THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Charles Harvey Bibbings

1951

ABSTRACT

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

BY

Charles Harvey Biboings

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1951

APPROVED Marjorie Greene.

ABSTRACT

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VIII
AND WOLSEY

BY Charles Harvey Bibbings

This study of the foreign affairs of Henry VIII and his Chancellor, Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, was undertaken because of a keen interest in English history and a feeling that the marital difficulties of Henry VIII have overshadowed the diplomatic negotiations of the time. For a period of fourteen years, 1516 to 1529, Henry and Wolsey played a major role in events of the day. These events were of great significance for it was during this time that England was to begin her rise to the rank of a great power.

Through the use of the State Papers, compiled by a commission under the English government, and the compilation of Letters and Papers, I was able to reconstruct the diplomatic negotiations of the period. The Spanish State Papers were also of great value. All of the aforementioned sources were aids in reconstructing the problems between England and Scotland. Various other collections of letters, manuscripts, and documents were of great assistance.

Henry, who was extremely interested in the pleasures of life early in his reign, took an increased interest in foreign affairs under the tutelage of Cardinal Wolsey. The aims of these two men were closely allied. Both desired peace for England. Both sought to maintain a balance of power on the continent--a balance in which neither

France nor the Empire could become strong enough to formulate or control events.

When it was advantageous to have friendly relations with France, Henry and Wolsey would woo Francis, the king of France, into an alliance; but this alliance would be superseded by another, if it became evident that a closer friendship with Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, would be of more value to the English. Not content with switching friendship and alliance from one to the other of the monarchs, Henry and his chancellor played one against the other, so that there would not be a bond of union between the two most powerful continental rulers. Throughout this diplomatic manuevering, the English endeavored to maintain a neutral position so that they might act as arbiters in the European difficulties. However, they found Francis and Charles as clever diplomats, and twice the English were forced to declare war against a one-time ally.

Henry and Wolsey also took a keen interest in the affairs of the papacy. Twice during his tenure of office as Chancellor of England, Wolsey made a bid for the papal crown, hoping, thereby, to enhance England's position, as well as his own, but in both circumstances he was unsuccessful.

Through the medium of marriage alliances, involving Henry's daughter, Mary, as well as armament treaties, these two men were to influence the destiny of Europe for fourteen years. This close association was broken only when Wolsey was unable to settle Henry's domestic problems.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VIII
AND WOLSEY

BY

Charles Harvey Bibbings

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1951

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to Professor Marjorie Gesner for her helpful suggestions and constructive criticism in the research and writing done in the completion of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Introduction	1
Chapter I	England Takes Position	1
Chapter II	Intrigue	21
Chapter III	Preparations for War	44
Chapter IV	War or Peace	66
Chapter V	The Fall of Wolsey	85
	Conclusion	97
	Bibliographical Note	100

INTRODUCTION

Kings, church dignitaries, ministers of state, and others have greatly influenced the course of history down through the ages. Caesar, Charlemagne, Richelieu, Bismarck and others have made their presence felt on the events of their times. To this list should be added Henry VIII and Thomas Cardinal Wolsey. For fourteen years, 1516 to 1529, this union of a king and a churchman played a major role in events of the day, events which affected future history.

Henry, who came to the throne in 1509 upon the death of his father, Henry VII, was, for several years, more concerned with the pleasures of life than he was with matters of state. He was not faced with internal dissension, nor with the danger of rival claimants to his throne as his father and other predecessors had been. He knew how to be close to his subjects without sacrificing any royal dignity. He was so generous with the fortune which his father had amassed that later he was forced to go to the people for more taxes to augment the royal treasury. While maintaining his love for sports and other pleasures, he became interested in foreign affairs as his reign progressed. This interest was stimulated by Wolsey.

Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in 1471, of

well-to-do parents. Destined for the church he was sent to Oxford at the age of eleven. He became a Bachelor of Arts at fourteen years of age. After leaving Oxford Wolsey became a Fellow of Magdalen and a master of the grammar school attached to the college. In 1501 he became chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. From this position he advanced, in 1506, to that of chaplain to Henry VII. In this position he attained such prominence that he became an emissary of the king. It was during this period that he served his apprenticeship in foreign affairs which was to aid him in his relationship with Henry VIII and the other rulers of Europe. When Henry VIII succeeded to the throne, Wolsey was retained as almoner. It was not until the war with France, in 1513, that Wolsey convinced Henry of his skill in organization and diplomacy. The successful negotiation of peace after this war was largely his work. In 1514 he was appointed Archbishop of York and a few months later received the red hat of a cardinal. This proved to be the stepping stone into the chancellory.

The period 1516 to 1529 was particularly significant for it was during this time that England was to begin her advance to the position as a great power. With peace at home, only sporadic trouble on the northern border between England and Scotland, Henry and Wolsey were able to concentrate on relations with France and

the Empire. Papal vacancies were also of great importance for both Henry and Wolsey were interested in the latter's advancement to the highest position in the Church hierarchy.

Feeling that the marital difficulties of Henry have overshadowed the importance of foreign affairs during this period, this study was undertaken to show the roles Henry VIII and Thomas Cardinal Wolsey played in European as well as English history.

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND TAKES POSITION

December 22, 1515 marks the day on which Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, accepted the great seal as Lord Chancellor of England.[1] Shortly thereafter the strongest foes of Wolsey, Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fox, retired, These men hoped that the king "would not suffer the servant to be greater than his master." To this the king answered that "it should be his care that those who were his subjects should obey and not command."[2] Thus began a fourteen-year period that was to see England vacillating between the European powers attempting to maintain peace in England and a balance of power in Europe.

Turning to the continent Wolsey found Charles, Prince of Castile, and Francis I, king of France, joined

---

[1] Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, "perceiving that Wolsey meddled more in his office of chancellorship than it became him to suffer...saying also that the said bishop of York coveted to bear all the rule, and to have all the authority, considering also his own great age...delivered to the king the great seal, which delivered the same to the Archbishop of York and made him chancellor." Edward Hall, Chronicle; Containing the History of England during the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the succeeding Monarchs to the end of the Reign of Henry the Eighth (London, 1809), p. 583. Hereafter cited as Hall's Chronicle.

[2] Edward Lord Herbert, The History of England under Henry VIII (London, 1860), p. 164.

by a treaty. Charles, previously betrothed to Mary, sister of Henry, was greatly influenced by his ministers, who were ready to forsake former English ties because of the money which Francis offered, and the reluctance with which Henry greeted negotiations concerning loans or gifts of money to Charles. To add to the hard feelings the alliance between Charles and England had been broken by the marriage of Mary to Louis XII, Francis' predecessor. Wolsey, however, was able to arrange a treaty, between Henry and Charles, which was signed on January 24, 1516.[3] It was merely a treaty of peace and friendship.

Affairs on the continent were greatly changed in February 1516, when the death of Ferdinand the Catholic brought Charles to the Spanish throne. This was to place Charles in a new position which would bring him into conflicting situations with Francis. Some time before the death of Ferdinand, Charles had made a treaty with Francis by which he was to marry into the French royal family. Charles was aware of the position he was in since his succession to the Spanish throne, but he was reluctant to go against this treaty.

---

[3] G. A. Bergenroth, ed., Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to Negotiations Between England and Spain (11 vols., London, 1866), II, p. 276. Hereafter cited as State Papers (Spanish).

Farther to the east Emperor Maximilian, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was in need of friendship and assistance against the French, who had been so successful in Italy that Milan was now under their control. Negotiating with Richard Pace, the English ambassador at the court of the Emperor, Maximilian offered the Duchy of Milan to Henry in return for aid against the French.[4] Pace was wise enough to see that this would be impossible at this time and advised Wolsey to so advise Henry.

Affairs in Scotland were also of great importance to Henry and Wolsey for the Duke of Albany had once more returned to Scotland and taken charge of the government. He was able to accomplish this because of French aid given to his enterprise. It may be that the Duke entered into Scottish problems because of Francis' plan to do everything in his power to keep Henry involved in border clashes so that he, Francis, might have an easier time on the continent. When Henry, through the English lords, told the French ambassador to compel Albany to leave Scotland, the ambassador said Francis was unable to compel the Duke to leave, or even command him as he was next in succession to the Scottish throne. The latter was

---

[4] J. S. Brewer, ed., Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII (21 vols., London, 1864), II, p. 397. Hereafter cited as Letters and Papers.

true if none of the Scottish queen's children should survive her.[5]

To gain an insight into the English difficulties with Scotland it should be noted that the death of James IV of Scotland, on the battlefield of Flodden, left the crown to a baby not yet eighteen months old, and the government of the country to the baby's mother, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII, and to a group of nobles. The personal rivalries of these nobles were of greater interest to them than were the interests of the Scottish nation. Margaret's marriage to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, brought an end to the arrangement by which Margaret had acted as regent in conjunction with the nobles. The Duke of Albany, of the royal house, who had been raised in France, was called to Scotland to act as regent and settle the disputes between Margaret and the nobles.

Early in 1516 Queen Margaret had been expelled from the kingdom of Scotland. She had taken refuge in England, under her brother's care, with many of her friends exiled with her. In February Francis expressed his determination to keep peace with England by suggesting that Queen Margaret should be restored to control in Scotland, her dower secured, her children committed to

---

[5] Ibid., p. 397.

the guardianship of the nobles, or the point referred to arbitration. Henry was quick to reply that it would be beneath his dignity to refer such matters to arbitration, that he would judge the affairs of Scotland himself.[6]

Wolsey, through his representative Lord Dacre, repeatedly told the Duke of Albany that the affairs of Scotland could not be mixed with those of France--"the questions between England and France are of too great importance to liken the one to the other. The difference between England and Scotland is nothing but through the interference of France, and to make war on England for the pleasure of France has not hitherto been much to their profit."[7]

Henry informed the Scottish lords that the Duke of Albany should be removed from the administration of the government. The mere fact that he pretended to be the nearest heir to the kingdom made him dangerous to the welfare of the queen and her children.[8] To this the lords replied that "the Duke was chosen Protector by the unanimous voice of the three estates; was sent for by them from France; and that he had taken great pains in the king's service. Moreover, it was in exact

---

[6] Ibid., p. 417.

[7] Ibid., p. 510.

[8] Ibid., p. 574.

conformity with their laws that the nearest in succession should have the governance."[9] This did not, however, put an end to the matter for Henry continued to press the Scots to return their queen to power and to banish the Duke from the kingdom. Queen Margaret did not help the situation by her actions. A short time before her expulsion from Scotland, she had married the Earl of Angus, by whom she had a daughter. The English authorities were gravely concerned over the significance of such a marriage. Some of them went so far as to pretend that Scotland was under interdict at the time and therefore the marriage was null. There was even talk of dissolving the marriage and betrothing the queen to Emperor Maximilian.[10] These were two of the many proposals that were not carried to a successful conclusion. Difficulties with Scotland were to continue to plague Henry and Wolsey throughout their political union.

While Wolsey concerned himself with the problems besetting England from all sides, Henry concentrated his greatest attention on France and the actions of Francis. It was evident that Francis would do all in his power to keep Henry busy on the Scottish borders so that he might have his way in Europe. Francis' greatest concern was

---

[9] Ibid., p. 642.

[10] Ibid., p. 527.

to keep the Swiss in line so that they might be depended upon in his affairs in eastern Europe with the Emperor.[11] In order to convince the Swiss that they need not fear any action from Henry if they maintained friendly relations with France, a treaty between England and France was shown to them. However, Richard Pace, at this time attempting to bring the Swiss to England's side, replied that such a treaty had been made some years ago, but that France had broken it by sending the Duke of Albany into Scotland to harass England from the north.[12] The Swiss, although accepting Pace's argument, were determined that they should receive English money to build up their forces. Money had been sent for their benefit in the past, but this money had been handled by the Emperor, who was not above employing such money to his own advantage. The Swiss warned Pace that of the 100,000 crowns given by Henry in the last war for the Burgundian expedition they had received only 40,000 florins.[13] Those cantons that were partial to England felt they would be joined by the other cantons if Henry would grant money directly to them.

---

[11] The Swiss, who had been defeated by the French at Marignano, tried to enter into the service of England. Through carelessly handled money matters many of the cantons had turned to the French.

[12] Ibid., p. 798.

[13] Ibid., p. 409.

Pace could not promise that the money would be sent directly to them for he feared to do anything that would anger the Emperor. Pace was playing a double role in eastern Europe--attempting to bring the Swiss to England's side and trying to keep the Emperor from making a peace treaty with France without England and the Swiss.

Henry, during this time, was also negotiating with other allies of Francis, the Venetians. He informed Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador at the English court, that Francis was endeavoring, with all earnestness, to obtain peace with the Emperor, and to leave the Venetians single-handed at the mercy of their enemies.[14] The Venetians listened, but did not act.

In May 1516, Maximilian, growing more impatient with the French, and the way that affairs were shaping up on the continent, pretending great friendship for Henry, offered him the empire as well as the Duchy of Milan, provided that Henry would cross the sea with his army and meet the Emperor at Treves. Here the Emperor would resign the empire in Henry's favor. The Anglo-imperialists were then to invade France while Maximilian and Henry were to cross the Alps, take possession of Milan, and continue on to Rome where Henry would receive the imperial crown from the Pope. Henry turned a deaf

---

[14] Ibid., p. 438.

ear to these proposals.[15]

In Italy the Emperor was continually pulling back before the French, and eventually retreated in a shameful manner. Wolsey, however, convinced Henry that he should not declare in favor of the Emperor because the cost of any joint action between the two would have to be borne by the English. Wolsey was also convinced, by letters from Pace, that no faith should be put in the Emperor's promises.[16]

After many negotiations Pace was able to convince the Swiss cantons that they should serve Henry "to the total destruction of the French king."[17] But this matter was not to be discussed in open court for Henry was still at peace with France. However, he confided to Sebastian Giustinian that "the Swiss are mine, let talk who will they are mine; and the Pope is anxious to join"[18] any league which would prevent Francis from becoming omnipotent. Still Giustinian refused Wolsey's proposal that Henry should write to the Emperor, and mediate between him and the Venetians, fearing it might come to the

---

[15] Ibid., p. 409.

