

CAMPEGGIO'S PROGRESS THROUGH KENT IN 1518

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INTRODUCTION.

CARDINAL Campeggio is well known as Wolsey's colleague in the hearing of the famous divorce suit between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, tried at Blackfriars in London, in 1529. But fewer people are aware that some eleven years earlier Campeggio performed another legatine commission in this country, a visit which, although fruitless in its immediate objects, had nevertheless an incidental result of the most important character.

The following pages give the reader a graphic account of Campeggio's landing in England on the former occasion, and of his stately progress through Kent to London. The original is to be found among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and is written in an early sixteenth century hand, which makes it probable that the proceedings were recorded shortly after their occurrence. I am not aware that this MS. has been previously printed. Many readers will probably be reminded of the accounts of Wolsey's own progresses, as given by his biographers, Cavendish and Fiddes. A few words upon the career of Campeggio may not be out of place in this introduction.

Lorenzo Campeggio was born in 1472, of a noble family settled in Bologna, at which university, and at Pavia, we find him studying Imperial law some twenty years later. Eventually he married and had a son who, following his father, attained the cardinalate at the creation of Pope Julius III in 1551. The lawyer Lorenzo, having suffered the loss of his wife, decided to embrace a second profession, in which legal attainments were at that period one of the surest means of promotion. Accordingly, he took Holy Orders, and soon

came under the notice of Pope Leo X, by whom he was appointed Bishop of Feltri and also Auditor of the Rota in Rome. Leo employed him on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor Maximilian I, and conferred a cardinal's hat upon him during his absence. In the following year, 1518, Campeggio was despatched on the legatine journey to Henry VIII which forms the subject of this paper. Not only was he honourably received, but Henry bore him such good will that he afterwards gave him the see of Salisbury, in 1524.

It is uncertain whether the King nominated him spontaneously, or merely acquiesced in the continuance of the same evil system of non-resident episcopal *commendams* given to aliens, which Worcester suffered for nearly forty years, and which had affected Hereford and Bath and Wells also at this period. Not only were the Italian agents in Rome of Henry VII and VIII rewarded by an illegal conference of the revenues of English sees upon them (thus the future Pope Clement VII held Worcester for a year); but the notorious episcopal pluralism of Wolsey himself served to perpetuate one of the greatest abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, in the case of a man who showed a desire in many respects for reformation. However Campeggio's case may have been, it mattered little, as by the early 16th century in England, as also in France and Spain, episcopal appointments lay in reality with the Crown,¹ and the system of Papal "provisions" had become, like the claim to confer the temporalities of a see, a technical formality which preserved the dignity of the Apostolic See while the temporal prince remained the master of the situation.

Campeggio's English preferment was but a beginning, as soon afterwards he occupied the archbishopric of Bologna

¹ In England, at any rate, this held good from a considerably earlier date. It is an important point, proved by numerous instances, as for example, the appointment to Worcester in 1434, and still more notably to York in 1425, where that resolute reviver of Papal power after the Great Schism, Martin V, suffered signal humiliation in his attempt to override the Privy Council of Henry VI. Since writing the above, I find that Lingard, who treats of the subject at length under the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, sums up in the case of the latter by saying that the Popes henceforth "provided" none but the Royal nominees, and that "this long and angry controversy ended entirely to the advantage of the Crown." (*Hist. Eng.* iii, 173.)

and other bishoprics in Italy, agreeably to the public opinion of the day, which had not unduly recoiled at the thirteen sees held by Julius II—many of them in plurality—before he became Pope.

Campeggio's talents were again employed in Germany, now in the Lutheran ferment, in 1524, and three years later he found himself besieged with his master Clement VII, by the Imperial troops, in the castle of Sant' Angelo overlooking the Tiber.

Shortly afterwards followed the great mission to England over the divorce, in which all parties had so many interests, involving a tedious delay of years, that it is creditable to Campeggio that he acquitted himself so fairly. As is well known, upon Katherine's appeal the case was recalled to Rome, whither the cardinal returned, not without an affront from the customs officers at Dover which was probably inspired by the irritation of Henry at the further check received.

