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# **‘Mission Impossible?’**

## **Ambassador Karl Harst, Anne of Cleves, and their struggles to secure the strategic alliance between Cleves and England’**

Thesis submitted for examination for the degree of PhD at the School of  
History, University of Kent, January 2019.

### **Abstract:**

Much has been written about the marriage between Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII, but scholars mostly had to rely on the sources that came from an English perspective and narrative. To enable a more balanced view on the encounter between England and Cleves and on the marriage, source material needs to be included that was created from the perspective of the side of Cleves. As only parts of the dispatches of Karl Harst, ambassador of Cleves to England 1540-1542, have been published before and furthermore between 110 to 150 years ago, this thesis aims to fill a gap. It provides transcripts of Harst’s letters written in 1540 during the brief period of marriage between Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII and of diplomatic alliance between Cleves and England, as well as fresh perspectives and new insights into a topic that supposedly was exhaustingly covered.

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# **Part I**

## **Interpretation**

# **'Mission Impossible?**

**Ambassador Karl Harst, Anne of  
Cleves, and their struggles to secure  
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and England'**

# Contents

|                                                                 |                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>                            | <b>3</b>       |
| 1.1 Introduction and Methodology .....                          | 3              |
| 1.2 Literature Review .....                                     | 6              |
| 1.3 The Sources: Harst's letters .....                          | 14             |
| <br><b>Chapter 2: The Mission .....</b>                         | <br><b>21</b>  |
| 2.1 Geography and History of the United Duchies of Cleves ..... | 21             |
| 2.2 The Guelders Crisis and the English Alliance .....          | 29             |
| 2.3 Karl Harst, councillor and diplomat .....                   | 37             |
| <br><b>Chapter 3: Struggles .....</b>                           | <br><b>56</b>  |
| 3.1 Perceptions and Identity .....                              | 56             |
| 3.2 Distrust and Cromwell's Downfall .....                      | 78             |
| 3.3 Annulment and Survival .....                                | 89             |
| <br><b>Chapter 4: Anne of Cleves revisited .....</b>            | <br><b>105</b> |
| 4.1 The Queen in Diplomacy .....                                | 105            |
| 4.2 Anne and the King .....                                     | 115            |
| 4.3 New Information vs Historiography .....                     | 122            |
| <br><b>Chapter 5: Mission Impossible .....</b>                  | <br><b>131</b> |
| 5.1. Failure of Mission .....                                   | 131            |
| 5.2 Aftermatch .....                                            | 135            |
| <br><b>6. Closing remarks .....</b>                             | <br><b>140</b> |
| <br><b>7. Bibliography .....</b>                                | <br><b>142</b> |
| 7.1 Printed Primary Sources .....                               | 142            |
| 7.2. Literature .....                                           | 144            |

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction and Methodology

All works that deal with the diplomacy between England and Cleves or the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves, whether briefly or more extensively, take a chronological, narrative approach. While this is best suited to give the reader a clearly structured idea of the events, this descriptive approach bears a critical risk. Using the main body of original source material, the depositions of selected courtiers of Henry VIII that were written down in early July 1540 for the annulment litigation of his fourth marriage, for a retrospective chronological narrative is anachronistic. Furthermore, these depositions were made with the intention to ensure a smooth and legally strong annulment litigation and a fast result. They were all taken on behalf of Henry's side, against the marriage, and none of them in defence of the marriage and on Anne's behalf. Thus, relying on these sources leads to a heavily biased depiction. Nevertheless, as other sources are few and less 'juicy', the depositions have been exploited to fill the narration in all works on the topic. Thus the well-known perspective had established expectations and conventions for the discussion of the short marriage of Henry and Anne that also affect the view on the diplomacy between England and Cleves.

To enable a more balanced view on the encounter between England and Cleves and on the marriage, source material needs to be included that was created from the perspective of the side of Cleves. Duke William of Cleves appointed an ambassador to support the relations with Henry VIII, Karl Harst, who stayed in England from mid-March 1540 until an unknown date of 1542<sup>1</sup>. Only a small part of his accounts of the events of 1540 has been published: two letters, dated 4

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<sup>1</sup> It is believed that Harst stayed in England from March 1540 until an unspecified date in 1542 (Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597) or 1543 (Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 180 and p.182). Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, incorrectly states that he accompanied Anne and stayed until 1544: p. 166. The last of his surviving despatches was sent in May 1542, however.

and 5 April 1540 in the *Landtagsakten*<sup>2</sup> and parts of the 7, 8 and 10 July and the 18 September dispatches within Bouterwek, 'Anna von Cleve, Gemahlin Heinrichs VIII., Königs von England'<sup>3</sup>. However, these sources have met only little recognition in modern day scholarly works. A thesis published on a small scale by Albert Müller in 1907 did make use of Harst's correspondence by referring to some information contained therein.<sup>4</sup> However, only Retha Warnicke seems to have included Müller's thesis into her research, thus using Harst's sources indirectly.<sup>5</sup>

For this reason, the aim of this project was to compile and examine the surviving dispatches of Karl Harst, explore their significance for the discourse on the topic, and to make the valuable source material accessible to other researchers. The question preceding the research was: does the correspondence of the Cleves ambassador provide any new or different information that explains the events from a different perspective? After the transcription of all of Harst's 1540 letters, rather than taking a chronological, narrative approach and working from a preset structure to the details, I chose to let the details, i.e. the most interesting or surprising information, take the lead. As a result of this approach, after setting the foundation with background knowledge on the United Duchies of Cleves, the Guelders crisis and the beginnings of the diplomatic encounter between Cleves and England as well as an introduction of Karl Harst's background, this work follows the 'highlights' of the information that Harst provided. This includes examinations of his main contacts, his perception of 'the English' and the complications that endangered the alliance as well as the dramatic turn of events with the arrest of Thomas Cromwell and the fast annulment proceedings. A surprising element that emerged during research was the role of Anne of Cleves

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<sup>2</sup> Georg von Below (ed.), *Landtagsakten von Jülich-Berg 1400-1610, first volume: 1400-1562* (Düsseldorf, 1895): 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 4', p. 317-324, and 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 5', p. 324-326.

<sup>3</sup> A.W. Bouterwek, 'Anna von Cleve, Gemahlin Heinrichs VIII., Königs von England' in *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins* 6 (1869) pp. 97 - 180.

<sup>4</sup> **Albert Müller**, *Die Beziehungen Heinrichs VIII zu Anna von Cleve* (Tübingen, 1907).

<sup>5</sup> **Retha M. Warnicke**, *The marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal protocol in early modern England*, (Cambridge, 2000).

and the new information that tells a very different story of the annulment and her personality than the established version, particularly her own say in the marriage proceedings and a secret correspondence with her brother William during her time as queen consort.

As his despatches have not been used in most of the scholarship around the Cleves marriage, Karl Harst as a person and the nature of his role have been mostly neglected.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, one of the main questions this work will answer is: what was the nature of Harst's mission, and was he suited for his task?

Anne's involvement in political is not even appearing as a topic in scholarship, as this was apparently perceived as a non-existent possibility. Is it true that Anne of Cleves was neither involved, nor interested in politics? Is there any evidence in Harst's correspondence that tells a different story?

Some scholars like Starkey<sup>7</sup>, Kelly<sup>8</sup> and Entegart<sup>9</sup> have treated the marriage and following annulment as a mere story of a personal mismatch. They described Henry as someone who was trapped in and working to escape a marriage to a woman he found repulsive. Is it true that the annulment was a result of a lack of attraction, or are there more aspects to this that Harst's letters can give more insight into? Is there any evidence in Harst's letters on the question of whether the marriage between Anne and Henry was consummated?

In order to make the new information accessible for the interpretation of future researchers, the transcripts of Harst's letters are provided in the form of an edition. As the letters of Karl Harst are difficult to understand even for a (modern) German native speaker, they may prove extremely challenging to one

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<sup>6</sup> With the exceptions of Müller, *Beziehungen*, and Warnicke, *Marrying*.

<sup>7</sup> David Starkey, *Six Wives. The Queens of Henry VIII* (London, 2004), pp. 617-643.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (Stanford, 1976), pp. 261-275.

<sup>9</sup> Rory McEntegart, 'Fatal Matrimony: Henry VIII and the Marriage to Anne of Cleves' in *Henry VIII. A European Court in England*, ed. By David Starkey (London, 1991), pp. 140 - 144.

reading German as a foreign language. English summaries are therefore given with the transcripts.

It is necessary to give an explanation for the use of two terms that may be seen as anachronistic otherwise, 'protestant' and 'nation'. While it has been pointed out that the use of the label 'protestant' and the identification with this label has not been in use in England until the second half of the 16th century<sup>10</sup>, Harst and the other councillors of Cleves did refer to the members of the Schmalkaldic league as 'Protestierende', which would translate into 'the protesting', as is written in decoded language in the records of Jülich-Berg II 2743.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, he calls the English people as 'nation'<sup>12</sup>, comparable to the use in 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation', which, although not an official title, has been in use since the late 15th century.<sup>13</sup> As Harst uses these terms, they will appear in this work without disregard of the problematic use of these labels for that time period.

## 1.2 Literature Review

### Literature on diplomacy

Of the more general overviews or comprehensive works, *Garett Mattingly's Renaissance diplomacy*<sup>14</sup> certainly is best known as a landmark in the studies of diplomacy. Describing the development of permanent embassies in early modern diplomacy from their beginning in Renaissance Italy to the spread over Europe it covers a wide area. *Crowson's Tudor Foreign Policy*<sup>15</sup> is more specific, dealing

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<sup>10</sup> **Peter Marshall, Alec Ryrie** (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 6.; **Diarmaid MacCulloch**, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London, 2003), p.338.

<sup>11</sup> For the documents that bear the decoded passages of Harsts letters see the 'cipher' section below in this chapter.

<sup>12</sup> 'as the nature of this nation seems to me inconsistent': JB II 2743 f.78v.: '*dan die natur der nation dunckt mich wanckelmütig sein*'.

<sup>13</sup> Joachim Ehlers, *Die Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches* (München, 2012), p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> **G. Mattingly**, *Renaissance diplomacy*, (London, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1963).

<sup>15</sup> **P. Crowson**, *Tudor Foreign Policy* (New York, 1973).

much more in detail with the diplomacy of England under the Tudors and this dynasty's place in the European policy 1485-1603. According to Crowson, the main aim of Tudor diplomacy was to avoid any threat of invasion from overseas, or even from overseas and Scotland at the same time. While for a long time it sufficed to trust that the rivalry between Charles V and Francis I would keep them busy enough to disregard England, the Cromwell and Henry started negotiating with German princes and cities in the 1530s in order to find allies. In his PhD thesis about the diplomatic relations between England and the League of Schmalkalden between 1531 and 1547,<sup>16</sup> Rory McEntegart criticised the standard model that historians had previously used to describe European diplomacy in the reign of Henry VIII up to the date of his thesis, which he completed in 1992, and still until its publication ten years later. The orthodox view is that Henry was interested in diplomatic contacts to the Protestant German Princes only when he was endangered and isolated by the amity between the French king and the emperor, especially when these two princes achieved a treaty in 1539 and worked in conjunction with Pope Paul III, who had excommunicated Henry in 1537, which directly concerned the safety of his realm. As soon as the threat was over, Henry would abandon his erstwhile Protestant allies, as he had no genuine interest in contacts and exchange of doctrinal nature and only pretended religious harmonisation to allure the Protestant Princes for his own political and diplomatic ends. McEntegart, offered a different view of the Anglo-Schmalkaldic relations and argued that Henry VIII showed genuine interest in diplomatic relations to the Protestant Princes also for the purpose of religious contact, encouraged by an influential reformist group at court, led by Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer. What makes McEntegart's work important for my research topic is that he proves these Anglo-German contacts to be more historically important than traditionally allowed.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> **R. Mc Entegart**, *England and the League of Schmalkalden 1531-1547: Faction, foreign policy and the English Reformation*, PhD thesis London School of Economics and Political Sciences (London, 1992). Published as **R. McEntegart**, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation* (Boydell, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> For the 'traditional' description of the Anglo-Schmalkaldic contacts see **P. Crowson**, *Tudor Foreign Policy* (New York, 1973).

Of the German princely states with contacts to England during the sixteenth century, Cleves is probably the best known regarding their diplomatic relations. This, of course, deals mostly with the proceedings surrounding the marriage of Anne of Cleves to Henry VIII.<sup>18</sup> Retha M. Warnicke's *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves*<sup>19</sup> offers an in-depth study of the political background, the alliance, marriage and annulment, as well as of diplomatic practice. Warnicke elaborates in detail the diplomatic contacts between England and Cleves and the different customs which led to some misunderstandings. She also gives examples of similar cases in European history for many of the incidents that happened during these contacts, which helps to get a better understanding of the events, like the first meeting between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves in Rochester with Henry being disguised. Warnicke gives an account of six similar greetings of a bride by her royal groom in disguise that happened before, including Henry's sister Margaret Tudor and James IV, pointing out that it is important to recognise the display of power and chivalry in this protocol that was not at all a unique occurrence in Henry VIII's case.

Since the late 1970s, the perception of political and diplomatic history has changed significantly, as John Guy outlined in the introduction and by the choice of essays in his work *The Tudor Monarchy*.<sup>20</sup> Instead of merely regarding the work of governmental institutions in policy, the importance of the people in these institutions, at court and in embassies was acknowledged and emphasised.

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<sup>18</sup> An old, yet very elaborate and thorough study of the marriage proceedings that still lives up to today's standards is **A. Müller**, *Die Beziehungen Heinrichs VIII zu Anna von Cleve*, PhD thesis University of Tübingen (Tübingen, 1907). Of newer date are **J. Engelbrecht**, 'Anglo-German Relations in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Henry VIII in history, historiography and literature*, ed. Uwe Baumann (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), pp.113-127; **N. Finzsch-Sprengel**, 'Heinrich VIII. und Anna von Kleve', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 192/193 (1990), 47-67; **Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf**, *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte: Die Herzogtümer Jülich- Cleve- Berg* (Kleve, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1985) and **H. Finger**, *England und der Niederrhein in ihren Beziehungen während des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: eine Ausstellung der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf zum Anglistentag 1991 (27.9.-14.10)* (Düsseldorf, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> **Retha M. Warnicke**, *The marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal protocol in early modern England*, (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> **J. Guy**, *The Tudor Monarchy* (London 1997).

These people's social, cultural and educational background, their relationship towards each other and towards the monarch and thus their influence on policy and diplomacy have been highlighted in biographic works on early modern diplomats such as Nicholas Wotton, Richard Morison and Christopher Mont. Through this biographic work on early modern diplomats, cultural influence and exchange in the conduct of diplomacy can be identified.

One of the most notable works of this new cultural history of diplomacy and history is Tracey Sowerby's work on Sir Richard Morison<sup>21</sup> that shows how versatile the education and capabilities of diplomats could be and were expected to be and how the particular diplomats influenced the policy of their times. Barbara Ficaro's PhD thesis on Nicholas Wotton<sup>22</sup> concerns one of the main diplomats who dealt with the marriage negotiations between England and Cleves. Similarly, Christopher Mont, the German-born agent is portrayed in an article by Esther Hildebrand.<sup>23</sup> He was called to England to work for Thomas Cromwell, later got the English denization and was in service to the English crown. Not only was Mont a notable scholar, but sending him on diplomatic missions to German estates or diets had obvious advantages, as he could talk to the agents and princes he met not only in Latin but also in their mother tongue in order to gather more information from various sources and also knew the proceedings and customs much better than an English born diplomat.

Isabella Lazzarini's work on Italian diplomacy, *Communication and Conflict. Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520*<sup>24</sup>, gives insight into the development of diplomacy in the Italian principalities and republic and, more generally, into diplomatic practice such as information-gathering, manipulation of information, choice of diplomatic personnel and diplomatic hierarchies.

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<sup>21</sup> **T. Sowerby**, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: the Careers of Sir Richard Morison c.1513-1556* (New York, 2010).

<sup>22</sup> **B. Ficaro**, *Nicholas Wotton: Dean and Diplomat*, PhD thesis University of Kent (Canterbury, 1981).

<sup>23</sup> **E. Hildebrand**, 'Christopher Mont, Anglo-German diplomat', *Sixteenth Century Journal* XV/3 (1984), 281-292.

<sup>24</sup> **Isabella Lazzarini**, *Communication and Conflict. Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520* (Oxford, 2015).

There are some publications which deal with the administrative side of diplomacy. One of these is Bell's *Handlist of British diplomatic representatives*,<sup>25</sup> which arranges the diplomats geographically by their missions, including a short description and references to sources and documents.

Even more detailed is the appendix of Luke Mac Mahon's PhD thesis on the English diplomatic personnel in the first half of the sixteenth century, in which he investigated the social backgrounds of ambassadors: clergy, nobility/gentry, and merchants. In the course of his research he assembled a complete list of all embassies in the reign of Henry VIII, sorted alphabetically in order of the courts they were dispatched to, including dates and references to sources, which is very helpful for keeping track of the relevant embassies.<sup>26</sup>

*Thomas Haye*, in his article about Latin as diplomatic language, offers interesting thoughts on Latin not only in written exchange, but also on its oral use and the neutrality of Latin used in diplomacy, especially in peace treaties.<sup>27</sup>

Martin Lunitz's work on the resident ambassadors of Charles V to France illustrates not only their duties and responsibilities, but also background aspects of resident embassy, such as the finances, letters of instruction or the ambassador's household and residence.<sup>28</sup> Another administrative aspect of diplomacy is covered with James Daybell's work *The Material Letter in Early Modern England. Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practice of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635*, particularly concerning postal conditions, the interception and coding of diplomatic dispatches.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> **G.M. Bell**, *A handlist of British diplomatic representatives 1509-1688* (London, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> **L. MacMahon**, *The Ambassadors of Henry VIII: the personnel of English diplomacy c.1500-c.1550*, PhD thesis University of Kent (Canterbury, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> **T. Haye**, 'Die lateinische Sprache als Medium mündlicher Diplomatie', *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. R. Schwinges and K. Wiedt (Ostfildern, 2003), 15-32.

<sup>28</sup> **M. Lunitz**, *Diplomatie und Diplomaten im 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den Gesandten Kaiser Karls V. in Frankreich* (Konstanz, 1988).

<sup>29</sup> **James Daybell**, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England. Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practice of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, 2012).

## Literature on (national) identity

Much of the recent scholarly debate about national or regional identity in Europe comes from scholars working in the Netherlands and Belgium. The essays gathered for the publication *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300-1650*<sup>30</sup> show the significance of national identity for historical research in a region which was even much more fragmented and complex than the estates of the Empire. Of the essays covering various aspects and particularities of national identity in the Low Countries, three should be mentioned explicitly.

Peter Hoppenbrouwer's 'The Dynamics of National Identities in the Later Middle Ages' offers a solid ground of definitions, a review on the recent scholarly debate over the use of the terms 'nation' and 'national' in pre-modern times and an overview of the different approaches to the research on national identity as the first chapter of the volume.<sup>31</sup>

In 'Against Burgundy: the Appeal of Germany in the Duchy of Guelders', Aart Noordzij shows how the people of Guelders had, after previous conflicts, born a deep resentment for Burgundy, which was transferred to the Habsburg dynasty by their inheritance. Interestingly, 'Burgundy' became the epitome of a loss of independence, violence and (French speaking) foreignness, whilst Germany (i.e. German princely states and free cities) stood for independence. This eventually led to Guelders choosing Duke William of Cleves as successor to their deceased Duke Charles in the hope of his protection against the hereditary claims of the Emperor.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> **R. Stein and J. Pollmann** (ed.), *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300-1650* (Leiden and Boston, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> **P. Hoppenbrouwers**, 'The Dynamics of National Identity in the Later Middle Ages', *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300-1650*, ed. R. Stein and J. Pollmann (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 19-41.