[16] "...the said Emperor doth as often times change his mind as the weathercock doth change his turn." Ibid., p. 602.

[17] Ibid., p. 597.

[18] Ibid., p. 580.

knowledge of the French king.

On June 16, 1516 Henry was advised that the French king was so drained of money that it would be impossible for him to carry on the war in Italy or in France. Because of this Henry could more easily acquire his hereditary right in France than drive the French from Italy.[19]

With such news Henry's ambition for a league against France increased, and he was urged, by the Emperor, to declare himself the enemy of France as soon as such a confederation might be formed. This Henry refused to do.

Late in the summer Charles, now king of Spain, decided to leave his court in Flanders and enter into his Spanish lands. To do this he needed money. As Henry seemed to be the most wealthy and the most eager to gain allies, Charles applied for, and received, a loan of one hundred thousand crowns.[20] This led many to believe that, inasmuch as Charles and Henry had negotiated a loan, as soon as Charles arrived in Spain matters would be reformed to the satisfaction of England.

The money was no sooner available to Charles than it became known in the English court that a secret treaty had been signed between Charles and Francis at Noyon on August 13, 1516. Charles had consented to marry Anne,

---

[19] Ibid., p. 629.

[20] Ibid., p. 720.

Francis' infant daughter; and France had waived all claims to Naples. The Venetians were to be called upon to pay two hundred thousand florins to the Emperor for Bresoia and Verona. Once more England had been passed over without notice.

Wolsey immediately saw that good relations between Henry and Maximilian should be strengthened, and, on the Emperor's requests for further loans, some money was readily dispatched to him. In payment for this money Maximilian talked of going into the Low Countries and subduing the ministers of his grandson, Charles. Maximilian felt that it was due to his ministers' advice that Charles was so unfriendly to Henry. More money was needed, however, and although the amounts requested by Maximilian were far greater than those which Wolsey and Henry thought expedient, Maximilian did receive enough to enable him to travel to the neighborhood of Brussels. By the time he arrived here the news that he had secretly joined with Charles and Francis in the treaty of Noyon was known in the English court. It was now realized that Maximilian had not planned to bring Charles to the side of England. He had desired more and more money to move into Flanders where he would be closer to Charles, and where he might more readily negotiate with Francis for funds.

But Maximilian did not become an enemy of Henry by joining Charles and Francis. In fact, through a

letter from Cuthbert Tunstal, ambassador to Lady Margaret of Savoy, Henry was advised that Maximilian once again offered the empire to Henry:

> The emperor intends to resign the empire to your Grace, and to obtain your election by his procurement and soliciting of the electors thereto, intending to do this for the advancement of your honor and the love which he bears you. I think the said election of your Grace to the empire cannot be brought about by any means, for diverse considerations. First, as in the election of the Pope a certain form is to be kept which not observed makes the election void, so of ancient time and ordinance of the universal church a certain form must be observed in the choosing of the emperor, which omitted, the election is void. One of the chief points in the election of the empire is that he shall be a German subject of the empire; whereas your Grace is not nor never within the Christian faith the kings of England were subject to the empire. But the crown of England is an empire of itself much better than now the empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace wears a close crown. And therefore, if you were chosen, since your Grace is not of the empire, the election were void. And if your Grace should accept the said election thereby you must confess your realm to be under subjection of the empire to the perpetual prejudice of your successor, or else the said election, were void as made of a person not eligible. Besides that the form of the election contends that first he must be King of Romans and the coronation at Rome makes him have the name of Emperor where before he is called but King of Romans. Over this if the emperor which now is remains the King of Romans as I understand he intends to do, then if your Grace were eligible and under the empire, yet you could not be chosen emperor because you were never King of Romans. And also he remaining you could not be chosen King of Romans because the kingdom is not void, and no one can be chosen thereto except when it is void either by death or else

> when the King of Romans is crowned emperor, whereby under him may be chosen a King of Romans. The said Empire (as it is now established) also may not have two emperors at one time, but one as chief and the other as heir apparent, which is called the King of Romans, where he must begin that will come to the empire. For which considerations I repute it impossible (the laws thereon made standing) that your Grace may be chosen. And I am afraid lest the said offer being so specious at the first hearing was only made to get thereby some money of your Grace.[21]

With advice such as this from his minister close to the Emperor and substantiated by Wolsey, Henry was wise not to push the Emperor to carry out his proposals.

In the meantime Wolsey had been in contact with the English leaders on the borders of Scotland. He was also in receipt of several communications from the Duke of Albany. The Duke contended that Lord Dacre misrepresented the intentions of the protector of Scotland.[22] He professed the strongest wish for the two kingdoms of England and Scotland to remain at peace, and offered to visit Henry in England.[23] Such a meeting did not take place. At last it became evident that Albany was growing tired of Scotland and wished to return to France,

---

[21] Henry Ellis, Original Letters, Illustrative of English History: Including Numerous Royal Letters: From Autographs in the British Museum and one or two other Collections (11 vols., London, 1825), I, pp. 134-135.

[22] Letters and Papers, II, p. 273.

[23] Ibid., p. 680.

but the Estates of Scotland refused to let him go until the king was of age.[24] Early in 1517 the Scots, through Albany, offered terms which Lord Dacre suggested should be accepted with certain modifications. Lord Dacre did this with malice aforethought for he saw in this an opportunity to gain time until winter when they might do greater harm along the border.[25] In March a truce was arranged between the two countries. By this truce Queen Margaret was allowed to return, on condition that she would not participate in the administration of the government.[26] After binding every great man to him, the Duke of Albany left Scotland on June 8, 1517. He took with him the heirs or brothers of the principal men expecting to return in five months.[27] On June 15 Margaret returned to Scotland where she was enthusiastically received, but her power was not returned to her.

Still Wolsey was interested in affairs on the continent. After the treaty of Noyon was signed by the Emperor, Charles had his ambassadors once more broach the subject of loans to enable him to go to Spain. With the aid of the English treasury he was able to obtain

---

[24] Ibid., p. 810.

[25] Ibid., p. 597.

[26] Ibid., p. 1007.

[27] Ibid., p. 1075.

his goal. But France held Wolsey's greatest interest. Here Henry's greatest rival held sway over a large realm. As early as January 1517 there were rumors that a better understanding between England and France was growing, though regular ambassadors were not carrying on the negotiations. Secretly, however, Wolsey maintained contact with the French court. Even the treaty of Cambrai, signed by Charles, Maximilian, and Francis did not break up the beginning of a more cordial feeling between the French and English courts. In fact, in June the sieur de la Guiche made a reappearance in England. This man, who was a favorite in both courts, began consultations with Wolsey which resulted in the announcement that Francis desired the surrender of Tournai and a new treaty. In return Francis offered Henry four hundred thousand crowns.[28] Wolsey was advised by Tunstal that if Henry was minded to give up Tournai, it would be advisable to offer it to Charles on his arrival in Spain, in exchange for some other place. Tunstal felt that the king would, in time, have a substantial friend in the king of Castile, one who would be more trustworthy than the French.[29]

While Wolsey was negotiating with de la Guiche, Henry, in conversation with Charles' ambassador, Helna,

---

[28] Ibid., p. 1157.

[29] Ibid., p. 1159.

admitted that Francis was using every effort for a league between England and France. Henry assured Charles that he would not join with any other ruler to the detriment of the Spanish ruler. Henry seemed very pleased to hear that Charles would not be uneasy if peace should be made between France and England.[30] The negotiations were carried on in a secretive way with Henry and Wolsey attempting to keep both Francis and Charles on friendly terms with England. The diplomatic manuevering continued on for many months with only the surrender of Tournai and a more formal alliance as the objectives.

Early in the new year, 1518, matters became somewhat strained between the French and the English when it was reported that ships and men were being readied in France. These preparations were in aid of the Duke of Albany, who was planning a return to Scotland.[31] There was also a rumor that Francis intended to invade Spain and Flanders.[32] Wolsey was convinced that such preparations were undertaken because England was so cautious in negotiating with France concerning Tournai.[33] Wolsey, although favoring peace with France, refused to advise

---

[30] Ibid., p. 1174.

[31] Ibid., p. 1229.

[32] Idem.

[33] Ibid., p. 1233.

Henry to sell Tournai to the French. He wished to hold out for a more advantageous settlement for England. The continued preparation by the French finally forced Henry to admit to Giustinian, ambassador from Venice, that there was great deceit in the words and actions of the French king--while Francis was negotiating for peace and the purchase of Tournai, he was also preparing men and arms for a possible quarrel with Henry.[34] Francis presumably thought he could easily recover Tournai. The ambassador from France attempted to convince Wolsey that France would not break with Henry or Charles at this time.[35]

The affairs with France were put into the background in May, 1518 when Pope Leo X, desiring a new crusade against the Turks, declared that he was sending a legate into England as he had done in the other Christian countries. At once Wolsey saw his opportunity to augment his power and position. He brought to Henry's attention the municipal law that no foreign cardinal could claim legatine authority in England. Such information was forwarded to Cardinal Campeggio, the legate-elect, at Calais. It was also stated that the cardinal would be welcomed into England if Wolsey were given equal authority with Campeggio. When Leo was notified of the

---

[34] Ibid., p. 1242.

[35] Ibid., p. 1268.

action of Henry he held a consistory and, on May 17, Wolsey was appointed legate de latere and a colleague of Campeggio.[36] Wolsey immediately set up a legatine court and "was so elated that he thought himself equal with the king, and when he said mass he made dukes and earls serve him wine and hold the basin."[37]

Although pushed into the background, the Anglo-French negotiations continued with Wolsey assuring Charles that nothing would be done between Henry and Francis which might not be to Charles' liking. The birth of the Dauphin, February 28, 1518 brought a new phase into the consultations. Wolsey had intimated to the French ambassadors, the Bishop of Paris and de la Guiche, that if the French royal family should have a male heir, it might be possible to arrange a marriage between the young prince and princess Mary, daughter of Henry.[38] Wolsey, who had gained the confidence of Francis as well as that of Henry, was given the task of arranging the settlement.

Henry and Wolsey were weary of the continual trouble and expense that was necessary to maintain the town of Tournai. Wolsey finally reached an agreement with the French ambassadors. The French were to receive the city

---

[36] Ibid., p. 1300.

[37] Hall's Chronicle, p. 592.

[38] Letters and Papers, II, p. 1335.

upon the promise to pay six hundred thousand crowns for the city and three hundred thousand crowns for the citadel, which Henry had erected. They were also to pay the sum owed to Henry by the citizens for liberty and franchises.[39] Wolsey was to receive a monetary consideration for his resignation of the bishopric of Tournai.[40] Added to these agreements was a treaty for universal peace and for union between England and France. The marriage of the Dauphin and the Princess Mary was to take place when he attained his fourteenth year. The princess' dowry was to be 330,000 gold crowns, half to be paid at the marriage, and half within a year after. In return Francis was to give Mary a yearly sum equal to that enjoyed by Anne and Mary, the queens of Louis XII, if the Dauphin should come to the throne, and Henry paid the dowry. If the Dauphin should die before coming to the throne, the sum was to be less. If Henry should die without a male heir, Mary was to succeed to the English throne and no further dowry was to be paid.[41] Other articles of the treaty stipulated that mutual aid in case of invasion was guaranteed by land and by sea; the power of passing through the confederate's territory was guaranteed. But the most

---

[39] Hall's Chronicle, p. 593.

[40] John Strype, Works (27vols., Oxford, 1822), I, p. 31.

[41] Letters and Papers, II, p. 1372.

important point, on which Wolsey insisted, was that the Duke of Albany was not to be permitted to return to Scotland.[42] The final articles were concluded at London on October 2 and ratified by Francis December 14. On December 31 Pope Leo ratified and agreed to be included in the treaty of peace between Henry and Francis. Wolsey had now succeeded in uniting France and England and placed England in a position of arbiter among the sovereigns of Europe.

---

[42] Idem.

CHAPTER II

INTRIGUE

The new year, 1519, was barely begun when the European political composition was upset. The Emperor Maximilian died on January 12. Francis and Charles immediately declared themselves as candidates for the imperial crown, and began a systematic process of bribery to gain the support of the several electors. Although Francis' candidacy was vague, Charles was an obvious candidate because the Hapsburgs had retained the emperorship among themselves for three generations. The electors,however, were not bound to maintain the tradition. Henry was urged to bring his prestige to bear in favor of each of the candidates. As in previous negotiations, Henry took advantage of his position and made promises to each. To Charles he confided that Francis was desirous of his support but, that because of the great friendship between England and Spain, he had refused. He also stated that he preferred to see Charles as the victor.[1]

In the midst of the intrigues of Francis and Charles, Henry injected a new note. The second week in May, when the election was virtually decided, Pace was sent to

---

[1] Letters and Papers, II, p. 1420.

Germany to present Henry as a candidate.[2] It seems quite obvious that this plan was decided on by the king without consultation with Wolsey, for the Cardinal had supported Tunstal's recommendations that Henry could not legally accept the emperorship when it was offered by Maximilian.[3] In spite of this, when the decision was finally made to send Pace to Germany, Wolsey aided Henry in drawing up his instructions. Wolsey may have seen in this an opportunity to strengthen his own position and bring him closer to the papal throne.[4] Pace was to sound out the electors and also try to convince them that the wisest move would be the election of Henry.[5] In Rome the Bishop of Worcester did all in his power to convince the Pope that Henry was the best candidate and to have him place his support with Henry. The Pope did not favor either of the first two candidates, but his resentment did not appear to be as strong against Francis as against Charles. As the time drew near for the meeting of the electors the

---

[2] J. S. Brewer, The Reign of Henry VIII, From His Accession to the Death of Wolsey (2 vols., London, 1884), I, p. 314

[3] See p. 13

[4] The Emperor usually had such prestige with the Cardinals that his recommendations were often followed when a new pope was to be elected.

