

effect a reconciliation; and partly by his threats, and partly by his entreaties, the unhappy woman was led to make a complete renunciation of all her former opinions—to accept the king as the Supreme Head of the Church; to “utterly refuse the bishop of Rome’s pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm;” and to recognise the marriage of her mother with the king as unlawful, by God’s law and man’s law. The abject style in which the daughter creeps in the dust before the parent—the fulsome flattery in which she endeavours to propitiate his favour—are proofs of the terror which that man inspired, and of the arts which all who came within the reach of his power exercised to disarm his ferocity. Thus Mary writes: “As I have, and shall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soul into your direction; and by the same hath and will, in all things from henceforth, direct my conscience, so my body I do wholly commit to your mercy and fatherly pity; desiring no state, no condition, nor no manner degree of living, but such as Your Grace shall appoint unto me; knowledging and confessing, that my state can not be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint unto me, or as mine offences have required and deserved.”* She was well instructed. She had at length learnt the parrot note with which the despot, so vain-glorious of his “learning, virtue, wisdom and knowledge” was to be approached. She had no opinion, when asked to declare herself upon doctrinal points, but “such as she should receive from the king, who had her whole heart in his keeping.” Upon pilgrimage, purgatory, and relics she had no guide but the king’s “inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning.” She saved her head by this duplicity, for which it would be scarcely fair to blame her; but she took her revenge for a long suppression of her real opinions, by exacting conformity to them when the gibbet and the stake were at her own command.

* State Papers, vol. i. p. 457.

Note to page 375.

LETTER OF ANNE BOLEYN TO HENRY VIII.

In the Cotton Library. The parts burnt are in Italics.

SIR,
Your Grace’s displeasure and my imprisonment are things soe *strange* unto me, as what to wrighte, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confesse a truth, and soe to obteyne your favour) by such an whome you know to be mine antient professed enemy, I noe sooner received this message by him, then I rightly conceived your meaning; and if as *you say*, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safitie I shall use all willingnesse and dutie perform your command. But let not your Grace *ever* imagine that your poore wife will ever be brought to *acknowledge* a fault, where not soe much as a thought ever proceeded. *And to speake* a truth, never a prince had wife more loyall in *all duty*, and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bolen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace’s pleasure had so bene *pleased*. *Neither* did I at any time soe farre forgett my selfe in *my exaltation*, or received queenship, but that I alwayes *looked* for such an alteration as now I finde; for the ground of *my preferment* being on noe surer foundation than your Grace’s *fauyce*, the least alteration was fitt and sufficient (I knowe) to *draw* that *fauyce* to some other subjecte. You have chosen me from a *low* estate to be your queene and companion farre *beyond my desert* or desire; if then you found me worthy of such *honour*, good your Grace let not any light *fauyce*, or bade counsell of my enemies *withdraw* your princely favour from me; neither lett that *stayne*, that *unworthy* stayne of a disloyall hart towards your good Grace, *ever cast* so foule a blott one your most dutifull wife, and the *infant princesse* your daughter. Trye me, good king, but let me have a *lawfull* tryall; and let not my sworne enemies sit as *my accusers* and *judges*; yee let me receive an open *tryall*, for my *truth* shall fear noe open shames. Then shall you see either mine *innocencye* cleered, your suspition and conscience *satisfied*, the *ignominie* and slander of the world stopped, or my *guilt* openly declared. Soe that whatsoever God or you may determine of your Grace may be freed from an *open censure*, and mine offence, being soe lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute *worthy punishment* on me as an unfaithfull wife, but to follow your affection already settled one that partie, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspition therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happines, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sinne herein, and likewise my enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a straight accompt for your unprincely and cruell usage of me, at his generall judgement seat, where both you and my selfe must shortly appeare, and in whose just judgement I doubt not, what soever the world may thinke of mee, mine innocencye shall be openly knowene, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that my selfe may only beare the *burthen* of your Grace’s displeasure;

and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whome as I under stand are likewise in straight imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have found favours in your sight, if ever the name of Ann Bulen have ben' pleasing in your eares, then let me obtayne this request; And soe I will leave to trouble your Grace any further. With mine earnest prayer to the Trinitie to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all yo^r actions, from my dolefull prison in the Tower the 6th of Maye,

Your most Loyall and ever faythfull Wife.

ANN BULEN.