<sup>32</sup> **A. Noordzij**, 'Against Burgundy: The Appeal of Germany in the Duchy of Guelders', *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300-1650*, ed. R. Stein and J. Pollmann (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 111-129.

David Potter, when examining the 'media' and war propaganda in Renaissance France and its effect on national identity, aimed to identify opinion on high policy on one hand and the crown's justifications for their changing high policy on the other. Of interest for my topic is his work on the justification for the mid sixteenth century alliance with the German princely states. The reasoning was to preserve the German liberty, which was imagined to be endangered by the tyranny of the Emperor under the pretence of religious reasons.<sup>33</sup>

The French need for the justification of diplomatic relations and alliances to German Protestant principalities is also thematised in Friedrich Beiderbeck's study on German cultural references and stereotypes in French diplomacy. He argues that, by linking 'protestant' to being German, French opposition to Protestantism could exclude this 'evil' from their own identity. He also found evidence that the political complex structures and struggles in respect to the German *Reichsverfassung* were perceived as being linked to character stereotypes like sluggishness, drunkenness and combativeness. He therefore thinks it a legitimate question to ask if these stereotypes could have influenced the French attempts to interfere in the German internal conflicts.<sup>34</sup>

When we look at 'national identity', obviously it is necessary to include stereotypes- actually they are inevitably linked to another. According to Horst Haselsteiner, stereotypes are inherent in every aspect of people's lives and are needed to give them structure, self-identity and group-identity. His short essay is part of the publication of a conference of modern history which offers

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<sup>33</sup> **D. Potter**, 'War Propaganda, Literature and National Identity in Renaissance France c. 1490-1560', *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300-1650*, ed. R. Stein and J. Pollmann (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 173-193.

<sup>34</sup> **F. Beiderbeck**, 'Deutsche kulturelle Referenzen in der franzoesischen Aussenpolitik im 16. Jahrhundert', *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Schmale (Innsbruck, 2003), 185-203.

nevertheless a good understanding of the mechanisms and definition of (national) stereotypes<sup>35</sup>.

As for publications about the perception of the respective 'other' and 'self' of English and German travellers, there are some works about the written accounts of travellers. Robson-Scott's publication provides an insight into the travelogues and diaries of German travellers to England,<sup>36</sup> although 'German' stretches to include Swiss and Bohemians (due to the Habsburg rule) as well. For the English side of the travel accounts, *Anna Suranyi* investigated English travel literature in regard to an early modern English national identity.<sup>37</sup> The perception of foreign countries and people lead to the distinction of the own 'character', and Suranyi shows how the English travellers expressed their perceptions in written accounts with patriotic feelings and a sense of 'national identity', which may be seen as early roots for the modern concept of 'nationalism'.

In Germany, the research of identity and the perception of the 'other' in early modern Europe is a relatively new field, as earlier research concentrated on contacts with exotic overseas cultures. Arno Strohmeyer<sup>38</sup> states in his survey of recent literature in *Wahrnehmungen des Fremden* that much more work on the perception of the 'other' is needed, especially in the history of diplomacy. He encourages especially systematic and comparative study of diplomatic correspondence and suggests that an analysis of the vocabulary in regard to expressions of comparison, contrast or translation (e.g. the explanation of different habits by analogies etc) is fundamental to this work.

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<sup>35</sup> **H. Haselsteiner**, 'The significance of stereotypes', *National stereotypes. Correct images and distorted images*, ed. B. Valota (Alessandria, 2007), 7-11.

<sup>36</sup> **W.D. Robson-Scott**, *German Travellers in England 1400-1800* (Oxford, 1953).

<sup>37</sup> **A. Suranyi**, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, 2008).

<sup>38</sup> **M. Rohrschneider and A. Strohmeyer** (ed.), *Wahrnehmungen des Fremden: Differenzenerfahrungen von Diplomaten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 2007).

### 1.3 The Sources: Harst's letters

The primary source material

The core of this research is based on the dispatches of Karl Harst in his function as ambassador to England, preserved in the records of Jülich-Berg. While the surviving letters cover Harst's stay in England between March 1540 and May 1542<sup>39</sup>. Most of these letters were addressed either to chancellor Gogreve or to both Gogreve and vice-chancellor Olisleger, while some were written to the duke of Cleves. The majority of Harst's dispatches are kept in two volumes of the Jülich-Berg Akten (records of Jülich-Berg) at the *Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Rheinland* in Duisburg, Germany.<sup>40</sup> As there is some minor disarray in the succession of folios<sup>41</sup> and the *Historisches Stadtarchiv* in Cologne is or was in possession of at least two of Harst's letters that were written during this embassy,<sup>42</sup> the two volumes in Duisburg can not be regarded as a complete and intact record of his correspondence. In addition to Harst's dispatches, these volumes include drafts of letters that were sent to Harst, contemporary transcripts of parts of the envoy's coded messages, drafts of his credential letters to Queen Anne of Cleves, King Henry VIII and Lord Privy Seal Thomas Cromwell, Harst's instructions, a memorandum of duke William to chancellor Gogreve and three messages of Anne of Cleves to Harst. The first of the two volumes, JB II 2743, contains Harst's dispatches ranging from 23 August 1539<sup>43</sup> until 20

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<sup>39</sup> It is believed that Harst stayed in England from March 1540 until an unspecified date in 1542 (Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597) or 1543 (Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 180 and p.182). Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, incorrectly states that he accompanied Anne and stayed until 1544: p. 166.

<sup>40</sup> Jülich-Berg II 2743 and Jülich-Berg II 2744

<sup>41</sup> In the course of the transcription work, a few of the letter pages did not fit together. This mistake must have happened before the folios were consecutively numbered, as the numbers were in the correct order; it is possible that this occurred when a few despatches or single folios were removed for research in the nineteenth century.

<sup>42</sup> Published in Norbert Finzsch-Sprengel, 'Heinrich VIII und Anna von Kleve', in *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 192/193 (1990) pp. 47-67. According to Finzsch-Sprengel, 'Heinrich VIII', p. 54 n12, the two letters that he analysed for the article that was published in 1990 were in the unclassified holdings at the time. In a tragical incident in 2009, the archives in Cologne collapsed and the archival goods were buried initially. Although most documents could later be recovered, they were in great disarray; many were damaged, and some lost or damaged beyond repair. It is not sure whether Harst's letters survived the incident and how their condition is, and impossible to determine at this point whether the archive held more than these two letters in the unclassified holdings.

<sup>43</sup> It was written while he was still ambassador in Madrid: Jülich-Berg 2743 fo. 6r.

December 1540. Of this volume, 229 folio pages were transcribed and analysed and 220 have been taken into account for this work. The second, smaller volume JB II 2744 contains dispatches from 14<sup>th</sup> January 1541 to 29<sup>th</sup> May 1542. However, for this work, the focus was on Harst's own letters between 15 March 1540, the start of his embassy in England, until 20 December 1540. In addition to these archival sources, two letters of Karl Harst have been included in the research that had been edited and published in 1895 and taken from the predecessor of the *Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen*, the *Königliches Staatsarchiv Düsseldorf*.<sup>44</sup>

### Cipher

The dispatches that Karl Harst sent from England are mostly encoded.<sup>45</sup> A few contemporary transcriptions of the coded passages of parts of Harst's letters were enclosed in the volumes that contained the correspondence. These were produced by the recipients of the dispatches for an easier use in council meetings and deliberations with the duke, and could be used for this study to obtain the code key. For their own facilitation, they numbered the encoded passages in the margins and wrote the decryptions accordingly onto a new sheet. The passages that were not encoded were not copied, which means that the councillors must have handled the letter pages and the pages with the decrypted parts when discussing the contents of a dispatch. Although Karl Harst refers to it as 'cipher', it is not a cipher according to current definition, as this would require the encryption to be based on an algorithm.<sup>46</sup> In the strict sense, Harst used code, as he just replaced each letter with a particular symbol. Such 'alternative' alphabets were a very commonly used form of cipher in the 16th century and also used in

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<sup>44</sup> These were published in Georg von Below (ed.), *Landtagsakten von Jülich-Berg 1400-1610, first volume: 1400-1562* (Düsseldorf, 1895): 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 4', p. 317-324, and 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 5', p. 324-326.

<sup>45</sup> The use of cipher in diplomatic correspondence increased significantly in the first half of the sixteenth century: Anderson, *Rise*, p. 22-23.

<sup>46</sup> He used the word "Zeiffer" or "Ziffer": JB II 2743 fo. 7R, JB II 2743 fo. 59r and JB II 2743 fo. 65r. For the terminology see L. N. Rangarajan, 'Diplomacy, States and Secrecy in Communications', in *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 9:3 (1998) pp. 18-49, here pp. 29-31. In this study, however, the term 'cipher' may be used instead of 'code' as it is the term used by Karl Harst.

England from early Tudor times.<sup>47</sup> Some important individuals are represented by a particular symbol (e.g.  $\text{ff}$  for the King of England;  $\delta$  for Anne of Cleves). Countries or groups of people were often represented by numbers, such as '13' for 'ambassadors' or 'councillors', '8' for the 'Burgundians', i.e. the Habsburgs. Sometimes the identification of a personal symbol remained uncertain or unknown during the transcription of the dispatches.

It is not possible to skim-read the encrypted writing, which may be a reason why the recipients produced transcriptions of some of the letters. For an analysis of the source material, Harst's use of code required a complete transcription of his dispatches. At the same time, the code bears an advantage, as Harst was forced to write the symbols with greater care. Although he and the recipients used this code, they were a lot less accustomed to them as to the common alphabet, which required a clear and neat writing. This, in fact, allows for a complete and reliable transcription with few uncertainties due to illegibility, which occur in the encrypted parts as a result of damage rather than of the writing, and are exceptions. Sometimes Harst made a mistake in the coding, especially when a symbol resembled the plaintext letter or a different symbol. Thus, instead of writing the correct sign for the letter O, which would look like 'H', he sometimes wrote 'o', which in turn is the replacement for the letter A, or he confused r and t, as their replacement symbols had a high resemblance. Harst had his own personal cipher that was intended just for his use and for letters that he received from the council or the duke. Hence he was upset after he got the suspicion in April 1540, that his code may have been handed on to another person, who was sent to the Queen's household from Cleves:

'I notice the Queen's household has a cipher as well. Here is a young man, said to be from Unna, (who) recently was in the chancery of Cleves. And if it (the cipher) should be mine, since I am on an island, I wish you or Dr. Olisleger had

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<sup>47</sup> **James Daybell**, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England. Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practice of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 156.

refrained from doing this and given or sent him another, not mine. Or else I need to curb my quill and not give my hand free reign (write freely).'<sup>48</sup>

Harst's reference to his situation on an island is interesting, as it expressed an increased necessity for securing his correspondence by coding, and for keeping the code key confidential. An island could be isolated rather easily in comparison to a continental territory, which includes self-isolation as well as isolation from outside (for instance in a siege). The transport routes to the mainland for goods and people were narrowed down to the ships that left or called at the English ports.<sup>49</sup> Thus it was possible to gain a higher level of control over who and what came into or left England than into a territory that could be accessed by land via any route, which made the security of confidential correspondence more vulnerable to interception.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the presence of one or more additional persons who could read Harst's coded letters increased the risk of someone giving away the knowledge of the personal code key as a result of bribery or threat<sup>51</sup>. Under these circumstances, Harst would have had no means left to protect confidential information, which explains his anxiety about any indiscretion in regard to his code.

Ambassador Harst addressed most of his dispatches to William's councillors Gogreve, Vlatten and Olisleger, and some letters to the duke himself around the time of the annulment of his sister's marriage. Unlike envoys of the English and French royal courts, who used to send two dispatches, one to the monarch and

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<sup>48</sup> 'Ich vernim, der konigin volck haben auch ein ziffer under inen. Es goet hie ein junger, sol sein von Onnam (Unna), kurzlich gewesen in der Clevischen kanzlei. Und wan es die mein were, dan ich lieg hie in einer insulen, so wolt ich, das ir oder doctor Olichschleger solchs unterwegs gelassen und im ein andere und nit die mein geben oder zugestellt. Oder ich must mein feder messigen und die hant nit lassen zuvor laufen.' *Landtagsakten*, p. 326.

<sup>49</sup> Without regard to a principally possible, but risky and lengthy circumvention via Scotland.

<sup>50</sup> Allen, *Post*, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> Each ambassador used to have his own, personal code: **James Daybell**, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England. Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practice of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 150.

the most important minister respectively,<sup>52</sup> Harst seems to only have sent one to either the councillors or his master. The records that hold his letters also bear transcriptions of some of the coded paragraphs, which indicates that the dispatches were first transcribed in the chancery and then discussed in a meeting with William and his most trusted councillors.

For the delivery, Harst relied on certain contacts among the major German merchant dynasties. Merchant families, such as the Welsers or Rincks, had established outposts of their trading companies in major European cities of commerce. Their couriers and merchants travelled frequently between these branches to transport their goods, sometimes with a regular schedule. This mobility offered additional sources of income alongside the trading of goods: they usually provided the aforementioned financial services and postage of letters and parcels. Sending by merchants was cheaper, and because of their scheduled travels it was easier to manage the dispatch and reception of correspondence, hence these services were regularly used by diplomats.<sup>53</sup> It was also safer to send letters with the merchants due to attacks on couriers. In some instances, single couriers of ambassador's dispatches were robbed or even killed for the letters they carried.<sup>54</sup> In this regard, dispatching through the merchants and their postal network promised a better protection for one's own letters, as the bearers were protected by travelling in convoys, or even with escorts.<sup>55</sup> Bribery was another common risk for the safety of information, but merchants seem to have been trustworthy enough for ambassadors and governments to rely on them frequently.

The evidence in Harst's letters demonstrates his greater trust in the big merchant companies rather than individuals who offered to deliver the dispatches. For

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<sup>52</sup> Charles de Marillac, ambassador of France to England, for instance, wrote most reports both to Francis I and the Connétable Montmorency: Kaulek, *Correspondance*; The German-born English agent Christopher Mont to both Henry VIII and Cromwell.

<sup>53</sup> Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 104 and p. 109. The English diplomatic correspondence was also usually delivered by merchants from Antwerp as well: Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 113.

<sup>54</sup> Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 106; Allen, *Post*, p. 24; Anderson, *Rise*, p. 21.

<sup>55</sup> Wernicke, 'Hansekaufmann', p. 180.

instance, while he was still on his embassy in Spain, Harst informed Gogreve about a man named Johann Heyster, who had offered to transport Harst's letters. Heyster was in attendance to the Duke of Aarschot, and as Aarschot in the Low Countries was situated not too far from the territories of the duke of Cleves, this appeared to be a good opportunity for the delivery of correspondence.<sup>56</sup> Harst assessed Heyster's character as trustworthy and reliable, but cautioned that secret information should be encoded, adding that the dispatch was 'most safe' through the Welser merchants. Caution was indeed recommendable concerning Heyster, as the Duke of Aarschot was a faithful liege of the Emperor.<sup>57</sup> The company of the patrician Welser family of Nuremberg maintained outposts in Sevilla and Cologne, among other places, and seems to have been the main and most reliable link for Harst's communication between Spain and the United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg.<sup>58</sup>

As the Welser trading company was not represented in England, Harst had to rely on the Rincks, a merchant dynasty from Cologne, instead<sup>59</sup>. For instance he advised on 30 March that any secret letters from Willliam to his sister Anne should be dispatched to Harst first and through the Rinck factory in the Steelyard.<sup>60</sup> On 14 April, he repeated this advice, but with the additional information that the correspondence should be sent via the Rincks in Antwerp.<sup>61</sup> At first glance, this may be surprising, as the origins and headquarters of the Rinck trading company were in Cologne, which was amid the territories of the United duchies, and closer to the court at Düsseldorf, where the duke and his

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<sup>56</sup> Harst identifies Heyster as preceptor of the duke of Aarschot, so probably Heyster accompanied one of the duke's sons to Spain: JB II 2743 fo. 7r.

<sup>57</sup> Général Guillaume, 'Croy, Philippe II de', in *Biographie Nationale*, vol 4 (Bruxelles 1873) pp. 537 - 540.

<sup>58</sup> The Welser merchants' transport system was also used by the Venetians to carry letters from Augsburg to Venice: Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 109.

<sup>59</sup> However, their reliability may have been affected by conflicting interests, as the Rincks also used to be of service to the Tudor dynasty through trade and postage, but also by providing information, as in 1530, when Henry VIII made inquiries about the Duke of Cleves: Warnicke, *Marrying*, p.69. Nils Jörn states that more than half of the German merchants in the London Steelyard in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries originated from Cologne: Jörn, 'Überlegungen', p. 201.

<sup>60</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 46 r.

<sup>61</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 58 r+v.

council resided predominantly. Despite this vicinity, the dispatch via Antwerp, with its direct and frequent travels of merchant ships to and from England, was faster than sending the letters to Cologne first. Furthermore, Harst may well have known individuals in Rinck's Antwerp factory or nearby whom he particularly trusted to deliver the letters safely. In this case, the personal level of trust could have outweighed the benefits of easier dispatch. While the clandestine correspondence between Duke William and Anne of Cleves was to be delivered via the Rincks, Harst suggested that the official letters that were addressed to him could be given to the English ambassador, Wotton, who would dispatch them together with his own. Cromwell would then pass the dispatches to Harst immediately.<sup>62</sup> The reason for this distinction was the secrecy of William's and Anne's correspondence, as these letters were neither to be noticed by the King, his council, or courtiers, nor by the English ambassador. It was a delicate issue, as the secret communication could have been interpreted as treason. Had it come to the knowledge of somebody who was ill-disposed to the queen, the consequences could have been dire.<sup>63</sup> Thus, on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, Harst had also suggested to post very confidential and delicate messages to him via Rinck in the Steelyard under a disguised inscription, so with pseudonyms for the sender's and recipient's names. He did not specify whether they had agreed on particular pseudonyms with the contacts at the Rinck factory, but referred to an unnamed merchant whom Olisleger knew well.<sup>64</sup> Olisleger may well have known this individual through his personal connections, his marriage to a woman of the Rinck family.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> On the custom of dispatching letters together see Allen, *Post*, p. 26. As Harst had to realise later, his correspondence was opened by the English:

<sup>63</sup> Finzsch-Sprengel, 'Heinrich VIII', pp. 53-54, states that it was even more risky because of the use of cipher to have secret correspondence. But it is unlikely that Anne personally used any cipher at all. At least for April 1540 there is evidence that she did not know Harst's code: the ambassador reported that Anne gave him a letter that was addressed to him, but was opened by her. She explained to her excuse that she had mistaken it to be intended for her, but Harst said she was unable to read it because of the cipher: JB II 2743 fo. 59 r.

<sup>64</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 87 v.

<sup>65</sup> It was the first of Olisleger's three marriages that was to a Rinck: Scheler, 'Juristen', p.78.

## **Chapter 2: The Mission**

### **2.1 Geography and History of the United Duchies of Cleves**

The United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg around 1540.

[REDACTED]

Source: dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte 1. Von den Anfängen bis zur Französischen Revolution, 23rd edition (München, 1989).

