elevation in an honest and conscientious manner, in all probability the blessing of God would have been with her, and prospered her undertakings. But however powerful her religious impressions might have been, it is impossible that a real change of heart had taken place while she continued to incite the king to harass and persecute his forsaken queen Katharine, by depriving her of the solace of her daughter's company, and exacting from the disinherited princess submissions from which conscience and nature alike revolted. There were moments when Anne felt the insecurity of her position in a political point of view; and well must she have known how little reliance was to be placed on the stability of the regard of the man whose caprice had placed the queenly diadem on her brow. At the best, she was only the queen of a party, for the majority of the nobles and people of England still regarded Katharine as the lawful possessor of the title and place which Henry had bestowed on her.

When the long-expected tidings of Katharine's death ar-

¹ Miss Benger's *Life of Anne Boleyn*.

rived, Anne, in the blindness of her exultation, exclaimed, "Now I am indeed a queen!" It is said that she was washing her hands in a costly basin when sir Richard Southwell brought the intelligence to her, on which she instantly gave him both the basin and its rich cover as a reward for his tidings. The same evening she met her parents with a countenance full of pleasure, and bade them rejoice with her, for the crown was now firmly fixed on her head.¹ On the day of her royal rival's funeral she not only disobeyed the king's order, which required black to be worn on that day, but violated good taste and good feeling alike by appearing in yellow, and making her ladies do the same.² The change in Henry's feelings towards Anne may, in all probability, be attributed to the disgust caused by the indelicacy of her triumph. She had been ill and out of spirits previously to this event, which was attributed to the sufferings incidental to her condition, for she was again likely to become a mother; but after the death of queen Katharine she recovered her vivacity, and assumed so haughty a carriage that she offended every one.

The season was now at hand when Anne was, in her turn, to experience some of the bitter pangs she had inflicted on her royal mistress. Her agonies were not the less poignant, because conscience must have told her that it was retributive justice which returned the poisoned chalice to her own lips, when she, in like manner, found herself rivalled and supplanted by one of her female attendants, the beautiful Jane Seymour. Jane must have been a person of consummate art, for she was on terms of great familiarity with the king before Anne entertained the slightest suspicion of their proceedings. Entering the room unexpectedly one day, the queen surprised Jane, seated on Henry's knee, receiving his

¹ Leti.

² Hall and some other writers pass over this disgraceful trait in Anne Boleyn by saying "she wore yellow for the mourning," as if it were usual to adopt that color for this purpose; whereas, in king Henry's wardrobe order, black cloth is directed to be delivered to the ladies appointed to assist at queen Katharine's obsequies. A modern historian goes farther than Hall in justification of Anne, by saying "she wore yellow, which was the color worn for royal mournings at the court of France." A reference to the splendid illuminated MS. life of Anne

caresses with every appearance of complacency.¹ Struck, as with a mortal blow, at this sight, Anne gave way to a transport of mingled grief and indignation. Henry, dreading his consort's agitation might prove fatal to his hopes of an heir, endeavored to soothe and reassure her, saying, "Be at peace, sweetheart, and all shall go well for thee." But the cruel shock Anne had sustained brought on the pangs of premature travail; and after some hours of protracted agony, during which her life was in imminent peril, she brought forth a dead son, January 29th.

When the king was informed of this misfortune, instead of expressing the slightest sympathy for the sufferings of his luckless consort, he burst into her apartment, and furiously upbraided her "with the loss of his boy."² Anne, with more spirit than prudence, passionately retorted, "That he had no one to blame but himself for this disappointment, which had been caused by her distress of mind about that wench, Jane Seymour."³ Henry sullenly turned away, muttering, as he quitted her apartment, that "she should have no more boys by him."⁴ These scenes, which occurred in January, 1536, may surely be regarded as the first act of the royal matrimonial tragedy which, four months later, was consummated on Tower hill.

So jealous was Henry VIII. of his conjugal proceedings being discussed by any class of his subjects, that even the idle words of certain gossips in the lying-in chamber of one of the humble matrons of Watlington were gravely investigated by a right worshipful quorum of justices at Reading, before whom it was deposed that the good woman, after commending the skill of Johane Hammulden the midwife,

of Bretagne, in the King's collection, British Museum, will prove that this is a mistake, for all the ladies, mourners and attendants of that queen, are represented muffled in sable stoles after her death. It is a case in point, for Anne of Bretagne was the mother of Anne's royal patroness, queen Claude. The queens of France have been said to wear *white* as widows' mourning, because it was etiquette for them to keep their beds some days after they were widows.

¹ Wyatt. Lingard.

² Wyatt's Memoirs of Anne Boleyn. Sanders. Lingard. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Wyatt. It is said that Anne had previously given great offence to the king, by concealing her situation from him till it became apparent.—Leti.

said "She was worthy of being midwife to the queen of England, provided it were queen Kateryn; but she was too good for queen Anne," of whom she spoke in such scurrilous terms that the ungrateful Johane Hammulden thought proper to inform against her. The good woman stoutly denied the charge, and endeavored to divert the storm from herself by accusing one of her neighbors of having declared "that it was never merry in England when there were three queens in it;" whereupon Mrs. Johane Hammulden had said "there will be fewer shortly."¹ Both the speech and oracular rejoinder being denied by the parties accused, and as no satisfactory evidence could be produced, the magistrates transmitted the depositions to the privy council. If three of the proudest peers in Henry's realm had been accused of holding such indiscreet communications on the delicate topic of *his* queens, it would probably have cost them their heads; but to lay an embargo under pains and penalties on the license of the tongues of females of low degree was a measure which even his despotism left unattempted. There is no record of any punishment being inflicted on either of the Watlington gossips. Their allusion to a third queen affords evidence that the passion of Henry VIII. for Jane Seymour was publicly known in the precincts of his royal palaces, even before the death of his consort, Katharine of Arragon.

Anne slowly regained her health after her dangerous accouchement and painful disappointment, but not her spirits. She knew the king's temper too well not to be aware that her influence was at an end forever, and that she must prepare to resign not only her place in his affections, but also in his state, to the new star by whom she had been eclipsed. When she found that she had no power to obtain the dismissal of her rival from the royal household, she became very melancholy, and withdrew herself from all the gayeties of the court, passing all her time in the most secluded spots of Greenwich park. It is also related that she would sit for hours in the quadrangle court of Greenwich palace, in

¹ Original Letters, sir H. Ellis; third series. The original is in the State-Paper office.

silence and abstraction, or seeking a joyless pastime in playing with her little dogs, and setting them to fight with each other. The king had entirely withdrawn himself from her company ever since her rash retort to his unfeeling reproach, and now they never met in private. She had not the consolation of her infant daughter's innocent smiles and endearments to beguile her lonely sorrow, for the princess Elizabeth was nursed in a separate establishment, and the sweet tie of maternity had been sacrificed to the heartless parade of stately ceremonials. She had alienated the regard and acquired the enmity of her uncle Norfolk. Her royal sister-in-law and early patroness, Mary queen of France, was no more, and Suffolk, Henry's principal favorite, was one of her greatest foes.

The inconsistency of Anne Boleyn's manners was doubtless the principal cause of her calamities. The lively coquettish maid of honor could not forget her old habits after her elevation to a throne, and the familiarity of her deportment to those with whom she had formerly been on terms of equality in the court of queen Katharine encouraged her officers of state to address her with undue freedom. Such was her unbounded thirst for admiration, that even the low-born musician Mark Smeaton dared to insinuate his passion to her. These things were, of course, reported to her disadvantage by the household foes by whom she was surrounded. The king's impatience to rid himself of the matrimonial fetters, which precluded him from sharing his throne with the object of his new passion, would not brook delays, and, in the absence of any proof of the queen's disloyalty to himself, he resolved to proceed against her on the evidence of the invidious gossips' tales that had been whispered to him by persons who knew that he was seeking an occasion to destroy her. Three gentlemen of the royal household, Breton, Weston, and Norris, with Mark Smeaton the musician, were pointed out as her paramours; and as if this had not been enough, the natural and innocent affection that subsisted between Anne and her only brother, George viscount Rochford, was construed into a presumption of a crime of the most revolting nature. This dreadful

accusation proceeded from the hatred and jealousy of lady Rochford, who, being in all probability an ill-assorted companion for her accomplished husband, regarded his friendship and confidential intercourse with the queen, his sister, with those malignant feelings of displeasure which prompted her murderous denunciation of them both.

The secret plot against the queen must have been organized by the first week in April, 1536; for on the 4th of that month the parliament was dissolved,¹ as if for the purpose of depriving her of any chance of interference from that body in her behalf. The writs for the new parliament, which was to assemble on the 8th of June after her death, were issued April 27th, even before she was arrested.² Three days before that date a secret committee was appointed of the privy council to inquire into the charges against her. Among the commissioners were her uncle the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the lord chancellor, her father, several earls, and some of the judges.³ It has been supposed that her father did not attend. William Brereton was summoned before this committee on Thursday the 28th, and, after his examination, was committed to the Tower. Two days afterwards, the queen (who was totally unconscious of this portentous circumstance) found Mark Smeaton,⁴ the musician, standing in the round window of her presence-chamber in a melancholy attitude. She asked him, "Why he was so sad?"—"It is no matter," he replied. Then the queen had the folly to say, "You may not look to have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman, because you be an inferior person."—"No, no, madame," he replied; "a look sufficeth me."

There can be little doubt that Mark's dejection was caused by the fearful rumors which must have reached him of the arrest of Brereton, the proceedings of the queen's enemies in council, and the general aspect of affairs at court; and that he was loitering in the window for the purpose of giving

¹ Parliamentary History.

² Burnet.

³ Mackintosh. Lingard.