The Ladye
to the Kinge he
of the Towe

LETTER OF ANNE BOLEYN

At the foot of the MSS. the following memorandum appears in the same handwriting The part destroyed by fire is supplied in italics:—

On the King sending a messenger to Queen Ann Bulen in the Tower willing her to confesse the truth, she said that she could confesse noe more, then shee had already done. But as he said she must conceale nothing she would add this, that she did acknowledge her selfe indebted to the king for many favours, for raising her first to be
• next to be a Marques, next to be his Queene, and that now he could bestowe noe further honor upon her than if he were soe pleased to make her by martirdome a saint.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ireland.—Its condition in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.—The English Pale.—Regions beyond the Pale.—Surrey, lieutenant-governor.—The earl of Kildare arrested.—Rebellion of 1534.—Thomas Fitzgerald.—Murder of archbishop Allen.—Progress of the rebellion.—Fitzgerald surrenders.—He and his uncles attainted and executed.—Violated promises.—Supremacy of Henry established.—Disregard of the real welfare of the country.—Attempts to make Ireland yield revenue.—Irish fashions of dress.—Character of the natives.

WHEN Froissart, travelling in England towards the end of the fourteenth century, falls in acquaintance with Sir Henry Cristall, "an honest man and a wise," he received from this squire a romantic account of his captivity during seven years in Ireland. Cristall was in the service of the earl of Ormond, who was warring against the native Irish; and on one occasion, following his master in the pursuit of a band that was retreating before the English archers, his horse took his bridle in his teeth, and ran away with him into the thick of the Irishmen. "One of them," he said, "by lightness of running, leapt up behind me, and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt; but so led me out of the way, and so rode still behind me, the space of two hours, and at last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither, and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far. Then, as he showed, he had great joy of me, and led me into a town* and a strong house, among the woods, waters, and meres." The name of this chief was Brian Costeret. He gave Cristall his daughter in marriage, who bore him two children during his seven years' experience of this free life in solitary places. But the kind-hearted Irishman was taken prisoner, as he was riding the horse which Cristall rode when he was captured. That horse was recognised in the English camp; and the adventure ended by Brian being released upon condition that he should give up the long-lost Cristall, with his family. "With great pain," says the narrator, "he made that bargain, for

* Town, in England as well as Ireland, was the term for any collection of dwellings however small—settlements around the "strong house" of the chief.

he loved me well, and my wife his daughter, and our children."* Of the mode of existence in the Irishman's "strong house among the woods" we have no further glimpses. We only see the affectionate and hospitable nature of the man who saved and succoured his enemy—a nature which he shared with the majority of his countrymen. From the time of Strongbow there had been such constant interfusion of the races; and if neglect and oppression had not counteracted the natural influences of this disposition towards a cordial agreement between the natives and the settlers, we should not have to describe, as we now propose to do, the unhappy condition of Ireland at this period of the reign of Henry VIII. The materials for such description are now most abundant. Instead of taking the account which Spenser gives, in the reign of Elizabeth, as the starting-point in the history of evils which have endured to our own generation, and which have so materially influenced the course of public events in England, we have only to open the mass of State Papers which belong to half a century earlier, to exhibit a condition of society of which there was no parallel in the Europe that had emerged from barbarism.

The English Pale, to which all early notices of Ireland refer, anciently comprised all the eastern coast from Dundalk bay to Waterford harbour, extending some fifty or sixty miles inland. The term "pale" is thus explained: "When Ireland was subdued by the English, divers of the conquerors planted themselves near to Dublin, and the confines thereto adjoining; and so, as it were, inclosing and impaling themselves within certain lists and territories, they feared away the Irish, insomuch as that country became mere English, and thereof it was termed the English pale. † In 1515 the pale was so reduced in its extent, that a line drawn from Dundalk to Kells, from Kells to Maynooth, from Maynooth to Kilkullen, and then towards Dublin, under the Wicklow mountains, would comprise all the English pale from the sea. ‡ This was a small district to have the rule of a large country; and we shall see that, practically, a very narrow portion of the island could be considered as under the English governance. There were, at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, sixty regions, inhabited by those whom this reporter of the "state of Ireland" in 1515, calls

* Froissart, "Lord Berners' Translation," vol. ii. p. 620, ed. 1812.

† Stanishurst, in Holinshed, p. 10; ed. 1886.

‡ The precise boundary is given in the "State of Ireland," 1515; "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 22.