The United Duchies of Cleves were, in their largest extension from 1521, a conglomerate of princely territories situated in what is nowadays called the Lower Rhine (*Niederrhein*) region near today's Dutch border. They included three ducal states (Jülich, Berg and Cleves), two counties (Mark and Ravensberg) and a smaller dominion (Ravenstein), spreading on both sides of the river and roughly surrounding the archbishopric of Cologne which stretched along the Rhine on the left bank: Jülich to its left, Berg and Mark to the right side across the river and Cleves on both sides of the Rhine to the north. While the latter three were connected, there was no direct border between Jülich and the other territories, as a part of the duchy of Guelders separated it from Cleves and the archbishopric stretched in between Jülich and Berg. Ravenstein and Ravensberg were even further detached.<sup>66</sup>

As the agricultural and mercantile conditions varied within the territories, consequently the economic capacity also differed between these parts. Of course agriculture was the most important branch of economy which bound the majority of the workforce. In Jülich and Cleves, fertile soils and an adequate amount of rain permitted the sale of a surplus of harvest in most years despite a dense population,<sup>67</sup> whilst in Berg just the area near the river had high quality soils. Combined with its mountainous parts, agricultural production in Berg was not even sufficient for supplying the population of this duchy due to the lesser soil fertility. Furthermore, the practice of dividing the inheritance among all sons had led to an array of small-sized farms in Berg that produced barely enough for subsistence. In consequence, home production spread from the fifteenth century, mainly in the textile business which grew increasingly profitable in the sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Mining and metalworking were other aspiring industries in Berg and Mark in the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, which also

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<sup>66</sup> Abraham Glezerman, *Cleve- ein unerfülltes Schicksal. Aufstieg, Rückzug und Verfall eines Territorialstaates*. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1985), p. 254.

<sup>67</sup> Rainer Walz, 'Wirtschaft und Verkehr' in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich-Kleve-Berg*. (Kleve: Boss-Verlag, 1984), p. 111; Wilhelm Janssen, 'Kleve-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg 1400-1600' in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich-Kleve-Berg*. (Kleve: Boss-Verlag, 1984), p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> Walz, 'Wirtschaft und Verkehr', pp. 109-111.

generated income for the dukes through prerogatives.<sup>69</sup> The proximity of Cologne, the mercantile centre of the region, and the location at one of Europe's main transport routes, the river Rhine, both generally supported the flourishing of the surrounding territories, despite Cologne having staple right and levying customs. Furthermore, close connections to the Low Countries also stimulated trade, craft and the advancement of the Lower Rhine territories.

The merging of these states in 1521 was, for the most part, the result of dynastic marriages since the mid-fourteenth century: Berg and Ravensberg in 1346, Cleves-Mark in 1394, Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg in 1423 and finally Cleves-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg in 1521.<sup>70</sup> The respective territories, though, had also grown through the purchase of inheritance rights and military conquest. Some of these actions' implications are still visible today as they still define sections of the Dutch-German borders.<sup>71</sup> The most substantial unification of 1521 occurred through the succession of the married heirs of Cleves-Mark and Jülich-Berg, John III of Cleves and Maria of Berg. As William IV of Jülich-Berg had no son to succeed him, his daughter Maria would bring his titles and territories into any marriage. It was reasonable for Jülich-Berg to approach Cleves-Mark: not only were they close neighbours, but also of comparable power. However, there had also been considerations to marry Maria to Charles of Egmond, duke of Guelders instead. The neighbouring state of Guelders was of far greater wealth and size and a tempting match. But Charles had voiced claim to the title of Jülich and had formerly threatened both Jülich-Berg and Cleves-Mark with military aggression to the effect of being too unpopular with the estates of Jülich-Berg to obtain their agreement towards this potential marriage, even if it would have brought peace with Guelders. The estates favoured Maria's marriage to John, the heir of Cleves-Mark. The agreement was concluded with a contract in 1496, which detailed the unification of the territories in the event of inheritance, and ratified with the

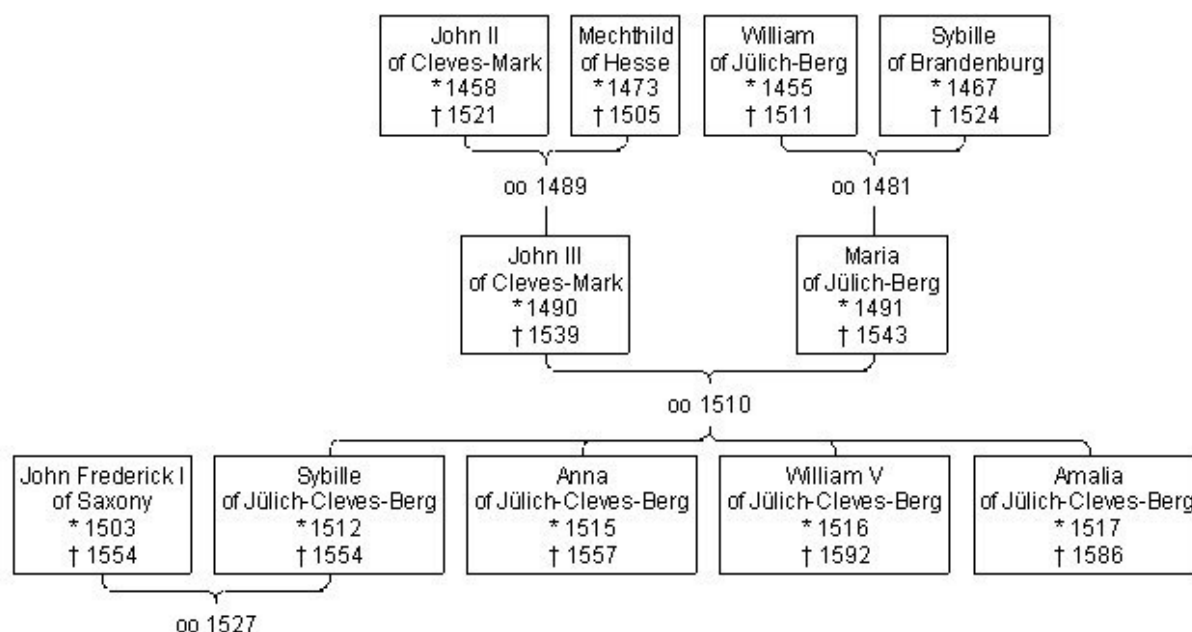
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<sup>69</sup> Walz, 'Wirtschaft und Verkehr', pp. 112-115. Blades made in Solingen in the duchy of Berg ('Solinger Klingen') were renowned throughout the centuries since.

<sup>70</sup> Janssen, 'Kleve-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg', p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Janssen, 'Kleve-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg', p. 26.

marriage in 1510. In Jülich-Berg, John assumed the ducal title and ruled in conjunction with his wife after the death of his father-in-law, William IV, in 1511. In Cleves-Mark, John succeeded his father in 1521.<sup>72</sup>



Family tree of Anne of Cleves

According to the clauses of the 1496 contract, each of the conjoining states would keep their own government and administration. Although being united in the rule of one princely dynasty, it would not be a unification with a centralised government and joint estates. For important political decisions, such as dynastic marriages and strategic alliances, the duke (or his councillors acting as proxies) had to seek the agreement of the assembled estates in each of the territories. Consequently, these procedures significantly slowed down the process of policy-making and resulted in the cumbersome governing of the United Duchies. Each of the territories had to be represented in the duke's council at any time, but the councillors seemed to follow a policy focused on the ducal dynasty rather than onto a strictly separated, territorial agenda.

<sup>72</sup> Heike Preuß, 'Politische Heiraten in Jülich-Kleve-Berg' in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich-Kleve-Berg*. (Kleve: Boss-Verlag, 1984), p. 136.

As Humanism spread outside Italy across the rest of Europe in the later 15th century, its effect on the education of the elites also influenced politics at the German princely courts. As classical works on policy and state theory of authors like Aristotle gained renewed interest, they changed the view on governmental work. The advancement of society through education, peace, justice and the common good were main aims of humanistic ideal, and the leading figure of these ideals was Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was especially influential in the Lower Rhine Region.<sup>73</sup> His publications shaped the mindset of many well educated men in the political sphere, such as the councillors of Cleves.<sup>74</sup> Thus humanistic ideals influenced the governing of most countries and princely states to a greater or lesser extent. In Cleves, these were remarkably put into political practice to a very high level. The duke, being an avid admirer of Erasmus and patron of humanism, purposefully chose humanistic scholars for his council with the intention to have their influence on the government in his territories.

Cleves had good reason for employing 'hands-on' humanism, as, since the merging of the territories of Cleves-Mark-Ravensberg and Jülich-Berg, reforms were needed for an efficient and manageable government. The United Duchies of Cleves were not the only principalities that were going through significant reforms. For instance, count Simon VI of Lippe had the law code, taxes, church and bureaucracy reformed in his dominion, mainly to strengthen his authority.<sup>75</sup> The work of the councillors of John III and William V for these reforms was impressive: a new church and police order (1532/33, 1554, 1558), new regulations of court protocol and administration of the territories (1534), reformed law and court regulations (1555) and instructions for the local

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<sup>73</sup> Elisabeth M. Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger als politische Reformer. Humanismusideal und Herrschaftspraxis am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert*. (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> **Heinz Schilling**, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh, 1981).

administration in the territories (1558/59)<sup>76</sup>. While being under the rule of one princely dynasty, each of the territories persisted to keep their political autonomy and local government to support their own interests that could potentially be diverging or even opposing.<sup>77</sup> To prevent conflicts in the structures of power, the erasmian ideals of unity, agreement and peace had to become reality, which the followers of Erasmus were keen to advance.

This was particularly important in the matter of religion. New religious concepts and their preachers appeared in the Lower Rhine Area- followers of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, as well as Anabaptists- which threatened to destabilise the peaceful coexistence of the territories by creating divergent groups.

One should not imagine the use of humanistic ideals in politics as an ivory tower far from any political realism. Church reforms were necessary to steal the dissidents' thunder and meet some of the reasonable demand for reform. A consolidated, reformed but still catholic church would be strengthened against the dissidents- and thus prevent social and political destabilisation and unrest.<sup>78</sup> Hence Duke William and his councillors developed a new church order, of which the first part was published in 1533 and 1534 (although work continued on this project to take it even further, the new order published in 1567 did not contain any notable changes). Furthermore, Cleves followed a rather moderate policy in terms of the persecution of dissidents, as they did not target protestant believers rigidly. This *via media*, i.e. a religious policy that seeks an intermediary position between the emerging controversies in order to counteract rifts, conformed to erasmian ideas and was realistically meant to prevent unrest and insurgency.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See Janssen, p. 24.

<sup>77</sup> Subsequently, this was particularly true after Wilhelm's succession to Guelders, when the established territories were at risk to be drawn into war for the sake of the joining of Guelders. As it turned out, Jülich suffered the most for this enterprise with the towns of ??? being destroyed. REFERENCE

<sup>78</sup> Hansgeorg Molitor, 'Politik zwischen den Konfessionen' in *Der Niederrhein im Zeitalter des Humanismus: Konrad Heresbach und sein Kreis*, ed. by Meinhard Pohl (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1997), pp. 37 - 55, here pp. 48 - 49.

<sup>79</sup> Wilhelm Janssen, 'Die Vereinigten Herzogtümer im 16. Jahrhundert', in *Der Niederrhein im Zeitalter des Humanismus: Konrad Heresbach und sein Kreis*, ed. by Meinhard Pohl (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1997), p. 16; Heribert Smolinsky, 'Humanistische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts als kirchenpolitische "Via Media" in Jülich-Kleve-Berg' in *Der Niederrhein im Zeitalter des Humanismus: Konrad Heresbach und sein Kreis*, ed. by Meinhard Pohl (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1997), pp. 57-72, here p. 59-61.

Anabaptist believers, on the other hand, who diverged too much from social norms and order, were considered a problem. The main aspects of conflict were the Anabaptist's opposition to the baptism of infants or children, refusal of taking oaths, denial of worldly power and rejection of violence and thus military service. In their belief, the commitment to God excluded any commitment to a worldly sovereign, and in consequence this equalled a rejection of obedience and conformance to society. As the Anabaptists challenged worldly power, even the moderate authorities of the United Duchies persecuted this particular group, usually exiling those who would not recant. When a serious conflict had evolved in the vicinity with the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in the 1530s, John of Cleves sent troops to join the military intervention that ended, after a long siege in 1535, in a bloodbath and the extraordinarily brutal execution of the Anabaptist leaders.<sup>80</sup>

Not only in regard to the church, but also in worldly matters reforms were much needed to re-organise the administration of the newly merged territories. To carry out these necessary reforms, duke John III needed councillors particularly capable of the task and appointed distinguished scholars who had received an excellent humanistic university education as well as experience that helped political or diplomatic work, such as administration or travel.

He even went further ahead and appointed one of them, Konrad Heresbach, as tutor to educate his son and heir William in the humanistic mindset. This did cause some stir in the council, and in 1524 Heresbach officially demanded that other councillors should not interfere with his tutoring, or else he would resign. Here we can grasp how much the changes in the council and thus in policy set up the traditionalists, especially the noble families. They must have perceived the education of the heir in a humanistic mindset as a threat, as it decreased their own influence on the education of the next duke. As we can see from his

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<sup>80</sup> Janssen, 'Herzogtümer', p. 18.

publication 'De Educandis Erudiendisue Principum Liberis',<sup>81</sup> Heresbach had an idea of the good education of a prince that may very likely not have been appealing to the local nobility. Splendour and flattery, in his view, had to be avoided, but modesty and moderation were the key educational aims next to knowledge and religious discipline.<sup>82</sup>

Thus the impact of humanism on the policy of Cleves was twofold: immediate through the council of men like Vlatten, Olisleger, Harst and Ghogreve and long-term through the education of the heir, the next duke, in accordance to the humanistic ideals.<sup>83</sup> But to what extent were these ideals put into political practice, or rather: consciously followed? It is not easy to determine in the day-to-day business of administration, but clearly recognisable in the church reforms, the edicts issued for 'the good order'<sup>84</sup> and present in the publications of councillors like Heresbach.<sup>85</sup> In 1533, the new church order was even presented to Erasmus to seek his approval, so it is obvious that the aim was to be as truly 'Erasmian' as possible.<sup>86</sup> But we should always bear in mind that these ideals were followed where they did not contradict, but serve political reality.<sup>87</sup> When the political aims were more important and did not conform with these Erasmian ideals, the latter have taken a back seat. This happened in 1542-43, when William did not abandon his claim to the duchy of Guelders for the sake of peace and risked military actions of the Emperor against his territories. The analysis of the correspondence between Harst and the rest of the council can give some insights into this dilemma between humanistic ideal and struggle for power.

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<sup>81</sup> Konrad Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisue Principum Liberis*

<sup>82</sup> Pohl, *Bildung*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>83</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 402-403 and 409-410.

<sup>84</sup> Janssen, 'Kleve-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg', pp. 24-25.

<sup>85</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 509-522.

<sup>86</sup> For this occasion, Harst even had to produce a Latin transcription for Erasmus to read, see Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597.

<sup>87</sup> Janssen, 'Kleve-Mark-Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg', p.24.

The religious policy of Cleves has should not be mistaken as protestant.<sup>88</sup> Jülich-Cleves-Berg had strong diplomatic ties to the Schmalkaldic League, but Cleves was neither Lutheran, nor were they loyal to the pope. The alliance of protestant German princes and cities was founded in 1531 with the intention of protecting and advancing the liberty these princes have taken in religious matters. Promoting Lutheranism in their realms while the Holy Roman Emperor had to defend the singularity of the Roman (Catholic) Church, the members of the League still had to gain more power in order to preclude counteractive measures, particularly military action. One of the most important leaders was Elector John Frederick of Saxony, who was married to Anne's elder sister, Sibylla of Cleves, since 1527. This match between one of the most powerful German princes and a daughter of a duke that had risen into the highest ranks of the German nobility except for the elector status was a good match for both sides. Cleves maintained close diplomatic relations with Saxony, especially after the death of John III, as William was still young and unexperienced, while his brother-in-law was an influential leader. Thus, William sought his advice on matters of importance, such as the prospective marriage of his sister to the King of England. In consequence, Saxon diplomats had been involved in the negotiations.

## 2.2 The Guelders Crisis and the English Alliance

On the 30th June 1538, Charles of Egmond, Duke of Guelders died without issue. This had been anticipated a long time before, and the duke had previously played this card well in his diplomacy for years. Depending on the necessity of alliance, he had promised and declared either Francis I or Charles V to be his successor. At other times, he promoted the marriage between Anne of Cleves and Francis,

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<sup>88</sup> See **G.W. Bernard**, *The King's Reformation. Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven/London 2005), p. 543.

son and heir of the duke of Lorraine, in order to appoint him to the succession.<sup>89</sup> The estates of Guelders, however, decided to have their say in the matter of succession. Unwilling to neither support the claims of the Emperor, nor of the King of France, they resolved to chose a candidate with succession rights themselves. A few months before the death of Charles of Guelders, they met and decided to support the claims of William of Cleves.

The Duke of Lorraine, however, was a nephew of the late Duke of Guelders, and had the best claims. This was the reason for Anne's betrothal to his son and heir in 1527; according to the contract, the Duke of Guelders would confirm Francis of Lorraine as successor, and the succession rights of Lorraine and Cleves would be united with this marriage. Although the Cleves side had fulfilled their duties by paying the agreed sum to Duke Charles for his role as marriage broker, the Duke of Lorraine did not proceed any further, and the contract was never solemnised. The Duke of Lorraine changed his stance, however, when William of Cleves succeeded the deceased Duke of Guelders. As he was not willing to lose the duchy for his dynasty, Antoine of Lorraine now requested to have the contract of 1527 implemented, and sent envoys to Cleves in February 1539 to assert his demand.<sup>90</sup> At this point, however, Cleves had other plans. Duke William intended to keep the duchy of Guelders for himself, and Anne was already part of the negotiations with the King of England.

The emperor Charles V, as well as for his sheer political and financial predominance and his status as the liege lord of the duke of Cleves, had the best prospects to succeed in enforcing his succession rights to Guelders. In this situation, a conflict with Charles V was unavoidable for the duke of Cleves, unless he was willing to resign his claims to Guelders. The dilemma for the emperor, in turn, was twofold. Guelders was an attractive inheritance to obtain with its wealth

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<sup>89</sup> Glezerman, *Cleve*, pp. 258-262.

<sup>90</sup> See Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 82.

and strategic location adjoining the Low countries, it would connect the conglomerates of Kleve-Mark and Jülich-Berg and possessed access to the sea. Furthermore the situation was an important struggle for power within the Empire. The house of La Marck had accumulated significant power at the Lower Rhine with the merging of Jülich-Kleve-Berg, a wealthy state that was strategically well positioned, and had risen to the highest ranks within the princes of the realm counting three ducal and three comital titles. With the addition of Guelders, this power would pose a threat to Habsburg authority near the Habsburg-reigned Low Countries. By claiming the title of Duke of Guelders, William openly challenged Charles's authority over the princes of the realm, that the emperor, in turn, had to assert. The relation between emperor and princes was far more delicate than Henry VIII would experience with his vassals. The princes of the realm had given their votes that elevated Charles to be king, later emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which created an entirely different conception of the high nobility. At least in theory, each of them could have been chosen to be in his place. The relations between the Charles and the princes was a constant trial of strength between the emperor's authority and the prince's freedom that was all the more fuelled by the Reformation. Thus, William of Cleves had the more or less open approval of other princes in this challenge. Charles had the option to have the Reichskammergericht judge on this case. Yet this implicated the risk of defeat in light of the mixed positions within the estates. A verdict in favour of William would have harmed the emperor's authority significantly more than the struggle for Guelders as it was. Indeed, in his dispatches from England, Harst reported rumours that Charles's advisors had warned him not to take this risk. Military action was difficult as long as Charles was strategically distracted by the Turks and could not be assured about the risk of possible armed support for Cleves from within the empire, which would have afforded more military capacities than he could spare in the east.