⁴ For his great musical skill he had been promoted to the office of groom of the chamber by the queen's influence.

his royal mistress a hint of the peril that threatened her. The absurd vanity which led her to attribute his troubled looks to a hopeless passion for herself, gave, perhaps, a different turn to the conversation, and diverted him from his purpose. The next day the wretched man was arrested, sent to the Tower, and loaded with irons.¹

If the queen remained in ignorance of what was going on in the palace, as most authors affirm, her powers of observation must have been very limited, and she could have had no faithful friend or counsellor immediately about her. The only reason we have to surmise that Anne was aware of the gathering storm is, that a few days before her arrest she held a long private conference with her chaplain, Matthew Parker, and gave him a solemn charge concerning the infant princess Elizabeth, it may be supposed regarding her religious education.² This fact is authenticated in a letter from Parker to one of Elizabeth's councillors, declining the archbishopric of Canterbury, in which he says, "Yet he would fain serve his sovereign lady in more respects than his allegiance, since he cannot forget what words her grace's mother said to him, not six days before her apprehension."³

On Monday, May 1st,—an evil May-day for her,—Anne Boleyn appeared for the last time in the pride and pomp of royalty with her treacherous consort, at the jousts at Greenwich. Her brother, viscount Rochford, was the principal challenger, Henry Norris one of the defenders. In the midst of the pageant, which was unusually splendid, the king rose up abruptly, and quitted the royal balcony with a wrathful countenance, followed by six of his confidential attendants. Every one was amazed, but the queen appeared especially dismayed, and presently retired.⁴ The sports broke up, and lord Rochford and Henry Norris were arrested at the barrier on the charge of high treason; sir Francis Weston was taken into custody at the same time. The popular version of the cause of this public outbreak of Henry's displeasure is, that the queen, either by accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony at the

¹ Letter of Kingston; MS. Cott., Otho, x.

² Lingard.

³ Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. Records, p. 325.

⁴ Hall. Holinshed.

feet of Norris, who, being heated with the course, took it up, and, it is said, presumptuously wiped his face with it; then handed it to the queen on the point of his lance.¹ At this Henry changed color, started from his seat, and retired in a transport of jealous fury,² and gave the orders for the arrest of the queen and all the parties who had fallen under suspicion of sharing her favors.

It is very possible that the circumstances actually occurred as related above, and that Henry, who was anxiously awaiting an opportunity for putting his long-meditated project against the queen into execution, eagerly availed himself of the first pretext with which her imprudent disregard of the restraints of royal etiquette furnished him to strike the blow. Without speaking to the queen, the king rode back to Whitehall, attended by only six persons, among whom was his devoted prisoner Norris³ who had hitherto stood so high in his favor that he was the only person whom he ever permitted to follow him into his bedchamber: Norris had been, as we have mentioned, one of the three witnesses of Henry's secret marriage with Anne. On the way, Henry rode with Norris apart, and earnestly solicited him to obtain mercy by acknowledging his guilt. Norris stoutly maintained his innocence, and that of the queen, nor would he consent to be rendered an instrument in her ruin.⁴ When they reached Westminster, he was despatched to the Tower.⁵

The public arrest of her brother and his luckless friends struck a chill to the heart of the queen; but of the nature of their offence, and that she was herself to be involved in the horrible charges against them, she remained in perfect unconsciousness till the following day. She sat down to dinner at the usual hour, but the meal passed over uneasily, for she took the alarm when she found that the king's waiter came not with his majesty's wonted compliment of "Much good may it do you."⁶ Instead of this greeting, she noted

¹ It is more likely that the courtly Norris kissed the queen's handkerchief when he took it up, and that his action was mistaken or misrepresented.

² Sanders, repeated by most of our historians.

³ Lingard.

⁴ *Archæologia*, iii. 155.

⁵ Lingard.

⁶ Heywood.

a portentous silence among her ladies, and that her servants stood about with downcast looks, their eyes glazed with tears, which inspired her with dismay and strange apprehensions. Scarcely was the *surnap*¹ removed, when the duke of Norfolk, with Audley, Cromwell, and others of the lords of the council, entered. At first, Anne thought they came from the king to comfort her for her brother's arrest, but when she noticed the austerity of their countenances, and the ominous presence of sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, behind them, she started up in terror, and demanded "why they came?" They replied, with stern brevity, "that they came by the king's command to conduct her to the Tower, there to abide during his highness's pleasure."—"If it be his majesty's pleasure," rejoined the queen, regaining her firmness, "I am ready to obey;" and so, pursues our authority, "without change of habit, or anything necessary for her removal, she committed herself to them, and was by them conducted to her barge."² It is, however, certain, from the evidence of Kingston's letters, that she underwent a harsh examination before the council at Greenwich before her embarkation, unless the cruel treatment, which she complained of receiving from her uncle Norfolk on that occasion took place in the barge, where, it is said, she was scarcely seated ere he entered into the subject of her arrest, by telling her "that her paramours had confessed their guilt." She protested her innocence vehemently, and passionately implored to be permitted to see the king, that she might plead her own cause to him. To all her asseverations of innocence the duke of Norfolk replied with contemptuous ejaculations.

It was on the 2d of May that Anne was brought as a woful prisoner to her former royal residence,—the Tower. Before she passed beneath its fatal arch, she sank upon her knees, as she had previously done in the barge, and exclaimed, "O Lord! help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am accused!" Then perceiving the lieutenant of the Tower, she said, "Mr. Kingston, do I go into a dungeon?"

¹ The use of the *surnap* has been revived at modern dinners, where a smaller table-cloth, being placed over the large one, is withdrawn with the dishes, leaving the under one for the dessert.

² Heywood.

"No, madame," said he, "to your own lodging, where you lay at your coronation." The recollections associated with that event overpowered her, and, bursting into a passion of tears, she exclaimed, "It is too good for me. Jesus have mercy on me!" She knelt again, weeping apace, "and, in the same sorrow, fell into a great laughter,"¹—laughter more sad than tears. After the hysterical paroxysm had had its way, she looked wildly about her, and cried, "Wherefore am I here, Mr. Kingston?"

The clock had been just on the stroke of five when Anne entered the Tower. The lords, with the lieutenant, brought her to her chamber, where she again protested her innocence. Then, turning to the lords, she said, "I entreat you to beseech the king in my behalf, that he will be good lord unto me;" as soon as she had uttered these words they departed. "She desired me," says Kingston,² "to move the king's highness that she might have the *sacrament in her closet, that she might pray for mercy*," asseverating at the same time, in the strongest terms, her innocence of having wronged the king. "I am the king's true wedded wife," she added; and then said, "Mr. Kingston, do you know wherefore I am here?"—"Nay," replied he. Then she asked, "When saw you the king?"—"I saw him not since I saw him in the tilt-yard," said he. "Then, Mr. Kingston, I pray you to tell me where my lord Rochford is?" Kingston answered, "I saw him before dinner in the court."—"Oh! where is my sweet brother?" she exclaimed. The lieutenant evasively replied, "That he saw him last at York place" (Whitehall palace), which it seems was the case. "I hear say," continued she, "that I shall be accused with three men, and I can say no more than—nay. Oh, Norris! hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower, and thou and I shall die together: and Mark, thou art here too! Oh, my mother! thou wilt die for sorrow."³ Then, breaking off

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; MS. Cotton., Otho, c. x. fol. 225.

² Ibid. This is one of the passages, little understood in modern times, which mark that Anne remained a Roman Catholic. She did not demand to *communicate*, as supposed, but to have the Host in her closet or oratory for the purpose of adoration.

³ The unhappy queen alluded to her humbly born, but affectionate step-

from that subject, she began to lament the dangerous state into which lady Worcester had been thrown by the shock of hearing of her arrest. Interrupting herself again, she exclaimed, "Mr. Kingston, shall I die without justice?" "The poorest subject the king hath has that," replied the cautious official. A laugh of bitter incredulity was her only comment.¹

The unfortunate queen was subjected to the insulting presence and cruel espionage of her great enemy, lady Boleyn, and Mrs. Cosyns, one of her ladies, who was equally disagreeable to her.² These two never left her, either by day or night, for they slept on the pallet at the foot of her bed, and reported even the delirious ravings of her hysterical paroxysms to those by whom her fate was to be decided.³ They perpetually tormented her with insolent observations, and annoyed her with questions, artfully devised, for the purpose of entangling her in her talk, or drawing from her own lips admissions that might be turned into murderous evidence of her guilt. She complained "that they would tell her nothing of my lord, her father," for whose fate she was evidently apprehensive. She expressed a wish to be served in her prison by the ladies of her privy-chamber whom she favored most, and concluded by defying her aunt.

mother, the countess of Wiltshire, to whom she appears to have been much attached. Her own mother had been dead four-and-twenty years.

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell, MS. Cotton., Otho, x. The consternation felt by lady Worcester at the queen's arrest was perhaps increased by the fact that she had borrowed a hundred pounds of her royal friend unknown to the earl her husband. There is a letter in the State-Paper office written by this lady to Cromwell some months after Anne's execution, in which she says, "I do perceive that you are especial good lord unto me touching the sum of one hundred pounds which I did borrow of queen Anne deceased, in which thing I doubt not but she would have been good to me: in that matter I most heartily thank you, . . . for I am very loath it should come to my husband's knowledge, which is and hath been utterly ignorant, both of my borrowing and using of the said hundred pounds. And if he should now have knowledge thereof, I am in doubt how he will take it." Thus it appears that Cromwell, when employed to collect all the debts due to the murdered queen for the benefit of the angust widower, had shown some favor to her friend lady Worcester.

² Kingston's letters to Cromwell, MS. Cotton., Otho, c. x. Lady Boleyn was the wife of Anne's uncle, sir Edward Boleyn: Mrs. Cosyns, of William Cosyns, Anne's master of the horse.

³ Ibid.

Lady Boleyn retorted in these words:—"The desire and partiality you have had for such tale-bearers has brought you to this."¹

Mrs. Cosyns impertinently asked the queen, "Why Norris had told her almoner on the preceding Saturday that he could swear the queen was a good woman?"—"Marry," replied Anne, "I bade him do so, for I asked him, 'why he did not go on with his marriage?' and he made answer 'that he would tarry awhile.'—'Then,' said I, 'you look for dead men's shoes. If aught but good should come to the king (who was then afflicted with a dangerous ulcer), you would look to have me.' He denied it, and I told him, 'I could undo him if I would,' and thereupon we fell out." This conversation (if it be really true that Anne had the folly to repeat it to persons of whose deadly hatred she was so fully aware, and whom she knew were placed about her as spies) will impress every one with the idea that she must have been on very perilous terms with any man whom she allowed to hold such colloquies with her. No one, however, seems to have considered the possibility of the whole of this deposition being a false statement on the part of the spies who were employed to criminate her. It seems scarcely credible that a woman of Anne Boleyn's age and long experience in public life would thus commit herself by unnecessary avowals, tending to furnish evidence against herself of having imagined the death of the king her husband.