At the abolition of the Papal jurisdiction in England, in 1534, Campeggio was deprived of Salisbury by Act of Parliament, as an alien and non-resident, although he had never been required to perform his duties in person. He died in Rome in 1539, a man of good reputation, who, if eclipsed by Wolsey's brilliant talents, had during his life at least what Fuller calls *ingenium par negotio*.

To come now to Campeggio's visit to this country in 1518; Leo X sent him with two objects, both of which he failed to negotiate successfully. The first was to secure the adherence of Henry VIII to a general alliance of Christian princes against the Turkish menace in eastern Europe; the second, to impose a Papal tax of a tenth on all the clerical revenues in England, towards the cost of the projected crusade. Mutual jealousy and mistrust among the monarchs, coupled with their greater preoccupation with other concerns, rendered the alliance project abortive; and the clergy proved intractable about the tax. In the first place, no such tax could be levied without Royal licence, and this under severe penalties, as had appeared in the sharp reprimand of

Richard II to Archbishop Courtenay in 1389;¹ and in the second, men had learned from the precedents of later mediæval crusading projects that the funds collected generally went no further than the Papal treasury: *hinc caute agendum*. The reply of the English Convocations was that they were already drained by the exactions of the Crown, for the war with France, taxes approved by Julius II; and that the decree of Constance had forbidden Papal taxation of the Church save in urgent necessity, and even then it must be by authority of a general Council.² The palmy days of Henry III were gone; in England the growth of the power of the Crown, and the frequently enacted legislation against Papal encroachments, which, even if spasmodically put into effect, was always a trump card in reserve, had combined to stem the flow of revenue abroad, except when the King was agreeable, and this was generally (as with Henry VII) when he could get a share for himself; and a similar growth of strongly entrenched national states on the Continent (especially France and Spain³) during the preceding century had curbed the Papal power there also. The foreign clergy accordingly made but a meagre response to the similar financial demands now made upon them.

Campeggio had also been empowered to conduct, in company with Wolsey, a legatine visitation of the exempt English monasteries, but the latter wanted to undertake this work single-handed, and was planning, by concentrating both Royal and Papal power in his own hands to make himself master of the English Church. His boundless ambition—not stopping short of the Papacy itself—was acceptable to Henry VIII, who saw the way to obtain, by the co-operation of himself and his favourite, an even greater control of the Church than had been enjoyed by his father. The king therefore lent all his support to the cardinal's schemes, whereby the latter was quickly enabled to supersede the normal workings of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to place

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 207.

² Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* (ed. Lathbury), IV, 24.

³ Cf. the firm hand taken in Church affairs by Louis XI and Ferdinand and Isabella, in their respective dominions.

the unfortunate primate, Warham of Canterbury, in subordination to himself,¹ becoming virtually a Thomas Cromwell many years before the rupture with Rome.

Wolsey had accordingly no difficulty in getting Henry's aid to defeat Campeggio's monastic visitation, and he used the weapon of delay. The English kings, like those of France, had always insisted upon their right to exclude a Papal legate from their dominions unless he had obtained their consent to enter,² and this veto was brought to bear upon Campeggio in 1518, while Wolsey was gaining time. Campeggio was therefore detained at Calais until Dr. Clark, the envoy representing Henry and Wolsey, could get to Rome and back again, having demanded the appointment of Wolsey as an equal *legatus a latere* with Campeggio, a request which Leo X conceded.

This was the important sequel to Campeggio's mission which remained after the Italian's temporary and fruitless legatine commission was completed, that of Wolsey being, however, permanent and the means that made him absolute over the English clergy. This was the great crime, his acceptance of the commission, which with typical Tudor duplicity Henry—all along acquiescent if not actually its instigator—urged against the cardinal in later years, to cause his fall. Wolsey fell, struck down by the force of the *Praemunire* legislation treacherously invoked by the king, and with him, a little afterwards, was involved the entire body of the English clergy who had had, willy nilly, to obey the very authority which now they were in peril for having

¹ There had been precedents for this: in the twelfth century, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, had, as legate, overshadowed Archbishop Theobald; and in the fifteenth, the rights of Canterbury were again set aside when Chichele was fettered by Cardinals Beaufort and Kempe. Chichele was a good canonist who saw the evils of such innovations on the ancient economy, and while Henry V lived the insult was forbidden. The archbishop's remarkable letter of protest to the king in 1418 should be read, in its original English, in Duck's *Life of Chichele* (ed. 1699), pp. 125-31: as the result, Beaufort's permanent legateship was postponed for some years.