Cleves, in turn, had two different policies to choose from: to convince or repel Charles in order to avoid a military intervention. In both strategies, marriage projects were a vital part of the considerations. After all, with three of the four siblings being still unmarried, there was a lot of potential to reinforce any negotiations with new family ties.

William and his council naturally preferred to get the matter settled without confrontation and to avoid a war by all means possible. They tried to negotiate a peaceful solution, but aimed at the Emperor's acceptance of William's succession and his enfeoffment with Guelders. The Emperor, as he was also King of Spain, mainly stayed in Madrid and Toledo in 1538/39. Due to this, negotiations were difficult to pursue, and Karl Harst was dispatched as ambassador to the imperial court. He stayed much of 1538 until December 1539, but no settlement of the matter was achieved upon his return to Cleves. However, the dukes of Cleves did not cease their diplomatic efforts, and the death of Duke Johann III in February did not disperse the policy to defend the claim to Guelders.<sup>91</sup>

Some of the proposals are mentioned in Harst's correspondence from England; one was the marriage of William to Christina of Milan, the emperor's niece, and the confirmation of William and Christina as duke and duchess of Guelders. In fact, they had been engaged in ???, but the Guelders crisis had suspended any progress in this match. Later, in April, the Duke of Cleves approved of a compromise, suggested by the Duke of Brunswick as a mediator, in which after the wedding with Christina the title of Guelders would only be granted to William for the duration of his lifetime.<sup>92</sup> Maybe he was secretly hoping that time would eventually lead to the Emperor's acceptance, but the latter refused this suggestion. William did not abandon his high hopes for this advantageous match with Christina easily. This led Harst to advise through his dispatches that it was useless to wait for her, as this marriage would never happen and the duke only

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<sup>91</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 62.

<sup>92</sup> Harst had reported his audience with the King, in which he informed him about Wilhelms negotiations with the Emperor at the Duke's visit to the court at Gent in April: JB II 2743 f104v. - f105r.

wasted time that he and the council could spend searching for another match instead and use this opportunity to find strong allies.

While the diplomatic strategy towards the Habsburgs in the Guelders crisis was to no avail, Cleves needed a strong ally to repel the emperor's aggression and open conflict. Connections that would impose a higher risk for the emperor if he attacked the United Duchies than if he did not defend his authority over William would serve as protection- provided these connections were strong and reliable enough. One possibility was to officially join the Schmalkaldic League, to which the house of Marck was only connected by family ties through the marriage of Sibylla of Cleves in 1527 to John Frederick of Saxony, one of the league's leaders. The Schmalkaldic League had become a threat to the emperor's power, and if Cleves would enter the league, its power would be significantly increased. Hence, the Schmalkaldic leaders were keen to convince William to join their alliance. Cleves, however, was reluctant in this matter, because a mandatory requirement for entering the League was to confess to Lutheranism, which included the conversion of his dominions' religious policy. William had good reason to hesitate, as the open confession to Protestantism would have incurred yet another justification for the Emperor to deny him the succession to Guelders. It is likely that Charles, in turn, was still willing to negotiate in part to prevent pushing the Duke of Kleve-Jülich-Berg and his estates to the Protestant side. The Schmalkaldic League, however, was not willing to assure their support for a prince who did not commit to their cause. Henry VIII himself had been in diplomatic contact with the League

The best options for strategic alliances were of course the significantly more powerful foreign monarchs of France and England, who had interchangeably either been in friendship or at odds with the Empire in the past decades. But this option seems not to have been a strategy that Cleves adopted on their own initiative. In the case of the English match, the English had already made first

enquiries as early as 1530 concerning a possible marriage between William and the King's daughter Mary.<sup>93</sup> While the Elector of Saxony and the Schmalkaldic League had been exchanging scholarly visits with England to explore the possibility of similar religious views, Cleves did not actively pursue diplomatic relations with the king. It was not until English envoys were sent to suggest a 'friendship', strengthened by a matrimonial bond, that an alliance with Henry appeared as an option to support William's claims to Guelders. Even then, the reaction from Cleves was slow. The foremost aim of Duke John III, his son, and his councillors was to convince the Emperor through negotiation, thus they were hesitant to ally with an adversary of Charles. This would have rushed the proceedings onto more hostile grounds, while prolonging the still non-committal negotiations with England rather served to reinforce the position of Cleves as a threat that the Emperor had to avoid.

As the Emperor could not be moved by Harst's best diplomatic efforts to grant the succession of Guelders to William instead of keeping his own claim, Cleves had to change strategies and gain the support of powerful allies within the Empire and abroad. While negotiations first focused on the Schmalkaldic League and on Francis I of France, an additional opportunity appeared in the shape of Henry VIII, who was seeking a new bride.

Henry VIII of England had no claims or interests in the succession of Guelders, but for him, the situation of the Duke of Cleves was an opportunity to play against his rivals. Francis I and Charles V had been at war and quarrelling about the duchy of Milan much of their reign, while the English king could rest assured that none of them would turn their hostilities towards England. Since Henry repudiated his first wife Catherine of Aragon in 1533, separated the Church of England from the Holy See and installed himself as its worldly head, he was excommunicated by the Pope. As he rejected papal authority, this would not have posed a problem in itself. But in 1535, a new papal bull also included Henry's deposition with his excommunication. As Pope Paul III mediated the peace of

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<sup>93</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 60.

Nice between Charles V and Francis I in June 1538, the English King had to be concerned that Paul would convince them to unite against Henry for an invasion of England. As the Pope openly confirmed Henry's excommunication and called for his disposal in December 1538, and in January 1539 Charles and Francis agreed in the treaty of Toledo that neither of them would negotiate with the English King without the other's approval, the situation was threatening.

The artillery forts of Deal Castle and Walmer Castle are visible reminders of this threat that survived to this day. Henry had commanded that the coastal defences were reinforced, and besides the construction of the three forts of Deal, Walmer and Sandown in 1539/40, older structures were fortified. The King even ordered a Great Muster, which is a sign that he indeed believed that an invasion by Franco-Imperial forces was impending. In this atmosphere, Henry pressed for an alliance to be made that would fend off any hostile plans of action. As the Emperor ruled over Spain as well as the Empire in personal union, and Charles's sister was regent of the Netherlands, diplomatic opportunities had become scarce. An official alliance with the Schmalkaldic League would have served to keep the Emperor at bay, as the League was one of his greatest concerns, and the support of a foreign power would have threatened his already impaired authority in Germany immensely. However, the same conditions for entering the Schmalkaldic League applied to Henry as to any German prince, and the League would have had to approve of his religious convictions. With the publication of the Six Articles in June 1539, the King had proven that he remained theologically orthodox and was not a Protestant. While this signalled to Charles and Francis that, although Henry was anti-papal, he at least was not a 'heretic', it also demonstrated that he would not become part of the Schmalkaldic League. Instead, England sought the 'friendship' with Cleves, which would potentially serve as a link to the League.

While England was ruled from the most centralised court in Europe<sup>94</sup>, the Holy Roman Empire lacked central organisation. None of the cities in the Empire had developed into a imperial capital city that would house any central administration or government, and the Emperor did not have a main residence that could function as the centre of power. In fact, the Holy Roman Empire was not governed centrally, but on territorial level. In the fifteenth century, some advancement towards centralisation and constitutional elements were made in an imperial reform that resulted in the Reichskammergericht and imperial taxation.<sup>95</sup> These measures on imperial level were less advanced and established than the administration and political structure within the princely states, as many of them, though not all, did have a centre of government and power.<sup>96</sup> The princes of the realm reigned their territories in a kind of territorial absolutism as long as they did not act against the interests of the imperial estates. Although they were lieges of the Holy Roman King and the Emperor, these latter had little influence on the day-to-day business of the princely states and territories. This complicated the diplomacy between German princes and sovereigns, as the complexity and diversity of the states, which made political business a difficult task, were often incomprehensible to the foreign powers and thus attributed to national stereotypes such as sluggishness and a liking for quarrels.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> John Adamson, 'Kingdoms of England and Great Britain: The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509-1714', in John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500 – 1750* (London, 1999), p. 95.

<sup>95</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 11.

<sup>96</sup> For the example of Munich see **Rainer Babel**, 'The duchy of Bavaria: the courts of the Wittelsbachs c. 1500–1750', in John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500 – 1750* (London, 1999), pp. 189–209.

<sup>97</sup> see Beiderbeck, *Referenzen*, p. 191.

## 2.3 Karl Harst, councillor and diplomat

Karl Harst was born around 1492 in Weißenburg<sup>98</sup> into a notable and influential burgher family.<sup>99</sup> His father, Conrad, was *Stadtvogt* (bailiff) of Weißenburg, while his grandfather, Hans, had been mayor of this city. The same office was later held by Karl's brother Melchior. Due to this family background, his parents were able and willing to provide Karl with an expensive university education.<sup>100</sup> Harst's origins were noted in the register of the university of Cologne, where young Karl was enrolled in 1510 with the registry number 488,16 as 'Kar. Harst de Wyssenbruck, d. Spir.', i.e. Karl Harst of Wyssenbruck in the diocese of Speyer.<sup>101</sup> Harst studied the law, which offered the best prospects for a career in administration or government- and also, for that matter, in diplomacy. Of the diplomats that Charles V sent to France and England, no less than 12 of the 19 resident ambassadors had studied the law for certain, of whom 9 had achieved a doctorate.<sup>102</sup> The two fundamental domains of knowledge that were especially useful for diplomacy, legal expertise and proficiency of Latin, were provided in legal studies<sup>103</sup>. It proved to be beneficial for his later career as a diplomat that his studies were strongly influenced by humanism. Through humanistic educational ideas, other areas of knowledge were incorporated, some of which had the side effect of being expedient for diplomatic service, such as history, rhetoric, geography, moral philosophy and languages.<sup>104</sup> Karl Harst continued his

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<sup>98</sup> Today's Wissembourg, Alsace, France.

<sup>99</sup> Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, volume 2 (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1986) p. 165. Contradictory statements about the birthplace being Cleves (Harleß, 'Harst', pp. 647-649 and Finzsch-Sprengel, 'Heinrich VIII', p. 54 n13,) or Wyssenbruch near Cleves (Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597) are based on misinterpretations.

<sup>100</sup> M. Lunitz, *Diplomatie und Diplomaten im 16. Jahrhundert*, Studien zu den Gesandten Kaiser Karls V. in Frankreich (Konstanz, 1988) p. 32; Dieter Scheler, *Die Juristen des Herzogs und der Hof*, in Mainhard Pohl (ed.), *Der Niederrhein im Zeitalter des Humanismus- Konrad Heresbach und sein Kreis* (Bielefeld, 1997), pp. 75-90, here p. 77.

<sup>101</sup> H. Keussen (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, vol. 2: 1476-1559* (Bonn, 1919) p. 666.

<sup>102</sup> Lunitz, *Diplomatie*, pp. 33-37. On lawyers in the council of the dukes of Cleves-Juliers-Berg see Scheler, 'Juristen', pp. 75-90.

<sup>103</sup> Mattingly, *Renaissance*, p. 202.

<sup>104</sup> See Lunitz, *Diplomatie*, pp. 432-433.

studies at the universities of Orléans<sup>105</sup> and finally Leuven.<sup>106</sup> Heidelberg has been suggested as one of the universities that Karl Harst had visited<sup>107</sup>, but seems to have been the alma mater of a relative, maybe a brother rather than Karl, as the register of 1512 shows the entry 'Conradus Harst de Wyssenburgk Spirens. dioc.'<sup>108</sup> At Cologne as well as at Orléans he likely made the acquaintance of some of his later colleagues in the duke's council, since Olisleger and Heresbach visited these universities around the same time in the same college, the *Montanaburse*, around 1512. These contacts may explain his appointment to the council some years later, as this usually happened either upon recommendation or by climbing up various positions in the administration of a principality.<sup>109</sup> But it was at Leuven in 1521 or 1522 that Harst met a person who undoubtedly stimulated his career - the famous humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus.<sup>110</sup>

After completing his studies in Leuven, Harst followed Erasmus to Basel to live in his household as *famulus*.<sup>111</sup> Bietenholz describes the function of a *famulus* as a 'secretary and general factotum'<sup>112</sup> and Harst's position in particular as of a 'secretary and trusted confidential courier'<sup>113</sup>. Erasmus himself expressed Harst's role in a letter to Conrad Goclenius as 'Karl Harst is living with me in place of my servant, for he seems to be a faithful friend.'<sup>114</sup> From April 1524 to late 1526 he was entrusted with missions and tasks in service to Erasmus and is mentioned frequently in the latter's correspondence.<sup>115</sup> In the course of these responsibilities, Harst also travelled foreign countries, which deepened his

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<sup>105</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>106</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>107</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597

<sup>108</sup> Alfred Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz vol. II: 1514-1524* (Basel, 1943) p. 472 n. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Scheler, 'Juristen', p. 78.

<sup>110</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>111</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597, and Bietenholz, *Contemporaries vol. II*, p. 165.

<sup>112</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 33n

<sup>113</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 33n

<sup>114</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 10, p. 230.

<sup>115</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165-166.

intercultural experience that had started with his stays at different European universities. From May to September 1525, business lead him to Italy where he had to negotiate the printing of an edition of Erasmus' *Adagia* (Proverbs) in the office of the Venecian printer Torresiani.<sup>116</sup> Although this particular mission failed, Harst's task in Rome to get the desired papal dispensation for Erasmus to make a will and pass on possessions<sup>117</sup> was successful, and in Padua and Ferrara he met with friends of Erasmus.<sup>118</sup> His duties on travels like these were not only to negotiate the printing and distribution of his mentor's works, but also to maintain contacts with Erasmus' patrons. He was sent to collect pensions and outstanding grants that had been promised to Erasmus, or to convince potential benefactors to provide the notable scholar with a stipend. For this purpose, Harst was travelling again between late December 1525 and April 1526. This time, the destinations were England and the Low Countries, where he appealed at the Burgundian court in Mechelen for a pension for Erasmus in the form of an appointment as imperial councillor.<sup>119</sup> The journey to England, on behalf of Erasmus's financial matters and as his courier to English scholars, is interesting with regard to Harst's appointment as ambassador of Cleves to England fourteen years later.<sup>120</sup> His previous experience may have played a part in the decision to dispatch him as ambassador to England in 1540. During his mission in 1526, he met influential people in England and, as in any other mission, got involved in the networks of his master. On Harst's travels and negotiations as famulus of Erasmus, he made acquaintance with scholars, printers, merchants, influential men of politics, church and administration and even had first diplomatic insights into a Habsburg court. The significance of this humanistic 'networking' should not be underestimated. It provided Harst with opportunities to develop his skills, potential supporters for his further career and contacts that may still have been

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<sup>116</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>117</sup> As Erasmus was a cleric, this required a dispensation.

<sup>118</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries vol. II*, p. 165-166.

<sup>119</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 105.

<sup>120</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries vol. II*, p. 165.

useful in later years. As we can see from the correspondence of Erasmus, merchants played a significant role for this 'European scholar' as providers of financial services. The merchant-bankers received some of his grants and transferred the money to him, including exchange, via their transport network of travelling merchants and couriers, like Erasmus Schets, who functioned as the financial agent of Desiderius Erasmus in the Netherlands. For instance, Schets would receive grants that were meant to be paid to the humanist scholar and forward the money to him through a merchant travelling from the Low Countries to the Frankfurt book fair.<sup>121</sup> Likewise, letters, gifts and packages could be dispatched through them.<sup>122</sup> Erasmus' business connections may have gained Harst some trusted contacts within this network that were essential for a councillor and diplomat, for news-gathering as well as communication.

The years spent with Erasmus did not only enhance Harst's practical experience, but were certainly also beneficial for his scholarly advancement. Harst's proficiency of Latin, which had been obligatory for his university education, must have benefited from living with the accomplished classical linguist. He had opportunities to acquire and exchange ideas and knowledge with Erasmus and his friends, and living in the household of one of the most notable scholars of the time, he certainly had access to his resources for study. However, he had little time for these private studies when he was travelling on behalf of his master. As Erasmus claims in a letter to John a Lasco, Harst had 'complained that the journey robbed him of so much time for study. You see how sparing he has become of his time! I sent him off to England so that he would not go to seed from idleness.'<sup>123</sup>

As becomes evident from the nature of the tasks Karl Harst was entrusted with, Erasmus could - and did - trust his loyalty and reliability. Appealing to monarchs and influential men for patronage on behalf of Erasmus, collecting his grants,

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<sup>121</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 52-55.

<sup>122</sup> Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 109.

<sup>123</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 66.

delivering confidential messages and negotiating the printing and publication of his new works were missions that displayed a high level of trust. Erasmus mentioned Harst as his trusted courier several times in his correspondence, and likewise his general distrust for other couriers and merchants who were to collect and send money for him. In a letter to John Langland, Bishop of Lincoln, Erasmus explained: 'I would have been glad to send you the whole of Jerome (=his complete edition of the works of Saint Jerome), but when Karl Harst was leaving for England, the work was not yet complete, and suitable couriers are not always available to whom I may entrust such things.'<sup>124</sup>

However, Erasmus at times also complained about his *famulus* Karl, moving all blame on him as an apology for any inconveniences caused to the receiver of the letter. After he had sent Harst to Italy to negotiate with the printer Torresiani, Erasmus wrote to the English humanist Thomas Lupset, who resided in Italy at the time. He thanked Lupset for his help, but reduced the mission to an insignificant matter that was mainly driven by Harst himself: 'Should I thank you now, my dearest Lupset, for your loyal efforts on my behalf, as if what you did was something new? I was not worried about the publication of my Proverbs. But how typical of my friend Karl to kick up a cloud of dust over something of no importance! I wanted the commentaries of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles, but he chose to return empty-handed. The lad isn't very strong and seems unfit for any kind of hard work. I have now arranged for him to return on horseback. You could help by seeing that the book is not damaged and full of errors.'<sup>125</sup>

It remains uncertain whether the printing truly was a matter of no importance to Erasmus, or whether Harst was eager to succeed in this mission because in his previous instructions the printing could have had more priority than his master described in the letter to Lupset. The fact that Harst took a lot of effort to succeed

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<sup>124</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 189.

<sup>125</sup> Desiderius Erasmus to Thomas Lupset, Basel, [c 4 October] 1525. In: Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 11, 1624, pp. 305-308, here p. 305.

in the negotiations regarding the printing, but was seemingly negligent in his task to copy the commentaries may indicate the latter, and sending him back to Italy immediately upon return resembles a punishment rather than a rational task. It was not uncommon for Erasmus to make biting comments about his dependents. For instance, in the context of his own influence and beneficial association, Erasmus remarked on two former *famuli*: 'The name of Erasmus is the only thing that keeps Hovius going in Rome. Lieven made splendid progress, in knowledge rather than in character.'<sup>126</sup> Yet, the description could also indicate that Harst possessed a nervous temperament and eagerness to please, which may also have affected his later work as ambassador.