Anne betrayed a humane, but certainly imprudent care for the comforts of the unhappy gentlemen who were in durance for her sake, by inquiring of lady Kingston "whether anybody made their beds?"—"No, I warrant you," was lady Kingston's familiar reply. The queen said "that ballads would be made about her:" and as far as may be judged from the defaced passages in the MS., added, "that none could do that better than Wyatt."—"Yes," said lady Kingston, "master Wyatt; you have said true."

The next day, Kingston reported the queen's earnest desire to have the eucharist in her closet, and also to see her almoner. Devett is the name of him whom she desired, but

¹ Heywood.

Cranmer was appointed by Henry. Her mind was agitated by various passions that day. "One hour," says her jailer, "she is determined to die; and the next hour much contrary to that."¹ "Yesterday," continues he, "I sent for my wife, and also for mistress Cosyns, to know how she had done that day; and they said she had been very merry, and made a great dinner, and yet soon after called for her supper, having marvel 'where I was all day.' At my coming she said, 'Where have you been all day?' I made answer, and said, 'I had been with the prisoners.'—'So,' said she, 'I thought I heard Mr. treasurer.' I assured her he was not here. Then she began to talk, and said, 'I was cruelly handled at Greenwich with the king's council, with my lord of Norfolk; who said, 'Tut, tut, tut!' shaking his head three or four times. 'As for my lord treasurer,' she said, 'he was in Windsor forest all the time.'" This was her father.

Thus, in Kingston's letters to Cromwell are her minutest sayings detailed; but it is to be observed that he often speaks from the reports of her pitiless female tormentors. He states, that "The queen expressed some apprehension of what Weston might say in his examination, for that he had told her on Whit-Monday last, 'that Norris came more into her chamber for her sake than for Madge,' one of her maids of honor." By way of postscript, Kingston adds, "Since the making of this letter, the queen spake of Weston, that she had told him he did love her kinswoman, Mrs. Skelton,² and that he loved not his wife; and he answered her again that 'He loved one in her house better than them both.' She asked him, 'Who?' to which he replied, 'Yourself;' on which she defied him."³ When they told her Smeaton had been laid in irons, she said, "That was because he was a person of mean birth, and the others were all gentlemen." She assured Kingston that "Smeaton had never been but once in her chamber, and that was when the king was at Win-

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; Cotton. MS., Otho, c. x.

² Mrs. Skelton, the lady to whom Weston was making love, was the first cousin of the queen, the daughter of her father's sister, Anna Boleyn of Blickling hall, who first married sir John Skelton, and afterwards sir Thomas Calthorpe, both Norfolk gentlemen.

³ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; MS., Otho, c. x.

chester, and she sent for him to play on the virginals; for there," said she, "my lodging was above the king's." She related, also, what had passed between her and Smeaton on the Saturday before his arrest.¹ Her passionate love for music, in which she herself greatly excelled, had undoubtedly led her to treat this person with a greater degree of familiarity than was becoming in a queen.²

There were times when Anne would not believe that Henry intended to harm her; and, after complaining that she was cruelly handled, she added, "But I think the king does it to prove me;" and then she laughed, and affected to be very merry,—merriment more sad than tears, reminding us of

"Moody madness, laughing wild
Amidst severest woe."

Reason must indeed have tottered when she predicted "that there would be no rain in England till she was released from her unmerited thralldom." To this wild speech Kingston familiarly rejoined, "I pray, then, it be shortly, because of the dry weather: you know what I mean."—"If she had her bishops, they would plead for her," she said.³ Cranmer, from whom she probably expected most, wrote in the following guarded strain to Henry on the subject:—

"If it be true what is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honor to be touched thereby, but her honor only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed; for I never had a better opinion in woman than I had of her, which maketh me think that she should not be culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth, that, next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me, in that which both God's law,

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; MS., Otho, c. x.

² George Cavendish, in his *Metrical Visions*, gives the following version of Smeaton's parentage:—

"My father a carpenter, and labored with his hand,
With the sweat of his face he purchased his living,
For small was his rent, and much less was his land:
My mother in cottage used daily spinning;
Lo! in what misery was my beginning."—*Singer's Cavendish*.

³ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; Cotton. MSS., Otho, c. x. f. 225.

nature, and her kindness hindeth me unto, that I may (with your grace's favor) wish and pray for her. And from what condition your grace, of your only mere goodness, took her, and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true to the realm, that would not desire the offence to be without mercy punished, to the example of all others. And as I loved her not a little, for the love I judged her to bear towards God and his holy gospel, so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that will ever favor her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they love the gospel, the more they will hate her, for then there never was creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment for that she feignedly hath professed the gospel in her mouth, and not in her heart and deed; and though she hath offended so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled to your grace's favor, yet God Almighty hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your grace, and never offended you."¹

The letter concludes with an exhortation to the king not to think less of the gospel on this account. The letter is dated from Lambeth, May 3d. Cranmer adds a postscript, stating, "That the lord chancellor and others of his majesty's house had sent for him to the Star-chamber, and there declared such things as the king wished him to be shown, which had made him lament that such faults could be proved on the queen as he had heard from their relation."

Anne entreated Kingston to convey a letter from her to Cromwell, but he declined so perilous a service. She was, at times, like a newly-caged eagle in her impatience and despair. "The king wist what he did," she said bitterly, "when he put such women as my lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cosyns about her." She had two other ladies in attendance on her in her doleful prison-house, of more compassionate dispositions we may presume, for they were not allowed to have any communication with her, except in the presence of Kingston² and his wife, who slept at her chamber-door. Her other ladies slept in an apartment farther off. Among the few faithful hearts whose attachment to Anne Boleyn survived the awful change in her fortunes, were those of Wyatt and his sister. Wyatt is supposed to have had a narrow escape from sharing the fate of the queen, her brother, and their fellow-victims. It is certain that he was at this period under a cloud, and in one of his sonnets he significantly alludes "to the danger which *once* threatened

¹ Burnet's Hist. Reformation.

² Singer, p. 219. Ellis.

him in the month of May," the month which proved so fatal to queen Anne. Very powerful was the sympathy between them; for, even when a guarded captive in the Tower, Anne spake with admiration of Wyatt's poetical talents.¹ It was probably by the aid of his sister that Anne, on the fourth day of her imprisonment, found means to forward the following letter, through Cromwell's agency, to the king:—

"Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, that what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send to me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favor), by such a one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by *him*,² than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And to speak a truth, never a prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bolen,—with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient (I knew) to draw that fancy to some other subject.

"You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire; if, then, you found me worthy of such honor, good your grace, let not any light fancy or bad counsel of my enemies withdraw your princely favor from me; neither let that stain—that unworthy stain—of a disloyal heart towards your good grace ever cast so foul a blot on me, and on the infant princess your daughter [Elizabeth].

"Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and as my judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicions and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatever God and you may determine of, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace may be at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party³ for whose sake I am

¹ Letter of sir W. Kingston; Cotton. MS., Otho, c. x.

² This enemy has been supposed to be lady Rochford, but the relative *him* cannot apply to her. It is possible it was the duke of Suffolk, who always came ostentatiously forward to help to crush any victim Henry was sacrificing. He was one of her judges, and pronounced her guilty; and he witnessed her death, being on the scaffold with no friendly intention.

³ Jane Seymour.

now as I am, whose name I could, some good while since, have pointed unto,—your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strait account for your unprinceely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose just judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocency shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

“My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace’s displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whom, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favor in your sight,—if ever the name of Anne Bulen have been pleasing in your ears,—then let me obtain this request; and so I will leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayer to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

“From my doleful prison in the Tower, the 6th of May.

“ANN BULEN.”

The authenticity of this beautiful letter has been impugned for various reasons, but chiefly because the handwriting differs from the well-known autograph of Anne Boleyn; but the fact that it was found among Cromwell’s papers four years after her death proves it to be a contemporary document. The cautious but pathetic endorsement, “To the king, from the ladye in the Tower,” identifies it, no less than the peculiar nature of the contents, as the composition of the captive queen. The original, we may reasonably suppose, had been forwarded to the king by Mr. secretary Cromwell. The only real objection which occurs to us is, that the letter is signed “Ann Bulen,” instead of “*Anna the quene.*” It is, however, possible, in the excited state of feeling under which this passionate appeal to the fickle tyrant was written, that his unfortunate consort fondly thought, by using that once-beloved signature, to touch a tender chord in his heart. But the time of sentiment, if it ever existed with Henry, was long gone by; and such a letter from a wife whom he had never respected, and had now ceased to love, was more calculated to awaken wrath than to revive affection. Every word is a sting, envenomed by the sense of intolerable wrong. It is written

in the tone of a woman who has been falsely accused; and imagining herself strong in the consciousness of her integrity, unveils the guilty motives of her accuser, with a reckless disregard to consequences perfectly consistent with the character of Anne Boleyn. Her appeal in behalf of the unfortunate gentlemen who were involved in her calamity is generous, and looks like the courage of innocence. A guilty woman would scarcely have dared to allude to the suspected partners of her crime. It is strange that the allusion to the infant Elizabeth in this letter is made without any expression of maternal tenderness.