[5] Letters and Papers, III, 240, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 315.

Pope did an about face and began secret negotiations for a good understanding with Charles.[6]

When it became evident that Henry could not gain enough votes for election, his support was given to Charles. The electors met in consistory on July 18 where they refused to vote for Henry on the ground that he had started too late, and that their votes were pre-engaged.[7] There was little discussion after the consistory met for the decision had been made. Charles, King of Castile, was chosen the new ruler of the Holy Roman Empire.

Henry was very prompt in sending his congratulations to the newly elected head of the Holy Roman Empire. Wolsey, with diplomatic skill, assured the French ambassador that it was necessary to congratulate the King of Castile, and that Henry would have acted in the same manner if the French king had been the victor.[8] This assurance was necessary, for England could not afford to neglect her recently attained ally. Francis, too, had need of English friendship for he was having difficulties at home due to the unpopularity of his government. As

---

[6] Letters and Papers, III, 308, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 318.

[7] David Hume, The History of England, From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (8 vols., London, 1848), III, p. 119.

[8] State Papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission, King Henry VIII (11 vols., London, 1830-52), I, p. 6. Hereafter cited as State Papers.

a result, throughout the entire year, many proposals and negotiations were made for a personal interview between the two rulers. Such negotiations met with no success at this time.

Charles, now Emperor-elect Charles V, was also interested in strengthening the relationship between the Empire and the English court. In August 1519 John de la Sauche, Charles' favorite, was sent to England to thank Henry for his efforts on behalf of the new emperor-elect prior to his election.[9] De la Sauche also assured Henry that Charles' greatest desire was for a stronger union between the two realms.[10] To bring about this closer union it was proposed that Charles make a special trip to England for a personal meeting with Henry.[11] Charles refused such a proposal. He was quick to adopt a more conciliatory tone, however, when he was advised that negotiations between Henry and Francis were progressing toward a more favorable understanding between the French and English courts. Juan Manuel, the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, to whom the proposal for a visit by Charles was made, convinced the emperor-elect that if he should refuse to visit Henry, the English king might feel slighted

---

[9] Letters and Papers, III, 419, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 325.

[10] Idem.

[11] Letters and Papers, III, 551, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 327.

and, resenting the offense, might conclude an alliance with the French king to the detriment of the Empire.[12] Charles' change of mind was welcomed by Henry. Wolsey, who had been negotiating for a meeting between Henry and Francis, decided that this proposed interview should be postponed until Henry and Charles had met. The true reason for the delay was not admitted to the French ambassador. The Spanish negotiators were slow in their deliberations while the French were pressing more urgently for a meeting between the two rulers. Wolsey and Henry found themselves in many difficult situations in which they were playing for time and advantage.

Wolsey did not consider the situation too difficult for him to handle. He told the Pope's representative, the Auditor de la Camera, that he could do or undo whatever he liked, and conclude or not conclude an alliance between the king of England, the Emperor, and the king of France. He boasted that it was in his power to bring about an interview between all three of them.[13] Such speeches made the Pope conclude that "the Cardinal who is the governor of the King of England is a very strange person, and makes the King go hither and thither just

---

[12] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 303.

[13] Ibid., p. 307.

as he likes."[14] The king by his letters patent had given Wolsey full power and authority concerning all matters to be debated touching the king and the realm.[15] He also received the power to affirm and confirm, bind and unbind, whatsoever should be in question between Henry and Francis as though the king had been present in his own person.[16]

Eventually it was arranged that Charles was to pay a visit to Henry in the middle of May.[17] It was evident that Charles would make any concession to secure Henry's friendship.

Still Wolsey continued negotiations with the French court. The delaying tactics of this wise diplomat only convinced Francis that he would have to make concessions. Contrary to the advice of his ministers, Francis consented to Wolsey's proposals that he leave his own territory and meet Henry on English ground on the continent. In fact, he readily assented to all the pleasures of Wolsey until a further delay was requested. Francis thought that this was demanding too much. The queen was in her eighth month of pregnancy and another delay would make

---

[14] Idem.

[15] Hall's Chronicle, p. 607.

[16] Idem.

[17] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 296.

it impossible for her to participate in the interview.[18] Francis was now well aware of the prospective meeting between Henry and Charles. He notified Wolsey that he thought the meeting with Charles should be delayed until after the meeting between Henry and Francis.[19] Knowing that Francis was unable, at this time, to back up any threat, Wolsey told Francis that

> ...if the king of Castile should offer to descend at Sandwich or about those parts, as he hath done, to see and visit the King and Queen, his uncle and aunt, the King being in journeying towards the sea and next thereunto, it were too marvellous ingratitude to refuse the same; for by such dealing the King might well judge and think that the King our master neither esteemed, loved, nor favored him." 20

Realizing that any further arguments on his part would serve to draw Henry and Charles closer together, Francis continued the negotiations.

On May 26 the Emperor set foot at Dover and was met by the Cardinal. The following day Henry came to the seaside town and there held an interview with his nephew, Charles V. There is no record of what took place

---

18 Letters and Papers, III, 681, 697, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 338.

19 Letters and Papers, III, 764, as cited in Brewer Henry VIII, I, p. 341.

20 Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 341.

during the three days the two men were together.[21] On Thursday, the last day of May, the Emperor embarked at Sandwich for Flanders.[22] Before leaving Charles arranged to meet Henry once more when the interview between Henry and Francis was concluded. This visit was profitable for Wolsey. Charles assigned a pension of seven thousand ducats to him and promised his aid at the next vacancy of the papal throne.[23]

Henry set sail on the same day and crossed from Dover to Calais. From here he proceeded to Guisnes to await the meeting with Francis.

Wolsey made the first personal contact with Francis after Henry arrived in Guisnes. Leaving Henry at the castle, Wolsey proceeded to the town of Arde where Francis made his headquarters. Wolsey was affectionately received with all the pomp and pageantry due a legate. On the following day the French ambassadors made a visit to Henry's court at Guisnes. These meetings were the preliminary ceremonies to the meeting of the two great sovereigns.

---

[21] The Emperor informed the Pope that "in this interview nothing was transacted, except such things as are advantageous to him (the Pope), and the Holy Church..." State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 306.

[22] Hall's Chronicle, p. 604.

[23] The Political History of England (12 vols., London, 1906), V, H. A. L. Fisher, From the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII (1485-1547), p. 229.

On the morning of June 7 a shot was fired from the castle at Guisnes and answered by a shot from the French castle at Arde. These shots were a signal that the two kings were ready to set forth. Henry, mounted on a charger, advanced into the valley wearing clothing of silver damask, thickly ribbed with cloth of gold. His horse had trappings overlaid with fine gold and wrought in mosaic. Francis, advancing from Arde, was dressed in a short cassock of gold frieze. He wore a mantle of cloth of gold covered with jewels. The front and the sleeves were studded with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. On his head he wore a velvet bonnet adorned with plumes and precious stones. Surrounded by their courtiers, the two monarchs slowly approached into the valley. After a momentary pause, two figures emerged from the array of gold, silver and jewelry, plumes and pennons. Amid the shrill sound of pipes, trumpets and clarions the two monarchs, approached, embraced on horseback, dismounted and embraced again.[24] Such was the first meeting of Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France.

The following weeks were devoted to tournaments, exchange dinners, and personal meetings. The entire diplomatic show was brought to a close by a solemn high mass

---

[24] Hall presents an interesting, colorful description in his Chronicle, pp. 608-10

sung by Cardinal Wolsey.

After two weeks of meetings and jousts the two monarchs took leave of one another and returned to their own courts. Before returning to England, however, Henry met the Emperor at Gravelines to settle new terms. As in the case of the previous meeting of Charles and Henry, there are few records of this second meeting. The English version, prepared to allay the suspicions of the French, is the only account.[25] According to this the imperial ambassadors had already proposed to Henry that he break the matrimonial alliance with France and transfer Mary's hand to the Emperor. The Emperor, in return, would undertake a war against France until Henry had recovered his right and title in France. Although Henry was supposed to have rejected such overtures it had been agreed that at an early date the engagement should be broken and Mary pledged to the Emperor.[26] Such a move was made with the knowledge that a papal dispensation would be necessary for such a marriage--a matter which Charles considered as a way out of the situation if the union with Mary should be found to be inexpedient. For the present negotiations subsided.

---

[25] Letters and Papers, III, 936, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 358.

[26] Letters and Papers, III, pp. 425, 458, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 359.

Wolsey did not sit idly by. As the Cardinal of England he endeavored to persuade the Pope to send him a commission empowering him to reconcile the Holy Father with all the Christian princes. He claimed that all the other potentates of Christendom had already empowered him to arrange their political affairs as he liked.[27] The Pope turned a deaf ear to Wolsey's proposals. Although Wolsey may have been exaggerating his political license, it was known that Francis had given him fifty thousand ducats for which the Cardinal promised to take care of the French king's interests.[28]

As an outcome of the meeting between Henry and Charles at Gravelines, a treaty was signed July 14, 1520. They agreed

> 1)Neither of the contracting princes will, within the space of two years, conclude any treaty with the King of France concerning marriage or other affairs, by which his alliance with the King of France will be rendered more intimate than it is now; 2) within the space of two years a congress will be held in the town of Calais to which each of the contracting parties will send two ambassadors or deputies, who will confer on their future line of policy, and decide what measures are most advantageous to them...29

Shortly thereafter the peace of Europe was shattered

---

[27] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 310.

[28] Ibid., p. 312.

[29] Idem.

once more. Rebellion broke out in Spain. Francis seized this opportunity to move forward in Italy without any opposition from either Charles or Henry. This move on the part of Francis was a great shock to Wolsey who had been attempting to unite the Pope, the Emperor, and Henry in a strong offensive and defensive alliance. Francis' entry into Italy would upset all of his plans for the Pope would make the best terms he could with his dreaded protector, all Italy would join him, and Wolsey would find England faced with a situation similar to that he had been planning for France.

To forestall such a dilemma, Henry asked the Pope to conclude a peace throughout Christendom.[30] The Pope approved of general pacification but said a general peace was impossible as "the King of France, according to the well-known French custom, wishes only to appropriate to himself what belongs to others, and thereby to prevent the conclusion of peace."[31] The Pope explained that there was no other choice left to Henry but to conclude an alliance with the Emperor. The Pope promised to become a party to the alliance as soon as it should be concluded.[32]

---

[30] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 322.

[31] Idem.

[32] Idem.

The dawn of the year 1521 found Charles faced with a great problem. He must decide between Italy and Spain. His council was divided, pro-French and pro-English, and in this Wolsey saw an opportunity to bring an end to the hopes of the French for supremacy in the council. This was the reason for the English urging Charles to return to Spain and put down the rebellion.

Added to the Spanish rebellion Charles was greatly concerned with his matrimonial problems which were part and parcel of his dealings with Henry and Wolsey. He was more interested in an alliance with Portugal, but a matrimonial alliance with England would benefit his political interests. He also had to consider the question of the dowry. The English dowry was less than that proposed by Portugal and Henry insisted on subtracting the sums already loaned to the Emperor on previous occasions. However, Charles thought Henry might declare war on France if an alliance was made between the Empire and England. Although he attempted to keep his negotiations with Portugal a secret from the English court, Wolsey was soon aware of his operations. The Cardinal was not dilatory in notifying the Emperor's ambassadors that he would set the terms of any alliance between the English court and that of Charles. From these terms there would be no deviation. There would be a dowry of fifty thousand pounds, the privilege for Henry to declare war against France when

he pleased, and indemnity for the losses he would incur in pressing the war.[33] Charles was not willing to take such a step at this time. Diplomatic affairs between England and the Empire drifted along as Francis continued his war-like preparations.

Henry and Wolsey were also negotiating with the papacy. Without notifying the Pope of the progress of the negotiations between the Empire and England, Henry told the Pope he wished to remain neutral and advised the Pope to do the same. The Pope replied that Henry might remain neutral if he liked, as his kingdom was surrounded by the seas, but that the Papal States were not an island.[34]

Throughout this period Wolsey was also concerned with affairs in Scotland. In the treaty of 1518 between Henry and Francis a secret clause had been included stipulating that the Duke of Albany, now residing in Paris, should not be returned to Scotland during the minority of James V.[35] Realizing that every day he remained away Margaret, queen of Scotland, might increase her authority, Albany tried to induce Pope Leo X to exert his influence in urging Francis to restore the right for him to go to

---

[33] Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 367.

[34] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 343.

[35] Letters and Papers, II, p. 1400.

Scotland once more.[36]

In the meantime, Margaret was not finding life easy in Scotland. She soon realized that her political influence was weaker than ever. Added to this were domestic difficulties with Angus. Margaret decided on a divorce. Henry was greatly disturbed and very angry when notified of this latest decision of his sister. After considerable discussion between the two courts, he managed to bring about a reconciliation. But this did not last and Margaret turned from those who supported England. She turned to those who desired Albany's return to power. When confronted by the English ambassador, Lord Dacre, she admitted that she had fought against Albany while he was in power, but was now turning to him because her complaints to Henry and Wolsey had never been remedied. She also told Dacre she had signed a letter requesting Albany's return because she feared what the nobles might do if she remained against Albany.[37] In reality she needed Albany's friendship in her desire for a divorce from Angus. Albany had great influence in Rome because of the way in which he had disposed of the

---

[36] "From a letter of the Estates of Scotland dated the 4th of January 1518 (1519 by the modern computation) it appears that Albany in conjunction with Paniter, the Scotch Secretary of State, was already employing his influence with Leo X to induce His Holiness to interfere and urge upon the French king the importance of restoring him to Scotland." Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 512.