In late December 1526, Karl Harst quit the service to Erasmus in order to get married and settle down in Leuven. The correspondence of his former master reveals that Harst had intended to do so for a longer time, but eventually suited the action to the word quite abruptly.<sup>127</sup> Conradus Goclenius, professor of Latin in Leuven, informed his friend Erasmus in Basel that Harst had married 'the woman whom he had bedded so often before'<sup>128</sup> after the bride had been in 'a wretched state of uncertainty'<sup>129</sup> for a while, most likely hinting at a pregnancy out of wedlock. This correspondence disproves a different position on Harst's status that is stated in the ADB<sup>130</sup> and by Kloosterhuis. Kloosterhuis claims that he had received a canonry in Xanten in 1537, which he later resigned in order to get married at his old age.<sup>131</sup> Yet, as Harst had indeed married on the 9th of January 1527 as reported by Goclenius to Erasmus, Harst never was a cleric, unless Cleves assigned benefices and canonries to secular married men during the time of the church reforms. Karl Harst jr, who Kloosterhuis assumes to be an illegitimate son, seems more likely to be one of the sons born to Harst by his

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<sup>126</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 10, p. 230.

<sup>127</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>128</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 436.

<sup>129</sup> This is likely a hint at pregnancy out of wedlock: Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 12, p. 411.

<sup>130</sup> Harleß, 'Harst', pp. 647-649.

<sup>131</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 597-598.

lawful wife Katharina van der Klusen.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps the identical names of father and son, the latter of whom received a canonry in 1548, caused some confusion regarding the elder Karl Harst's status.<sup>133</sup> It has been mistaken that Harst had been a cleric, received a canonry in 1537 and married late in life after leaving the clergy. In Harst's own dispatches that were analysed for this study, he mentions his wife twice,<sup>134</sup> which is further proof that he was in fact not a cleric, but a secular scholar. In Leuven, where Harst and his wife settled down, he established himself as a tutor for live-in students. Among others, the couple accommodated in their household Erasmus Froben, youngest son of the printer Johann Froben of Basel and godson of Erasmus.<sup>135</sup> The years of service certainly were a commendation that Harst profited from, either by Erasmus actively recommending him or indirectly by mere affiliation with this famous scholar. As the aforementioned snarky comment about Hovius<sup>136</sup> shows, Erasmus seems to have had the opinion that it was his own fame rather than the talent of his *famuli* that furthered their career.

There is no written evidence that Harst was offered a position in the service of duke John III of Cleves through request or suggestion of Erasmus, yet it is very likely that the latter did support his former famulus actively with a recommendation, as he had done before. In 1524, Erasmus had commended Harst to Ulrich Zasius and requested of the latter to provide a letter of recommendation to Bonifacius Amerbach, likely with the intention that the latter would supervise Harst's doctoral studies.<sup>137</sup> This plan, however, did not come to fruition at the time. Both, Harst's acquaintance with some of the councillors of Juliers-Cleves-Berg as well as his association with Desiderius Erasmus may have

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<sup>132</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries* vol. II, p. 264.

<sup>133</sup> Classen, *Erzbistum*, p. 149, lists Karl Harst junior as receiver of a canonry, but not his father.

<sup>134</sup> Jülich-Berg II 2743 fos. 7r and 59v.

<sup>135</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>136</sup> Bietenholz, *Correspondence*, volume 10, p. 230.

<sup>137</sup> Bonifacius Amerbach to Ulrich Zasius, Basel, June/July 1524, in Alfred Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz II: Die Briefe aus den Jahren 1514 - 1524* (Basel 1943), no. 961 pp. 471-472.

contributed to the appointment. Duke John cultivated relations with Erasmus, as he aligned his policy and reforms with Erasmian thought. Consequently he appointed scholars to his council that were affiliated to this famous humanist and influenced by his ideas, such as Erasmus' friend Johann Vlatten, Johann Gogreve, Heinrich Bars alias Olisleger, and Konrad Heresbach, the tutor of young duke William.<sup>138</sup> As aforementioned, some of these men had likely met Harst at university<sup>139</sup> and had close links with Erasmus, so Harst joined the company of Erasmian friends when he entered the service of John III around 1530 as member of the duke's council.<sup>140</sup> John III and subsequently his son and successor, William V, frequently entrusted Harst with diplomatic missions.<sup>141</sup> In most cases, these were on an Imperial level and led him to destinations within Germany or to the neighbouring Low countries, such as the diet of Worms in 1535 and several visits to the imperial law court (*Reichskammergericht*) at Speyer.<sup>142</sup> In 1532, Harst visited Erasmus in Freiburg, presenting him with a copy of the new church order of the United Duchies and to enquire his opinion. The church order had just been completed, and Harst needed to prepare a Latin translation for Erasmus to read it.<sup>143</sup> In 1538, he was sent to the emperor's brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, to negotiate William's claim to the succession of Guelders, and subsequently to the emperor's court in Madrid and Toledo in the same business, where he stayed from 1538 until December 1539.<sup>144</sup>

Harst was not among the envoys that were dispatched to England for the negotiations in 1539, as he stayed at the Habsburg Court in Spain while Anne's

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<sup>138</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 486-457.

<sup>139</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 432-433.

<sup>140</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries vol. II*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>141</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597; Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 165.

<sup>142</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 166.

<sup>143</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597. Although Heresbach had discussed the church order with Erasmus before, it was Harst who presented it to him and who had to produce a translation into Latin: Smolinsky, 'Erasmianismus', p. 81.

<sup>144</sup> Harst's correspondence as ambassador to the emperor's court in Madrid and Toledo is also kept in the *Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen* in Duisburg. The record consists of three volumes, Jülich-Berg II 2738, 2739 and 2740.

marriage to Henry and the alliance between Cleves and England were agreed and signed and the bride sent to her new destination.

In order to enhance the 'friendship' with England, or at least to ensure its continuity, permanent envoys had to be dispatched from London to the United Duchies and from the ducal court to England. The English crown sent Nicholas Wotton to the United Duchies of Cleves, who had previously visited the ducal court as ad-hoc ambassador to negotiate the marriage between Henry and Anne.<sup>145</sup> His resident embassy would last from 25 January 1540 to mid-July 1541.<sup>146</sup> It was essential for maintaining close relations that the duke of Cleves would also send his own diplomat to London to have a representative near the English royal court at all times, as the envoy would not just ensure communication between the princes, but also gather information, observe and monitor English policy.<sup>147</sup> In the diplomacy between royal courts, men who were chosen to represent their monarchs were often of high rank and status, usually of the nobility, to enhance their master's status, pay respect to the host and demonstrate the significance of the diplomatic encounter.<sup>148</sup> Due to the inequality of the two allies, England and the United Duchies of Cleves, these aspects could not be considered for the choice of candidates. Even though the duke's council included members of the aristocracy, they were not necessarily suitable and free to be dispatched as a permanent ambassador<sup>149</sup>. Moreover, it was their preserve to deal with military affairs. Willliam, facing a war with the emperor, would have been reluctant to send them abroad.

Although the dispatch of a representative who had the status of the aristocracy would have brought a higher prestige, it was not at all problematic, nor an exception, to send a common-born person. In fact, the majority of the imperial

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<sup>145</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 76-78 and 180.

<sup>146</sup> MacMahon, *Ambassadors*, p. 319.

<sup>147</sup> Lunitz, *Diplomatie*, p. 5; Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>148</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp.27-28.

<sup>149</sup> On the different roles in the ducal council see Scheler, 'Juristen'.

ambassadors were not members of the nobility.<sup>150</sup> For Cleves it was rather convenient and less expensive to send Harst instead of a nobleman with a train of servants and a secretary, who would have shared the tasks.<sup>151</sup>

Unfortunately, no written evidence exists that may shed light on the criteria and the process of selection to find a suitable representative in Cleves. It is important to note that, unlike kingdoms such as England or France, the United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg had a more limited number of staff at their disposal. The smaller population of the territories compared to the English and the higher attraction of royal courts for men of capability and ambition led to significantly different pools of potential. Chancellor Olisleger explained this staffing shortage to the English envoys Wotton and Bearde, when they suggested in May 1539 that duke Willlliam should send an embassy to England immediately for negotiating a marriage between Anne and Henry VIII. According to the English envoys, Olisleger pointed out that the limited number of ducal councillors posed a problem for Willlliam, as he had to assign them to different places- two were sent to Brussels to negotiate with the regent, two had to stay in Guelders, and the remaining stayed with Willlliam or within the other territories.<sup>152</sup> The duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg had to balance the limited capacities of his staff and the number of territories and duties that had to be taken care of, which is a true disadvantage of governing a conglomerate of independent domains whose estates oppose centralisation. Thus it may be true that Cleves had men who were more suitable for representing the duke in England, as Harst points out in his letters a couple of times,<sup>153</sup> but that they were too significant for the governing of the territories to send them away for a long duration. Harst particularly refers to Olisleger, whom he regards as most suitable to be in his place<sup>154</sup>. However,

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<sup>150</sup> Lunitz, *Diplomatie*, pp. 29-32.

<sup>151</sup> On shared tasks of two ambassadors of different status levels see Lutter, *Kommunikation*, pp. 101-102, and Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 24.

<sup>152</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 81.

<sup>153</sup> JB II 2743, fo. 136r and fo. 176 r.

<sup>154</sup> JB II 2743, fo. 78v and fos. 120 r+v.

Olisleger was indispensable and could not be dispatched as permanent envoy. He did, however, accompany Anne to England for her wedding and further negotiations as an ad-hoc ambassador together with councillor Hochsteden.<sup>155</sup> It is also possible that Harst was giving an understatement of his own abilities, either in the hope of being ordered back to Cleves or by reason of humbleness. It is unknown which particular motives led to the decision to dispatch Karl Harst. He was in principle an appropriate choice regarding his experience and education.

Although Harst is sometimes referred to as having achieved a doctorate,<sup>156</sup> this title does not appear on any of the documents of 1540. As the prestige of doctorate of law was high and socially significant, it would have enhanced Harst's qualification as ambassador and accordingly emphasised the status of his master.<sup>157</sup> The fact that the documents do not mention his doctorate strongly indicates that he had no right to be styled with this title at the time of his embassy to England. It is possible that Harst achieved a doctorate later,<sup>158</sup> but even without this title, his university degree in law, international experience, proficiency of Latin, comprehensive humanistic education and diplomatic experience were important qualifications.

A memorandum of the eighteenth of February bears the only surviving evidence on the provisions of Harst's attire, which had to take place in a hurry.<sup>159</sup> On duke Willliam's order, his envoy was to receive money to get a new doublet made of damask- but just one, which seems to be the only arrangement that was made to enhance Harst's wardrobe for the representation at the English court. Obviously, Willliam did not take the necessity to provide his ambassador with adequate clothing seriously enough; maybe he was not aware of how much it could affect

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<sup>155</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 117.

<sup>156</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 180; Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, pp. 445 and 597.

<sup>157</sup> Lunitz, *Diplomatie*, p. 36.

<sup>158</sup> Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, p. 166.

<sup>159</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 15r.

his prestige and his diplomacy.<sup>160</sup> Later, while he was in England, Harst was to report that the King had in fact given order to provide the ambassador with three doublets made of silk, which he was free to choose. But Harst politely declined the offer and pointed out that he already had one of damask together with his otherwise decent apparel. In response to this, he nevertheless received a doublet, but made entirely of velvet.<sup>161</sup> Harst also requested Gogreve to tell their master that, at the English court, one has to be richly clothed and 'tarted up like a beautiful picture in a church'.<sup>162</sup> The ambassador was well aware that he stood out from the people at court who were a 'clutter with abundance of clothes'<sup>163</sup>, but also remarked that he was not one of them anyway. He mentions a similar discussion in another dispatch to Gogreve, whom he gave an account of a talk with the Lord Privy Seal who raised the issue of gifting clothes to Harst. According to this conversation, Cromwell told him that 'the King wanted to arrange that I walked around in costlier clothing',<sup>164</sup> as 'the King regarded me as such a man, it is his will'.<sup>165</sup> Again, Harst declined the offer, as he did not see the need for it and would have preferred a gift of cash for his master who was facing hardships.<sup>166</sup> It seems as if Harst did notice that at court he was expected to be dressed adequately for his position. It is remarkable that Harst declined the gifts despite being well aware that splendid apparel was important at court and it was the King's strong will to see the ambassador of his brother-in-law vested accordingly. It may have been a matter of his master's honour to him, for it would have been William's responsibility to provide his envoy with appropriate attire. Besides, it could have been the result of his modesty, as the remark about being

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<sup>160</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 181-182.

<sup>161</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 112r; for another example, imperial ambassadors to Venice being 'properly' equipped by the host, including the gifting of textiles, see Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 91. Anderson mentions the giving of expensive gifts, such as rich and precious clothing, to ambassadors as a common practice for the end of their embassies: Anderson, *Rise*, p. 36.

<sup>162</sup> 'der muß uß gestrichen sein wie ein schönes bild in der kirchen', JB II 2743 fo. 112r.

<sup>163</sup> 'ich weyst mich der leut nit zuvergleichen, ist ein wust mit uberfluß mit kleydern', JB II 2743 fo. 112r.

<sup>164</sup> 'der konig wolt verschaffen, das ich in kostlicher kleit ging', in *Landtagsakten*, p. 323.

<sup>165</sup> 'der konig sehe mich fur einen solchen man an, er wolle das tun', in *Landtagsakten*, pp. 323.

<sup>166</sup> Von Below, *Landtagsakten*, pp. 323-324. Harst referred to the high costs for mounting armies that would incur if William needed to defend his territories against the emperor's troops.

'tarted up like a picture in a church' shows a critical opinion on the splendour at court. His wish that the King should rather gift money to the duke shows that his appearance was no priority to him and splendid clothes for an ambassador unnecessary expenses. He may have regarded this issue as his private business rather than realising that his physical presence stood in the place of his master's. In any case, by underestimating the importance of Harst's appearance and dispatching Harst late, Willlliam signalled that his representation at the English court did not deserve a high priority, regardless of whether this was true or unintended.<sup>167</sup>

The duke of Cleves requested in his credential letter for his ambassador to his sister, the Queen of England, that she may include Harst in her household and help him carry out his duties.<sup>168</sup> After Harst arrived in England, he did not stay with the Queen, although this would have given him immediate contact with the court. Instead, he lodged at inns, as he mentions soon after his arrival in March, when Cromwell had the order to get a better inn for Harst in London.<sup>169</sup> Later, in January 1543, the imperial ambassador Chapuys was to remark that Harst should not be regarded as an ambassador, with one of his reasons being Harst's accommodation not in a representative residence, but at inns.<sup>170</sup> The fact that the ambassador of Cleves did neither stay in the Queen's household nor reside in a rented house should not be seen as an indicator that his embassy was not meant to be permanent or long-term. Perhaps he was aware that he did not blend in well with court society, and as duke William did not spend enough money on Harst's apparel, he would even be less willing to pay for an adequate residence. It is also possible that the envoy deemed it more discreet to stay at a different place, where he would not feel as much observed as at court. As communicating with the host was not the only task of a permanent ambassador, but also the gathering of

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<sup>167</sup> See Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 181-182.

<sup>168</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 16r.

<sup>169</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 86r.

<sup>170</sup> See Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 182.

information and management of their master's affairs,<sup>171</sup> Harst may have felt more comfortable lodging in distance to the royal households and the Privy Council.

There have been differing views by scholars as to Harst's ambassadorial status. Some historians like Starkey refer to him as an agent<sup>172</sup> and rarely mention his actions. Kelly does not even mention his existence.<sup>173</sup> This is not surprising considering that, when dealing solely with the official documents of the marriage litigation that prevented any defence on Anne's side (as will be shown in chapter 3.3), he hardly appears in the surviving sources. Warnicke covers Harst's role as an ambassador in more detail than most. While she does acknowledge his ambassadorial status, she also states that Cleves, like other German principalities, did not have resident diplomacy.<sup>174</sup> Yet, before Harst left Cleves for his embassy in England, he had just been an ambassador to the court of Charles V for the greater part of 1538 and almost the whole year of 1539. His stay in England was not planned as short-term, but with an open end. Thus, he certainly was not dispatched as an *ad hoc* ambassador.

In regard to his diplomatic status, whether he may be regarded as a resident ambassador or not, the most adequate description of Karl Harst would be 'permanent, but without a residence'. It is important to bear in mind that, although Harst had previously been on an embassy at the Emperor's court in Spain for around one and a half years, dispatching a resident ambassador was rather unusual for the United Duchies. Apart from Harst, Willlliam 'inherited' a resident ambassador in France, Hermann Cruser, from duke Charles when he succeeded him as Duke of Guelders. It is likely that, while not having developed full residency yet, we see a transitioning period of the diplomacy of smaller princely states in the embassies of Harst and Cruser, a state between *ad hoc* missions and residence.

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<sup>171</sup> Anderson, *Rise*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>172</sup> Starkey, *Six Wives*, p. 639.

<sup>173</sup> Kelly, *Matrimonial Trials*, pp. 261-275.

<sup>174</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 31.

Harst's humbleness in regard to his apparel and accommodation, combined with his reasoning in some letters, that his stay incurred high expenses that the duke would have to pay, reflect how exceptional the embassy was for a princely state like the United Duchies of Cleves. After Cromwell was executed and the marriage between the King and Anne annulled, Harst used the extraordinariness of the expenses in contrast to the uselessness of his mission as a futile argument to achieve his desired recall<sup>175</sup>. In his aforementioned complaint, Chapuys also remarked that Harst had only one servant. According to Harst's own dispatches, at least in 1540 he had two servants and two horses.<sup>176</sup> On 23 August, the envoy stated that he would like to spare his master the expenses of two horses and two servants, but 'I can not do without, also by reason of honour, as I am known to many because of the matter I am here for, I otherwise do not feel comfortable with many servants.'<sup>177</sup>

As Harst returned from his embassy in Spain only after Anne's train had left for England, he was not actively involved in the diplomacy with England from the beginning. Whether he was sent to England later because he had still been in Spain, or rather was summoned back from the Spanish court in order to be dispatched to England instead remains unknown. Between his return from Madrid and his departure to London, he traveled to Leuven<sup>178</sup> and accompanied duke William to Paderborn for a meeting with the leaders of the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>179</sup> Both journeys delayed his dispatch even further, although his arrival in England was overdue and already expected for a while, as the English ambassador Wotton informed the ducal councillors. To this, Wotton received the

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<sup>175</sup> JB II 2743 fos 260r, 269r, 280r, 294r and 328 r.

<sup>176</sup> JB II 2743 fos 269r and 328r.

<sup>177</sup> JB II 2743 fo 269r: 'kan ichs nit entberen, auch von eren wegen, dan mich mentliklich (sic) kent, von des wegen ich hie bin, es ist mir sunst nit also wol mit viel knechten.'

<sup>178</sup> On the eighteenth of December, Harst wrote a letter to Gogreve from Cologne, JB II 2743 fo. 8r, and on the fourth of January one from Leuven: JB II 2743 fos. 10r-11r.