the "king's Irish enemies." These regions, "some as big as a shire," were governed by chief captains, calling themselves kings, princes, dukes, or arch-dukes; obeying no law but that of force; their very successions depending upon the strongest arm and the hardest sword. In each of these regions of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, we find the names of the chief captains, from "the great Oneylle, chief captaine of the nation, within the countrey of and region of Tyreown, to Omullmoy de Pherkeall, chief captaine of his nation," in Meath. Names that are still familiar to us call up remembrances of bitter animosities, rebellions, proscriptions—ranting demagogues and wily priests sowing the dragons' teeth, whilst the rich soil bore no corn, and the labourer starved where there was no security for the funds out of which labour is supported. But in old times, as in recent, the smaller beasts of prey were as voracious as the larger: "In every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself." A greater evil than that of the Irish great captains "living only by the sword," was that of "thirty great captains of English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself"—the Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, and Fitzmaurices, the Butlers, Dillons, and Delameres. In the few districts subject to the king's writs—those within the pale—the people were so oppressed by the courts of law, that they were glad to abandon their freeholds for ever. In the marches, not subject to the king's law, they were as much oppressed by individual extortion. The reporter of 1515, looking at the inevitable consequences of such misrule, exclaims, "What common folk in all this world is so poor, so feeble, so evil-beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trod under foot, and fared so evil, with so great misery and with so wretched life, as the common folk of Ireland."* The oppression of the poor was universal. The noble folk, whether English or Irish, were oppressors. They seized upon horse meat and man's meat "of the king's poor subjects by compulsion, for rought, without any penny paying therefor,"—which robbery was called "coyn and livery." The Deputy and his Council were extortioners. The church was wholly abandoned to lucre; none preaching or teaching but the mendicant friars. In every department of lay or spiritual rule, the private weal, and not the common weal, was alone regarded. This plain-speaking denouncer of evils that

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 10.

had been growing for two hundred years, writes, that the people despaired of a remedy for these complicated miseries, and said, "no medicine can be had now for the said infirmity, but such as have been had afore this time; and folks were as wise that time as they be now; and since they could never find remedy, how should remedy be found by us?"* There are many official letters and memorials, of subsequent dates, which all agree in setting forth the turbulence of the people and the tyranny of the rulers. Whether English or Irish, there was scarcely one in authority who was not a plunderer or extortioner. Under Wolsey the government of Ireland had been principally committed to the earl of Kildare, who was ready enough to burn and destroy in the lands of rebellious chieftains, but was himself suspected of "seditious practices and subtle drifts." The earl of Surrey, who won his earldom at Flodden, was sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant in 1520; whilst Kildare was in England. Surrey took a soldier's view of the position of the country, but one which indicated slight statesmanship; "After my poor opinion, this land shall never be brought to good order and due subjection, but only by conquest."† But the warlike earl is not sanguine about his scheme; for Wales, he says, was not conquered by Edward I. in less than ten years; and as Ireland is five times as large as Wales, he doubted if it could be so soon won. But there was a greater difficulty in Surrey's mind. Even if conquered, the land must be re-peopled. "For if these country people of the Irish should inhabit, undoubtedly they would return to their old ill-rooted customs, whensoever they might see any time to take their advantage accordingly as they have ever yet done, and daily do." Having delivered this advice—pointing out that money was wanting for men, victuals, artillery, and fortresses—the lord-lieutenant begs to serve his grace in any other place than in this troublesome land. Surrey goes home. Kildare comes back. The feuds between the two great rival chiefs, Kildare and Ormond, become more bitter than ever; and Kildare is again suspected of encouraging revolt. But Wolsey dares not remove him from his office of deputy, for he dreads that the earl's "kinsfolks, the O'Connors, and other such wild Irish lords, would, for revenge, over-run the whole English pale." Kildare was the head of what was then deemed "the Irish party"—a party not so desirous of separation from England, as of using the English connection,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 170.

† *Ibid.*, p. 73.

not as the means for promoting the real improvement of the country, but for their individual aggrandisement. Kildare, at last, carried his schemes too far. In 1534 he appears to have been preparing to defy the English government; for he furnished his castles with arms and ammunition out of the royal stores; and it was said that "all the parchments and wax in England" would not bring him thither again.‡ The earl, however, obeyed the royal summons, though slowly and unwillingly. He was committed to the Tower, upon his arrival in London. But his son, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was permitted to return to Ireland as the vice-deputy appointed by his father. The consequences of this somewhat rash confidence were unexpected; but they were the natural results of a long period of misgovernment, through which "neither the English order, tongue, nor habit was used, nor the king's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass."* The earl of Kildare arrived at his last resting-place, the Tower of London, in February, 1534. He was subsequently attainted by act of parliament, for traitorously levying war in Ireland, for slaying the king's faithful subjects, and for carrying away munitions of war from the king's fortresses to his own castle.† When the young Fitzgerald—who was known by the name of "the silken lord," from the splendid trappings of his horses—knew that his father was in imminent danger, and apprehending that the power of the race of Geraldines was coming to an end, he suddenly rose in open revolt. In June, 1534, Cromwell is apprised by Robert Cowley of the "rebellion of the earl of Kildare's son, and brethren, with their adherents." He states that they have committed "infinite murders, burnings, and robbings in the English pale, about the city of Dublin." One sentence in the letter of Cowley may have led to a belief that this rebellion was as much a religious as a political movement: "And, as I am very credibly informed, the said earl's son, brethren, kinsmen, and adherents do make their avaunt and boast, that they be of the pope's sect and band, and him will they serve against the king and all his part-takers; saying further that the king is accursed, and as many as take his part, shall be openly accursed."‡ The opinion that the emperor, Charles V., was in communication with the earl of Desmond, and through him with the Geraldines, appears to have been a rumour in Waterford. In the disorganised condition of Ireland, the deputy, Skeffington, an Englishman—who was to succeed Kildare—not yet