On the 10th of May an indictment for high treason was found by the grand jury of Westminster "against the lady Anne, queen of England; George Boleyn, viscount Rochford; Henry Norris, groom of the stole; sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy-chamber; and Mark Smeaton, a performer on musical instruments,—a person specified as of low degree, promoted for his skill to be a groom of the chambers."¹ The four commoners were tried in Westminster hall, May 10th, by a commission of oyer and terminer, for the alleged offences against the honor and the life of their sovereign. A true bill had been found against them by the grand juries of two counties, Kent as well as Middlesex, because some of the offences specified in the indictment were said to have taken place at Greenwich, others at Hampton Court and elsewhere.² Smeaton endeavored to save his life by pleading guilty to the indictment. He had previously confessed, before the council, the crime with which he and the queen were charged. The three gentlemen, Norris, Weston, and Brereton, resolutely maintained their innocence and that of their royal mistress, though urged by every persuasive, even the promise of mercy, if they would confess. They persisted in their plea, and were all condemned to death.³ On what evidence they were found guilty no one can now say, for the records of the trial are not in existence; but in that reign of terror English liberty and English law were empty

¹ Birch MSS. Burnet. Lingard. Turner.

² Burnet. Birch. Lingard. Turner.

³ Ibid.

words. Almost every person whom Henry VIII. brought to trial for high treason was condemned as a matter of course; and at last he omitted the ceremony of trials at all, and slew his noble and royal victims by acts of attainder.

Every effort was used to obtain evidence against Anne from the condemned prisoners, but in vain. "No one," says sir Edward Baynton, in his letters to the treasurer, "will accuse her, but *alonely* Mark, of any actual thing." How Mark's confession was obtained becomes an important question as to the guilt or innocence of the queen. Constantine, whose testimony is anything but favorable to Anne Boleyn, says, "that Mark confessed, but it was reported that he had been grievously racked first." According to Grafton, he was beguiled into signing the deposition which criminated himself, the queen, and others by the subtlety of the admiral, sir William Fitzwilliam, who, perceiving his hesitation and terror, said, "Subscribe, Mark, and you will see what will come of it." The implied hope of preserving a dishonored existence prevailed: the wretched creature signed the fatal paper which proved the death-doom of himself as well as his royal mistress. He was hanged, that he might tell no tales. Norris was offered his life if he would confess, but he declared "that he would rather die a thousand deaths than accuse the queen of that of which he believed her in his conscience innocent." When this noble reply was reported to the king, he cried out, "Hang him up, then! hang him up!"¹

Queen Anne and her brother, lord Rochford, were brought to trial, May 16th, in a temporary building which had been hastily erected for that purpose within the great hall in the Tower. There were then fifty-three peers of England; but from this body a selected moiety of twenty-six were named by the king as "lords triers," under the direction of the duke of Norfolk, who was created lord high-steward for the occasion, and sat under the cloth of state. His son, the earl of Surrey, sat under him as deputy earl-marshal.² The duke's hostility to his unfortunate niece had already betrayed him into the cruelty of brow-beating and insulting

¹ Bishop Godwin's Annals.

² Nott's Life of Surrey. Mackintosh. Burnet.

her in her examination before the council at Greenwich. It has been erroneously stated by several writers that Anne's father, the earl of Wiltshire, was one of the "lords triers," but this was not the case. The duke of Suffolk, one of her determined enemies, was one of her judges; so also was Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, who had married her beautiful cousin the lady Mary Howard, the daughter of the duke of Norfolk. This youth, as well as Suffolk, as a matter of course, voted according to the king's pleasure. The earl of Northumberland, Anne's first lover, was named on the commission for her trial. He appeared in his place, but was taken suddenly ill, the effect, no doubt, of violent agitation, and quitted the court before the arraignment of lord Rochford, which preceded that of the queen.¹ He died a few months afterwards.

Lady Rochford outraged all decency by appearing as a witness against her husband. The only evidence adduced in proof of the crime with which he was charged was, that one day, when making some request to his sister the queen, he leaned over her bed, and was said by the by-standers to have kissed her.² Rochford defended himself with great spirit and eloquence, so that his judges were at first divided,³ and had the whole body of the peers been present, he might have had a chance of acquittal; but, as we have shown, the lords triers were a number selected by the crown for this service. The trial was conducted within strong walls, the jurors were picked men, and by their verdict the noble prisoner was found guilty. After he was removed, Anne queen of England was called into court by a gentleman usher. She appeared immediately in answer to the summons, attended by her ladies, and lady Kingston, and was led to the bar by the lieutenant and the constable of the Tower. The royal prisoner had neither counsel nor adviser of any kind, but she had rallied all the energies of her mind to meet the awful crisis: neither female terror nor hysterical agitation were perceptible in that hour. The lord of Milherve tells us, "that she presented herself at the bar with the true dignity of a queen, and courtesied to her

¹ Remarkable Trials, vol. i.

² Burnet.

³ Wyatt. Mackintosh.

judges, looking round upon them all without any sign of fear." Neither does it appear that there was anything like parade or attempt at theatrical effect in her manner, for her deportment was modest and cheerful. When the indictment was read, which charged her with such offences as never Christian queen had been arraigned for before, she held up her hand courageously, and pleaded "not guilty." She then seated herself in the chair which had been provided for her use while the evidence against her was stated.

Of what nature the evidence was no one can now form an opinion, for the records of the trial have been carefully destroyed. Burnet affirms that he took great pains in searching for documents calculated to throw some light on the proceedings, and the chief result of his labors was an entry made by sir John Spelman in his private note-book, supposed to have been written on the bench when he sat as one of the judges before whom Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton were tried for the alleged offences in which they had been, as it was said, participators with the queen. These are the words quoted by Burnet:—"As for the evidence of the matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming suddenly infirm before her death, did swear this matter to one of her . . ." ¹ Here the page containing the important communication of the dying lady is torn off, and with it all the other notes the learned judge had made on these mysterious trials were destroyed; so that, as Burnet has observed, the main evidence brought against the queen and

¹ Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i. p. 197. The lady who is asserted to have made this deposition must have been Bridget the daughter of sir John Wiltshire, comptroller of Calais, and widow of sir Richard Wingfield, who, by his first marriage with Katherine Woodville, daughter of earl Rivers, and widow of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, stood in close connection with the king. He was gentleman of the bedchamber, knight of the Garter, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and died during his embassy to the emperor in 1525. It must have been in that year that the letter of condolence from Anne to lady Wingfield, signed Anne Rocheford (see p. 600), was written, in which the fair favorite of the fickle Henry professes to love her better than any woman, except lady Boleyn her step-mother; whom, according to the custom of the times, she calls her mother.

her supposed paramours was the oath of a dead woman, and that, we may add, on hearsay evidence. Crispin's account of the origin of the charge is, "That a gentleman reproving his sister for the freedom of her behavior, she excused herself by alleging the example of the queen, who was accustomed," she said, "to admit sir Henry Norris, sir Francis Weston, master Brereton, Mark Smeaton the musician, and her brother lord Rochford into her chamber at improper hours," adding "that Smeaton could tell a great deal more."¹

The crimes of which the queen was arraigned were, that she had wronged the king her husband, at various times, with the four persons above named, and also with her brother lord Rochford; that she had said to each and every one of those persons that the king never had her heart; that she privately told each, separately, "that she loved him better than any person in the world," which things tended to the slander of her issue by the king. To this was added "a charge of conspiring against the king's life." In an abstract from the indictment printed in the notes of Sharon Turner's Henry VIII., the days on which the alleged offences were committed are specified. The first is with Norris, and is dated October 6, 1533, within a month after the birth of the princess Elizabeth, which statement brings its own refutation, for the queen had not then quitted her lying-in chamber.² "For the evidence," says Wyatt, "as I never could hear of any, small I believe it was. The accusers must have doubted whether their *proofs* would not prove their *reproofs*, when they durst not bring them to the light in an open place." Every right-thinking man must, indeed, doubt the truth of accusations which cannot be substantiated according to the usual forms of justice. The queen defended her own cause with ready wit and great eloquence. Wyatt says, "It was reported without

¹ Crispin lord of Milherve's Metrical History: Meteren's History of the Low Countries.

² Mr. Turner, through whose unwearied research this sole existing document connected with the trial of Anne Boleyn was discovered, and who has studied it very deeply, considers that the specifications it contains are very like the made-up statements in a fabricated accusation.

the doors that she had cleared herself in a most wise and noble speech." Another of the floating rumors that were in circulation among the people before the event of her trial was publicly known, was, that having a quick wit, and being a ready speaker, the queen did so answer all objections, that her acquittal was expected; ¹ "And," says bishop Godwin, "had the peers given their verdict according to the expectation of the assembly, she had been acquitted; but through the duke of Suffolk, one wholly given to the king's humor, they did pronounce her guilty."² The decision of the peers is not required, like the verdict of a jury, to be unanimous, but is carried by a majority. If all had voted, no doubt but she would have been saved. After the verdict was declared, the queen was required to lay aside her crown and other insignia of royalty, which she did without offering an objection, save that she protested her innocence of having offended against the king.³

This ceremony was preparatory to her sentence, which was pronounced by her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, as lord high-steward of England, and president of the court commissioned for her trial. She was condemned to be burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. Anne Boleyn heard this dreadful doom without changing color or betraying the slightest symptom of terror; but when her stern kinsman and judge had ended, she clasped her hands, and raising her eyes to heaven, made her appeal to a higher tribunal in these words:—"Oh, Father! oh, Creator! Thou, who art the way, the life, and the truth, knowest whether I have deserved this death." Then turning to her earthly judges, she said, "My lords, I will not say your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my reasons can prevail against your convictions. I am willing to believe that you have sufficient reasons for what you have done; but then they must be other than those which have been produced in court, for I am clear of all the offences which you then laid to my charge. I have ever been a faithful wife to the king, though I do not say I have always shown him that humility

¹ Harleian MS. Holinshed.

² Godwin's Henry VIII.

³ Burnet. Sharon Turner.

which his goodness to me and the honor to which he raised me merited. I confess I have had jealous fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not discretion and wisdom enough to conceal at all times. But God knows, and is my witness, that I never sinned against him in any other way. Think not I say this in the hope to prolong my life. God hath taught me how to die, and he will strengthen my faith. Think not that I am so bewildered in my mind as not to lay the honor of my chastity to heart now in mine extremity, when I have maintained it all my life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these my last words will avail me nothing but for the justification of my chastity and honor. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them; but since I see it so pleases the king, I shall willingly accompany them in death, with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace." Then, with a composed air, she rose up, made a parting salutation to her judges, and left the court as she had entered it. Such is the graphic account that has been preserved of Anne Boleyn's looks, words, and demeanor on this trying occasion by a foreign contemporary,¹ who was one of the few spectators who were permitted to witness it.