[37] Letters and Papers, III, 381, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 515.

ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland while he was in power.

Many applications for Albany's return were made to Francis. He refused because the return of Albany would inevitably signal the outbreak of war between France and England. Neither Henry nor Francis desired hostile acts at this time. Francis was more concerned with relations between France and the Empire, and Henry was convinced that if the Duke of Albany should not be allowed to return, Margaret would turn from the path she was now following. With this in mind, monetary offers were made to the nobles, and Margaret was lectured and threatened. But the English success did not seem probable. On December 4, 1521 Margaret wrote to Dacre informing him that Albany had arrived in Scotland.[38] She also wrote to Henry asserting that Albany had returned for the good of the young king. Once again Albany was to stir up trouble between England and her northern neighbor.

Although Henry and Wolsey attempted to maintain friendly relations with all Christian princes, their special emphasis was on a policy to prevent any union between Charles and Francis. Francis, on the other hand,

---

[38] Letters and Papers, III, 1833, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 519.

was doing all in his power to keep Henry from becoming allied with Charles. When Don Manuel, the imperial ambassador at Rome, dropped hints that Charles was negotiating with Portugal for a matrimonial alliance, he hinted that Charles might have secured the hand of princess Mary if he had so desired. This news was relayed to Francis, who immediately forwarded it on to Henry. Henry was quick to assure Francis that he had nothing to fear from England. He was surprised to hear that Charles was negotiating with Portugal. As for Charles' boast that he might marry the princess Mary, Henry admitted that overtures had been made, but that Henry had declined the offers because of his alliance with France.[39] This reply did not deceive Francis of Henry's actions.

As the rebellion continued to spread throughout the Spanish territory, Charles became more concerned with difficulties that might arise with France. When Wolsey proposed that Henry might act as an arbiter and settle the differences between Charles and Francis, Charles was very interested. This may be due to the fact that Wolsey insinuated that arrangements for a later attack on France might be made.[40] Francis, however, protested that

---

[39] As quoted in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 408.

[40] Letters and Papers, III, 1270, as cited in Brewer Henry VIII, I, p. 412.

he could not submit to arbitration for Charles had oppressed him long enough and he must carry out the enterprise he had begun. Wolsey found it extremely easy to convince Henry that he should attempt to arbitrate the difficulties on the continent. England was not ready to fight to gain what she could from a continental conflict; the king, the cardinal, and many noblemen received pensions and payments from France which would cease upon the outbreak of hostilities. For example, the half-yearly installments of the pensions paid by the French king were as follows:[41]

Duke of Norfolk	875	livres
Duke of Suffolk	875	"
Archbishop of York	7400	"
Bishop of Winchester	525	"
Earl of Worcester	1700	"
Earl of Shrewsbury	875	"
Sir Thomas Lovel	175	"
William Compton	350	"
Secretary of the King of England	87	"
Clarenceux, King at Arms	87	"

Francis became convinced that the difficulties between the French and the Empire should be arbitrated as soon as the Spanish rebellion was put down. He was now aware that Charles would be free to deal with France. He informed Henry that he was ready for arbitration, but now Charles was in no need for such a settlement. After long, tedious negotiations Wolsey managed to get both

---

[41] State Papers (Spanish), II, pp. 345-346.

rulers to agree to mediation by Henry. It was arranged that Wolsey should be sent to Calais, nominally with full powers to hear and decide their differences; really for the purpose of concluding a stricter friendship with Charles, without exciting Francis' suspicions.[42]

Wolsey did not hurry to Calais, but remained in England for a while. During this time Henry consulted with the imperial ambassadors. The ambassadors once more encouraged Henry to join with Charles. Henry refused on the grounds that he could not offer sufficient assistance at this time. He urged that Charles remain on the defensive until the English might build up for a combined attack. He also had another motive for his delay: the pensions due from France for the surrender of Tournai had not yet been paid--a declaration of hostilities would justify Francis in withholding them.[43]

Wolsey was met at Calais by representatives from the Emperor and Francis. Sitting with them separately he listened to both sides, but he was more interested in propositions made by Charles than the proposals of Francis.[44] Talks were once more resumed with regard to a

---

[42] Letters and Papers, III, 1340, 1383, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 414.

[43] Letters and Papers, III, 1395, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 417.

[44] Letters and Papers, III, 1443, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 419.

marriage alliance. There was also discussion of the indemnity which would be due Henry if he should break with Francis and give up the dowry of Mary, Louis XII's widow and sister of Henry.[45] The Spanish ambassadors favored the marriage but were against any indemnity as this might seem that Henry's friendship was bought rather than "benevolently given".[46] Wolsey asked the ambassadors to consider the damage and losses Henry would suffer when he joined Charles in an attack on France. After the first meeting Wolsey informed Henry he thought that instead of the £16,000 received yearly from France Henry might expect to receive 40,000 marks per year till such time as he had recovered his rightful inheritance in France.[47]

As the negotiations continued, Charles became the one who was constantly changing his conditions, but a secret arrangement was agreed upon August 25, 1521.[48] By this treaty Mary, daughter of Henry, was betrothed to Charles. The betrothal was to preface their marriage when Mary should reach her twelfth birthday. Mary's dowry was to be four hundred thousand gold crowns payable in two portions--two hundred thousand crowns within eight days of

---

[45] State Papers, I, p. 38.

[46] Ibid., p. 27.

[47] Ibid., p. 29.

[48] State Papers (Spanish), II, pp. 365-371.

the marriage, and the remaining two hundred thousand crowns within one year. All money due the King of England by the Emperor was to be subtracted from the second installment. If Henry should have a male heir, the dowry was to be increased by six hundred thousand gold crowns, making a total of one million crowns. In return, the Emperor promised to give Mary a dower of fifty thousand gold crowns a year. The Emperor also promised to pay a fine of four hundred gold crowns if he did not marry the princess as soon as she reached a marriageable age, or if he contracted a marriage with any other during her minority. It was also agreed that when Charles went to Spain Henry would supply ships to aid his voyage. However, the most important clause was that stating that the two rulers bound themselves to declare war on France in the month of March 1523.

The conclusion of the treaty between Henry and Charles had to be kept secret as Wolsey was convinced that Francis would never break with England unless Henry provoked his enmity.[49] In order to maintain peace between England and France, Henry was persuaded not break relations with Francis when English ships were stopped on the seas and Englishmen taken from the ships.[50] Severe

---

[49] State Papers, I, p. 55.

[50] Ibid., p. 56.

complaints were made and the French hastened to make restitution and compensation. Henry, although distrusting Francis, would give no cause for Francis to stop payment on the pensions due the English. Besides, Henry was faced with a tremendous problem. By his attempt at arbitration he had made himself the conservator of a truce, and by the same token he possessed the legal right to declare himself the enemy of the party making an infraction or violation of such a truce. On the other hand he had sworn to give aid to Charles. Wolsey warned him that the Emperor or the Spanish might attempt something against the French during the time of the truce negotiations. Henry would then have to violate one or the other of his oaths.[51]

While Wolsey was acting as mediator at Calais he had one of the first disagreements with Henry. Although the English were pretending to be neutral in the conflict between Charles and Francis, they were secretly preparing six thousand archers to be of service to the Emperor in an invasion of France.[52] Wolsey wrote to Henry that Sir William Sands should be placed in command of the archers. Henry replied that if Sir William was such a great leader he should be kept at home where trouble was expected with

---

[51] Ibid., p. 85.

[52] Ibid., p. 23.

Scotland. Also many good knights would refuse to serve under Sands.[53] Wolsey continued to back Sir William as the commander of the archers. However, when Henry insisted on a person of higher rank, Wolsey gave in to Henry's wishes.[54]

Meetings between the representatives of the two powerful European monarchs continued for three months but Wolsey was unable to mediate the differences between the two. Charles and Francis held views concerning a truce that were too far distant from each other to be reconciled. At last, on November 28, Wolsey left Calais and returned to England. He had failed to mediate a peace in the European conflict, but had obtained a secret alliance with Charles. The stage was set for further developments.

---

[53] Ibid., p. 24.

[54] Ibid., p. 31.

CHAPTER III

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Shortly after Wolsey's return from Calais the English court received the news of the death of Pope Leo X. Although the Pope died at eight o'clock on the night of December 1, 1521,[1] Wolsey was not advised of this fact until December 15 when Margaret of Savoy, aunt of Charles V, wrote to the Cardinal. She offered to speak to Charles concerning his support for him in the election of the new pope.[2] Such support would be in accord with the promise made to Wolsey during Charles' visit to England.[3] Charles, however, was silent on the matter. Henry, on the other hand, was deeply interested in the Cardinal's bid for the papal throne. To further his Chancellor's opportunity, Henry sent Richard Pace to the Papal See. Pace was to travel via the Imperial Court in order to ascertain the true feelings of the Emperor concerning Wolsey's election. From a letter written by the Bishop of Elna, the imperial ambassador at the court of the English king, one is able to get an insight into the Cardinal's

---

[1] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 381.

[2] Letters and Papers, III, 1868, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 434.

[3] See p. 28.

feelings concerning the papal crown. This letter, dated December 19, 1521 states that the Cardinal

> ...assured the king in my presence, with the most solemn oaths and protestations, that he had no intention to accept this election, unless his master and your Majesty should consider that in doing so he could best promote the welfare and honor of both of you...To tell you my own opinion I do not believe that the most reverend Cardinal has any great expectation of succeeding, although he does not entirely despair. But he evidently contemplates two results: one is that he will be able to ascertain your Majesty's real sentiments in this matter, how far your Majesty is to be trusted in case of need, and what faith he may repose in your promises....In the other case, if, with your Majesty's active co-operation, success should prove impossible on this occasion, he will be enabled to put matters in a good train for the next opportunity. [4]

Charles played a waiting game. He neither promised to do all in his power for Wolsey nor did he turn from him. Secretly, however, he backed Cardinal de Medici.[5]

On Friday, December 27 the cardinals at Rome met in conclave.[6] Wolsey never seems to have had any chance of a victory. His name was offered only once in the voting. On Friday January 3, 1522 he received seven

---

[4] Letters and Papers, III, 1884, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 437.

[5] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 384.

[6] Ibid., p. 385.

votes.[7] It was also evident in a very short time that the Cardinal de Medici could not gain enough votes to obtain the election.[8] Because of this, the imperial ambassador at Rome turned the votes controlled by the emperor to the Cardinal of Tortosa.[9] On January 9 the Cardinal of Tortosa was elected Pope as Adrian VI.[10]

Wolsey did not let his failure to gain the papal crown upset the plans which he had been making since his return from Calais. It became increasingly evident that the situation between the Empire and France was growing worse and that the time was fast approaching when Henry must take a definite step one way or the other.

Charles' position was strengthened a great deal when he decided to visit England once more on his way to Spain. This was thought necessary to persuade Henry to join the Emperor against the French, who were continuing to have good success in their advances into Italy.[11] When Charles proposed that he spend Easter with Henry, Wolsey advised Henry to postpone this meeting until after

---

[7] Ibid., p. 391.

[8] Ibid., p. 387.

[9] Idem.

[10] Adrian had risen from a position as dean of a college to the position of tutor to Charles. Later he was instrumental in the Spanish court. Now at sixty-four he had obtained the highest position in the Church.

[11] State Papers (Spanish), II, 406.

Easter.[12] This was necessary because Charles had not allowed enough time for the English court to be put in readiness. Besides, according to Charles' plans, it would have been necessary for the navies and others in the court to labor during Holy Week.

The delay did not hinder the English from giving more aid to Charles. The last of April Henry declared his readiness to lend Charles fifty thousand ducats.[13] This was to be used in the war in Italy. This was not to be the last of the financial aid for Henry assured the imperial ambassador that more would be forthcoming.[14] An alliance between the Pope, the Emperor and Henry was also proposed, but the Pope put a restraining hand on such a proposal as he was certain such an alliance could not be kept secret from the French.[15] The knowledge of such an alliance would deprive the Pope of the confidence of Francis, and this would result in his being unable to mediate a general peace or truce for all of Christendom.[16]

With all the pomp and ceremony that Wolsey was able to arrange at Dover, Charles was welcomed once more into

---

[12] State Papers, I, p. 95.

[13] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 418.

[14] Ibid., p. 421.

[15] Idem.

[16] Idem.

the English kingdom. The great day was May 27, 1522.[17] The following day he was visited by Henry. The two then proceeded to London where great festivities were celebrated.

The reception of Charles was further enhanced by the news that England had declared war on France. On May 28 Henry had sent Clarenceux, his king-at-arms, to Francis at Lyon. Clarenceux was to deliver Henry's order for Francis to cease meddling in Italy, and to conclude a truce. Francis had six days in which to frame his reply. Clarenceux delivered the demands and waited the required six days. When Francis answered in the negative, Clarenceux delivered Henry's challenge. Upon Francis' acceptance of Henry's challenge war was declared.[18] A considerable number of English infantry crossed to Calais, to join with the Emperor's men-at-arms and infantry on the frontiers of Flanders, and to begin hostilities without any delay.[19]

Charles and Henry immediately began preparations to strengthen their position. They decided to do all in their power to persuade the Swiss to abandon the French.[20]

---

[17] Hall's Chronicle, p. 634.

[18] State Papers, VI, p. 95.

[19] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 430.

[20] Ibid., p. 431.

They also hoped to gain the support of the Venetian republic.[21] Both of these objectives seemed easy to obtain for the Swiss had been badly treated by the French, and the Venetians were always guided by the calculation of what was most advantageous to them.[22]

Now that the die had been cast and England was at war with France, Henry and Charles turned to the making of an alliance. On June 16 the Windsor treaty, embodying the following among the provisions, was signed.[23]

1. Both parties would defend their present possessions and would endeavor to reconquer all their former dominions from the King of France in a common war upon France.

2. Neither of the contracting parties was permitted to conclude a peace, or a truce, or to begin negotiations with the King of France, without the knowledge of the other.