* State Papers, p. 162. † 26 Hen. VIII. c. 25. ‡ State Papers, vol. ii. p. 198.

having arrived with any military force, the time was favourable for a bold attempt to supersede the English authority altogether. That Henry at that time was threatened with excommunication, was a stirring matter that might have been agitated amongst men prepared to throw off their allegiance; but that the rejection of the papal supremacy in England was the occasion of this revolt in Ireland, seems an overstrained inference from the facts as they appear in official records and other relations. Stanihurst, the chronicler of Irish affairs, makes no mention of the employment of such a motive for insurrection. The religious element might have been slightly mixed up with the social turbulence—as it ever has been since, whenever the wretchedness of the people is to be roused into fierce hatred; but in our view, this rebellion in Ireland is not significant, chiefly because it was the first in which an out-break against England assumed the features of a war of religion.* Looking at this passage of Irish history, with a knowledge of the distracted condition of the country, the hatreds of the rival chiefs, the almost total absence of legitimate authority, the universal dominion of brute force, we regard the quarrel of Henry with the pope as a coincidence with this rebellion, but the very least of its causes.

The opening scene of this Irish revolt, as described by the chronicler, has a deep human interest. On St. Barnabas' day, the 11th of June, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, at the head of seven score horsemen, in their shirts of mail, rode through the streets of Dublin, and passing through Dame's Gate, crossed the river to St. Mary's Abbey, where the Council were sitting. The lord Thomas took his seat as vice-deputy. Then the council-chamber was suddenly filled with his armed followers; and he rose, and thus spake: "Howsoever injuriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our prince his crown availeth yet say not hereafter, but in this open hostility which here we profess and proclaim, we have showed ourselves no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit. I should stain mine honour if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now have I need of mine own sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldines' blood,

* Froude, vol. ii, p. 306.

and now is newly whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore save yourselves from us, as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's deputy—I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern; to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I hope they will), then should he soon aby (as I trust he shall) for his cruelty and tyranny, for which the age to come may lawfully score him up among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory."

This speech—so resolved and daring, and yet so characteristic of the high feelings of a gentleman—carries with it a dramatic propriety, very different from the ordinary speeches which the chroniclers invent for their heroes.* It is to be lamented that, in their subsequent proceedings, the Geraldine and his supporters did not maintain their declaration that they were "no villains nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen." When they rushed forth from the council chamber, orders were given for their arrest; but the authorities of Dublin did not dare to execute the command, and some of the Council retired for safety to the castle. There was a contest between the citizens and the insurgents, in which the rebels were successful; and they were thus enabled to lay siege to the fortress. Amongst those who had taken refuge there was John Allen, the archbishop of Dublin; who, having been one of Wolsey's chaplains, was appointed by the cardinal to this dignity—an able statesman, systematically opposed to the Geraldines and their party. When the castle was besieged, Allen, knowing the hatred in which he was borne by the insurgents, escaped by night in a vessel in which he hoped to cross to England. By accident or treachery the boat was stranded near Clontarf; and after he had been a few hours on land, he was seized at a village called Artane, and there barbarously murdered, while lord Thomas stood by. The prior of Kilmainham, writing to the king, says, "The archbishop of Dublin, being in ship to depart towards England, Thomas, son to the earl of Kildare, caused him to be taken and brought before him, and there in his sight, by his commandment,

* Mr. Froude quotes this from 'Campion's "History of Ireland," and from Leland. The speech, as given by us from Stanihurst, is nearly as Mr. Froude gives it, with only one material variation. Stanihurst says of Henry, "then shall he soon aby, as I trust he shall, for his cruelty and tyranny." In Mr. Froude's version we have, "then should he be a by-word, for his *heresy*, lechery, and tyranny."