<sup>179</sup> Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger*, p. 597.

answer that the dispatch of Harst was imminent, if not already accomplished.<sup>180</sup> Interestingly, in a memorandum dated 18 February 1540, the duke of Cleves pointed out to Gogreve that the preparations for the departure of Harst, who had already received his credential letters and instructions, should take place without attracting the English ambassador's attention. Willliam did not want Wotton to know that Harst was still in the United Duchies, neither that the preparations were not even completed.<sup>181</sup> This seems to bear some connection with a letter that Karl Harst later wrote after he had arrived in England. He reported on 23 March that Queen Anne had complained about his late arrival and that she had not received any notice in the meantime, which also displeased the King.<sup>182</sup> Then Anne enquired where Harst had departed from his master, to which the envoy intentionally made the incorrect reply that it had been at Paderborn, and claimed this to be proven by the credential letter. Harst remarks that the Queen was suspicious, but he did not disclose to her that the letter had been dated back.<sup>183</sup> For some reason the duke of Cleves wanted to conceal his envoy's true whereabouts in the meantime, as the English ambassador was not supposed to notice that Harst was in the United Duchies around the eighteenth of February, and the latter had everyone at the English court, including Anne, believe that he departed from Paderborn instead of the United Duchies. Whether this was just to conceal the late and assumably hurried preparations for his dispatch or some hidden mission in the meantime between the meeting at Paderborn and Harst's arrival in England unfortunately remains a secret.

It is not possible to determine the exact date of Harst's arrival in England with certainty. From the first letter from England that he wrote on the fifteenth of March, it appears that he had arrived the day before, on the fourteenth. In this

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<sup>180</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p.180.

<sup>181</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 15r.

<sup>182</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 81r+v.

<sup>183</sup> „frogt mich die *Königin* wuo ich von meim g.h. gescheiden were antwort ich zu Paterborn wie dan auch des datum des schreibens an den *englischen König* hult nam sie wunder, ich lies mich aber nit mercken das das datum mit ufsatz also hindersich gesetzt were worden": JB II 2743 fo. 81v. Apparently, ante- or postdating was not an unusual practice in diplomatic correspondence: Lutter, *Kommunikation*, p. 95.

first dispatch he reports that he had travelled incognito through 'the land of the Burgundians', by which he means the Habsburg Low Countries, and that Cromwell had wanted to speak to him immediately after his arrival.<sup>184</sup> Almost two months after the councillors Olisleger and Hochsteden, who had come over in the train of Anne of Cleves as ad-hoc ambassadors, had left the country, ambassador Harst began representing the duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg at the English court.<sup>185</sup> His long absence from Cleves due to his embassy to Spain turned out to be a disadvantage, as Harst later, in June 1540, regretted a lack of information and insight into the plans and decisions of Duke William and his councillors. 'I have never attended your council meetings'<sup>186</sup> he wrote to Gogreve, most likely referring to the meetings since the onset the negotiations with the English. Therefore, he would not be fully privy to their motivations and the reasons for the duke's diplomatic hesitation.

Karl Harst's mission was expressed quite plain and simply in his credential letter to the queen- he was supposed to stay at court near the royal couple, communicate, and take care of the everyday business in regard to Cleves that occurs.<sup>187</sup> It will become obvious later, that these tasks were far more demanding than this description conveys. Harst himself described his function as a go-between who delivers messages: 'For I came thus here to listen, communicate, send over reports, deliver the response here.'<sup>188</sup> As there was much at stake for the future and safety of the United Duchies, this contained a great responsibility. If Harst failed in representing and justifying the policy of Cleves to the English King and in securing his friendship with the duke or even successfully negotiating active or financial support for his master, Cleves would face a war with the emperor. If it would come to this conflict, it would hardly be realistic

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<sup>184</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 26r-27r.

<sup>185</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 168.

<sup>186</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 106v.

<sup>187</sup> In the Duisburg archives, this letter survived as a draft, dated to the eighteenth of February: JB II 2743 fo. 16r+v.

<sup>188</sup> 'Dan ich kam derenthalber hier anzuhoren, mit einander zu communicieren, widder uberschreiben, hieher gegenrelation zu tun': von Below, *Landtagsakten*, p. 324.

for the duke to stand his ground and defend his territories without powerful allies. The continuity of the dynasty of Marck as rulers of the recently merged principalities was threatened and the welfare of the territories and their people gravely endangered. In the face of this, the political stability of the United Duchies was at risk. Earlier, in January, Harst reported from Leuven that there was rumour in the Low Countries that the people of Jülich would not want to be drawn into a war for Guelders. He remarked that, if this was indeed the case, the consequences of a lack of unity should be taken into consideration, as it would be the duke's and his dynasty's downfall.<sup>189</sup> Harst's phrasing in some of his dispatches gives an impression of the tension and emergency that he was aware of. For example, in a letter of the 30th of March he voiced his concern about setting too much hope for peace on a possible marriage between William and Christina of Milan to settle the dispute with the emperor, instead of seeking another bride to gain another ally. If William and the council waited for a chance on this option, they would remain in a state of indecision for too long, as 'time is running out for our milord to remain in good hope'.<sup>190</sup> The longer the duke remained indecisive, the slighter his chances that war could be avoided.

In a letter of 7 July, Harst confessed to William a conversation between himself and Henry in the past that he had kept secret from the duke, probably since April. Harst admitted that he had made a defence for his lord<sup>191</sup> and had, to 'the English King and council apologised inasmuch as your noble grace is seeking friendship and peace by all means, whether by marriage or otherwise'.<sup>192</sup> Thereby, Harst disclosed to them the true strategy and motives of his duke's foreign policy, summarised in one sentence. William and his councillors would certainly not

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<sup>189</sup> 'sagen auch hie die Gulcher wollen kein Uberzug noch Krieg leiden des Lant von Gellern halben wuo im also ist das solt man zeitlicher bedocht haben dan wuo nit Eindrechtigkeit so wirt mein g.h. nit allein Schaden nemmen sunder zubesorgen das seiner verderben wirt sein sunder auch seiner g und deren Nochkommen zu ewiger Verkleinerung': JB II 2743 fo. 10r+v.

<sup>190</sup> 'laufft die zeit unserem g.h. (gnädigen Herrn) uf gutte hoffnung enweg': JB II 2743 fo. 43v.

<sup>191</sup> William had angered the king by travelling to the emperor for negotiations unexpectedly and without seeking his advice. JB II 2743 fo. 59r+v.

<sup>192</sup> 'dem *englischen König* und räten entschuldigt wie das ewer f.g. (fürstliche Gnaden) alle mittel sucht um fruntschaft zuhaben und fridden durch hilich (Ehe) oder ander weg': JB II 2743 fo. 177r+v.

have been pleased about this frankness, so it is no surprise that Harst did not report the issue. It demonstrates how the duke of Cleves wanted to assure peace by all means available, of course under the condition that William retained the claim to Guelders. But it also revealed that the alliance with England was just one strategy among others, which is a fact that the ambassador should not have exposed to the English King. Instead, Harst's task at the English court was to prevent any grudge against his lord by explaining the policy of Cleves favourably, concealing the strategies that would be unpopular and reassuring the King in the case he disapproved with the policy of his brother-in-law. Karl Harst had to keep Henry in a good temper with regard to the alliance, which turned out as a mission the envoy could not cope with. By May already, when the King's friendship was at risk after William's venturous journey to the emperor's court at Gent, Harst requested to be replaced or assisted by a more experienced and suitable colleague, for which he suggested Olisleger.<sup>193</sup>

Until this stage, the nature of Harst's mission had been a normal ambassadorial role. As a lawyer, he was suitable to discuss the addenda to the alliance treaty that William and his councillors had wished for. He did not achieve this goal and his task to reassure Henry of William's faithfulness in the alliance became increasingly difficult, but little did he know that his embassy and the nature of his mission would soon take a dramatic turn.

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<sup>193</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 78v.

## Chapter 3: Struggles

### 3.1 Perceptions and Identity

Harst's depiction of the English character was, naturally, strongly affected by the events of Anne's repudiation. Comparing the remarks that he made before and after the annulment of the royal marriage, it nevertheless becomes clear that he was critical even before this dramatic twist.

From the information that can be grasped between the lines or at the side of his letters, Harst seems to have been surprisingly well connected despite the fact that he did not know the English language. One important source of contacts and information was, of course, the Steelyard. The London centre of German Hanseatic merchants was the place where English and foreigners alike would find interpreters and Harst dispatched his correspondence or borrowed money. But it was also a useful source where intelligence could be gathered by fellow countrymen as well as the English government.<sup>194</sup> Some of these news were concerning the Holy Roman Empire, the German princes, or the Emperor, and Harst reported anything that could be useful to Duke William's councillors. But very likely a great deal of the information that he received in regard to English domestic and courtly affairs were accessible to him at the Steelyard. As the German merchants cultivated important connections and were able to exchange news with the English speaking citizens, maintaining contact with them was obligatory for German speaking envoys. A few times, Harst particularly mentioned that his information was given to him by someone from the Steelyard. Knowing only few of the merchants would have been sufficient for obtaining information that passed by word of mouth. For instance, Harst knew that Winchester employed a German to translate some documents into Latin. He suspected that these documents concerned the old marriage plans with Lorraine,

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<sup>194</sup> Jörn, 'Überlegungen', p. 216.

as he had also heard that Norfolk was making enquiries in this matter: 'I conclude this because Norfolk is said to have asked someone what the word 'hilich' (marriage) means, whether it must be interpreted as *de futuro*, *de praesenti* or *de preterito*. The other has replied that he would need to see the conditions or the following'.<sup>195</sup> To be well informed on Winchester's and Norfolk's research and enquiries as he was, Harst must have received this intelligence through the Steelyard merchants. It was possibly the same person whom Norfolk approached for their proficiency of the language who spread the word, and at some point it reached the news-gathering ambassador. Sometimes, a German would even approach Harst for reporting something that they found suspicious: 'This very hour a pious<sup>196</sup> German [came] to me and said that the Duke of Norfolk's niece, too, has granted the governess and also Diennagel permission to leave.<sup>197</sup> Harst knew that some time before Mother Lowe and Diennagel had requested this permission to leave, so this was not a surprise to him. But the fact that it was not Anne, but her lady-in-waiting who granted it jointly with the King seriously undermined the authority of the Queen Consort and was against all protocol. This act, if true, would have born a particular message, as it was Anne who brought these two servants of her home country to England, and now the King's mistress, her lady-in-waiting, exerted power that forebode her future status. This 'pious German', who may have been a servant or a merchant who acted as an interpreter at the scene, was alarmed and chose to inform the Cleves ambassador. In September, a Steelyard contact, who used to transport Harst's letters and convey verbal messages, reported to Harst that he had received a confidential warning from someone at the royal court, apparently about an order to take the merchant into custody and to search for these dispatches. Whether this was a true information or a smart excuse to end the delivery service cannot

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<sup>195</sup> JB II 2743 f176v.: 'dan ich fas das doraus dan norffock sol einen gefrogt hebben was das wort hilich heis, ob es *de futuro*, *de presenti*, oder *de preterito* sol verston werden. Hat der ander geantwurt er mies die preterita oder das nachvolgent sehen.' See also Müller, *Beziehungen*, p. 72.

<sup>196</sup> Harst used the adjective 'fromm', literally translated 'pious', in the meaning of 'virtuous' or 'decent'.

<sup>197</sup> JB II 2743 f177v.: 'komt, nediger her, itzt uf stund ein frommer deitzscher zu mir und sagt wie es sol sein das hertzen von norffock nicht die hofmeisterin und auch diennagel mit urlub'.

be verified. But interestingly, Harst explained that the merchant originated from 'my lord's dominions' and had been a frequent visitor at Anne's residence, often accompanied by Harst, and the Cleves envoy assumed that these facts were known and suspicious to the royal court.<sup>198</sup> Harst's account reveals the close connections between the Steelyard merchants and the diplomat, but also how Anne was involved in this network.

Harst seemed to have had confidential sources at court as well, as the nature of some of his information suggests. On 12 July, for instance, he expressed his concern that he may get arrested within the next few days, 'as I am seriously warned'.<sup>199</sup> Such a warning would only be serious if the individual who issued the warning had the potential to know reliable information, i.e. was somebody close enough to the King or his Privy Councillors, either a member of the latter or a servant or secretary. The source would not necessarily be truthful, as it may well be that information and warnings like the one Harst mentioned could have been deliberately passed on to intimidate him and to keep his resistance in check. Passing on false news to ambassadors was a common day-to-day business in diplomacy.<sup>200</sup> If indeed Harst was warned in the purpose of inhibiting his efforts against the proceedings, this plan was to some extent successful. A day later, Harst explained, regarding his opposition against the verdict:

'but I am worried that if I do too much, I will get the virtuous Queen into more trouble rather than to help her as I intended. On top of this, some are concerned that I would be sent to prison, and (this) would be even more derision and humiliation to your grace.'<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> JB II 2743 f296r.

<sup>199</sup> JB II 2743 f192r.: 'ich besorg ich werd in kurtzen dagen gefangen werden, dan ich bin heftig gewarnt.'

<sup>200</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>201</sup> JB II 2743 f199r: 'Besorg aber wuo ich zuviel mach das ich die from Königin beschwer ich mer dan wan ich ir g. vermein zu furdern. Besorgen etlich das ich darzu in ein gefencknis mocht geworffen werden und were eweren g. noch mer spot und verkleinerung.'

On a few occasions, Harst reported interactions with other diplomats. In April, for instance, an envoy of duke Ludwig of Bavaria requested his help. The diplomatic and matrimonial ties between Cleves and England facilitated Harst's access to the inner circle of the king, as to Henry himself, whereas the Bavarian diplomat could not rely on equally close relations and hoped to get his attention with the help of Harst. He requested that Harst would praise the duke Ludwig in an audience with a king and present Bavaria as not allegiant to Habsburg politics to prepare the ground for his diplomatic effort. On this occasion, the Bavarian diplomat also promoted a potential alliance for his master and the duke of Cleves, suggesting that duke Ludwig would support Willliam in the event of an escalation of the Guelders crisis and the emperor's military action.<sup>202</sup> Harst, however, was suspicious of Bavaria's suit, especially since Cromwell confided to him that the Bavarian ambassador's mission was to suggest a marriage between Ludwig and the king's daughter Mary.<sup>203</sup> The Cleves ambassador surmised that duke Ludwig, who had always been loyal to the emperor, was sent by the 'Burgundians' to create discord between Henry and Willliam.<sup>204</sup>

Another envoy that Harst mentioned in his dispatches as one of his contacts was Charles de Marillac, ambassador of the French Crown. Since Cleves entered into a 'friendship' with France and negotiated a marriage for Willliam with a French princess,<sup>205</sup> their ambassadors communicated and co-operated.<sup>206</sup> As Harst reported on 18 July, the French ambassador 'disclosed to him confidentially' that he and the Imperial ambassador had the same order as Willliam's own envoy, not to write anything in their dispatches that would slander Henry's reputation.<sup>207</sup> In his 31 July dispatch, Harst pointed out that he knew that the efforts of Cleves to get a French marriage for the duke had not come to fruition yet and worried that

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<sup>202</sup> JB II 2743 ff56 - 57v.

<sup>203</sup> JB II 2743 ff.43v - 44v.

<sup>204</sup> JB II 2743 f43v - 44r.

<sup>205</sup> Glezerman, *Cleve*, pp. 267 - 269; Müller, *Beziehungen*, p. 91.

<sup>206</sup> For instance, upon request Marillac dispatched Harst's letters, that were likely addressed to duke Wilhelm's ambassador to France, together with his own: Kaulek, *Correspondence*, p. 218.

<sup>207</sup> JB II 2743 f210v.

they will turn out to be futile, as the French ambassador, whom he knew well, had not received any note in this matter.<sup>208</sup> By September, Harst stated that he was on cordial terms with his French colleague, whom he described as an ingenious man, and mentioned his invitation: 'as he lives on the countryside in a picturesque place, he suggested to me to pay him a visit for a couple of days when I am weary of the city and [it is] convenient to me, to dispel [the] melancholy and to pass time.'<sup>209</sup> Likewise, the correspondence of Marillac contains mentioning of the ambassador of Cleves, albeit usually without any personal touch apart from one expression of empathy regarding the strain that Harst endured during the eventful time of the annulment in his dispatch of 15th August. He reported to the Connétable of France that 'the poor ambassador, out of displeasure, came down with a high fever, making me search every day if I can get any piece of news of his master to forward to him.'<sup>210</sup> Despite their familiarity and Harst's usual habit to provide names, particularly of people who hold an office or have an official function, both men simply referred to each other as ambassadors of the French King and the duke of Cleves respectively.

One curious incident that Harst described on 30th March involved the King's daughter, Mary. As the envoy reported, the lady had initiated a conversation with him in which she 'eagerly enquired about my lord', and 'keenly asked me about everything, how, when and where his grace would be.'<sup>211</sup> While he was not aware of her identity at the time, Harst noticed to his surprise that she possessed information on diplomatic details regarding Cleves that even he did not know. Mary told him that she had heard about duke Henry of Saxony showing his interest in Amalia of Cleves as a bride for his son and William rejecting these

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<sup>208</sup> JB II 2743 f237r.

<sup>209</sup> JB II 2743 f278v: 'dieweil ehr Im feld In eim lustigen ort leit, mir anzeigt, wan Ich verdruß In der stat hab, und mir gelegen etlich tag zu Im zukommen melencoli und zeit zuvertreiben.'

<sup>210</sup> Kaulek, *Correspondance*, p. 214: 'Quoyqu'il en soit, le paouvre ambassadeur de Clèves de desplaisir en est tombé en une grosse fièvre, me faisant requerre tous les jours si j'ay point eu nouvelles de son maistre, pour luy en communiquer.'

<sup>211</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 45v+46r: 'mich vleissig noch meim g.h. gefrogt' and 'mich also vleissig frochte alle ding wie wan und wuo sei[n] g. were.'

prospects for the sake of his relations to John Frederick, elector of Saxony.<sup>212</sup> It may be that Mary had been genuinely interested in knowing more about William, as in 1531 and 1538/39 he was considered as a match for her, although negotiations seemingly never advanced and were rather a pretence to explore potential alliances and connections with the German princes.<sup>213</sup> But her enquiries could also have been a deliberate demonstration of her capabilities and knowledge of foreign intelligence. At Anne's suggestion, Harst later mentioned Mary in regard to her suitability as a bride for William, judging her to be 'an honourable person and princess, but for the blemish that the King cast her aside.'<sup>214</sup>

While initially the duke of Cleves did not appoint and dispatch his ambassador to serve his sister as a personal agent, the queen played a key role in the diplomatic strategies and was, therefore, one of Harst's most important contacts. Anne, who was delighted to hear of Harst's arrival in mid-March, nevertheless complained to him about the delay of his embassy and the scarcity of news from Cleves.<sup>215</sup> It was necessary for the Cleves envoy to converse with the queen in private to exchange news or secret letters, discuss strategies and pass on instructions. Often, this was impossible due to Anne being surrounded by courtiers. On one occasion, she requested him to have lunch with her and her noble attendants. The ambassador did as he was told and, sitting among the chatting and laughing women, was unable to understand a word of the banter unless Anne interpreted for him. Indeed, she was able to converse with her ladies and act as an interpreter, as Harst described how the countess of Rutland joked

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<sup>212</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 45v+46r.

<sup>213</sup> Glezerman, *Cleve*, pp. 262 - 263; Engelbrecht, *Anglo-German Relations*, p. 121; Warnicke, *Marrying*, p.70 and pp. 74-75.