3. Captured towns belonging to the other contracting party were to be restored.

4. The Pope was to be asked to head the league between England and the Empire.

5. The republic of Venice was to be invited to

---

21 Idem.

22 Idem.

23 State Papers (Milan), I, p. 441.

enter the league, as were the Swiss.

This treaty was followed by one binding the two kingdoms into a matrimonial alliance. On June 19 the following provisions were agreed to:[24]

1. The Emperor would not contract marriage with any other while Mary was under age. Henry would not marry his daughter to any one else.

2. The Pope would be asked to dispense with the canonical restrictions for this marriage as the Emperor and his bride were related to "one another, in the second degree of affinity and consanguinity."

3. The princess' dower was to be four hundred thousand crowns. This would be augmented by six hundred thousand crowns if a male heir was born to Henry.

4. Both parties bound themselves to invade France before the end of May 1524. The Emperor was bound personally to invade France on the Spanish frontiers, at the head of an army of ten thousand horses and thirty thousand footmen or more. Henry was to attack with an army comparable to that of the Emperor. The Emperor would procure the horses and footmen, but Henry was to pay for them.

5. Because the French were employing many German soldiers in their army, Henry and Charles were to enlist

---

[24] State Papers (Spanish), II, pp. 438-440.

as many Germans as possible. The Emperor would forbid all Germans to take service in the French army.

6. Each of the contracting princes would request Wolsey to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against either of them who violated this treaty.

7. Should the Princess Mary die before she was married, the contracting parties bound themselves to conclude a marriage between their future children.

The Emperor also agreed to indemnify Henry for the losses he would sustain by paying him 133,604 gold crowns--66,802 crowns payable at Calais on November 1; 66,802 crowns payable on May 1. These payments were to be continued every six months and every year until Henry was entirely indemnified, or until Francis was forced by treaty, to resume the pensions due Henry.[25]

After obtaining the aid of Henry in his war with France and strengthening his position by a stricter matrimonial alliance, Charles took leave of Henry at Southampton on July 6.[26]

While the negotiations with Charles were in progress, Wolsey and Henry were also concerned with affairs in Scotland. Immediately after Albany's return to Scotland it became evident that the English would refuse to

---

[25] Ibid., p. 441.

[26] Ibid., p. 651.

acknowledge the Duke as the royal authority, in spite of the Estates of Scotland asserting that the Duke was the rightful authority in Scotland.[27] To add to the strained relationship between the two kingdoms, the Duke of Albany was accused of aiding Margaret in her divorce from Angus and of planning to marry her himself.[28] As there seemed to be no basis for a better understanding between the two neighboring countries now that Albany was in authority once more, both countries prepared for war although neither desired it. England had all she could do to prepare for the invasion of France, while Albany would be dependent upon French support in his quarrel with England. Although Albany's trip to Scotland was for the purpose of increasing the tension along the border, the French were in no position to give support either in manpower or in money. Attempts were made to give some aid but it was not sufficient for the Scots. After considerable action on both sides, which led to frequent clashes between the Scottish forces under Albany and his opponents under Lord Dacre, a truce for one month was signed September 11.[29] Although Lord Dacre

---

[27] See p. 6.

[28] Letters and Papers, III, 2039, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 526.

[29] State Papers, I, p. 107.

had not been given permission to conclude either a peace or a truce, Wolsey advised Henry to accept Dacre's actions.[30] Henry took Wolsey's advice.

With the signing of the truce, the Duke of Albany disbanded his army and left Scotland on October 27 promising to return before Assumption Day (August 15), or resign his authority.[31] The truce with England was to be continued during his absence. Henry was no longer to be harassed on his northern border and now could concentrate all of his attention on matters on the continent.

Both Henry and Charles turned to the Venetians and attempted to bring them into their alliance against Francis. But the Venetians refused to give a definite answer. They did, however, promise that they would negotiate with Pace when he was sent as the English ambassador to Venice.[32]

Meanwhile, Francis found himself and his countrymen in a difficult situation. He was unable to determine where he could obtain the money to carry on the war against Henry and Charles. Because of this he proposed that a truce for three years be concluded, on condition that he keep the fortresses he held in Italy during the time of

---

[30] Ibid., p. 108.

[31] Letters and Papers, III, 2645, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 537.

[32] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 452.

the truce. He also promised not to attack Navarre and Naples during the truce, and to restore Fuentarabia.[33] But these proposals were not accepted.

Although Henry and Wolsey did all they could to bring the Swiss into the alliance against Francis, the Swiss were still determined to fulfill their obligations to France. As neither Charles nor Henry seemed to be able to convince the Swiss and the Venetians, that they should join their alliance, they turned to the Pope and asked him to persuade the Swiss and Venetians to make peace with the new allies.[34] This would be a step toward the general peace which the Pope desired. But the Pope, who seemed to be more friendly to the French after his arrival in Rome, did not push the Swiss nor the Venetians to turn from Francis.

Early in October the Venetians asked Wolsey to mediate the differences existing between the Emperor and the Venetian state. The Cardinal said he would aid them if they could agree on everything except minor points, but that he could do no more as the Imperial Ambassador in England had protested against any mediation by the English.[35] It became clear that the Venetians were

---

[33] Ibid., p. 454.

[34] Ibid., p. 471.

[35] Ibid., p. 490.

delaying their final decision because they hoped that the Pope might reconcile the three Christian princes.[36]

Affairs on the continent were somewhat altered when the Duke of Bourbon, a strong French subject, looked upon the proposed invasion of France by Henry and Charles as an opportunity for him to gain revenge on Francis. The Duke notified Henry that he would join the alliance with five hundred men of arms and ten thousand footmen at such time as the allies might enter France.[37] This seemed to be an opening wedge in Francis' strength for others of the French nobility, opposed to Francis, would presumably join with the Duke of Bourbon.[38]

To add to this stroke of luck the Pope told the English ambassador in Rome that he would declare himself against the King of France if Henry would assist him with the sum of fifty thousand ducats.[39] As the year 1522 came to a close the future looked exceedingly bright for the advancement of English prestige.

February of the new year found the Emperor ready to forsake his promise not to conclude a peace with Francis. He instructed the Duke of Sessa, his ambassador

---

[36] Ibid., p. 500.

[37] State Papers, VI, p. 104.

[38] Ibid., p. 105.

[39] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 516.

in Rome, that he might conclude a peace or truce.[40] Such negotiations must, however, be kept secret until the Pope had received like powers from Francis and Henry.

Wolsey, too, had sent instructions to the English ambassador at the Papal See. The ambassador was to propose a truce of one year between the conflicting parties.[41] Such a proposal was not acceptable to the Pope nor to the Emperor's ambassador for Wolsey proposed that the confederates should not be included in such a truce.[42] A postponement of hostilities seemed impossible at this time. The impossibility was increased when it became known that Francis would only agree to a truce of two months.[43]

Because it was increasingly evident that Francis would not give in to threats, nor would he agree to a truce, a new treaty between Henry and Charles was signed July 2, 1523.[44] By this treaty both rulers agreed to assemble large armies before August 17 in order to invade France. One provision of the treaty of Windsor (June 1522) was changed. The end of May 1525 was to be substituted for the previously chosen May 1524 as the date

---

[40] Ibid., p. 528.

[41] Idem.

[42] Idem.

[43] Ibid., p. 550.

[44] Ibid., pp. 555-557.

on which the Emperor and Henry were to take the field at the head of their armies. The signing of this latest treaty made Henry and Wolsey less anxious to sign a truce. A truce would only serve to give Francis more time to increase his military strength.

Henry and Wolsey soon realized that in order to carry on a war as planned by Henry and Charles it would be necessary to augment the resources of the government. After much discussion Henry decided to call parliament into session. The House commenced its sittings on April 15[45] and on April 29 Wolsey attended the session to explain the causes of the war.[46] At this session he also proposed a subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds to be raised from the fifth part of every man's goods and lands, that is four shillings of every pound.[47] Such a request was denied for the members of Commons said that "if the fifth part of the substance of the realm were but eight hundred thousand pounds and if men would pay to the king the fifth part of their goods in money or plate, it was proved that there was not so much money, out of the king's hands, in all the realm, for the fifth part of every man's goods is not in money nor plate."[48]

---

[45] Hall's Chronicle, p. 652.

[46] Ibid., p. 655.

[47] Idem.

[48] Ibid., p. 656.

After much discussion and quibbling an act was agreed upon which comprised the following: For the first and second year a rate of five per cent was imposed on all lands and goods of the value of twenty pounds and upwards; two and one half per cent on goods between twenty pounds and two pounds; and one and two-thirds per cent on goods of forty shillings, or on yearly wages averaging twenty shillings. In the third year, five per cent on all lands of fifty pounds and upwards, and in the fourth or the last year, five per cent on personal property of fifty pounds and upwards. These rates were doubled in the case of aliens.[49]

Added to this subsidy the convocation of the clergy, meeting at Westminster on June 2, granted Henry a moiety of one year's revenue of all benefices in England, to be levied in five years.[50]

In comparing the cost of the war and the amount of the subsidy, it was calculated that the maintenance of war in France and Scotland would be £372,404 18s 4d for six months. The subsidy granted by the clergy was estimated at twenty four thousand pounds per year; and that of the laity £104,285 18s 5½d.[51]

---

[49] Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 481.

[50] Letters and Papers, III, 3239, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 492.

[51] Letters and Papers, III, 2483, as cited in Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 495.

Added to the problem of obtaining the subsidy and the affairs on the continent, matters of great concern were taking place beyond the northern boundaries in Scotland. The Scottish lords were once more corresponding with Albany, who was now in France. Margaret could see that such diplomacy would inevitably bring a return of Albany to power. Because of this she asked for aid that James V might be set at liberty to rule in his own right.[52]

For a short time the war in France seemed to be forgotten as Henry occupied himself with the Scottish affairs. A large army, provided with ample artillery, was assembled to harass the Scots, and to aid Margaret. But the army did not hurry into the Scottish territory as it was thought better to wait until the grains were harvested and stored. After the harvest it would be easier to burn the grains and thereby harm the Scots more than by actual warfare.[53] To show his great concern over the troubles in Scotland, Henry assured the lords that he would assist them with his royal power and take their part against all others if they would abandon the Duke of Albany.[54] Margaret, the queen was advised

---

[52] State Papers, IV, p. 3.

[53] Ibid., p. 11.

[54] Ibid., p. 6.

that

> "...the King's Highness, never intending to make war against Scotland, but only to the intent they should leave and abandon the Duke of Albany, for the surety of his nephew the King's Grace your son; being advertised that the last day prefixed by the Lords for the Duke's coming should expire upon Monday next, has commanded me to desist from doing any great harm against the said realm, unto the said day were passed, to the intent that, and the Lords would take unto them the rule and governance of their Sovereign Lord and abandon the Duke, and make means unto his Grace for peace, no more harm should be done. And if the said Lords now refuse so to do, I pray God that the vengeance, for the harm that the poor people shall sustain, may light upon them that shall be occasioners of the same." 55

If the Lords would abandon Albany, the Earl of Surrey, leader of the English forces on the Scottish border, was to conclude a peace with the Scots which would be most expedient for the wealth and surety of the young king.

In August it was learned by Wolsey that the French were continually making great preparations to send the Duke of Albany into Scotland with a large army.[56] But for some time, Albany found it impossible to leave France and enter the Scottish realm. As the day appointed for his return drew near and there seemed to be no chance of his arrival, many of the Scottish lords turned from

---

55 Ibid., p. 8.

56 Ibid., p. 13.

the Duke and appeared ready to sue for peace with England.[57] But early in September the Duke's secretary arrived with many presents and promises of aid.[58] He was followed on September 24 by the Duke. The Scottish lords immediately gathered around his standard. With the idea of making the gulf between Scotland and England deeper, Albany led the Scots in attacks upon the borders, but when the English retaliated Albany quickly retreated and made plans to leave Scotland once more. The Lords refused to let him depart.[59] Henry, meanwhile, refused to grant a truce or a peace as long as the Duke remained in the country. A truce at this time and under these conditions would have made it appear as though the English were weary of the Scots or could not continue the war.[60] If Albany were expelled and the young king placed in authority, Henry would have, upon petition of the Lords, considered a peaceful settlement.[61] Such was the situation in Scotland during the year 1523.

In the month of July 1523 Henry also played a part in a Danish conflict. The king of Denmark, having fled from his kingdom with his wife and children after the

---

58 Ibid., p. 171.

59 State Papers, IV, p. 51.

60 Ibid., p. 62.

61 Idem.

Danish electors had forsaken him and chosen his uncle as king, turned to Henry for aid. Henry considered giving aid because the deposed king was a brother-in-law of the Emperor,[62] but it was finally decided that as the king had other patrimonies, countries, and other places of inheritance, he should turn to his faithful followers. Henry agreed to send ambassadors and letters to the newly elected king and the Danish lords asking them to take back the deposed king, who agreed to carry out the conditions stipulated before his succession to the throne.[63] Henry was to act as surety.

In the meantime both Charles and Henry had been attempting to bring the Venetians to their side against the French forces. On July 29, 1523 they were successful.[64] The treaty that was signed did not, however, declare the Venetians in a state of war with France, but merely assured Henry and Charles that they would not aid Francis.

Turning from Venice, the rulers concentrated on various princes and other potentates of Italy. These negotiations resulted in several treaties. Henry was made a signatory of these treaties for more authority and

---

[62] State Papers, VI, p. 141.

[63] Ibid., p. 142.

[64] State Papers (Spanish), II, pp. 570-571.

reputation, and was not bound by any charges.[65]

The two rulers were now fully prepared for all-out war against France. They were joined with Venice, the Duke of Bourbon, and princes of Italy. July 14 it was agreed that on August 20 a combined English and Imperial army was to invade France from the north, while another Imperial army was to invade her on the frontiers of Spain.[66] The Pope, on July 29, announced in consistory that he would conclude a defensive alliance with Charles and Henry.[67] This seemed to be a good omen for the success of the English and the Imperial troops.