was cruelly and shamefully murdered, and other divers of his chaplains and servants that were in his company.* Robert Relye, who was present, stated upon his examination that he could not say whether it was by the command of lord Thomas, or not, that the murder of the archbishop was committed. He acknowledged that he was sent to Maynooth, one of Kildare's castles, with a casket which his master, lord Thomas, had taken from the prelate; and that his master "afterwards sent one Charles, his chaplain, to the bishop of Rome, to the intent, as he heard, of obtaining absolution for killing the bishop." † Upon this most doubtful evidence it is assumed that the massacre of "a heretic archbishop" was a venial and acceptable act for which Rome would willingly grant forgiveness; and of this detestable murder we are told, "Such was the pious offering to God and holy Church on which the sun looked down as it rose that fair summer morning over Dublin bay." ‡ Again we repeat our conviction, founded upon a careful examination of the entire circumstances, that John Allen did not perish because he was "a heretic archbishop," but because he had been one of the most efficient instruments in opposing the schemes of the Geraldines; that "holy Church," and its contest for supremacy with Henry of England, had furnished no incentive and no motive for this rebellion, beyond the ancient belief that the country was held by the English king as a fief of the papal see; and that it is the result alone of that uncharitable spirit calling itself Protestant, which the historian ought to reject, if the party politician cannot lay it aside, that we are to be informed at this day, when religious differences as they regard Ireland and the Irish ought to be repressed rather than stimulated, that such as these murderers "were the men whose cause the Mores and the Fishers, the saintly monks of the Charterhouse, and the holy martyrs of the Catholic faith, believed to be the cause of the Almighty Father of the world." § The "holy Church" of Catholic Ireland pronounced its curse "against Thomas Fitzgerald and others for killing of the archbishop of Dublin," according to the horrible formula of those times; saying "let no man be to them merciful;" invoking the God of mercy, to "send to them, and every of them, hunger and thirst, and strike them, and every of them with pestilence," and with "madness, blindness, and woodness of mind;" and calling

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 201.

† Froude's History, vol. i. p. 283.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 201, note.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 283.

upon "all the multitude of angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight as spirits condemned."* If this cruel and blasphemous presumption of erring man has passed away, and is held utterly alien to the Christian temper, it is chiefly because, when we think of the wise and good of past times, we forget whether they were Roman Catholic or Protestant; and do not believe, in a spirit of intolerance, that "the Mores and the Fishers," in opposing the supremacy of Henry VIII., would have given a direct or an indirect sanction to the murderers of a "heretic archbishop."

Fitzgerald, after the atrocious slaughter of John Allen, with a small force did enormous mischief within the English pale, burning and destroying houses and farms, and wasting the growing corn. In the gallant resistance which he made to the rebellion, Butler, now earl of Ormond and Ossory, pursued the same mediæval system, which ever disregarded the sufferings of the many. The siege of Dublin castle was slowly conducted by an inconsiderable rebel band; whom the citizens at length resisted, and arrested as traitors. The delusive hopes which the Geraldines had entertained, that their cause would be adopted by the settlers of the pale, as the means of overthrowing the English rule, were wholly dissipated by the spirit of the Dublin citizens. The belief that the old rivalry of the Kildares and Ormonds might be closed by dividing the kingdom between them, was destroyed by the faithful conduct of Ossory: "The traitor, Thomas, then sent to the earl of Ossory, how that, if he would withdraw his duty from the king, he would depart and divide all Ireland with him, and accept him as his father, offering to make partition of his own inheritance with him; whereunto he answered, that if his country had been wasted, his castles won or prostrate, and himself exiled, yet would he never shrink to persevere in his duty to the king, to the death." † The notion that the Emperor and the Pope would furnish prompt assistance in the wild enterprise of lord Thomas was, no doubt, entertained by him. He sent a priest on a voyage to Spain, and afterwards to proceed to Rome, with documents "which should prove that the king held this land of the see of Rome; alleging the king and his realm to be heretics, digressed from the obedience of the same, and the faith Catholic;" at the same time promising, in return for aid, "that he will hold the same land for them and pay tribute yearly." ‡ There is an official paper

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 217.

† *Ibid.*, p. 250.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

by Allen, the master of the rolls, which says, "the Irish men, of long continuance, have supposed the regal estate of this land to consist in the bishop of Rome, for the time being, and the lordship of the kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said bishop than to our sovereign lord." * To this ancient delusion lord Thomas appealed, as might have been done in the times of Richard II. But in spite of such an incitement to revolt, there were very few of the great Irish chiefs who gave Fitzgerald their support. The contest went on for some months, after the arrival of sir William Skeffington, the English deputy, without any signal success; but at last the castle of Maynooth was taken by Skeffington, after ten days' siege. Twenty-six of the prisoners were executed. "A priest," says the official despatch to the king, "which was privy with the traitor, deposeth that the emperor promised to send hither, against your grace, ten thousand men by the first day of May; and the king of Scots promised to give aid to your rebel likewise." † The first of May, 1535, came; but no aid from Spain or Scotland. Lord Thomas was carrying on a war of depopulation. In August, the chief justice and the master of the rolls, who had been absent in England, write to Cromwell—"We marvelled to consider the state of this country at our landing, so far altered from the condition that we left it at our departure; for in the county of Kildare there be eight hundreds, or baronies, and six of them were, in effect, all burnt; few or no people inhabiting there, but leaving their corn in the ground to the traitors." ‡ The end of this desperate outbreak—the result, not of any marked oppression of the English government, but of its more cruel neglect—was shortly at hand. A vigorous commander, lord Leonard Grey, came, as it was supposed, to take the civil and military authority from the procrastinating Skeffington. But the deputy, not yet superseded, was roused into vigour. He compelled the submission of O'Connor, the chief who most faithfully adhered to Fitzgerald; and the "great traitor," lord Thomas, had no chance but to yield himself up, or to escape to a foreign country. He writes a letter to lord Leonard Grey, who was a relative of the Kildares, in which he says, "I heartily desire your lordship to be intercessor betwixt his grace and me, that I may have my pardon for me, and mine life and lands; the which shall not be undeserved to the uttermost of my power; and if I cannot obtain my aforesaid