² This was the Royal claim, jealously maintained; but a Pontiff such as Boniface VIII, who regarded himself as master of the world even in temporal matters, must inevitably be constantly chafing against it: hence the close watch set on foreign legates while in England, despite the honours shown to them as their due.

accepted. As is well known, Henry cleverly used this opportunity, not only for the extortion of an enormous fine from the whole clergy, but also as a powerful weapon to make himself their absolute master. For this reason, then, the episode of this little noticed embassy of Campeggio was destined to become a landmark in English Church history.

As to the actual record of Campeggio's journey through Kent, little need be said by way of introduction, since it tells its own story quite plainly. It may however be noted that the direct route to London was not taken, on account of the detour to Boxley Abbey and Warham's fine new manor house at Otford. Moreover, the cardinal took the unusual course of landing, like Cæsar, at Deal, and not, as usually, at Dover. Deal was about this period growing in importance, owing to the ever increasing silting up of Sandwich Haven, but the building of any considerable town near the shore appears to have been deferred until the following century.¹

It is of interest further to remember that Campeggio's reception at Canterbury took place at the then newly-finished Christ Church Gate, the inscription formerly visible upon it stating that it was completed in the year 1517. Any references to the shrine of St. Thomas are always worthy of note, and we have it here recorded that the legate paid two visits to it.² It cannot be doubted that by this time the once enormously popular cult of the saint had much diminished,³ which may explain the remarkable absence of commotion in Canterbury when the shrine was later in Henry VIII's reign removed by his order. The visit of Campeggio was about six years after that of Colet and Erasmus, so vividly

¹ Leland speaks of Deal as still a "fischer village" half a mile from the sea—an under-estimate. The blocking of Sandwich Haven was later aggravated by the grounding of a ship of Pope Paul IV (1555-9), which became a wreck incapable of removal.

² It is stated that he was shown certain other of the great and strange store of relics which mediæval Christ Church possessed. The almost exclusive interest to even the educated visitor to great churches in the Middle Ages lay in their relics, so often the object of Erasmus's satire. Leland is among the first to take any notice of monuments, other than saints' tombs; and long afterwards observers begin to appreciate, at first uncritically, the glories of the architecture about them. For an early (1446) visit to Christ Church, see Stanley, *Memorials*, 265-8.

³ See *inter alia*, Stanley, *op. cit.* 253, and *Arch. Cant.* XXXVIII, 159-60.

pictured by the latter in his *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, and two years before that of Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V. Campeggio's lodging at St. Augustine's, and his attendance at High Mass in the now destroyed abbey church and at the great dinner on his Sunday in the metropolitanical city are also worthy of remark.

The manner of the legate's reception at Blackheath and in London will be read with interest, and is strikingly similar to the account of the bringing of the red hat by an Apostolic Protonotary to Wolsey, in November, 1515, to be found in Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey* (London, 1726, 2nd ed., Collections, pp. 201-2). It will be noted how early public functions began in Tudor England: Campeggio has arrived in Canterbury from Sandwich before ten o'clock; and the memorable consecration of Parker on the December morning of 1559 begins in Lambeth Chapel long before daybreak. So, too, at the solemn investiture of Wolsey as cardinal in Westminster Abbey, we read that Archbishop Warham began to sing the Mass of the Holy Ghost by nine o'clock; and early in 1528, at the thanksgiving in St. Paul's for the escape of Clement VII from the sack of Rome by the Imperial army, Wolsey had arrived in state and had gone in procession in the church before about the same time: "And duringe that the howre was a singing he was revestyd in pontificalibus,"¹ to attend the High Mass celebrated by my Lord of London before him. The "howre" means the singing of Terce, canonically appointed for about nine in the morning, at the third hour of the day.

It only remains to add that the MS. has been faithfully reproduced in this transcript, with the exception that modern punctuation has been inserted. That of the original is so confusing and inconsistent in its employment, that, notice being here given, it has seemed a pardonable liberty to rescue the modern reader from it. The letter "w" is so difficult in places, to assign certainly as a capital or uncial, that modern usage has been followed in cases of doubt; and marks over the text have been omitted, unless serving to show contractions.