The lord mayor, who was present at the arraignment of Anne Boleyn, said afterwards, that "*he* could not observe anything in the proceedings against her but that they were resolved to make an occasion to get rid of her." As the chief judge in the civic court of judicature, and previously as an alderman of the city of London, this magistrate had been accustomed to weigh evidences and pronounce judgments on criminal causes, therefore his opinion is of importance in this case. Camden tells us that the spectators deemed Anne innocent, and merely circumvented. This

¹ Crispin lord of Milherve; Meteren's Hist. of the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 20. He has left us a metrical version of this thrilling scene, which has been regarded by Meteren, the historian of the Low Countries, as a valuable and authentic historical document. He has used it as such, and his example has been followed by Burnet, Mackintosh, Tytler, and, to a certain degree, by Dr. Lingard, though he cautions his readers as to the possibility of the poet having adorned his touching record with heightened tints.

accords with the lord mayor's opinion. Smeaton was not confronted with her, and, as far as can be gathered of the grounds of her condemnation, it must have been on his confession only. It is said she objected "that one witness was not enough to convict a person of high treason," but was told "that in *her* case it *was* sufficient." In these days the queen would have had the liberty of cross-questioning the witnesses against her, either personally or by fearless and skilful advocates. Moreover, it would have been in her power to have summoned even her late attendant, mistress Jane Seymour, as one of her witnesses. The result of that lady's examination might have elicited some curious facts. After her trial, Anne was conveyed back to her chamber, the lady Boleyn her aunt, and lady Kingston, only attending her.

The same day, Kingston wrote in the following methodical style to Cromwell, on the subject of the dreadful preparations for the execution of the death-doomed queen and her brother:—

"SIR:—

"This day I was with the king's grace, and declared the petitions of my lord of Rochford, wherein I was answered. Sir, the said lord much desireth to speak with you, which toucheth his conscience much, *as he saith*; wherein I pray you that I may know your pleasure, for because of my promise made unto my said lord to do the same. And also I shall desire you further to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparations of scaffolds, and other necessaries concerning. The king's grace showed me that my lord of Canterbury should be her confessor, and he was here this day with the queen. And note in that manner, sir, the time is short, for the king supposeth the gentlemen to die to-morrow, and my lord Rochford, with the rest of the gentlemen, are yet without confession, which I look for; but I have told my lord Rochford that he be in readiness to-morrow to suffer execution, and so he accepts it very well, and will do his best to be ready."

The same day on which this letter was written, the king signed the death-warrant of his once passionately loved consort, and sent Cranmer to receive her last confession. Anne appeared to derive comfort and hope from the primate's visit—hope, even of life; for she told those about her, "that she understood she was to be banished, and she supposed she should be sent to Antwerp." Cranmer was aware of Henry's wish of dissolving the marriage with Anne Boleyn,

in order to dispossess the little princess Elizabeth of the place she had been given in the succession, and he had probably persuaded the unfortunate queen not to oppose his majesty's pleasure in that matter. The flattering idea of a reprieve from death must have been suggested to Anne, in order to induce her compliance with a measure so repugnant to her natural disposition and her present frame of mind. When she was brought as a guarded prisoner from Greenwich to the Tower, she had told the unfriendly spectators of her disgrace "that they could not prevent her from dying their queen," accompanying these proud words with a haughty gesticulation of her neck.¹ Yet we find her, only the day after her conference with the archbishop, submitting to resign this dearly prized and fatally purchased dignity without a struggle.

She received, May 17th, a summons to appear, "on the salvation of her soul, in the archbishop's court at Lambeth, to answer certain questions as to the validity of her marriage with the king." Henry received a copy of the same summons; but as he had no intention of being confronted with his unhappy consort, he appeared by his old proctor in divorce affairs, Dr. Sampson. The queen, having no choice in the matter, was compelled to attend in person, though a prisoner under sentence of death. She was conveyed privately from the Tower to Lambeth. The place where this strange scene in the closing act of Anne Boleyn's tragedy was performed was, we are told, a certain low chapel or crypt in Cranmer's house at Lambeth, where, as primate of England, he sat in judgment on the validity of her marriage with the king. The unfortunate queen went through the forms of appointing doctors Wotton and Barbour as her proctors, who, in her name, admitted the pre-contract with Percy, and every other objection that was urged by the king against the legality of the marriage. Wilkin and some others have supposed that Anne submitted to this degradation as the only means of avoiding the terrible sentence of burning.² Cranmer pronounced "that the marriage between Henry and Anne was null and void, and always had

¹ Cassal. Feyjoo.

² Wilkin's Concilia. Nichols's Lambeth.

been so." Cromwell was present in his capacity of vicar-general, and, Heylin says, the sentence was pronounced by him.

Thus did Henry take advantage of his former jealous tyranny in preventing the fulfilment of Percy's engagement with Anne, by using it as a pretext against the validity of her marriage with himself, and this, too, for the sake of illegitimizing his own child. With equal injustice and cruelty he denied his conjugal victim the miserable benefit which her degradation from the name of his wife and the rank of his queen appeared to offer her,—namely, an escape from the sentence which had been passed upon her for the alleged crime of adultery, to which, if she were not legally his wife, she could not in law be liable. But Henry's vindictive purpose against her was evident from the beginning, and nothing would satisfy him but her blood. If he had insisted on the invalidity of their union as early as May 13th, when Percy was required to answer whether a contract of marriage did not exist between him and the queen, Anne could not have been proceeded against on the charges in her indictment, and the lives of the five unfortunate men who were previously arraigned and sentenced on the same grounds would have been preserved as well as her own. In that case, she could only have been proceeded against as marchioness of Pembroke, and on a charge of conspiring against the life of the king; but as it does not appear that the slightest evidence tending to establish that very improbable crime was set forth, the blood of six victims would have been spared if the sentence on the marriage had passed only three days before it did. Percy, however, denied on oath, to the duke of Norfolk, the lord chancellor, and others, that any contract was between him and the queen,¹ though he had verbally confessed to cardinal Wolsey "that he was so bound in honor to Anne Boleyn that he could not in conscience marry another woman."² It is probable that Anne's haughty spirit, as well as her maternal feelings, had also prompted her to repel the idea of a divorce with scorn, till the axe was suspended over her.

¹ See his letter in Burnet.

² Cavendish.

Perhaps she now submitted in the fond hope of preserving not only her own life, but that of her beloved brother, and the three gallant and unfortunate gentlemen who had so courageously maintained her innocence through all the terrors and temptations with which they had been beset. If so, how bitter must have been the anguish which rent her heart when the knell of these devoted victims, swelling gloomily along the banks of the Thames, reached her ear as she returned to her prison after the unavailing sacrifice of her own and her daughter's rights had been accomplished at Lambeth! That very morning her brother and the other gentlemen were led to execution,¹ a scaffold having been erected for that purpose on Tower hill. Rochford exhorted his companions "to die courageously," and entreated those who came to see him suffer "to live according to the gospel, not in preaching, but in practice," saying, "he would rather have one good liver according to the gospel than ten babblers."² He warned his old companions of the vanity of relying on court favor and the smiles of fortune, which had rendered him forgetful of better things. As a sinner, he bewailed his unworthiness, and acknowledged the justice of his punishment in the sight of God; but the king, he said, "he had never offended, yet he prayed for him that he might have a long and happy life." He forgave all his enemies, and prayed "that he also might be forgiven by all whom he had injured."³ Then kneeling down, he calmly submitted his neck to the axe.

By some writers it has been regarded as a proof of the queen's guilt, that her brother neither attempted to exonerate himself nor her from the horrible offence with which they had been branded; but an innocent man might, with equal delicacy and dignity, have been silent on such a subject before such an audience. The accusation, if false, was properly treated with the contempt its grossness merited. There is, however, a reason for lord Rochford's silence which

¹ According to Cavendish, Rochford petitioned earnestly for mercy after his condemnation.

² Memorial of John Constantyne, in Appendix to Mackintosh's Henry VIII.

³ Meteren. Excerpta Historica.

has never been adduced by historians. He had made most earnest supplication for his life, and even condescended to entreat the intercession of his unworthy wife with the king to prolong his existence; and as Henry was no less deceitful than cruel, it is possible that he might have tempted Rochford with false hopes to admit the justice of his sentence. General professions of unworthiness and lamentations for sin on the scaffold were customary with persons about to suffer the sentence of the law; even the spotless and saint-like lady Jane Gray expresses herself in a similar strain. Therefore, as sir Henry Ellis observes, "no conclusions, as to the guilt of the parties accused, can reasonably be drawn from such acknowledgments." Norris, Weston, and Brereton, taking their cue from Rochford's¹ form of confession, made general acknowledgments of sinfulness, and requested the bystanders to judge the best of them. Sir Francis Weston was a very beautiful young man, and so wealthy that his wife and mother offered to purchase his life of the king at the ransom of 100,000 crowns. Henry rejected both the piteous supplication and the bribe.