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 480.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

pardon, I have none other to do but shift for myself, the best that I can, trusting in God." * Skeffington writes, on the 24th of August, that Fitzgerald had yielded himself "without condition." The Council of Ireland, on the contrary, write to the king, on the 27th of August, that lord Leonard Grey will proceed to London with his prisoner; "beseeching your highness, most humbly, that according the comfort of *our* words spoken to the same Thomas to allure him to yield him, ye would be merciful to the said Thomas, especially concerning his life." † Norfolk saw that if Fitzgerald were executed, having received such inducements to yield, "surely the Irish men shall never after put themselves into none Englishman's hands;" and he therefore counsels that his punishment should be deferred. ‡ Lord Thomas was committed to the Tower, in which prison his father had died. At the beginning of 1536, the five uncles of the young rebel were apprehended through treachery; which the Council call "the politic and surest conveying of the matter." They being sent to London, the six members of this unhappy family were hanged at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February. There was no trial. An Act of Attainder was passed, by which Thomas Fitzgerald, James, John, Richard, Oliver, and Walter, then in the Tower of London, should suffer execution of death for their treasons. § That lord Thomas especially deserved his fate there can be little doubt. That he surrendered upon terms held out to him is admitted by Henry himself, in a letter to Skeffington; and the king owned that he was embarrassed by this circumstance: "If he had been apprehended after such sort as was convenient to his deservings, the same had been much more thankful and better to our contentation." || But it was not in Henry's nature, nor indeed in that of the duke of Norfolk who had counselled delay, to stand upon the trifling point of broken promises. In the English rebellion of 1536, which we shall have presently to describe, the king bitterly reproaches Norfolk for keeping faith; for "you fell to a point with the rebels," when previously "you said you would esteem no promise that you should make to the rebels, we think your honour touched in the breach and violation of the same." ¶ Shakspeare has exhibited prince John of Lancaster and the earl of Westmoreland tempting the rebel lords in the time of Henry IV. to disband their forces and then arresting them; ** a d

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 273.

† *Ibid.*, p. 275.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

§ 28 Henry VIII. c. 18.

|| State Papers, vol. ii. p. 280.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 519.

** "King Henry" IV., art II., act iv. scene 2.

Dr. Johnson complains that the poet passes over, without a note of censure, "this horrid violation of faith." Shakspeare was satisfied to exhibit the conduct of the treachery to make men hate the agents who accomplished it. We offer no comment upon the execution of Fitzgerald, beyond entering our protest against a doctrine which might be suited to the sixteenth century, but which is somewhat startling in the nineteenth. "How far," says Mr. Froude, with reference to lord Thomas, "a government is bound at any time to respect the unauthorised engagements of its subordinates is one of those intricate questions which cannot be absolutely answered."* Intricate! The English minister who would now dare to put a man to death, after assurances of safety from those in authority (as Fitzgerald was assured by the *authorised* representatives of king Henry), would be consigned to the everlasting infamy that cleaves to the betrayer; and if an eloquent casuist, some three hundred years after, should doubt whether the promise of a king's agent is binding upon his principal, he would—so strongly do we believe in the progress of the world in political morality—have to receive his own portion of the same natural hatred of dishonour,—he would excite the same instinctive disgust with which we read the famous axiom of Machiavelli—"a prince that is wise and prudent cannot, and ought not, to keep his *parole*, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised, removed."