¹ Fiddes, *op. cit.*, Coll., p. 144.

HARLEIAN MS. 433.

(July, 1518.)

fol. 293.

The Receyuyng of the popes legate in to England

Anno x^{mo} R^R h viij^{ui}.

(23rd) M^d, that the *Friday*, the xxij^{ti} daie of the moneth of Iuly, The yere of o^r lord god M^{CCCCC}xvij, and the xth yere of the Reigne of o^r sou^raine lord king henry the viijth, thatnowe Reigneth, The popes legate, callid dñs laurencius de Campegio, arrived at a place callid the Deele, besids Sandewich, where the Bisshop of Chichestr',¹ The lord of Burgevennye and the lord Cobham, w^t a grete nombre of Estates and gentilmen of Kent, receyued hym, and soo frome thense conveyed hym to Sandewich aforesaid, where he restid that nyght.

(24th) The *Saturday* next, the said Bisshop, lordes, Estates, & gentilmen conveied hym frome thense to Canterbury, where he was betwene ix and x of the clokke before noone, and afore his ent^e there chaunging his apparail, was Receyued by all the clergie and religious men there, And alsoo by the maio^r of that Citie w^t the Aldermen, and soo brought to the gats of Crists Church, where Tharchebisshop of Canterbury,² The Bisshop of Rochest',³ w^t Thabbotts of Saint Augustines⁴ and Fau^rsham,⁵ The priours of Crists Church⁶ and of Saint Gregories,⁷ being all in pontificalibs, receyued hym solempnelie. And aftir he hadde kissed the hooly Crucifix he was brought vp to the high Awter, The Monkes singing *Sūme trinitati &c'*.⁸ And therupon Tharchebisshop of Canterbury sange certeyne Orisons ou^r hym; aftir that he kissed certeyn Reliques, and soo was hadde to Saint Thom^s Shryne, w^t an Anteme of Saint Thomas, which ended, The said legate sainge the Colecte, *Deus pro cuius ecclīa &c'*, and aftirwardes turned hym to the people, and yaue his benediccion

¹ Robt. Sherborne (1508-36).² Wm. Warham (1503-32).³ John Fisher (1504-35).⁴ Thos. Hampton (1509-23 ?).⁵ John Sheppey, or Castelocke (1500-38).⁶ Thos. Goldwell (1517-40).⁷ Thos. Wells, also titular Bp. of Sidon and holding secular preferment in Kent (? -1523). St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury.⁸ *Summae Trinitati*, a responsory sung by the convent at the visit of many great persons. Stone's Chronicle notes its use, for example, to receive Henry VI in 1453 (f. 47b), and Edward IV in 1465 (f. 75b); but Queens were generally acclaimed with *Audi filia* (*ibid. passim*).

solempnely. This done,¹ than he reto^rned ayen to his moyle,² The said Archebisshop of Canterberye w^t all the said lordes and nobles yeuyng stille thair attendaunces upon hym, and soo conveyed and brought hym riding to Thabbey of Saint Augustines, where he was Receyued by thabbot and his brethern, and soo brought vp to the high awter, and soo frome thense conveied to his logieng w^tin the said place, The forsaid Archebisshop of Canterberie than reto^rnyng to his palace there, hauyng w^t hym the moost parte of the said Estates, nobles, and companye to dyner. And soo the said legate was there logied that nyght and the next alsoo.

(25th, St. James the Great, Apostle) The *Sunday* than next, the said legate restid w^tin the said Monastery of Saint Augustines, and the same daie he was at a solempne Masse in the Qwere. And aftir Masse hadde a grete dyner there, where the said Archebisshop of Canterberie w^t all the said nobles & estats dynd. And aftir dyner he went to Crists Church, where he sawe the Shryne of Saint Thomas and other Reliques of that Church, and soo than reto^rned ayen to his moyle, and was conveyed to his logieng at Saint Augustines aforesaid for that nyght.

(26th) The *Monday*, erly in the mornyng, whan it thoundred, lightened and Reyned soore, he toke his io^rney, accompaigned w^t the said Bisshopes, lords, estats, and gentilmen, towards Sittingborne, where he dynd. And at aftir noone roode vnto Thabbey of Boxley, there resting hym all that nyght.