Mark Smeaton, being of ignoble birth, was hanged. He said, "Masters, I pray you all to pray for me, for I have deserved the death." This expression is considered ambiguous, for either he meant that he had committed the crime for

¹ George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was governor of Dover and the Cinqueports, and was employed on several embassies to France. "Like earl Rivers," observes Walpole, "he rose by the exaltation of his sister, like him was innocently sacrificed on her account, and like him showed that the lustre of her situation did not make him neglect to add accomplishments of his own." He was an elegant poet. It is said by Anthony à Wood that George Boleyn, on the evening before his execution, composed and sang that celebrated lyric, "Farewell, my lute," which is well known to the connoisseurs in our early English poetry. He certainly did not compose it then, because it had been previously printed, with other poems of his, among those written by his friend sir Thomas Wyatt. Probably George Boleyn whiled away his heavy prison hours with his instrument, and the refrain of this lyric was peculiarly applicable to his situation:—

"Farewell, my lute, this is the last
Labor that thou and I shall waste,
For ended is that we began;
Now is the song both sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done."

which he was to die, or that he merited his punishment for having borne false witness against his royal mistress. It was, however, reported, even at the time, that Mark Smeaton's confession was extorted by the rack,¹ and that he was not confronted with the queen lest he should retract it. Anne evidently expected that he would make the *amende* on the scaffold, for when she was informed of the particulars of the execution and his last words, she indignantly exclaimed, "Has he not, then, cleared me from the public shame he hath done me? Alas! I fear his soul will suffer from the false witness he hath borne. My brother and the rest are now, I doubt not, before the face of the greater King, and I shall follow to-morrow."²

The renewed agony of hope, which had been cruelly and vainly excited in the bosom of the queen by the mockery of declaring that her marriage with the sovereign was null and void, appears soon to have passed away. She had drunk of the last drop of bitterness that mingled malice and injustice could infuse into her cup of misery, and when she received the awful intimation that she must prepare herself for death, she met the fiat like one who was weary of a troublesome pilgrimage, and anxious to be released from its sufferings. Such are the sentiments pathetically expressed in the following stanzas, which she is said to have composed after her condemnation, when her poetical talents were employed in singing her own dirge:—

"Oh, Death! rock me asleep,
Bring on my quiet rest,
Let pass my very guiltless ghost
Out of my careful breast.
Ring out the doleful knell,
Let its sound my death tell,—
For I must die,
There is no remedy,
For now I die!

"My pains who can express?
Alas! they are so strong,
My dolour will not suffer strength
My life for to prolong!

¹ Constantyne's Memorial, in Mackintosh's History of England.

² Meteren.

Alone in prison strange,
 I wail my destiny ;
 Woe worth this cruel hap, that I
 Should taste this misery !

“ Farewell my pleasures past,
 Welcome my present pain,
 I feel my torments so increase
 That life cannot remain.
 Sound now the passing bell,
 Rung is my doleful knell,
 For its sound my death doth tell :
 Death doth draw nigh,
 Sound the knell dolefully,
 For now I die !”¹

There is an utter abandonment to grief and desolation in these lines, which, in their rhythm and cadence, show musical cultivation in the composer. Of a more prosaic nature, yet containing literal truth as to the events to which they allude, are the verses she wrote after her return from her trial :—

“ Defiled is my name full sore,
 Through cruel spite and false report,
 That I may say for evermore,
 Farewell to joy, adieu comfort !

“ For wrongfully ye judge of me,
 Unto my fame a mortal wound ;
 Say what ye list, it may not be,
 Ye seek for that shall not be found.”

Anne was earnest in preparing herself for death with many and fervent devotional exercises, and whatever may have been said in disparagement of her by Catholic historians, it is certain that she did not die a Protestant. She passed many hours in private conference with her confessor, and received the sacraments according to the doctrine of transubstantiation.² The penance she imposed upon herself for her injurious treatment of her royal step-daughter, the remembrance of which lay heavily upon her mind when

¹ See Evans's Collection of English Poetry, where this and another short poem are attributed to her. This dirge was popular in the reign of Elizabeth, as the commencing line is quoted as a familiar stave by Shakspeare.

² Kingston's letters, Cott. Otho, v. ox. ; likewise edited by sir Henry Ellis, in his first series of Historical Letters.

standing upon the awful verge of eternity, is most interestingly recorded by Speed, who quotes it from the relation of a nobleman:—"The day before she suffered death, being attended by six ladies in the Tower, she took the lady Kingston into her presence-chamber, and there, locking the door upon them, willed her to sit down in the chair of state. Lady Kingston answered 'that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at all in her presence, much less upon the seat of state of her the queen.'—"Ah! madame,' replied Anne, 'that title is gone: I am a condemned person, and by law have no estate left me in this life, but for clearing of my conscience. I pray you sit down.'—"Well,' said lady Kingston, 'I have often played the fool in my youth, and, to fulfil your command, I will do it once more in mine age;' and thereupon sat down under the cloth of estate on the throne. Then the queen most humbly fell on her knees before her, and, holding up her hands with tearful eyes, charged her, 'as in the presence of God and his angels, and as she would answer to her before them when all should appear to judgment, that she would so fall down before the lady Mary's grace, her daughter-in-law, and, in like manner, ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her; for, till that was accomplished,' she said, 'her conscience could not be quiet.'" This fact is also recorded in Kingston's letters to Cromwell, but not so circumstantially as in the account quoted by Speed, from which we learn that Anne Boleyn continued to occupy her own royal apartments in the Tower (with the presence-chamber and canopied chair of state), commonly called the queen's lodgings, and that she had the free range of them even after the warrant for her execution was signed, although tradition points out more than one dismal tower of the royal fortress as the place of her imprisonment.¹

¹ In one of the apartments in that venerable part of the Tower occupied by Edmund Swifte, Esq., the keeper of her majesty's jewels, I was shown by that gentleman the rude intaglio of a rose and the letter H., with A. Boulen deeply graven on the wall with a nail, or some other pointed instrument. Mr. Swifte argued, from this circumstance, that the captive queen had been confined in the Martin tower, which was then used as a prison lodging; but, as it is certain that she occupied the royal apartments, it is not unlikely that her name, with this device, was traced by Norris, or one of the other unfortunate gentlemen who

The queen was ordered for execution on the 19th of May, and it was decreed by Henry that she should be beheaded on the green within the Tower. It was a case without precedent in the annals of England, for never before had female blood been shed on the scaffold; even in the Norman reigns of terror, woman's life had been held sacred, and the most merciless of the Plantagenet sovereigns had been too manly, under any provocation or pretence, to butcher ladies. But the age of chivalry was over, and not one spark of its ennobling spirit lingered in the breast of the sensual tyrant who gave the first example of sending queens and princesses to the block, like sheep to the shambles. Perhaps there were moments when the lovely and once passionately beloved Anne Boleyn doubted the possibility of his consigning her to the sword of the executioner; Henry was certainly aware that his doing so would be deemed an outrage on public decency by his ordering all strangers to be expelled from the Tower. There is an expression in Kingston's letter which implies that a rescue was apprehended; at any rate, the experiment was yet to be tried how Englishmen would brook the spectacle of seeing their beautiful queen mangled by a foreign headsman, that the sovereign might be at liberty to bestow her place on her handmaid. As it was the king's pleasure that his conjugal victim should be decollated with a sword, after the French manner of execution, the headsman of Calais was brought over to England for the purpose, a man who was considered remarkably expert at his horrible calling. The unfortunate queen was duly apprised of this circumstance, with the other preparations for the last act of the tragedy that was to terminate her brilliant but fatal career. She had had mournful experience of the vanity and vexation of all the distinctions that had flattered her: beauty, wealth, genius, pleasure, power, royalty, had all been hers, and whither had they led her?

On Friday, the 19th of May, the last sad morning of her life, Anne rose two hours after midnight, and resumed her

paid so dearly for having felt the power of her charms. When the apartments in the Martin tower were under repair some years ago, Mr. Swifte, by a fortunate chance, preserved this interesting relic from being obliterated by the masons.

devotions with her almoner. Her previous desire of having the consecrated elements remain *in her closet* (which in such case is always for the purposes of adoration), and the fact that she termed the sacrament "the good Lord," proves plainly that she did not die a Protestant. When she was about to receive the sacrament she sent for sir William Kingston, that he might be a witness of her last solemn protestation of her innocence of the crimes for which she was sentenced to die before she became partaker of the holy rite.¹ It is difficult to imagine any person wantonly provoking the wrath of God by incurring the crime of perjury at such a moment. She had evidently no hope of prolonging her life, and appeared not only resigned to die, but impatient of the unexpected delay of an hour or two before the closing scene was to take place. This delay was caused by the misgivings of Henry, for Kingston had advised Cromwell not to fix the hour for the execution so that it could be exactly known when it was to take place, lest it should draw an influx of spectators from the city.²

It does not appear that Anne condescended to implore the mercy of the king. In her letter of the 6th of May she had appealed to his justice, and reminded him that "he must hereafter expect to be called to a strict account for his treatment of her, if he took away her life on false and slanderous pretences;" but there is no record that she caused a single supplication to be addressed to him in her behalf. She knew his pitiless nature too well even to make the attempt to touch his feelings after the horrible imputations with which he had branded her, and this lofty spirit looks like the pride of innocence, and the bitterness of a deeply-

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell. Ellis's Letters.

² These are his words: Sir:—These should be to advertise you that I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be, by the means of Richard Gresham, and William Lake, and Wythspall. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many of these armed; and the ambassador of the emperor had a servant there honestly put out. Sir, if the hour be not certain, so as it be known in London, I think there will be but few; and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but the king, at the hour of her death."

wounded mind. While Kingston was writing his last report to Cromwell of her preparations for the awful change that awaited her, she sent for him, and said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain."—"I told her," says Kingston, "that the pain should be little, it was so subtle." And then she said, "I have heard say the executioner is very good, and I have a little neck," and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. "I have seen men and also women executed, and they have been in great sorrow," continues the lieutenant of the Tower, "but, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and hath been since two o'clock after midnight." There must have been one powerful tie to bind the hapless queen to a world from which she appeared eager to be released. She was a mother, and was leaving her infant daughter to the domination of the treacherous beauty who was to take her place in Henry's state, as she had already done in his fickle fancy, and Anne Boleyn had no reason to expect that Jane Seymour would prove a kinder step-dame to Elizabeth, than she had been to the princess Mary,—an agonizing thought in the hour of death. It is not known whether Anne requested to see her little one, who was quite old enough to know her and to return her caresses, for Elizabeth was at the attractive age of two years and eight months; but if the unfortunate queen preferred such a petition, it was fruitless, and she was led to the scaffold without being permitted to bestow a parting embrace on her child. Perhaps she felt that such an interview would unfit her for acting her part in the last trying scene that awaited her with the lofty composure which its publicity required.