However, Henry was not satisfied with the arrangements that had been made with the Duke of Bourbon, especially after it was learned that Charles had been secretly negotiating with the Duke. Realizing that Charles had undoubtedly been furthering his own interest, Sir John Russell was sent to the Duke on August 2.[68] The main object of his journey was to induce Bourbon to recognize Henry's title to the throne of France.[69] Numerous discussions were held which eventually culminated in a new

---

[65] State Papers, I, p. 119.

[66] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 560.

[67] Ibid., p. 582.

[68] Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 467.

[69] State Papers, VI, p. 163.

treaty between Henry and the Duke of Bourbon signed September 6. Although Henry did not succeed in gaining recognition as the natural and sovereign liege lord of the Duke, it was agreed that this point should be presented to the Emperor for a decision.[70]

The wars and diplomatic negotiations became a matter of secondary concern to Wolsey upon the death of Pope Adrian. The Pope died September 14, 1523.[71] Wolsey was notified that before the Pope's death the cardinals in Rome had been discussing the possibility of a new election and that he might stand a chance if neither the Cardinal de Medici nor the Cardinal Farenese could gain enough votes for election.[72] Wolsey's attitude toward this news is contained in a letter to Henry stating that although he preferred to remain in the king's service "remembering what mind and opinion your Grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honor, benefit, and advancement of your affairs in time coming, and supposing verily that your Highness persisted in the same mind and intent",[73] he would prepare instructions and other writings for this

---

[70] Ibid., p. 175.

[71] Ibid., p. 178.

[72] Ibid., p. 177.

[73] Brewer, Henry VIII, I, p. 591

purpose. Among other things the imperial ambassador at Rome, the Duke of Sessa, was asked to recommend that Wolsey be elected as Pope. In order to satisfy the English he complied with this request knowing that the cardinals had sworn not to elect an absent person.[74] The cardinals met in a conclave for fifty days, and on November 17 Cardinal de Medici was elected as Clement VII.[75] Once more Wolsey had failed to obtain the coveted papal throne.

Beginning in August the war against France was pushed with increasing vigor. Imperial and English armies marched into France. There was not, however, any cohesion between the imperial troops, the troops under the Duke of Bourbon, and the English under the Duke of Suffolk, so that no real effort was brought to bear upon Francis to force him to capitulate. Instead the year came to an end without any decisive advantages for either side.

---

[74] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 590.

[75] Ibid., p. 591.

CHAPTER IV

WAR OR PEACE

The seeming inability of the imperial, Bourbon, and English troops to push the war against France to a successful conclusion was of great concern to Henry. Recognizing the inability of Charles to raise money and to reduce Spain to his obedience, and the slackness of the armies from the Low Countries, Henry was willing to accept overtures of peace from Francis.[1] In this he was willing to give up the profit that might be forthcoming from the continuance of the war,[2] but the affairs between Francis and Henry would have to be settled in Henry's court while matters pertaining to the Empire might be settled in Charles' court. Wolsey, in a letter to Dr. Richard Sampson, English ambassador to the Emperor, proposed that such a peace might be arranged. He stipulated, however, that no conclusion of peace should be made until each of the participants in the war had been notified of the agreements made by the others.[3] Dr. Sampson was advised to sound out the Emperor as to his intentions for Henry did not wish to continue the war if he had to bear

---

[1] State Papers, VI, p. 242.

[2] Ibid., p. 244.

[3] Ibid., p. 245.

the burden of expense alone. The ambassador was cautioned to proceed in such a way that it would appear that Henry was acting only for the Emperor's sake. Wolsey advised him "unto which manner of proceeding in your overtures, I pray you to have special regard, in such wise as the Emperor shall not have cause to think that motion of peace proceeds of the King's Highness."[4] If in the negotiations Charles seemed more interested in a truce, Wolsey advised Sampson to show how this would be advantageous to Francis and that Henry preferred to pursue the war to a successful conclusion.[5] With regard to the continuance of the war Wolsey realized that greater financial aid must be given to Bourbon, and that troops from the Low Countries must be used to greater advantage against the French king. Henry was willing to send more aid to the Duke of Bourbon for he had been notified by Sir John Russell, now in company with the Duke, that "all the nobles of his realm, spiritual and temporal, with all the commonality, be greatly discontented with him (Francis), and He is had in as great indignation and hatred as ever Prince was among his subjects."[6]

While negotiations were in progress between Henry

---

[4] Ibid., p. 246.

[5] Ibid., p. 248.

[6] Ibid., p. 259.

and Charles, Wolsey was in secret contact with the French court. In a letter from ambassadors in Rome Wolsey was advised that they would do all they could concerning the French pension and a peaceful settlement.[7]

Charles was eventually warned of the feelings of the English court. The Duke of Sessa, ambassador at Rome, notified him that letters had been received from the papal nuncio in England, the Archbishop of Capua, in which it was stated that Henry was not prepared to go to war with France, and that he was only waiting to see what the Emperor would do. The nuncio also stated that if the King of France would send an ambassador to propose a truce or a peaceful settlement, he would be favorably received for Wolsey wished "only to avoid the appearance of himself proposing the peace with France because,..that would injure his reputation."[8] With this information Charles took the initiative and made nine proposals for the concluding of a peace.[9] These proposals were never carried to a successful conclusion. Henry and Charles were able, however, to reach further agreements in a new treaty signed on May 28. Henry agreed to the contribution of one hundred

---

[7] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 110.

[8] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 618.

[9] Ibid., pp. 629-638.

thousand crowns for his part to be duplicated by the Emperor on his part.[10] The stipulation that no further money had to be advanced by Henry for the troops under Bourbon, if the Duke did not push into France and declare his oath of fidelity to Henry, was included.[11]

In the meantime Clement VII began to take an increased interest in the situation, especially when it was learned that Wolsey was secretly negotiating with the French court. In order toattempt a peaceful settlement among the Christian princes, Clement sent the Archbishop of Capua to Francis, Charles, and Henry. Francis refused peace but would have agreed to a truce of one year.[12] Although Charles was not in favor of a truce, he presented articles to which he would agree.[13] After conferences between Henry, Wolsey, and the Archbishop of Capua, Henry agreed to certain articles of truce. Wolsey in a letter to ambassadors at Rome, advised them that the actions of the Duke of Bourbon should be carefully regarded while the truce conferences were in progress. The truce should be dependent upon the Duke's success. If he was successful, the truce proceedings should be dropped immediately, but

---

10 State Papers, VI, p. 290.

11 Ibid., p. 290.

12 Ibid., p. 296.

13 Idem.

if he failed the truce must be agreed to at once.[14] In order to settle the peace, a Diet should be called into being at Calais. At this Diet the Pope was to be represented by a legate, Charles by his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, Francis by his mother, and Henry by Wolsey.[15] Charles informed the Pope, however, that the intrigues of the Cardinal with the French were of little importance for it was probable that Wolsey was only in contact with the French in order "to get the negotiations concerning the treaty of peace or truce into his own hands, and to secure thereby greater advantages to the King of England than he could expect if the treaty were to be concluded in Rome in the presence of the Pope."[16] When Wolsey was accused of negotiating with the French he informed the Emperor and the Pope that although he had been approached by an agent of the French he had refused to listen to the agent's proposals. He had also told the French agent that the only terms on which Henry would consider a peace would be the surrender of the "whole realm and crown of France with Normandy, Gascony, Guisnes, and the dependencies, being the King's very just and rightful inheritance, wrongfully detained from His Grace by the said French King

---

[14] Ibid., p. 301.

[15] Ibid., p. 302.

[16] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 648.

and the recovery whereof His Grace will not fail to prosecute with all his power to the othermost."[17] Even with the protestations of Wolsey that England was not formally negotiating with France, the friendly contacts were maintained secretly.[18]

Talks of truce continued throughout this period with Henry remaining the stumbling block. All overtures for a truce were turned down by the English for they contended a long truce would only be advantageous to Francis' position. Henry also continued to insist that the Emperor should remain responsible for the payment of the pension, due the king of England, during the time of any truce which England might accept.[19] On August 27 the English ambassador at Rome delivered to the Pope the articles of truce which would be acceptable to England. They differed from those of the Emperor with respect to the time for which a truce might be concluded. Henry proposed a truce to last until the following April, while the Emperor proposed one to last for at least five years.[20] According to the proposals made at this time:

1. The contracting parties were to remain in

---

[17] Hall's Chronicle, p. 677.

[18] Letters and Papers, IV, 271, 272.

[19] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 661.

[20] Ibid., p. 663.

possession of all territories, etc., which they possessed at this time.

2. The Pope was the conservator of the truce.[21] Of special interest to the relationship of England and Scotland this truce proposal contained the stipulation that the king and kingdom of Scotland might be included if the following conditions were accepted:[22]

1. Scotland was a fief of the King of England.

2. The right of guardianship over the king of Scotland and the government of Scotland belonged by right to the king of England.

3. The king of England might delegate his guardianship to such Scotch subjects as he pleased.

4. John, Duke of Albany, was not to be permitted to stay in Scotland.

With regard to Anglo-Scottish affairs during 1524, early in January the Duke of Albany asked that the truce established between the two countries be extended until the midsummer.[23] When he failed to gain this concession he went to Glasgow and prepared to sail to France.[24] The Scottish lords would not grant him a license to leave.

---

21 Idem.

22 Ibid., p. 664.

23 State Papers, IV, p. 69.

24 Ibid., p. 70.

They agreed that if he left without their consent, he should be exempt from all authority in Scotland.[25] In May, however, he was permitted to leave. Nearly all the foreigners, whose presence annoyed the Scots, either preceded him or accompanied him.[26] Suspicions immediately arose among the Scots as to the pretensions of Henry and Wolsey. The Cardinal did what he could to allay any such suspicions when he wrote to James' mother, Queen Margaret, that Henry was

> "so inclined to entire love and affection towards his nephew, that...such a peace may be had as never was had with Scotland. For the king's grace intendeth not to come into any particular demands with his said nephew, sounding to the prejudice of him, or of his realm of Scotland; but his highness mindeth so to proceed as a most loving father would do with his good son...For the proximity of blood is so near between them that the natural love overpasseth all particular pretenses or demands. And both the king your son, your grace, all the nobles and subjects of Scotland, may be sure to find more honor, surety, quietness, well, comfort, and profit at the king my master's hands, than ever they have had or shall have of France, or other region whatsoever it be." [27]

To bring about a better relationship between the two countries Wolsey suggested that a conference might be held on the borders. To this conference the Cardinal

---

[25] Ibid., p. 61.

[26] Ibid., p. 77.

[27] Ibid., p. 94.

asked that the Scottish Chancellor, Beaton, might be present. Wolsey conceived of this as a method of capturing the Chancellor who still remained loyal to the French faction.[28] The Chancellor did not fall into the trap. Next Wolsey proposed that the Chancellor come as an ambassador to the English court. Again the Chancellor failed to be drawn into Henry's power by praise or offers.

As soon as it was known in England that Albany had departed for France, Henry began to apply greater pressure upon the queen and the nobles to place the young king on the throne. Money was promised to the queen, to James, and to others in high authority.[29] Wolsey also promised that two hundred men would be sent to guard James.[30] This so-called "erection" of the king was considered to be the most effective way of checking the French faction and providing against Albany's return. On August 5 King James V of Scotland informed his uncle that he had assumed the royal authority.[31] This assumption of power by the young king did not bring peace between the two countries. Wolsey, however, began the necessary work to bring about a better relationship between the English and the Scots.

---

[28] Ibid., p. 98.

[29] Ibid., p. 90.

[30] Ibid., p. 91.

[31] Ibid., p. 95.

Wolsey's work was somewhat hampered by the fact that the English had welcomed back into England the Earl of Angus, who had been abroad for two years. Margaret became very suspicious of any negotiations with the English for she feared that the English might aid Angus in gaining a position of power in the Scottish government. Besides, Margaret was still attempting to gain a divorce from Angus. The English emissaries sent to Scotland reported that Margaret was in contact with the French, the Duke of Albany in particular, who were endeavoring to obtain a divorce for her with the possibility that she might marry Albany.[32] Although Margaret still maintained contact with the French she wrote to Henry on August 30 that the Scots desired a marriage between James and the princess Mary.[33] This overture was made in spite of the fact that it was well-known that Mary had been betrothed to Charles. Wolsey did not turn against such a propsal. Instead he gave hope to the Scots that such a union might be arranged.[34]

Wolsey's support of Angus and the latter's proposed entry into Scotland created strained relations between the two nations. The English court persisted in this plan and Angus entered into Scotland where he gathered many

---

[32] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 276.

[33] State Papers, IV, p. 113.

[34] Ibid., p. 116.

noblemen about him and set up an opposition to those still partial to the French. Later he was to assume the governmental authority.

Meanwhile the secret negotiations between Wolsey and the French court were broken when it became evident that the enemies of France were not as strong as the French had feared. The Bourbon expedition did not progress as planned and the Pope, the Venetians, and even the imperialists were beginning to lose confidence in obtaining their goal. On December 12 a treaty of peace and friendship was signed between the king of France, Pope Clement VII, and the Venetians.[35] As a result of this treaty Francis once more took measures to push the war into Italy once again. Instead of pushing into Milan, Francis decided to take the town of Pavia. History might have been considerably different if Francis had not taken this chance. While he was concerned with trying to overcome the garrison at Pavia, the imperial troops, augmented by those under Bourbon, made a swift march to the neighboring territory near Pavia. On February 23 the imperial forces attacked. When the battle was over the French king was wounded and captured.