(f. 293^b)

(27th) The *Tuesdaie* than next, aftir his brekefast was made, he was likewise as before conveyed to a place of the forsaid Archebisshop of Canterbury, callid Otford, where the said Archebisshop in right honno^rable wise receyued hym, and soo there restid that nyght and the next aftir. Soo that

(28th) The *Wedynsday* than, and all that season of two daies and ij nyghts, The said Archebisshop made vnto the said legate, w^t all his and other all the lords and estats cōmyng w^t hym, goodlie and grete chere, besids many and diu^rse pleasures and goodely passe tymes made and shewed vnto hym by the said Archebisshop.

¹ This word is obscurely written, but "done" is probably the true reading.

² Mule.

(29th) The *Thursday* than in the mornyng, he was conveyed to Lewisham¹ besids Grenewich, where he dyned at oon \bar{M} willia hattecliff² place, oone of the Clerks of the Greneclothe. And aft' dyn^r, abouts oone of the Clokke, he was brought to blacke hethe, where the Duke of Norffolk, w^t diu^r se and many lords and nobles appointed in a grete nombre, taried his cōmyng, And soo there mette, saluted, and Receyued hym in the best man^r, The Bisshop of Duresme³ sayng a shorte oration in congratulacion of his cūmyng. And therupon all the companye sette in an ordre according to thair degrees, to the nombre of M¹ M¹ ⁴ horses or moo, The said legate than proceded in his io^rney towards lond' and beyounde Saint Thomas waterynge⁵ in a grete medowe there was sette the kings Tente, a m^rvelous Riche thinge, wherin the said legate chaunged his appareill and his moyle. And therupon roode furthe to lond' w^t his Crosse borne before hym, twoo pillers and twoo Balaxes,⁶ all the nobles and gentils, as Esquiers, knights and lords bothe spūall⁷ and tempall,⁸ riding in good ordre before hym. And next aftir hym roode his awne brother, a prothonatorie, ioyned w^t hym a Bisshop of Irland, called \bar{M} Thomas halsey,⁹ an Englysshe man borne; And all the legates s^rūnts clothed, riding aftir in ordre, clothed in gownes, Bonetts, hatts, and hosen, all reede color. And next aftir theym came Tharchebisshop of Canterberie s^ruaunts, to the nombre of CC¹⁰ horses, sette in good ordre, and all of oon lyu^rey, w^t Reede hatts, except Chapelayns. And soo the said legate cōmyng and passinge thorough the Religious psons and all the Clergie of london, standing in ordre of bothe sids of the strete all the weys of his cōmyng, in Riche coopes of gold, w^t thair goodely Crosses & Sensars. At london bruge the said legate was saluted by oracion, a shorte thinge;

¹ Lewisham.

² A brass inscription (the effigy lost) to his son and heir, George, ob. Aug. 1st, 1514, may be seen in the rebuilt parish church of Lewisham. See Griffin and Stephenson, p. 132.

³ Thos. Ruthall (1509-23).

⁴ 2,000.

⁵ A place near Southwark.

⁶ Poleaxes.

⁷ Spiritual.

⁸ Temporal.

⁹ Bp. of Leighlin and Kildare, 1515-21. Attended Fifth Lateran Council. Died at Westminster, 1521. See P. P. B. Gams, O.S.B., *Series episcoporum Ecc. Cath.* (Ratisbon, 1873), p. 227.

¹⁰ 200.

the Crafts of lond' beganne thair ordre in gracious¹ strete. And in the Chepeside The maio^r of lond' w^t all the Aldermen welcōmed hym, and there a brief oracion and salutacion was made to the said legate in laten by M Moore.² At paules Church he was Receyued by the Bishshoppes of lincoln³ and lond',⁴ and all the Ministres of paules.

(f. 294)

And there the Bishshop of london said a shorte oracion ; And aft^rwards he was hadde vp to the high Awter, and soo reto^rned ayen to his moyle, and than was conveied and brought frome thense to Bathes place,⁵ his logieng.

¹ Gracechurch.

² The famous Sir Thos. More, then Privy Councillor and Master of Requests.

³ Wm. Atwater (1514-21).

⁴ Rich. FitzJames (1506-22).

⁵ The London house of the Bp. of Bath and Wells, situated with several other episcopal mansions in the Strand, then a surburb almost linking London with Westminster.