The suppression of the Geraldine rebellion, if it had not been sullied by broken faith, and had been followed up by a large and benevolent policy, would have presented a fortunate crisis in the government of Ireland. There appears to have been no want of diligent counsellors for the improvement of the country, according to their limited views. The supremacy of Henry as "king of Ireland"—for the title was now changed from "lord"—was proclaimed without opposition. Monasteries were suppressed without disturbance. The rebellion had been clearly one of personal ambition, stimulated by the general disorganization of civil society. But still no decided policy was resorted to for converting a land filled with wild tribes, living in the rudest manner under hostile chiefs, into a land to be made prosperous by industry, which alone was wanting to utilise its natural advantages. But for this end something was required besides soldiers and labourers. In 1538 the Council wrote to Henry describing their attack upon the district

* Froude, History, vol. ii. p. 305.

of the Cavanaghs. The land is won; but what is to be done with it? They would not banish all the inhabitants, but they would banish "the gentlemen and men of war; and having garrisons of men of war in certain principal places, to retain still the most of the poor earth-tillers there, which be good inhabitants."* The poor earth-tillers in the country of the Cavanaghs and elsewhere went on occupying the land, with little profit, till, with division and subdivision, it would no longer yield them sustenance. The soldiers were amongst the oppressors of the poor earth-tillers—the soldiers of a government parsimonious for public objects because extravagant in private expenditure. "The wages of your army is so small," say the Council, "as the soldiers, not being able to live therewith, much oppress your subjects, to their great grief."† There were occasionally some individual efforts made to win the people from their semi-barbarous life to learn the arts of civilization. Sir Pierce Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, who died in 1539, with the aid of his energetic wife, the sister of Kildare, "planted great civility in the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; and to give good example to the people of that country, they brought out of Flanders and other countries divers artificers, who were daily kept at work by them, in their castle of Kilkenny; where they wrought and made diaper, tapestry, turkey carpets, curtains, and other like works."‡ Ormond was thus doing something as material for the welfare of the country as in quelling his nephew's rebellion. But the example did not spread. Private efforts can do little good in the attempt to force industry. When capital flows to a country through the regular course of exchange, then industry goes forward. Security was wanting for its employment, as it ever has been wanting in Ireland till our own day. It was in vain to lament that the gallowglass and kerne, who consumed the victuals of the land in idleness, did not apply to labour—tilling wastes, digging in mines, fishing in the bounteous seas. The moving and regulating power, with which labour profitably works, was wanting. The government, when it seized upon the monastic possessions, might have accomplished some of such good by a just application of the country's revenues. But there was a king who fancied that he was the state; and thus he wrote, as to the religious houses of the countries brought under obedience: "The same shall be suppressed, and We to point such farmers to them as We shall think

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 100.

† *Ibid.*, p. 101.

‡ MS. in British Museum, quoted in State Papers, vol. iii. p. 145.

good, so as the whole revenues of them may come to our use and profit."—"Our use and profit" was the burthen of his song: "You have devised by an Act to invest in Us the name and title of King of Ireland. We would you should amongst you consider, whether it be either honour or wisdom for Us to take upon Us that title of a King, and not to have revenues there, sufficient to maintain the state of the same." The country was impoverished by a long course of oppression and neglect. There is a chance of its being brought under the rule of law, and of the reign of brute force being at an end. The "King of Ireland" writes to his Council, trusting that "We shall have cause to commend your doings in the discreet training of the Irishmen to their due obedience, whereby they shall learn to know almighty God, and grow into wealth and civility." To accomplish such a blessed end is he prepared to contribute out of his ample means? Will he assist the husbandman to cultivate the rich wastes; the miner to raise the precious ore to the surface; the fisherman to gather food from the seas and rivers? Will he make roads through the marshes and woods? He looks back grudgingly upon "the great sums of money bestowed already to bring the land to the conformity it is now at"—he sets forth many schemes by which the "submission" of the Irishmen should be made profitable to himself; he recommends the Council to "excogitate what you think may be added thereunto, as customs, tolls, gabelles, or any other things, which you shall think may be won further to our profit;" and, "among other things, we would you should devise, how to cause our revenues there to be shortlier and sooner paid, after the terms they be due, than they be at present."* Finally, he asks the Irish House of Commons for a Benevolence, which they had refused in the previous year. In vain the lord deputy and the Council plead for the wretched people: "The inhabitants of these your four shires of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Uriel [Louth], have been so spoiled, oppressed, and robbed, as they be not of ability to give to your Grace any notable thing, otherwise than they be charged already." They adroitly recommend that the burden should be shifted upon the countries out of the English pale;—countries where the Ormonds and O'Neills commanded the service of their naked kernes; where the English tongue was never heard; where the harper sang of the old glories of Ireland, when there was a king in every shire, each plundering for himself, and no foreign lord forbade any

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 330.

robbery but his own. Taxation, as the beginning of civilisation beyond the pale, was to roll on like a snow-ball. In Kilkenny and Tipperary, and Wexford and Waterford, say the Council, parties so charged there "will the more willingly further the levying of your revenues elsewhere."*