The defeat of Francis upset Wolsey's plans for England's position. He had intended to regulate assistance

---

[35] State Papers (Spanish), II, p. 684.

to both Charles and Francis so that both would be obliged to Henry. He had not wanted to see Charles a complete victor. But he had maintained a front with Charles in case Francis should be defeated. As soon as the defeat was known in England the imperial court was informed that Henry desired the continuance of the war against France.[36]

He proposed that Francis should be kept out of his realm and that the imperial and English forces should push on into France.[37] Such an invasion was to culminate in Henry's coronation in Paris for Henry claimed by just title of inheritance the entire realm of France.[38] Henry advised his ambassadors to try everything possible to obtain this, including bribes of sums amounting to two hundred thousand crowns.[39] If this was not enough the ambassadors were to show Charles how he would eventually reign over all the monarchy of Christendom for

> ...of his own inheritance he hath the realm of Spain, and a great part of Germany, the realms of Sicily and Naples, with Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Braband, and Henault, and other his Low Countries; by election he hath the empire, where unto appertaineth almost all the rest of Italy, and many imperial towns in Germany and elsewhere; by the possibility apparent to come by my Lady Princess

---

[36] State Papers, VI, p. 415.

[37] Ibid., p. 417.

[38] Ibid., p. 418.

[39] Ibid., p. 421.

> he should hereafter have England and Ireland, with the title to the superiority of Scotland, and in this case all France with the dependencies. 40

Charles did not accept the bribes and refused to invade France at this time.[41] On June 7 Charles made his counter-proposals. He requested that the princess Mary might be sent to Spain with a dowry of four hundred thousand ducats, and if Henry would contribute two hundred thousand crowns for military expenses, he would provide the rest.[42] Such proposals fell on deaf ears. It had been agreed previously that Mary was not to go to Spain until she had reached a marriageable age. It had also been agreed that the dowry was to be paid in installments and from this dowry the sums due Henry from Charles should be deducted.[43] Upon the refusal of Mary's coming to Spain at this time Charles made his first formal suggestion of his marriage to another, presumably Isabella of Portugal.[44] It now appeared that Henry and Charles could not agree on a more binding alliance.

From the day of Francis' defeat, Wolsey had been

---

40 Letters and Papers, IV, p. 528.

41 State Papers, VI, p. 437.

42 Ibid., p. 444.

43 See p. 41

44 Letters and Papers, IV, p. 614.

in formal, though secret, contact with Louise, Francis' mother and Regent of France during his absence. The secret negotiations broke into the open on June 9 when representatives were sent by the French to the English court.[45] After months of deliberation a treaty was signed between Henry and the Regent of France.[46] By this treaty "all injuries, done and received in the late war between England and France" were to be forgotten; Henry would do all in his power to "induce the emperor to accept reasonable conditions." But the most important clause was the one in which the Regent of France acknowledged her kingdom as Henry's debtor for 1,800,000 crowns to be discharged in half-yearly payments of 50,000 crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of 100,000 crowns.[47] A large present of four hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretense of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournai.[48]

Charles was advised of the new treaty concluded between the French and the English. Not to be outdone he began negotiations with his prisoner, Francis. After many

---

[45] Ibid., No. 1398.

[46] Lord Herbert, History of England, pp. 274-275.

[47] Hume, History of England, III, p. 152.

[48] Idem.

months of deliberations in which each side remained obstinate, a treaty known as the Concord of Madrid was signed January 14, 1526. This treaty was of great importance to Henry and Wolsey for it was to play a large part in future relationships between France and the Empire. Among the provisions of this treaty were:[49]

1. A mutual defense and friendship was to be established between France and the Empire.

2. On March 10, Francis was to be released on the condition that the Dauphin, his eldest son, and the Duke of Orleans, his second son, should be turned over to Charles as hostages till all further conditions were carried out. Francis was to return as a prisoner if the conditions were not fulfilled in the required time.

3. Francis was to renounce his right and claim to all lands, kingdoms and estates now in Charles' possessimn.

4. A marriage was to be celebrated between Francis and Eleanor, sister of Charles, who was to have a dowry of two hundred thousand crowns.

5. A marriage was to be arranged between the Dauphin and Donna Maria, daughter of Eleanor and her first husband.

6. Francis was to assume the payment of the sums due Henry. Such payments had been acquired by Charles by the treaty of Windsor, June 1522.[50]

---

[49] Lord Herbert, History of England, pp.279-286.

[50] See p. 49

Francis was released February 26 and the two children became hostages to Charles.[51]

This growth of power and influence gained by Charles immediately led to a series of treaties among the lesser powers. The Pope, various Italian princes, and the Venetians joined together in a league to which Henry was invited as Protector and Conservator.[52] Ambassadors from the Pope and the Venetians desired three things; 1)Henry might join the league which they had formed; 2) Henry was to encourage the French king to become a member of the league; 3) Failing to fulfill the first two requests Henry might secretly give or lend sums of money.[53]

To these proposals Wolsey replied that Henry could not join the league at this time, but he would pleased to send word of the league to Francis. To the third request Wolsey gave a negative answer until it should be determined what the relationship between Henry and Charles should be now that the Emperor had enhanced his position.[54]

He replied

> "This is as much as the King can do at present, till he can find opportunity to accept the said protection. It would not be

---

[51] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 711.

[52] State Papers, I, p. 166.

[53] Ibid., p. 167.

[54] Ibid., p. 168.

> reasonable that he should leave one war and enter another, jeopardizing the goods of his subjects in the Emperor's country, and the three millions owed him by the Emperor. It would be an inestimable loss to make such a declaration of war, without some device for getting hold of such goods and debts, and without some honest justification preceding, as well towards Almighty God, as to the Kings subjects and all the world; so as if his Grace should break with the Emperor hereafter, it may appear that the same is not done but upon just ground and cause reasonable." 55

Already Wolsey was looking forward to a new balance of power that might be necessary.

The first contact between the French and the English, after Francis' release, was in regard to the return of the two young French princes. After many conferences a treaty between the two countries, relative to the restitution of Francis' children by the Emperor, was concluded. at Hampton Court, August 8, 1526.[56] Both kings promised not "to treat or agree apart, or separately with the said Emperor, concerning the restitution of the two children... nor the money due from the Emperor to our king (Henry); but jointly and together....and that neither of the said kings should, in any kind, assist the Emperor when he were invaded by the other..."[57]

---

55 Letters and Papers, IV, p. 962.

56 State Papers, I, p. 169n

57 As quoted in Lord Herbert, The History of England, p. 298.

It became very evident after Francis' release that Charles had turned his interest to Italy and was preparing his troops for an invasion of this territory.[58] When the imperial troops entered Italy and Henry was asked to give aid to the Italian states it was refused for he felt that if he remained outside he might be able to join with the Pope as mediator for establishing peace.[59] He would, however, give the Pope thirty thousand ducats to pay for men who were to act as protectors of His Holiness.[60]

Henry also proposed at this time that the Pope send letters to all Christian princes exhorting them to universal peace, and to the building of strength against the Turks who had overthrown the government of Hungary.[61] If all princes except the Emperor were to comply with the Pope's wishes, Henry was prepared to declare war against the Emperor.[62] But the Pope did not have time to attempt a peaceful settlement. The Spanish troops marched swiftly into Rome and pillaged the Pope's palace and the church of St. Peter.[63] Although Henry and Francis expressed

---

58 State Papers, I, p. 176.

59 Ibid., p. 179.

60 Idem.

61 Ibid., p. 183.

62 Idem.

63 Letters and Papers, IV, pp.1120, 1132.

deep indignation at the treatment of the Pope by the Spanish forces, they did nothing to endanger their own security with the Empire. Charles, however, claimed he was not responsible for the acts committed by the Spanish forces saying : "although it was quite evident that the disastrous doings at Rome were unpremediated...yet he would have given anything that so flagrant an outrage had not been perpetrated by troops under the command of one of his own captains."[64] Later these troops and others under the Duke of Bourbon made the Pope a prisoner of the Empire. The continent was once more on the brink of bitter conflict.

---

[64] Brewer, Henry VIII, II, p. 99 as quoted from Gayango, Spanish Calendar, No. 999

CHAPTER V

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

The increased power and position of Charles was the sign for Wolsey to strengthen the ties between England and France. The various conferences and exchange of dispatches concerning the delivery of Francis' children helped to bind them together in a tighter bond. But Wolsey could not bring about a strong feeling of unity as long as the French children were held as hostages, for their return was Francis' greatest concern. It was also clear that Charles would not release the children until the marriage of Francis and Eleanor had taken place, and Burgundy had been surrendered.[1]

Wolsey felt that the strongest binding force would be a marriage between Francis and the princess Mary. Such a proposal was secretly made December 23, 1526 by Sir William Fitzwilliam.[2] The proposal, made by Sir William, was received by Francis "with a glad and very merry countenance."[3] However, Francis could find no way out of the matrimonial alliance with Charles--he preferred to carry out the demands of Charles in order to regain his children.

---

[1] See p. 80.

[2] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 1216.

[3] Ibid., p. 1217.

Nothing definite was arranged.

The new year saw an increased tempo in the negotiations between England and France. As Charles would not relent in his demands concerning the release of the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, Wolsey changed his tactics. Instead of insisting on a marriage between Francis and Mary, he felt that a marriage might be arranged between Mary and the Dauphin or the Duke of Orleans.[4] Such a proposal was of interest to the French delegates at the English court. Wolsey did not have an easy time drawing up the final arrangements. Each side seemed to be attempting to outwit the other, and the French were very clever. On April 30 final proposals for a treaty were drawn and signed.[5] The agreements were embodied in three treaties, the first of which bound the two rulers to an agreement on the ransom of the French hostages as payment of the debts due Henry from Charles. If Charles refused or made no answer within twenty days, Francis and Henry would declare war against him.[6] It was also agreed that Mary's hand was to be given in marriage to Francis or to Francis' son, the Duke of Orleans. The choice of the prospective husband would depend on later events--if

---

[4] State Papers, I, p. 191

[5] Lord Herbert, History of England, p. 301.

[6] Idem.

war were declared, Francis would be released from his vow to marry Eleanor and would take Mary's hand in marriage; if peace were maintained, the Duke of Orleans would be the chosen one. The decision would be made at Calais.[7] If war were declared, Francis was to reimburse Henry for the expenses of the English. He was also to pay Henry, as long as he lived, a yearly pension of the salt of Brouage to the value of fifteen thousand crowns.[8] The second treaty was a statement of the troop strength to be provided by both rulers.[9] The third bound the two to ever-lasting peace. Francis and his heirs were also bound to pay to Henry's successors forty-six thousand crowns until the debt of 1,800,736 crowns had been repaid.[10]

After the treaties were signed in England, Henry suggested that he visit France to have a personal interview with Francis.[11] Francis, however, sent an invitation to Wolsey instead of to Henry. Francis agreed to meet the Cardinal in Picardy.[12] Wolsey accepted the

---

[7] State Papers, I, p. 191.

[8] Lord Herbert, History of England, p. 301.

[9] Ibid., p. 302.

[10] Ibid., p. 303.

[11] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 1445.

[12] Ibid., p. 1444.

invitation, and with Henry's instruction[13] he proceeded to France.

Early in 1527 Henry came to a decision which was to affect his actions and diplomatic negotiations for some time to come. He decided to divorce Catherine. Although Henry and Catherine had been married for several years and were the parents of Mary, Henry now began to consider that their marriage had not been lawful. Besides, he had fallen in love with a maid-in-waiting, Anne Boleyn. A divorce would create an extremely difficult situation: Charles would oppose a divorce because Catherine was his aunt; the Church was opposed to divorce; and England's negotiations for a marriage between Mary and the French royal family would undoubtedly come to an end. The latter would certainly occur if Mary should be declared illegitimate because of the divorce.

When Wolsey went to France to meet Francis he was instructed not to mention the kings secret plans until all arrangements between the two countries had been made.[14] This proved to be a difficult task for the news had already spread to Charles who would not hesitate to attempt to influence the Pope.[15]

---

13 State Papers, I, p. 191.

14 Ibid., p. 254.

15 Ibid., p. 255.

Soon after his arrival in France, Wolsey was notified of Charles' newest demands presented to Francis for the release of the French hostages. Charles insisted that : 1) the French must pay Henry's debts, and pay for the charges sustained by Charles in the war; 2) a peace should be mediated by Henry, who would be required to make war, at his own expense, against the one who might break the peace.[16] These proposals far exceeded those made by Henry for the release of the children.[17] In a letter to Henry, July 29, Wolsey wrote that the deliverance of the Pope from captivity by the Spanish would depend upon peace between Francis and Charles. He also stated that there was little likelihood of this because of the nature of Charles' demands.[18] Wolsey attempted to soften the demands by promising that Henry would urge Francis to marry Eleanor, but Charles did not co-operate.[19] Turning from the problem of peace between Francis and Charles, Wolsey took up the matter of a binding peace between England and France. This was achieved August 18. A series of treaties, based on the previous treaties of April, were signed at Amiens.[20]

---

16 Ibid., p. 233.

17 Ibid., p. 230.

18 Ibid., p. 231.

19 State Papers, VI, p. 597.

20 State Papers, I, p. 262.

Now Henry and Wolsey could concentrate on the question of the divorce. The solution of this problem would depend on the pope or the cardinals. The Pope would have to concur in a decision, or the Cardinals, in college, might reach a solution that would be binding.[21] But the Pope was under Charles' domination, and the Cardinals refused to leave Italy and come to France for a convocation.[22] It was also very doubtful that Clement would annul a dispensation of his predecessor, Julius II, allowing Henry and Catherine to marry. After contacting the Cardinals, Wolsey was able to persuade two of them to favor the annulment.[23] When it came to appointing an emissary to the Pope, Henry and Wolsey disagreed. In favoring the Bishop of Worcester over the king's secretary, Dr. William Knight, Wolsey wrote "...there is perfect hope, if your Grace will take a little patience, suffering such things to be experimented and done, which be and shall be devised for that purpose, by one way or another, your intent shall honorably and lawfully take the desired effect."[24] Henry continued to insist on Dr. Knight--another sign of Henry's determination not to be governed by his minister.