That great historian, lord Bacon, assures us that Anne protested her innocence with undaunted greatness of mind at the time of her death. He tells us, "that by a messenger, faithful and generous as she supposed, who was one of the king's privy-chamber, she, just before she went to execution, sent this message to the king:—'Commend me to his majesty, and tell him he hath been ever constant in his

career of advancing me. From a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen; and now he hath left no higher degree of honor, he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom.' But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a new passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity."¹ This sarcastic message is noted as a memorandum on the letter which Anne wrote to Henry from the Tower, probably by Cromwell or his secretary, and it has frequently been quoted by historians; but lord Bacon is the only person who places it in its apparently true chronology,—the day of her death, when hope was gone, and the overcharged heart of the victim dared to give vent to its last bitterness in those memorable words.

The scaffold prepared for the decapitation of the unfortunate queen was erected on the green before the church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula. The hour appointed by her ruthless consort for her execution having been kept a profound mystery, only a few privileged spectators were assembled to witness the dreadful, yet strangely exciting pageant. A few minutes before twelve o'clock the portals through which she was to pass for the last time were thrown open, and the royal victim appeared, led by the lieutenant of the Tower, who acted as her lord chamberlain at this last fatal ceremonial. Anne was dressed in a robe of black damask, with a deep white cape falling over it on her neck. Instead of the pointed black velvet hood edged with pearls, which is familiar to us in her portraits, she wore a small hat with ornamented coifs under it. The high resolve with which she had nerved herself to go through the awful scene that awaited her as became a queen had doubtless recalled the lustre to her eyes, and flushed her faded cheek with hues of feverish brightness, for she came forth in fearful beauty. "Never," says an eye-witness of the tragedy, "had the

¹ Lord Bacon's account of these celebrated words of Anne Boleyn is well worthy the attention of the reader, considering how intimately connected his grandfather, sir Anthony Cooke, was with the court of England, being tutor to Edward VI.; his aunt was lady Cecil, and his mother lady Bacon, both in the service of Queen Mary: he therefore knew when they were uttered, as all these persons must have heard these facts from witnesses.

queen looked so beautiful before.”¹ She was attended by the four maids of honor who had waited upon her in prison.² Having been assisted by sir William Kingston to ascend the steps of the scaffold, she there saw assembled the lord mayor and some of the civic dignitaries, and her great enemy the duke of Suffolk, with Henry’s natural son, the duke of Richmond, who had, in defiance of all decency and humanity, come thither to disturb her last moments with their unfriendly espionage, and to feast their eyes upon her blood.

There, also, was the ungrateful blacksmith-secretary of state, Cromwell; who, though he had been chiefly indebted to the patronage of Anne Boleyn for his present greatness, had shown no disposition to succor her in her adversity. The fact was, he meant to make alliance offensive and defensive with the family of Henry’s bride-elect, Jane Seymour. The climbing *parvenu* was one of the parties most active in completing the ruin of queen Anne³ and affixing the stigma of illegitimacy on her daughter. Anne must have been perfectly aware of his motives, but she accorded him and the other *reptilia* of the privy council the mercy of her silence when she met them on the scaffold. She came there, as she with true dignity observed, “to die, and not to accuse her enemies.” When she had looked round her, she turned to Kingston, and entreated him “not to hasten the signal for her death till she had spoken that which was on her mind to say;” to which he consented, and she then spoke:—“Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to law, for by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it.⁴ I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that

¹ Letter of a Portuguese contemporary, published by sir H. Nicolas in *Excerpta Historica*.

² *Excerpta Historica*. Lingard. Meteren.

³ In Kingston’s last letter to Cromwell relating to Anne Boleyn, it may be observed that no sort of title is vouchsafed to the fallen queen, not so much as that of the lady Anne, which in common courtesy would have been rendered to her as the daughter of the earl of Wiltshire, but she is designated by the unceremonious pronoun *she* throughout. Yet there is something in Kingston’s letters which betrays more interest and kindly feeling towards the royal prisoner than he ventures openly to show to the person he is addressing, and which gives us the idea that she might have fallen into the hands of a harder jailer.

⁴ Hall. Wyatt.

whereof I am accused, as I know full well that aught that I could say in my defence doth not appertain unto you,¹ and that I could draw no hope of life from the same. But I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly unto the will of my lord the king. I pray God to save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a good and gentle sovereign lord. If any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. Thus I take my leave of the world and of you, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.”² She then, with her own hands, removed her hat and collar, which might impede the action of the sword, and taking the coifs from her head, delivered them to one of her ladies. Then covering her hair with a little linen cap (for it seems as if her ladies were too much overpowered with grief and terror to assist her, and that she was the only person who retained her composure), she said, “Alas, poor head! in a very brief space thou wilt roll in the dust on the scaffold; and as in life thou didst not merit to wear the crown of a queen, so in death thou deservest not better doom than this.”³

¹ Excerpta Historica.

² Her speech as related in the account of her execution in Nichols differs in some respects from this, and is much shorter and more naturally expressed; it is as follows:—“Masters, I here humbly submit me to the law, as the law hath judged me; and as for my offences (I here accuse no man), God knoweth them. I remit them to God, beseeching him to have mercy on my soul, and I beseech Jesu save my sovereign and master the king, the most godliest, noblest, and gentlest prince that is, and make him long to reign over you.” These words she spake with a smiling countenance. That Anne as a Christian could forgive and pray for her husband we can readily believe, but that she praised him for qualities so entirely contradicted by his conduct, is scarcely credible. Struggling as the unfortunate queen was with hysterical emotion, and the conflicts of suppressed feelings, her utterance must have been choked and imperfect, and the probabilities are that her speech was reported by her friend, Mr. secretary Cromwell, or some other person equally interested in the cause of truth and justice, in such terms as would not only be most agreeable to the king, but best suited to calm the public mind; for if the simple and honest class, who seldom look below the outward semblance of things, could be persuaded that the queen herself was satisfied with her sentence, they would see no reason why they should be otherwise.

³ From the letter of a Portuguese gentleman, who was an eye-witness of the execution.—Excerpta Hist.

All present were then in tears save the base court sycophants who came to flatter the evil passions of the sovereign. Anne took leave of her weeping ladies in these pathetic words:—"And ye, my damsels, who, whilst I lived, ever showed yourselves so diligent in my service, and who are now to be present at my last hour and mortal agony, as in good fortune ye were faithful to me, so even at this my miserable death ye do not forsake me. And as I cannot reward you for your true service to me, I pray you take comfort for my loss; howbeit, forget me not, and be always faithful to the king's grace, and to her whom, with happier fortune, ye may have as your queen and mistress. And esteem your honor far beyond your life; and, in your prayers to the Lord Jesu, forget not to pray for my soul."¹ Among these true-hearted adherents of the fallen queen was the companion of her childhood, Mrs. Mary Wyatt, sir Thomas Wyatt's sister, who, faithful through every reverse, attended her on the scaffold.² To this tried friend Anne Boleyn gave, as a parting gift, her last possession,—a little book of devotions, bound in gold, and enamelled black, which she had held in her hand from the time she left her apartment in the Tower till she commenced her preparations for the block. Mary always wore this precious relic in her bosom.³ Some mysterious last words, supposed to

¹ *Excerpta Historica.*

² *Life of Wyatt, in Strawberry hill MSS.*

³ In Singer's learned notes to the memorials left by sir Thomas Wyatt of Anne Boleyn, there is a minute description of a little book, which was carefully preserved in the Wyatt family as having once belonged to Anne Boleyn, and which is, we doubt not, the identical volume presented by that unfortunate queen to the poet's sister. It was of diminutive size, containing 104 leaves of vellum, one inch and seven-eighths long, by one and five-eighths broad; it contained a metrical version of parts of thirteen Psalms, bound in pure gold, richly chased, with a ring to append it to the neck-chain or girdle. It was seen, in 1721, by Mr. Vertue, in the possession of Mr. George Wyatt, of Charterhouse square. Such little volumes were presented by Anne to each of her ladies in the last year of her fatal royalty. Margaret Wyatt, who married sir Henry Lee, has been mentioned in a former impression of this volume as the faithful friend of Anne Boleyn, and it is possible that both the Wyatt ladies were in attendance; but the memorials of the Wyatt family, in the Strawberry hill MSS., more particularly mention Mary (who died single) as the possessor of the volume given on the scaffold.

be a message to sir Thomas Wyatt, the queen was observed to whisper very earnestly to Mrs. Mary Wyatt before she knelt down.

It has been said that Anne refused to allow her eyes to be covered, and that, whenever the executioner approached her, his purpose was disarmed by his encountering their brilliant glances; till, taking off his shoes, he beckoned to one of the assistants to advance on one side as he softly approached on the other, and when the queen, deceived by this subterfuge, turned her eyes in the direction whence she heard the steps, he struck her head off with one blow of the Calais sword.¹ The account given by the Portuguese spectator of this mournful scene is as follows:—"And being minded to say no more, she knelt down upon both knees, and one of her ladies covered her eyes with a bandage; and then they withdrew themselves some little space, and knelt down over against the scaffold, hewailing bitterly and shedding many tears. And thus, and without more to say or do, was her head struck off; she making no confession of her fault, but saying, 'O Lord God, have pity on my soul!'"² This being the record of an eye-witness, we think it is deserving of credit, and it agrees with the dignified composure of Anne's behavior on the scaffold. Gratian says she died with great resolution, and so sedately as to cover her feet with her garments, in like manner as the Roman poet records of the royal Polyxena, when about to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles. According to another authority, her last words were, "*In manus tuas.*"³ "The bloody blow came down from his trembling hand who gave it," says Wyatt, "when those about her could not but seem to themselves to have received it upon their own necks, she not so much as shrinking at it." Spelman has noted that Anne Boleyn's eyes and lips were observed to move when

¹ The tragic fate of Anne Boleyn is thus briefly recorded by a contemporary:—"The xix of May, qwene Ann Boleyn was behedyd in the Towre of London, by the hands of the hangman of Calais, withe the swerde of Calais."—Chronicle of Calais in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., p. 97; published by the Camden Society.

² Excerpta Historica; sir H. Nicolas.

³ Leti.

her head was held up by the executioner.¹ It is also said, that before those beautiful eyes sunk in the dimness of death, they seemed for an instant mournfully to regard her bleeding body as it fell on the scaffold.