<sup>214</sup> JB II 2743 f69 v:

<sup>215</sup> JB II 2743 ff81r - 81v.

with the queen in 'the English tongue', who then provided a translation to the envoy.<sup>216</sup>

On 29 June, after Anne was sent away to Richmond, he paid her a two-day visit, likely to alleviate her concerns. Although he noticed that a lot of effort was put into distracting and entertaining her, she was distressed and complained to him about one of her maids - who must have been Catherine Howard- for a full hour.<sup>217</sup>

During the eventful weeks of her rustification, Anne depended on Harst's legal and diplomatic, but also emotional support. After being informed that her marriage was under scrutiny, she did 'such weeping and bitter crying [...] that it would move a heart of stone to pity'<sup>218</sup> and called for the envoy in the middle of the night. However, there were also heated arguments, for after her initial resistance, Anne agreed to the annulment, a move that was contrary to the stance of her brother's ambassador. Harst, who was painfully aware that he could not accomplish anything to help her situation, or that he even put her at risk by showing his disapproval of Anne's compliance. By September, he urged that Cleves should send someone specifically for advising Anne and defending her interests, as this was not part of his role and he was 'not skilled, nor educated' for such a job.<sup>219</sup> While he regarded the diplomatic exchange with the English government and the advancement of support for duke Willliam as his primary role, he frequently visited Anne, trying to convince her to return to Cleves, checking the state of her situation and wellbeing. Although the alliance between Cleves and England was not declared void and the king promised to continue the 'friendship', after the annulment Harst's function drastically changed from negotiating with an ally to defending Anne's interests.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> JB II 2743 f147r-f147v. This anecdote will be discussed more in detail below, as it bears significance in regard to the planning of the annulment and the deposition that was taken from three of Anne's ladies, one of whom was the countess of Rutland.

<sup>217</sup> JB II 2743 f166v.

<sup>218</sup> JB II 2743 f186r: 'solches weynes und bitterm schreys thut sie, das es ein steinen hertz mochte erbarmen.'

<sup>219</sup> JB II 2743 f292v.

<sup>220</sup> Müller, Beziehungen, pp. 89 - 90.

Since the departure of the envoys Olisleger and Hochsteden, who had accompanied Anne to her wedding and left on 19th January, no diplomat of the duke of Cleves had been present at the English court.<sup>221</sup> By the time Harst commenced his embassy in England, he was confronted with a king who had already developed displeasure with his ally. The queen had given her brother's ambassador ahead warning and informed him about Henry's discontent with Harst's late dispatch to England.<sup>222</sup> The king indeed had an outburst of temper at the second meeting, talking 'with the whole body'<sup>223</sup>, and expressing his frustration about his inscrutable ally who negotiated with the emperor without consulting Henry or communicating. Henry frankly declared that he did not care whether William would be in possession of Guelders or not, he was well-meaning and supportive towards the duke as his dear brother and did not want him to get deceived by his enemies. Harst then 'appeased the king as much as I could', but cautioned the councillors of Cleves that it was absolutely necessary to increase communication with Henry.<sup>224</sup> The ambassador of Cleves had a difficult start with his host, and in the course of events, his job was not going to get any easier.

Unsurprisingly, Harst's main English contact was the king's chief minister and principal secretary Thomas Cromwell, whom he also regarded as the main supporter of the alliance with Cleves.<sup>225</sup> Immediately on Harst's arrival, Cromwell wished to see him and discuss the current affairs, as the envoy of Cleves reported in his first dispatch on 15th March.<sup>226</sup> The evidence in Harst's letters suggests that both met and talked often and at length in an almost familiar way, Cromwell obviously attaching importance to assuring Cleves of the friendship of the English crown. In the dispatch of 30th March, Harst recounted that the principal

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<sup>221</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 168 and 180.

<sup>222</sup> JB II 2743 f81r+v.

<sup>223</sup> JB II 2743 f82r: 'reth ir maiestat mit dem ganten leib'.

<sup>224</sup> JB II 2743 ff82r - 84v.

<sup>225</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 144 r+v.

<sup>226</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 26r.

secretary promised that he would 'henceforth negotiate more confidentially and *unverbogen*' with him.<sup>227</sup> *Unverbogen*, i.e. 'not crooked', could mean that he pledged to talk truthfully and honestly, the same meaning would apply in case Harst merely misspelled *unverborgen*, 'not covertly'. However, it may also be interpreted as an announcement that he would not use the diplomatic subtleties and insinuations, but communicate straightforwardly with Harst in their meetings. In the same letter, the envoy gave an account of one of their long talks.<sup>228</sup> Although Harst perceived Cromwell as faithful and well-disposed,<sup>229</sup> it cannot be certain whether the king's chief minister talked truthfully, as he excelled at strategically passing on false news to trusting diplomats.<sup>230</sup> Nevertheless, with all due caution the report gives interesting insights into Cromwell's involvement and stance in regard to the King's marriage to Anne of Cleves. According to Harst, the principal secretary elaborated on his thoughts on dynastic marriages and his advice to Henry on this matter. He pointed out the fate of realms like Burgundy and Spain that passed on to another dynasty through the inheritance of female succession. Yet Cromwell had advised the King to not take a bride of his own realm, to avoid the disturbance of hierarchies within the Kingdom's nobility that the elevation of one of the families would cause.<sup>231</sup> Instead, he had suggested not seeking to gain fortunes with a foreign bride, but finding a well-bred woman of noble birth with whom Henry may have issue, for which Cromwell had recommended Anne. He complimented the status of the duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, but pointed out the risks of him being the only male of his dynasty. By stating that England had had no gain, but only expenses when she had territories in France in former times, Cromwell hinted to Harst that the King would not have any aims for the succession rights to Cleves. After asserting that he gave his advice with the best of intentions for William, who

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<sup>227</sup> 'er wil hinfurter vertruter und unverbogen mit mir handeln'.

<sup>228</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 41v-43r.

<sup>229</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 41v +45r.

<sup>230</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 25 - 26.

<sup>231</sup> Most likely, he did not need to specify the examples of the Boleyn and Seymour families to create a strong reference to these previous cases.

held a lot of promise, Cromwell requested that Harst should help with advising his duke accordingly, i.e. urging for a marriage to secure the succession. And indeed, subsequent to the description of the conversation, Harst went on to write down his advice against making any further effort to achieve the wedding of Willlliam to Christina of Milan, as it was time to seek another bride instead of delaying the duke's marriage.<sup>232</sup>

Harst's dispatches prove that he, the duke of Cleves and his councillors relied on Cromwell no less than on the king, as the ambassador pointed out that it was highly important to send letters of commendation and pay homage to both king and Cromwell. In his letter of 23rd March, the ambassador referred to the duke's councillors' order that he must not have any audience with the king without Cromwell's knowledge and always inform the principal secretary about any proceedings<sup>233</sup>. All of the envoy's surviving letters up to 12 June include references that recount or suggest meetings with the chief minister, and after the arrest Harst mentioned that he used to be a guest at Cromwell's dinners.<sup>234</sup> Hospitality played an important role in diplomacy, and Cromwell made ample use of it.<sup>235</sup>

On 16th June, the envoy recounted a meeting that took place five weeks earlier. Already turning away to leave, Harst had addressed rumours that he had heard about Cromwell; according to gossip the minister was going to surrender all his offices and leave the royal court. Harst had declared to Cromwell that duke Willlliam 'placed his hope on him next to the king, as did the queen, and to lose such a friend would be a hardship for my lord'<sup>236</sup>. Besides being the main contact for keeping up the alliance, the king's chief minister also took care of material aspects of hosting the ambassador of Cleves, such as finding a decent

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<sup>232</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 43r.

<sup>233</sup> JB II 2743 f85r.

<sup>234</sup> JB II 2743 f121r.

<sup>235</sup> Catherine Fletcher, 'Furnished with Gentlemen': the ambassador's house in sixteenth-century Italy, in *Renaissance Studies* 24,4 (2010) pp. 518 - 535; Michael Everett, *The Rise of Tomas Cromwell: Power and Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII, 1485-1534* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2015) p. 183.

<sup>236</sup> JB II 2743 f122r: 'mein g.h. setzt seine Vertröstung zu im nehst noch dem König, das gleichen thet auch die Konigin und ein solchen frund zuverlieren wird meim g.h. beschwerlich sein.'

accommodation for Harst, paying for some of his expenses and, as mentioned earlier, having doublets tailored for him. For Cleves, and ambassador Harst in particular, the fall of Cromwell left a void in both respects, which will be discussed more in detail in chapter 4.<sup>237</sup>

Harst expressed his favourite stereotype of the inconstant (*wankelmütig*) English as early as May 1540. He advised the duke of Cleves and his councillors to keep up the effort and send more credentials for him to Cromwell, as he believed the English high officials to be 'of short memory, [they] are inconstant in my opinion.'<sup>238</sup> Therefore, he deemed it necessary to constantly remind the high officials and the King of their friendship with Cleves to prevent them being drawn to different allies. Furthermore, should the King and the well-meaning individuals of his council die, Harst suspected that the English ally would abandon its policy and turn to the Habsburgs, as 'the nature of the nation seems inconsistent to me.'<sup>239</sup> This concern for a change of politics in the event of the King's death, based on Harst's opinion of the inconsistency of the English people, increased with the fall of Thomas Cromwell, whom the envoy regarded as the most reliable supporter of the alliance. Harst's frequent remarks that the King was mortal and could die any time before the purpose of this diplomatic encounter was fulfilled and the succession of Guelders defended may suggest that he was under the impression that the King's death was near. He did, however, not state any acute reason for this concern, and it remains unclear whether there had been any specific aspect beside the King's age. Yet, Harst's reminders of Henry's mortality give an impression of the urgency and dependency connected to the English alliance for the defence of Cleves, but also of the envoy's distrust in the political stability in the realm.

As Harst reported in a later dispatch of 11th August, Anne, who was ordered to leave the palace of Richmond to move to Hever Castle just over a month after

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<sup>237</sup> See chapter 4.2 below on the fall of Cromwell.

<sup>238</sup> JB II 2743 f. 78 v: 'haben ein kurtz memori sind meins erachtens wankelmütig.'

<sup>239</sup> JB II 2743 f. 78 v: 'dan die natur der nation dunckt mich wankelmütig sein'.

she had been shifted off to Richmond, complained about the unreliability of the English people as well.<sup>240</sup> Hever was a significantly smaller and less splendid estate than Richmond, which led Harst to lament that Anne was to be driven into a chicken coop, fearing that she would fare the same fate as the first queen, Catherine of Aragon, who had been held captive after her repudiation.<sup>241</sup> He did not trust Henry's promises that Anne would be well provided for as 'the King's sister' and that her provisions would be lasting, as he suspected the English unreliability could change her fate at any time.<sup>242</sup> The stereotype of the capricious, inconsistent English had a long tradition, as already in 1209/10 the *anglica perfidia* was expressed in the chronicle of Otto of St. Blasien<sup>243</sup> and known in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in France, experiencing a resurgence whenever bilateral relations became more tense.<sup>244</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to find out the particular origins of Harst's and Anne's judgement. An already existing preconception may have sensitised Harst and Anne to expect and to blame this perceived inconsistent behaviour. At the same time, Henry's already scandalous marital affairs until 1540 may have played a significant role to shape or at least support the stereotype of the capricious English.

As Harst had to discover, it was difficult to deal with Henry, as 'it takes a peculiar way to get along with this King, he does not want to be in the wrong, wants to be the wisest'.<sup>245</sup> At the ducal court of Cleves, the councillors were used to discussing matters quite openly with their master and voicing their opinion and advice to a

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<sup>240</sup> JB II 2743 f. 251 v.

<sup>241</sup> JB II 2743 f. 251 v: 'wirt ir g. nun in ein hunerstal gejagt ich besorg es wird eben ein end hebben wie mit der erste konigin Catharina'.

<sup>242</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 210r.

<sup>243</sup> Finzsch-Sprengel, 'Heinrich VIII', p. 55 fn 15.

<sup>244</sup> H. D. Schmidt, 'The Idea and Slogan of "Perfidious Albion"', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 14, No 4 (Oct., 1953), pp. 604-616, here p. 605. The French ambassador Marillac, in a letter to the Connétable dated 6 August 1540, described three main vices that he saw in Henry's character, among them 'légiereté et inconstance': Kaulek, *Correspondance*, p. 213.

<sup>245</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 157r: 'es hat ein eigen art mit diesem König zuuberkommen wil nit unrecht hebben wil der weisest sein'.

level that at the English royal court was unthinkable.<sup>246</sup> On 19th June, Harst cautioned the duke's councillors to prevent the English ambassador to notice any slightest thing that might displease the King, 'because he wants to be lauded and praised, and in everything be in the right and praise, in this way he was raised, no one may interfere with his affairs, else I would have had an argument already'.<sup>247</sup>

It is interesting how Harst linked a negative character trait to Henry's upbringing, to some extent denying the King's own responsibility for his behaviour. Henry was forty-nine at the time, and the fact that Harst pointed out the role of the King's upbringing in the light of his difficult character demonstrates the long-lasting consequences and the importance that he attached to the education of a prince. At the court of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, the ideas of Erasmus were the main standard for the education of young William. Hence Konrad Heresbach, the heir's tutor, was given a lot of leeway and agency for enabling him to educate William according to the Erasmian ideals. As Heresbach published his own mirror for princes, his own adaptations and variations of these educational ideals are known today. '*De educandis erudiendisq[ue] principum liberis Reipublicae gubernandae destinatis, deque republica Christiana administranda*'<sup>248</sup> was published in 1570, but as Szameitat argued, Heresbach had already completed it shortly before or at the time of William's succession and merely made slight revisions for the final publication.<sup>249</sup> Thus, the educational ideals in his work were contemporary around 1540. As the succession of young duke William had been fairly recent, it is reasonable to assume that the humanistic scholars among his councillors observed the results of his upbringing with great anticipation. At a closer look, Harst's criticism of the King's character and the court that he

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<sup>246</sup> Finger, *England*, p. 52.

<sup>247</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 137r: 'dan er wil gelobt und geprisen sein und in allen recht und den preis habben also ist er erzogen worden im niemant in sein sachen darf reddden ich were sonst lang ein mol im balg gewesen'.

<sup>248</sup> Konrad Heresbach, *De educandis erudiendisq[ue] principum liberis Reipublicae gubernandae destinatis, deque republica Christiana administranda*, Frankfurt/Main 1570.

<sup>249</sup> Among other evidence, Szameitat refers to a remark of Melancthon, who mentioned Heresbach's work to be ready for printing in a letter dated 1538: Szameitat, *Konrad Heresbach*, pp. 395 and 402-404.

expressed in his dispatches reflected the educational principles of Heresbach. Willliam's tutor cautioned against raising the prince surrounded by flatterers and sweet-talking councillors, as they would harm the realm by making the (future) ruler luxurious and insane, for their personal advantage. Heresbach perceived that it was normal for princely offspring growing up at court to crawl around already dressed in crimson, in the midst of vices, indulgence and hedonism.<sup>250</sup> Harst's critique that Henry was used to being in the right and possessed an indulgent and inconstant character corresponds to Heresbach's depiction of the wrong upbringing of a prince and pointed out its harmful results. As Karl Harst had close links to Erasmus and, like Heresbach, was inspired by his learning, the critical reflections in his letters are hardly a surprise.

In April, the envoy already mentioned his perception that the King 'does not like being urged nor often reminded'<sup>251</sup> and noted the King's character as 'inconsistent' and erratic.<sup>252</sup> When Anne and the envoy deliberated on how to promote her coronation, she advised to approach the matter carefully without making the King feel pressured and provoking his discontent.<sup>253</sup> Yet, the fact that Anne had not been crowned started to be a matter of concern to her as well as to Harst, who suspected that something was afoot. Obviously, both of them were afraid that Henry might change his mind about her status, and seemed to perceive that a coronation would reinforce and secure Anne's position as queen, despite her crowned predecessors' fates. As it seems, they saw the risk to provoke Henry's discontent if they dared to address it forthrightly or indirectly, through Cromwell or another member of the Privy Council, which may indicate that the King had already proven to be short-tempered.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> 'Iam videas statim ut ovo exclusi sunt, principium liberos in purpura repere, nihil praeter voluptates, mollitiem, obscenitatem, scurras, iocos, vel intueri vel audire, inter commessationes, in muliercularum gremijs, inter morionum & adulatorum greges adolescere', cited after Szameitat, Konrad Heresbach, p- 398 fn 20.

<sup>251</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 58 r.: '...der König wil nit gezwungen noch viel gemant sein.'

<sup>252</sup> Karl Harst to Johann Gogreve, London, 5 April 1540, in: von Below, *Landtagsakten*, pp. 324-326, here p. 326.

<sup>253</sup> Karl Harst to Johann Gogreve, London, 5 April 1540, in: von Below, *Landtagsakten*, pp. 324-326, here p. 326, and Karl Harst to Johann Gogreve, London, 4 April 1540, ibd. pp. 317-324, here p. 322.

<sup>254</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p.184, also wonders why Anne felt unable to discuss this topic with her husband.

After the annulment of Anne's marriage, this impression was expressed more distinctly. Harst reported on 13 July that 'the queen tells me that the councillors are weeping bitterly with her grace, everyone fearing for their head, nobody is allowed to talk'.<sup>255</sup> While not all councillors were weeping for the repudiation of Anne or fearing for their lives, others obviously reacted with great regret, although unfortunately Harst did not specify the individuals that Anne was referring to. However, this remark reflects how Anne and Harst perceived the atmosphere in the immediate surrounding at court. There would be no reason for any privy councillors or courtiers to stage an expression of disapproval and fearing to speak up against the events, thus it is reasonable to believe that Anne indeed witnessed genuine distress among them. Although Harst had formerly assumed that the removal of Cromwell and the annulment of the royal marriage were instigated by the 'Burgundians', i.e. the Habsburgs, he soon came to suspect that these actions happened at Henry's own responsibility and did not shy away from calling Henry 'the tyrannic King'.<sup>256</sup>

When rumours about a reconciliation between Anne and Henry began to spread in late October, Harst did not bear any hope for their truth. Not only did the ambassador disbelieve this alleged twist of fate for its lack of realism, he also had serious doubts whether a reconciliation would last. In this context, Harst characterised Henry as 'such an inconstant and capricious person, today this way tomorrow different and first he loves one thing and once he takes an animosity, the fate is sealed'.<sup>257</sup> On 11th August, Harst anticipated that the marriage of Catherine Howard would not last long until the King would cast her aside and take another, adding that 'maybe (he) would like to have two wives'.<sup>258</sup> Although the last seemed to be a sarcastic comment rather than his actual belief, Harst

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<sup>255</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 199v: 'die Königin sagt mir die rätth weinen bitterlich mit ihren g. besorgt ein jetlicher seins kopfs darf keiner nit redder'.

<sup>256</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 199r. + 199 v., esp. fo. 199r: 'der tirannisch *König*'

<sup>257</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 301r: 'also ein wanckelmiettiger und unstanthaftiger mensch heit dis morgen anders und erst liebt er ein ding und wuo er ein has uf wirft ist es chon (sic) gescheen'.

<sup>258</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 251r: 'wolt vleicht gern zwuo frauen habben'.

later, on 3rd November, would report 'they say there is a prophecy (that) the King will have seven wives, according to this calculation he is entitled to yet another two'.<sup>259</sup> Unfortunately, there is no mention of the source of this gossip and whether it was widespread, but the fact that Henry indeed only stopped one wife short of this 'prophecy' is certainly amusing in retrospective.