---

[21] Ibid., p. 231.

[22] Ibid., p. 270.

[23] Ibid., p. 272.

[24] Ibid., p. 273.

According to Henry's plan, Dr. Knight was sent to see the Pope, who "escaped" from the imperialists a few days before the secretary's arrival. Dr. Knight was instructed to obtain a dispensation and an order for a commission to determine the legality of Henry's marriage to Catherine.[25] Knight failed in his negotiations with the Pope.

Wolsey was more successful. He drew up a commission to be submitted to the Pope. By this commission Wolsey would be given the right to investigate the question of the divorce and pronounce a decision that would be as binding as if made by the Pope.[26] A dispensation was also asked that Henry might marry again and the children of such a marriage might be recognized as legitimate.[27] The Bishop of Worcester was sent as Wolsey's representative. Fearing the Pope might not consider Wolsey an impartial judge, the Bishop was given a second instruction --to urge that some other cardinal be sent into England with the necessary authority. If, however, it seemed likely that someone not favorable to Henry should be sent as judge, this latter proposal was to be dropped.[28] The proposal

---

[25] Ibid., p. 278.

[26] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 1655.

[27] Ibid., p. 1656.

[28] Idem.

for sending a legate to England with power of the Pope was not pleasing to Clement, but it was finally agreed that Cardinal Campeggio was to join Wolsey in the deliberations.[29]

In the meantime, Francis and Henry, joined by the treaty of Amiens, made proposals to Charles for the release of the French hostages and the formation of a universal peace. In addition to a ransom of twenty-five million crowns and the repudiation of rights to previously held lands, Francis made many concessions.[30] Henry agreed to release all debts of Charles and his predecessor, Maximilian, debts which would be taken over by Francis if Charles would make a reasonable peace.[31] When Charles refused to accept these demands, war was declared by Henry and Francis. This declaration of war brought Henry and Wolsey closer to a breaking point. When it was learned in England that Clarenceux, the king's herald, had defied Charles, Wolsey said Clarenceux had done so without the king's order--that he had been led by the actions of the French ambassadors.[32] Clarenceux, however, was able to show letters from Wolsey instructing him to present Henry's

---

[29] Ibid., p. 1857.

[30] Hall's Chronicle, p. 732.

[31] Ibid., p. 733.

[32] Ibid., p. 744.

defiance if Charles refused the demands. When shown these letters Henry remarked, "O Lord Jesus, he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary...I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for now I see perfectly that I am made to believe the thing that was never done."[33]

Although Campeggio was appointed in April to study the divorce question, it was not until October that he arrived in England to assist Wolsey in the deliberations. On the way to England he visited Francis. After this meeting, Francis informed the English ambassador that Campeggio's mission was to induce Henry to change his mind, and to prevent a separation between Henry and Catherine.[34] Campeggio and Wolsey immediately began to delve into the question of the divorce upon the former's arrival in England.

Throughout this period peace was maintained between England and Scotland. Although Angus had been strongly opposed by the queen and the remainder of the French faction in Scotland, Angus was able to gather trusted and loyal Scots to his standard. James V fell into line with Angus' plan of government. This plan reached the culminating point on August 23, 1527 when Angus was appointed

---

[33] Idem.

[34] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 2047.

Chancellor of Scotland.[35] In the summer of 1528 there were rumors of Scottish preparations for war,[36] but with the strengthening of English forces on the border a peaceful atmosphere was continued. During the early stages of the divorce proceedings Henry was not to be hampered by difficulties on the northern borders.

While Wolsey and Campeggio were investigating the possibility of a decision in favor of Henry, Catherine was not idle. She wrote to her nephew, Charles V, to aid her whenever he could.[37] She was particularly interested in a brief, in Charles' possession, which would strengthen her position. This brief was presumably a confirmation of all the clauses of the dispensation granted before the marriage of Catherine and Henry. A copy of the brief had been found in England, and was in Catherine's possession, but the original was not available to either of the participants.

Henry was very dissatisfied with the slow pace at which Campeggio worked. To hasten the matter he decided to send another delegation to the Pope. This delegation was to propose that the Pope "dispense with the King, and allow him to proceed to a second marriage with legitimation

---

[35] State Papers, IV, p. 476.

[36] Ibid., pp. 495-497.

[37] Letters and Papers, IV, p. 2265.

of the children" if Catherine could be induced to enter a nunnery.[38] If the Pope would not agree to this the emissaries were to propose that the Pope issue a dispensation for Henry to have two wives, making the children of the second marriage legitimate, as well as those of the first.[39] If this latter proposal was refused by Clement, he was to be advised that the two legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, desired the study and settlement of the question be moved to Rome.[40] A promise that Clement would judge in Henry's favor was to be obtained before such a change was made.[41] The emissaries were also given the power to tell the Pope that Henry was determined to have a second marriage and would not be forced to put aside this determination.[42]

The critical illness of Clement, early in 1529, intensified the divorce situation. The possibility of the death of Clement and the election of another Pope was of great importance to Henry, Charles, and Francis. Henry desired the election of one favorable to the divorce; Charles wished one who would be favorable to the Empire;

---

[38] Ibid., p. 2157.

[39] Ibid., p. 2161.

[40] Ibid., p. 2162.

[41] Ibid., p. 2159.

[42] Idem.

and Francis would undoubtedly take advantage of the difficulties between the other two. The English ambassadors in Rome were instructed to further the cause of Wolsey's election to the papacy for, according to Henry's instruction, he possessed the necessary qualifications as well as having "as fervent zeal as any for the tranquility of Christendom, the restoration of the authority and rights of the Church and the See Apostolic", and he would assure a favorable conclusion to Henry's cause.[43] Once again, however, Wolsey was to fail in gaining the papal throne--Clement recovered.

The divorce proceedings were greatly altered July 13 when Clement stopped the discussions in England, revoked the commission and moved the consideration to Rome.[44] Campeggio, when advised of this proceeding, left England to return to Rome. Wolsey was left to face Henry, alone. The Cardinal's enemies took advantage of this opportunity and persuaded Henry to remove him from office. At six p.m. October 17, 1529 the great seal was taken from the Cardinal by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.[45] So ended the fourteen-year association between Henry VIII and Thomas Cardinal Wolsey.

---

[43] Ibid., p. 2321

[44] Ibid., p. 2609.

[45] Ibid., p. 2681.

CONCLUSION

For a period of fourteen years Thomas Cardinal Wolsey served as Chancellor of England under Henry VIII. Working side by side these two men influenced the course of history, not only of England, but of the entire continent of Europe.

The aims of these two men were closely allied. Both desired peace for England. Both sought to maintain a balance of power on the continent--a balance in which neither France nor the Empire could become strong enough to formulate or control events. Wolsey was the restraining force that maintained an even keel during the negotiations with Francis and Charles. Henry's jealousy of Francis would undoubtedly have created trouble between the two if Wolsey had not been diplomatic in arranging the meeting of the two rulers. The Chancellor was the one who kept Henry from joining with one or the other of the European rulers on snap judgment rather than on clever diplomatic negotiations.

To enhance England's position both Henry and Wolsey were extremely interested in Wolsey's advancement in the hierarchy of the Church. They were able to have him made a legate but were unsuccessful in obtaining the highest goal--the papacy. Because of the shifting policy of

England and the desire of the other rulers to have a pope favorable to their own particular interest, Wolsey was never able to collect enough votes to gain the papal election. This desire for the papacy influenced Wolsey in his negotiations with both Francis and Charles; especially with the latter who had considerable power in the selection of a pope.

In negotiations with both Francis and Charles, Mary, Henry's daughter, was used as a pawn in marriage proposals. As a child she was betrothed to Charles, but when Henry and Wolsey considered it to be expedient she was promised to Francis, or his son the Duke of Orleans. The Scots also were interested in Mary as a wife for James V. As the occasion arose, Mary's position was employed by Henry and Wolsey to gain advantages for England.

In order to maintain a balance of power on the continent Henry and Wolsey used a system of alliances. Treaties were made with Charles when it was advantageous; these were countered with treaties with Francis when Charles appeared to be gaining too much strength. They constantly attempted to maintain England as the mediator in any quarrels that might arise. When it was felt necessary to make war against one of the other rulers, only half-hearted support was given for fear the ally would become too strong.

This alliance of ruler and chancellor survived

during peace and war, only to be broken because of the Cardinal's failure to bring about a successful conclusion to Henry's marital difficulties.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The research for this study was begun by consulting Conyers Read, ed., Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603 (Oxford, 1933). In this volume one may find a very lengthy listing of material in print relative to the history of Tudor England. Although this bibliography does not profess to be exhaustive, I found it an excellent source from which to begin the study of Henry and Wolsey.

PRIMARY SOURCES

It is difficult to arrange in rank of importance two very valuable sources. One is the State Papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission, King Henry VIII (11 vols., London, 1830-52), and the other Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII (21 vols., London, 1862-1910), J. S. Brewer, ed., volumes I-IV. From both of these I was able to gain a very close acquaintanceship with the events of the day, and the diplomatic proceedings between the several European countries. The State Papers were difficult to read, at first, because they have been retained in their original language of the 16th century. As I continued to read

I found the going much easier, so that I was able to get the flavor of the language in which they were written. The Letters and Papers were not published in their entirety. They were resumes of the documents, but many important quotations were left in their original form. I was able to get the most important part of my research from these two sources.

I must add, in a somewhat lesser degree of importance, the Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to Negotiations between England and Spain (11 vols., London, 1862-1916), G. A. Bergenroth, ed., volumes I-II. In addition to the correspondence between the imperial court and its ambassadors one is able to get a realistic picture of happenings throughout the continent. I was able to get an understanding of the intrigue practiced in all of the courts at this time. Volume II was especially important in research concerning papal elections and treaties.

Important from the aspect of foreign reaction to happenings elsewhere, and as substantiation of other sources I found A. B. Hinds, ed., Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan (London, 1912) and Rawdon Brown and others, Calendar of State Papers, Venetian (9 vols., London, 1864-1898) very interesting. The material, however, was not as extensive in these sources as in the

other state papers.

Also of interest, but of little importance to this particular study was the Harleian Miscellany; or a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts as well in Manuscript as in Print found in the late Earl of Oxford's Library (10 vols., London, 1809). Henry Ellis, ed., Original Letters illustrative of English History; including numerous Royal letters; from Autographs in the British Museum and one or two other collections (11 vols., London, 1824) also contained interesting facts based on material found in the State Papers and Letters and Papers.

For an interesting over-all picture of the period under consideration I went to Edward Hall, Chronicle; containing the History of England during the reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the end of the Reign of Henry the Eighth (London, 1809). When one is able to overcome the difference in language and writing, here is a very remarkable presentation of the events of the day. It is written in a most interesting and colorful manner. The descriptions, of this judge in the Sheriff's court, are held in high esteem although some of his facts are questionable. Of lesser importance were Henry Ellis, ed., Raphael Holinshed's Chronicle (6 vols., London 1808) and Richard Grafton, Chronicle (2 vols., London, 1809).

SECONDARY SOURCES

By far the most important work on the early life and times of Henry VIII is J. S. Brewer, The Reign of Henry VIII, From His Accession to the death of Wolsey (2 vols., London, 1884). Liberally annotated I found this of great interest and aid. It was of particular help for the period 1519-1521 as I was unable to obtain volume III of Letters and Papers--this material was adequately covered by documents included in Brewer. The author was well acquainted with these documents as he was the editor of the first four volumes of the Letters and Papers.

Edward Lord Herbert, The History of England under Henry VIII (London, 1870) contained many quotations and the provisions of the several treaties signed by the powers during Wolsey's term of office. Lord Herbert (1581-1648), soldier, ambassador to France, and author, wrote in a very chatty manner which made for interesting and easy reading. Interesting quotations were also found in John Strype, Works,(27 vols., Oxford, 1824).

The Political History of England (12 vols., London, 1906), Vol. V, H. A. L. Fisher, From the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII (1485-1547) was helpful in obtaining a general background of the political activity of the period. In this same aspect of research David Hume, The History of England, From the Invasion

of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (6 vols., London, 1848) and Charles Knight, Popular History of England (8 vols., London, 1867) were used. Arthur Donald Innes, England Under the Tudors (London, 1921) presented a concise dissertation on the political aspects of Henry's reign. The translation by Edward G. Kerwan Browne, of M. Audin, The Life of Henry the Eighth and the History of the Schism of England (London, 1852) was scanned to see if any new approach was given. Like the other general histories of the time and life of Henry this seemed to be based on well documented sources.

With the idea of not passing up any books pertaining to this period I checked the following and found they were of the general pattern concerning Henry's life: Charles E. Moberly, The Early Tudors; Henry VII; Henry VIII (London, 1887); Conyers Read, The Tudors (New York, 1936); and Charles Harold Williams, England Under the Early Tudors (London, 1925).

In such a study as this, in which two men were so closely allied, it was necessary to read biographical sketches of the two. The most generally accepted biography is A. J. Pollard, Henry VIII (London, 1925), but I found Francis Hackett, Henry VIII (New York, 1929) more interesting. I also felt that Mr. Hackett had stuck as close to generally accepted ideas concerning Henry's life as did Mr. Pollard.

The most complete story of Wolsey's life, and his participation in English diplomacy, was found in Mandell Creighton, Cardinal Wolsey (London, 1888). Hilaire Belloc, Wolsey (London, 1930) also makes for interesting reading. Arthur Donald Innes, Ten Tudor Statesmen (London, 1934) contains a short synopsis of Wolsey's life and participation in politics.

To obtain the Scottish side of the problems affecting England and Scotland I turned to Andrew Lang, A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation (2 vols., New York, 1900) and John Hill Burton, The History of Scotland (8 vols., London, 1897). I found the latter of much greater assistance in this study than the former.