It does not appear that the last moments of Anne were disturbed by the presence of lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cosyns. The gentler females who, like ministering angels, had followed their royal mistress to her doleful prison and dishonoring scaffold, half fainting and drowned in tears as they were, surrounded her mangled remains, now a spectacle appalling to woman's eyes; yet they would not abandon them to the ruffian hands of the executioner and his assistants, but, with unavailing tenderness, washed away the blood from the lovely face and glossy hair, that scarcely three years before had been proudly decorated with the crown of St. Edward, and now, but for these unbought offices of faithful love, would have been lying neglected in the dust. Our Portuguese authority informs us "that one weeping lady took the severed head, the others the bleeding body of the unfortunate queen, and having reverentially covered them with a sheet, placed them in a chest which there stood ready, and carried them to the church, which is within the Tower; where," continues he, "they say she lieth buried with the others," meaning her fellow-victims who had two days before preceded her to the scaffold. There is, however, some reason to doubt whether the mangled remains of this hapless queen repose in the place generally pointed out in St. Peter's church within the Tower as the spot where she was interred. It is true that her warm and almost palpitating form was there conveyed in no better coffin than an old elm-chest that had been used for keeping arrows,² and there, in less than half an hour after the executioner had performed his office, thrust into a grave that had been prepared for her by the side of her murdered brother. And there she was interred without other obsequies than the whispered prayers and choking sobs of those true-hearted ladies who had attended her on the scaffold,

¹ Burnet's Hist. Reformation. Remarkable Trials.

² Sir John Spelman's Notes in Burnet.

and were the sole mourners who followed her to the grave. It is to be lamented that history has only preserved one name out of this gentle sisterhood, that of Mary Wyatt, when all were worthy to have been inscribed in golden characters in every page sacred to female tenderness and charity.

In Anne Boleyn's native county, Norfolk, a curious tradition has been handed down from father to son, for upwards of three centuries, which affirms that her remains were secretly removed from the Tower church under cover of darkness, and privately conveyed to Salle church, the ancient burial-place of the Boleyns,¹ and there interred at midnight, with the holy rites that were denied to her by her royal husband at her first unhallowed funeral. A plain black marble slab, without any inscription, is still shown in Salle church as a monumental memorial of this queen, and is generally supposed, by all classes of persons, in that neighborhood, to cover her remains. The mysterious sentence with which Wyatt closes his eloquent memorial of the death of this unfortunate queen affords a singular confirmation of the local tradition of her removal and reinterment:—"God," says he, "provided for her corpse *sacred burial*, even in a place as it were consecrate to innocence."² This expression would lead us to infer that Wyatt was in the secret, if not one of the parties who assisted in the exhumation of Anne Boleyn's remains, if the romantic tradition we have repeated be indeed based on facts. After all, there is nothing to violate probability in the tale, romantic though it be. King Henry, on the day of his queen's execution, tarried no longer in the vicinity of his metropolis than till the report of the signal gun, booming faintly

¹ The stately tower of Salle church is supposed to be the loftiest in Norfolk, and it is certainly one of the most magnificent in the east of England. The profound solitude of the neighborhood where this majestic fane rises in lonely grandeur, remote from the haunts of village life, must have been favorable for the stolen obsequies of this unfortunate queen, if the tradition were founded on fact. Her father was the lord of the soil, and all his Norfolk ancestry were buried in that church. It is situated between Norwich and Reepham, on a gentle eminence.

² Singer's edition of Cavendish's Wolsey, vol. ii. p. 215.

through the forest glade, reached his ear, and announced the joyful tidings that he had been made a widower. He then rode off at fiery speed to his bridal orgies at Wolf hall. With him went the confidential myrmidons of his council, caring little, in their haste to offer their homage to the queen of the morrow, whether the mangled form of the queen of yesterday was securely guarded in the dishonored grave into which it had been thrust with indecent haste that noon. There was neither singing nor saying for her, —no *chapelle ardente*, nor midnight requiem, as for other queens; and, in the absence of these solemnities, it was easy for her father, for Wyatt, or even for his sister, to bribe the porter and sextons of the church to connive at the removal of the royal victim's remains. That old elm chest could excite no suspicion when carried through the dark narrow streets and the Aldgate portal of the city to the eastern road: it probably passed as a coffer of stores for the country, no one imagining that such a receptacle enclosed the earthly relics of their crowned and anointed queen.

It is remarkable that in the ancient church of Horndon-on-the-Hill, in Essex, a nameless black marble monument is also pointed out by village antiquaries as the veritable monument of this queen.¹ The existence of a similar tradition of the kind in two different counties, but in both instances in the neighborhood of sir Thomas Boleyn's estates,

¹ I am indebted to my amiable and highly-gifted friend, lady Petre, for this information, and also for the following description of the monument, which is within a narrow window-seat:—The black marble or touchstone that covers it rises about a foot between the seat and the window, and is of a rough description: it has rather the appearance of a shrine that has been broken open. It may have contained her head or her heart, for it is too short to contain a body, and indeed seems to be of more ancient date than the sixteenth century. The oldest people in the neighborhood all declare that they have heard the tradition in their youth, from a previous generation of aged persons, who all affirmed it to be Anne Boleyn's monument. Horndon-on-the-Hill is about a mile from Thorndon hall, the splendid mansion of lord Petre, and sixteen miles from Newhall, once the seat of sir Thomas Boleyn, and afterwards a favorite country palace of Henry VIII., who tried to change its name to Beaulieu; but the force of custom was too strong even for the royal will in that neighborhood, and Beaulieu is forgotten in the original name.

can only be accounted for on the supposition that rumors of the murdered queen's removal from the Tower chapel were at one time in circulation among the tenants and dependants of her paternal house, and were by them orally transmitted to their descendants as matter of fact. Historical traditions are, however, seldom devoid of some kind of foundation; and whatever be their discrepancies, they frequently afford a shadowy evidence of real but unrecorded events, which, if steadily investigated, would lend a clue whereby things of great interest might be traced out. A great epic poet¹ of our own times has finely said:—

“Tradition! oh, tradition! thou of the seraph tongue,
The ark that links two ages, the ancient and the young.”

The execution of the viscount Rochford rendered his two sisters the co-heiresses of their father, the earl of Wiltshire. The attainder of Anne Boleyn, together with Cranmer's sentence on the nullity of her marriage with the king, had, by the law of the land, deprived her and her issue of any claim on the inheritance of her father. Yet, on the death of the earl of Wiltshire, king Henry, in defiance of his own acts, did, with equal rapacity and injustice, seize Hever castle and other portions of the Boleyn patrimony in right of his divorced and murdered wife Anne, the elder daughter, reserving for her daughter Elizabeth all that Mary Boleyn and her heirs could otherwise have claimed.

Greenwich palace was Anne Boleyn's favorite abode of all the royal residences. The park is planted and laid out in the same style as her native Blickling, and with the same kind of trees. It is natural to suppose that the noble intersected arcades of chestnuts, which form the principal charm of the royal park, were planted under the direction of this queen, in memory of those richer and more luxuriant groves beneath whose blossomed branches she sported in careless childhood with her sister Mary, her brother Rochford, and their playmate Wyatt. Happy would it have been for Anne Boleyn if parental ambition had never aimed at her fulfilling a higher destiny than becoming the wife of the accom-

¹ Adam Mickiewicz.

plished and true-hearted Wyatt,—that devoted friend, whose love, surviving the grave, lives still in the valuable biographical memorials which he preserved of her life.¹ Sir Thomas Wyatt died four years after the execution of Anne Boleyn; Percy only survived her a few months.

The motives for Anne's destruction were so glaringly unveiled by the indecorous and inhuman haste with which the king's marriage with Jane Seymour was celebrated, that a strong presumption of her innocence has naturally been the result with unprejudiced readers. André Thévet, a Franciscan, affirms "that he was assured by several English gentlemen that Henry VIII., on his death-bed, expressed peculiar remorse for the wrong he had done Anne Boleyn by putting her to death on a false accusation."² The Franciscans, as a body, had suffered so much for their steadfast support of the cause of queen Katharine, in opposition to the rival interests of queen Anne, that a testimony in favor of the latter from one of that order ought to be regarded as impartial history. Superficial readers have imagined that the guilt of Anne Boleyn has been established by the discovery of documents mentioned in the report of the Record Commission as the contents of the "*Baga de Secretis*." This bag, which was always known to be in existence, contains merely the indictments, precepts, and condemnation of that unfortunate queen, and not a tittle of the evidence produced in substantiation of the revolting crimes with which she was charged. It has been suspected by many persons that the depositions of the witnesses were destroyed by the order of Elizabeth; but surely, if she had destroyed the evidence, she would never have allowed the indictment, which branded her unhappy mother as a monster of impurity, to be preserved. It is more according to probability that Henry and his accomplices in this judicial murder, being well aware that no

¹ There is a beautiful Italian MS. on the subject of this unfortunate queen in the collection of sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, written just after the death of queen Elizabeth. It professes to be the history of Anne Boleyn, but can only be regarded as the earliest historical romance on her eventful career. It seems to have been the foundation of the popular Italian opera of *Anna Bolena*.

² Universal Cosmography; book xvi. c. 5.

evidence of Anne's guilt was produced that would bear an impartial legal investigation, took effectual measures to prevent its ever appearing in her justification.

Anne Boleyn must have been in her thirty-sixth year at the time of her execution, for Cavendish tells us that her brother, lord Rochford, was twenty-seven when he was appointed of the king's privy-chamber.¹ This was in 1527. The queen was probably about a year younger, calculating her age to have been fourteen when she went to France as maid of honor to the bride of Louis XII., and thirty-two at the time of her acknowledged marriage with the king. She had been maid of honor to four queens,—namely, Mary and Claude, queens of France, Margaret queen of Navarre, and Katharine of Arragon, the first consort of Henry VIII., whom, in an evil hour for both, she supplanted in the affections of the king, and succeeded in her royal dignity as queen of England. She only survived the broken-hearted Katharine four months and a few days.

¹ Singer's Cavendish, vol. ii.

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