The notion of extracting a large revenue out of an impoverished or an unsubdued country, was doubtless as idle as the attempt to change the ancient customs of the people by royal mandate. In 1536 Henry writes to his "well beloved" of the town of Galway, straitly charging and commanding that they should perpetually observe certain articles set forth for their weal and profit: "Item, That every inhabitant, as well within the said town as the suburbs of the same, do shave their over [upper] lips, called crompeaulis; and suffer the hair of their heads to grow till it cover their ears; and that every of them wear English caps. Item, That no man, nor man-child, do wear no mantles in the streets, but cloaks or gowns, coats, doublets, and hose, shapen after the English fashion, of the country cloth, or any other cloth shall please them to buy." † To these regulations for dress was added a command, "that every inhabitant within the said town endeavour themselves to speak English, and to use themselves after the English fashion; and specially that you, and every of you, do put forth your child to school, to learn to speak English." ‡ Desirable as it might be that the two countries should be assimilated in dress and language, we know, from the experience of three centuries both in Ireland and Wales, that such changes are not effected by royal threats or penal statutes. In the reign of Elizabeth, as we learn from Spenser's description, "the ancient dress" was still worn. The mantle was still "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief." The long matted locks, called glibbes, were still used for a disguise. The men were still close hooded, or skull-capped, despising "civil caps." The moustaches, or crompeaulis, still covered the upper lip. The gallowglass still went to battle with his hatchet and his darts,—the kerne with his darts and short-bows. What the Irish were, as to dress, in the time of Henry VIII. they continued to be after the lapse of half a century. The children of the great chiefs might learn English, as Sir John Har-

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 381.

† By the Irish statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15, these orders were more stringently enforced, particularly as regarded the use of long locks, called glibbes, and wearing the Irish cloak.

‡ State Papers, vol. ii. p. 309.

rington found the sons of Tyrone learning it, to whom he gave his translation of Ariosto. But the rebellious earl had still his "boys" about him, "without shirts, who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels." Harrington says, "With what charm such a master makes them love him, I know not; but if he bid come, they come; if go, they do go; if he say do this, they do it." They lived, as Tyrone said, as "wolves, that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it."* But full or starving they were faithful. The charm was in the interchange of service and protection; in the reverence for claims that went back, through song and tradition, to the days of cairns and cromlechs. Nothing could weaken these claims, and convert a land of sept into a nation, but a real paternal government; and such a government was not likely to proceed out of the selfish despotism of the eighth Henry. Although he had some able advisers in the Irish Council, a detestable policy was at the root of their measures. There was ever a suspicion where confidence might have begot allegiance; and a low treachery which met its reward in lip-service and conspiracy. A government must have been essentially base when its chief legal officer thus advises: "Because the nature of Irish men is such, that for money one shall have the son to war against the father, and the father against the child, it shall be necessary that the king's grace have always treasure here, as a present remedy against sudden rebellions."†

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 248.

† J. Allen to Scutiger, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 485.

CHAPTER XXII.

Three years without an English parliament.—Proclamation for the abolition of holidays.—The Lincolnshire insurrection.—Demands of the insurgents.—The king's answer.—The Yorkshire insurrection.—The Lancaster Herald at Poulfret.—Negotiations with the Yorkshire rebels.—They disperse.—Disturbed state of the Northern counties.—Second rebellion.—The rebels defeated.—Executions.—Martial law proclaimed.—Birth of prince Edward.—Death of queen Jane.—Immediate proceedings for a new marriage of the king.—Position of Cranmer and Cromwell.—The Bible set up in parish churches.—Papists and heretics.—Trial of Lambert before Henry.—Burnings in Smithfield.—Surrenders of the larger religious houses.—Visitations of the Commissioners.—Relics and images.—"Abomination of living" in monasteries.—Concealment of property.—Abbot of Glastonbury.—Deprivations.—Pensions.—Plunder.—Destruction of monastic houses.

THE English parliament soon did the work which it was called together to do in 1536; and the executive, seeing vast pecuniary resources within its reach, did not care for three more years to be troubled with a representative body. Henry, with his new queen, was passing the autumn amidst "the large green courts" and "the wild forest" of Windsor; happy, if it were possible, in forgetfulness of the past. Yet startling memories must sometimes have obtruded upon him—slight associations that must have for a moment disturbed his selfish complacency. Thus, when he looked upon the dedication to him of Coverdale's first Bible, and saw the mode in which the name of his queen was introduced,—by printing J. A. over the original A. N., so that "Anne" might be changed to "Jane,"—the clumsiness of the substitution might have suggested the moral deformity of his own work. But he soon had stirring occupation. A large body of his English subjects were in rebellion.

On the 2nd of October, 1536, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their Visitation at Louth. The smaller monastic houses had been suppressed. The progress of the official inquiry into the condition of all houses of religion appeared only a prelude to their final extinction. The parochial clergy were called upon, in the king's name, no longer to teach that there was any virtue in relics or images; or that pilgrimages were beneficial exercises of faith. They were also to make known the royal proclamation for