The fact that Henry was worldly sovereign and, at the same time, Supreme Head of the Church of England supported Harst's view of his character as being arbitrary, as the King utilised this combined power in his marital career at will. The envoy characterised the King's role in his marriage litigation as 'plaintiff, judge, and pope, all in one'.<sup>260</sup> Four months after the annulment, Harst cautioned Gogreve and Olisleger that if William would react to the annulment as to defend his sister's honour, the King would likely refuse to receive the envoy in audience. Harst predicted this measure because he perceived that Henry would not want any critical statement on the annulment to reach 'the common man in the whole kingdom'.<sup>261</sup> Judging from his dispatches, during and since the annulment Harst never doubted that everyone in the realm would dance to the King's tune, as in November he stated: 'I think nothing of this nation, (they) have a king, (but) regard him as a god'.<sup>262</sup> Martin Luther had a similar opinion on the king's behaviour and role. He famously expressed in the introduction of *Bekentnis des Glaubens*, a translated edition of the confession of the martyr Robert Barnes, who was burned at the stake on 30th July 1540: 'Your king takes the Pope's money and pursues his régime, thus Harry is Pope, and Pope of England is Harry'.<sup>263</sup> Furthermore, Luther mocked Henry's title of *Defensor fidei*, explaining that it meant 'sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas'- thus I want, thus I command, my will stands in place of reason- which would show 'that Junker Harry wants to

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<sup>259</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 302r: 'Sie sag(en) die propheti got der *König* wirt hebben sibben weiber mit solcher Rechenschafft ston im noch zwuo us'.

<sup>260</sup> JB II 2743 f302r.: 'dan er ist actor, richter, und papst, alles mit eynder.'

<sup>261</sup> JB II 2743 f302r.: 'der gemein man im gantzen konigreich'.

<sup>262</sup> JB II 2743 f319r.: 'ich halt gar nicht uf diese nacion, hebben ein konig, vermeinen es sei ein got'.

<sup>263</sup> Barnes, *Bekantnus*, p. 4.

be God and do whatever he wants.'<sup>264</sup> According to Luther, there had been speculations about the reasons for Barnes' attainder, and 'many honest people' were testifying that Barnes was actually executed for speaking up against the King's dismissal of Anne.<sup>265</sup> Whether the latter was true or not, Henry's reputation seems to have been equally awful in Protestant Germany and Erasmian Cleves alike.

Given Henry's marital history, it is unsurprising that the events in early July 1540 worsened a reputation that had already been damaged before. As a result, the marriage negotiations in 1538-39 had been affected and prolonged, since Anne's mother was not easily persuaded to agree to this match.<sup>266</sup> As we learn from Harst's dispatch of the 3rd July, Anne had complained to him five days earlier about one of her maids of honour. Although the lady's name is not mentioned in the dispatch, it is obvious that Anne was referring to Catherine Howard and was fully aware that something was happening.<sup>267</sup> Harst seems to have sought advice at court, as he reported that an anonymous bishop had admitted that 'the King was of a nature that he, in such [married] state, did not refrain from such a thing but prove his infidelity'.<sup>268</sup> Still, this seems not to have led Harst to anticipate any worse, and at this point he may have perceived the affair rather to be a moral wrong that Anne would have to endure. When he was informed about the annulment of the marriage, however, Harst was outraged and taken by surprise; despite the King's marital history he seems to not have expected this outcome.

Soon he drew the conclusion that the King had little restraint and was driven by lust, as becomes evident in the view of his bitter accusations and speculations. On 12th July, Harst feared that Henry could leave a pregnant Catherine after

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<sup>264</sup> Barnes, *Bekantnus*, p. 5.

<sup>265</sup> Barnes, *Bekantnus*, pp. 5 - 6.

<sup>266</sup> Müller, *Beziehungen*, p. 33.

<sup>267</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 166v.

<sup>268</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 158r: 'der König were der natur das er in dem stand solchs nit erles sunder die ungetreugkeit bewise'.

having satisfied his lust and return to Anne, only to leave her again after she conceived, thus destroying her reputation, 'because he is deprived of the grace of god'.<sup>269</sup> This concern, of course, verged on the bizarre and disregarded Henry's priority for fathering more legitimate offspring.<sup>270</sup> However, it is important to remember that Henry's actions had to be seen as utterly irrational by his contemporaries who viewed marriage as a decision for life that was expected to be made with reason and consideration. While Henry's choice to wed Anne of Cleves had been a sensible one, at least in Harst's view, leaving her for Catherine was a reaction to his desires.<sup>271</sup> Thus the ambassador seemed to see the King as deprived of reason and not in control of himself, which would extend to his perception of Henry's role and reliability in the diplomatic relations with Cleves. In August, Harst frankly stated that he did not trust the King, as Henry might see his advantage in William being captured by the Habsburgs to be free of any obstacles to his rascalities and 'without fear of men nor of god he indulges in his voluptuousness'.<sup>272</sup> In his dispatch of 11th August, he concluded that, even if Cleves brought a solid proof that the precontract with Lorraine was not valid, thus rendered the argument for the annulment of the royal marriage void, 'all this would not help anyway, because he is captured in the life of the body's lust'.<sup>273</sup> When Harst reported rumours about the King having sworn an oath to not have had sexual relations with Anne, he remarked that 'this godly, noble blood (Anne) has done such an honour to the King, god will punish him for his dishonour'.<sup>274</sup> The King's behaviour seems to have been inscrutable to Harst, as on 13 July he even stated to be 'afraid that he is possessed by the evil spirit, (he) has bought jewellery worth twenty thousand gulden yesterday'<sup>275</sup>, apparently for

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<sup>269</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 191 v. - 192 r.: 'Dan er ist der Gnaden Gottes beraubet'.

<sup>270</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 8, p. 15

<sup>271</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p.91.

<sup>272</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 252v: 'sunder menschen noch got furcht dreibt er sein wollust'.

<sup>273</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 251v: 'wird es doch alles nicht helffen dan er ist verstart in dem leben des leibs wollust'.

<sup>274</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 199r: 'das frum (sic) edel blut hat dem *König* solche er bewiesen got wirt in in seinen uneren straffen'.

<sup>275</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 200r: 'besorg er seie mit dem bösen geist besessen hat gestert kauf kleineter in die zwentzig tausent gulden.'

his new bride Catherine. It is not clear whether this is a sardonic remark or meant seriously, but it characterises Henry as irrational, if not mad in Harst's view.

Corresponding to Harst's characterisations of the King, his descriptions of the English people were little better. Furthermore, Henry's example developed the envoy's perception of the English people being licentious. To some extent, the envoy regarded immoral behaviour as being a reaction to the Henry's actions, especially in women- since Henry had cast aside his wife for marrying one of her ladies-in-waiting three times, single female courtiers may have been encouraged to hope for their own advancement. On 18 September, the envoy noted that at court, 'every (lady), so I have heard, wants to be the prettiest and loveliest, so they set themselves apart by (donning) peculiar dress'.<sup>276</sup> Harst criticised this lifestyle and remarked that God would not approve of it. Moreover, he had concerns for Anne being surrounded by 'this licentious English people'<sup>277</sup> in case she stayed in the realm any longer. Therefore, he demanded on 2 October to have a decent and mature maid of honour be sent to Anne's service.<sup>278</sup>

As aforementioned, Harst had remarked on the splendour of dress at the English court in March already, just at the start of his embassy, when he stated that at the English court one had to be 'tarted up like a beautiful picture in a church'<sup>279</sup>, which resulted in a 'clutter with abundance of clothes.'<sup>280</sup> With his earlier comment, he expressed his alien position in a strange court with mild criticism. After the upsetting event of Cromwell's arrest, however, the envoy's view on the courtly splendour turned to a harsher perspective. Harst characterised the English courtiers as Epicureans who cared a lot about dress, outward appearance and flattery, but had little loyalty and would turn against each other at any

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<sup>276</sup> JB II 2743 f295r.: 'wolt ietlich gern, wie ich vernim, die hubste und liebste sein, also streichen sie sich mit seltsamen kleidern herfur.'

<sup>277</sup> JB II 2743 f285v.: 'under diesem liggerlichen engelischen volck'.

<sup>278</sup> JB II 2743 f. 285 v.

<sup>279</sup> 'der muß uß gestrichen sein wie ein schönes bild in der kirchen', JB II 2743 fo. 112r.

<sup>280</sup> 'ein wust mit überfluß mit kleydern', JB II 2743 fo. 112r.

moment for their own gain. He ascribed this behaviour to a certain disposition of the English people, claiming that 'this nation and island breeds the people of this kind and mind.'<sup>281</sup> It is remarkable that Harst viewed character traits as being influenced by the boundaries of an island, obviously perceiving the distance to the continental neighbours as defining English identity and mindset.

Harst was appalled about the ruthlessness of the action against Cromwell, and he not only ascribed it to the personalities of the people in power, but even interpreted it as being part of the English nature. On 16th June for instance, his criticism was quite harsh: 'whereas this nation and island breeds a people of such quality and temper, in an abundance of dress and and a wolf to everyone, and inclined to flattery, Epicurean throughout.'<sup>282</sup> The wolf metaphor later reappeared during and after the annulment process, as both Harst and Anne likened her situation to being surrounded by a pack of wolves.<sup>283</sup> His criticism targeted the contrast between the splendour and polite speech or flattery and the relentless competition for offices and power that left him a confused and disgusted bystander. In sympathy for Cromwell, Harst explained to Chancellor Gogreve that the arrested was abandoned and denied by all his friends and servants because 'many of them were just superfluous blandishers, as this is the nature of this people.'<sup>284</sup> In a simile, the envoy compared them to a herd of goats that gathers behind the second in the hierarchy, which will make the latter stumble and fall; while none would help Cromwell, they would rather all set upon him.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> JB II 2743 f. 120r.: 'dieweil aber diese nation und insel das volck solcher art pflantz und gemiet in superfluitate vestium et ad omnem lupum et ad adulationem inclinati plane Epicurei.'

<sup>282</sup> JB II 2743 f120r: 'dieweil aber diese nation und insel das volck solcher art pflantz und gemiet in superfluitate vestium et ad omnem lupum et ad adulationem inclinati plane Epicurei.'

<sup>283</sup> JB II 2743 fos 205r., 285r., 299r.

<sup>284</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 135 v.

<sup>285</sup> JB II 2743 f135v.

The harsh criticism in Harst's letters also demonstrates how he regarded the English as barbaric behind all the splendour. After Cromwell's execution, he reported:

'On Monday, 28th July they have struck off Cromwell's head with an axe, and stuck his head onto the bridge. [They] told me that the King had even been merry that very day. One may find that they, but I do not speak of the King,<sup>286</sup> they care as much for a head here as a peasant at home cares for a head of cabbage.'<sup>287</sup>

Interestingly, even the Tower of London made an eerie impression on foreigners in 1540. In his dispatch dated 16th June, Harst mocked Mother Lowe, the supervisor of Anne's German maids, because she was afraid of the Tower, and added that due to the recent events she would have feared it all the more, had she still been in the country.<sup>288</sup>

The envoy complained on 19 June that 'the current events confuse me that much that I do not have much ease, nor rest, because I simply do not know how much I can trust this world, especially as there is inconstancy and [it] may be inherent in this nation.'<sup>289</sup> While at this point, the Cleves ambassador was aghast in the face of Cromwell's arrest, but still bore some hope for the diplomatic alliance, he was seriously alarmed when Anne was removed from court, stating that 'the virtuous princess is in an odd nation in my opinion, [I] hope God will turn everything to the best.'<sup>290</sup> Harst also feared that xenophobia may put Anne in a dangerous position. After Anne had been ordered to remove to Richmond and complained to him about the affair between her husband and one of her ladies-in-waiting, he expressed his concerns that the blame for not getting pregnant

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<sup>286</sup> It is not clear what Harst meant to express here.

<sup>287</sup> JB II 2743 f236v.: 'Uf mitwoch den achtundzwentzigsten julii hat man monsur Cromwell mit eim beiel sein haubt abgeschlagen und das haubt auf die bruck gesteckt. Sagen mir der König seie den selben tag gar frolich gewesen. Man findt sie wol, ich sag vom König aber nit, die eben als viel gebben umb ein kraut kopf (sic) als ein bauer by mir um ein kraut kopf.' Harst accidentally wrote 'kraut kopf', i.e. head of cabbage, twice, but from the context it is evident that in the first case he meant to write 'kopf', i.e. human head, only.

<sup>288</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 121 r.

<sup>289</sup> JB II 2743 f134v.: 'die itzige leif verwundern mich also das ich nit viel ruge noch rast hab, dan ich weis schier nit was der welt zu vertruuen ist und in sunderheit wuo unstanthaftigkeit ist und der nation vleicht angeboren.'

<sup>290</sup> JB II 2743 f167r.: 'Die frum furstin ist in einer seltzammen nacion meins erachtens, hof got wirt noch alle ding zum besten fügen.'

may be put on the Queen. Harst lamented that, although it was Henry who had an affair- thus sleeping with his concubine rather than his wife- 'nevertheless it will be cried today or tomorrow what do we get from this foreign queen, (she) is not fertile'.<sup>291</sup> The whole procedure of the annulment, particularly the disgrace to Anne as Henry denied the consummation of the marriage, made Harst resentful of him, and on 13th July, he admitted to 'bear great distrust for the King'.<sup>292</sup> The ambassador regarded Henry as double-faced, stating in his dispatch from 3rd November 1540 that 'when the King laughs, he feels different in his heart',<sup>293</sup> and described his attitude as 'what is white today, will be black tomorrow'.<sup>294</sup> Therefore, Harst pointed out that it was futile to seek advice from this 'inconstant King'.<sup>295</sup> At this point, Harst regarded his mission as pointless and the diplomatic relations between Willlliam of Cleves and Henry VIII as futile, stating that it was best to 'give him words of courtesy, it does no harm, but one should not rely on him, nor trust him, [he] has no decent advice in my view'.<sup>296</sup> Although the envoy's capacity to fulfil his ambassadorial role without the involvement of personal emotions likely suffered from this upset and he repeatedly requested to be withdrawn from his embassy, he was ordered to remain. A coping mechanism may have been the use of sarcasm and bitter remarks in his dispatches. Harst's comments turned increasingly snarky as a reaction to the annulment and the challenging diplomatic situation. After the Privy Councillors had informed Harst about the verdict and added that the King would nevertheless feel inclined to continue the alliance and do whatever necessary to maintain the friendship, also that he would keep Anne honourably as his sister, the envoy commented in his letter: 'what a manly and eloquent speech, I thought, a peasant would get the

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<sup>291</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 158 v: 'nit dast weniger ruft man heit oder morgen was hebben wir von dieser uslendischen koniginnen ist nit fruchtbar'.

<sup>292</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 199r: 'das ich den *König* ganz argwöhnig hab'.

<sup>293</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 300v-301r: 'dan der *König* lacht so meint er as anders im hertzen'.

<sup>294</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 300v: 'was heit weis ist ist morgen schwartz'.

<sup>295</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 300r+v.

<sup>296</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 300r+v: 'man geb im allein gut wort ne noceat, aber man vertroost sich nit uf in noch vertrue im auch nicht hat meins erachtens kein rechtsinnigen rath'.

puddle from it.'<sup>297</sup> The expression of sarcasm that appeared frequently in the dispatches can be seen as an indicator of Harst's helplessness. The scathing remarks certainly served as an outlet of his frustration, as in his function as ambassador, he had to keep up appearances and stay polite for the sake of politics.<sup>298</sup>

The image that Harst depicted of Henry as sovereign and role model for the English people implies that he may have regarded Henry as unfit to rule, although he never explicitly stated this. It would have been dangerous to evidently question the King's capacity to reign, and unusual to challenge a princely rule. But in his descriptions of Henry's vices, Harst raised grave criticism, pointing out faults that were regarded as severe in any man, let alone a ruler. In the dispatches, Henry is described as irrational, unrestrained, proud and volatile, thus with sinful traits as opposed to princely virtues, such as temperance and wisdom.<sup>299</sup>

### 3.2 Distrust and Cromwell's Downfall

At the time of the royal marriage on the 6th January 1540, the diplomatic relations between England and Cleves were already slightly blemished with distrust. Willliam had been reluctant to commit to the alliance and sign the alliance treaty, although his envoys, chancellor Olisleger and von Hochsteden, were supposed to bring the signed contract to England when they accompanied Anne to her wedding. The duke's hesitance to sign the treaty that would fortify the alliance that was sought for the protection of his claims to Guelders doubtlessly appears contradictory. But although at the time the treaty did not

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<sup>297</sup> JB II 2743 f186r.: 'was menliche wolgezirte Redde, fund ich, ein bawer uberkheme den pfützen darvon.' Maybe he meant that even a rough person would be moved to a lot of tears.

<sup>298</sup> On the communication of emotion in diplomatic practice see **Isabella Lazzarini**, *Communication and Conflict. Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520* (Oxford, 2015).

<sup>299</sup> Bejczy and Nederman (eds.), *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages, 1200 - 1500*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

contain any clauses on military support, William seems to have been cautious to not provoke the emperor and render any diplomatic settlements on the case of Guelders impossible.<sup>300</sup> The English, understandably, were getting suspicious of their non-committing ally. The envoys had to assure Henry of their master and promise that William would inform the King about any plans and seek his advice before taking any actions. Still, Henry seems to have distrusted the reliability of the duke of Cleve's political stance, as an additional clause was added to the treaty and given to the envoys to deliver to their master.<sup>301</sup> This clause indeed specified the military support and the right to recruit in each other's dominions and was likely intended to dare William to take a firm stand. When Olisleger and Hochsteden returned from England with the new clause, the duke had already dispatched the original treaty that he had signed on 27th January.<sup>302</sup> The addition to the contract was later to become an issue of concern, as William was all the more reluctant to sign a definite stance that would provoke the emperor for certain. Discussions and diplomatic tension arising from this were hinted at in both parties' dispatches.<sup>303</sup> As long as diplomatic relations between Charles and William had not come to an end yet, the duke sought an agreement with the emperor. At the same time, the duke tried to secure the support and protection of England, and by the time of Henry's marriage to Anne, the King must have suspected this double-crossing. It is noteworthy that Henry and his council proceeded despite the warning signs throughout the negotiations. Cleves had shown their hesitance towards committing to the alliance that bore the risk of provoking the emperor and was even open about favouring a diplomatic agreement with the emperor, in which case the marriage between Anne and Henry assumably would not have taken place.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Müller, *Beziehungen*, p. 52.

<sup>301</sup> Müller, *Beziehungen*, p.52.

<sup>302</sup> Müller, *Beziehungen*, p.52.

<sup>303</sup> For Harst see JB II 2743 fos. 56v+65r. Also Wotton's report: *Letters and Papers* vol. XV, 519, p. 230.

<sup>304</sup> See Müller, *Beziehungen*, pp. 30-34.

Henry's suspicions were proven right when, in March, William took the risk of a journey to Gent in order to meet the emperor without consulting his royal brother-in-law. Wotton, who had followed the duke to Gent and arrived a day later, reported that the duke had declared to have notified the King of all important affairs through Wotton and his own ambassador.<sup>305</sup> Whether he did not consider the journey an important affair or meant to have given notice about it is unclear. Harst's dispatches of 16th and 17th April reveal the dimension of the scandal at the English court. William's sister, the Queen, was terrified thinking of the jeopardy her brother put himself into and told the ambassador that she and Henry were shaken by the news, and that she was restless since.<sup>306</sup> Indeed, with his bold move, the Duke risked to be taken prisoner<sup>307</sup>. Henry was aware of the fact that it was by William's own and stubborn will, as Harst reported that 'the King is also informed that milord takes this journey without the councillors' approval, who have advised against it with weeping eyes.<sup>308</sup> The Cleves ambassador even feared the duke could be poisoned and suggested an emergency plan for William's escape with the help of his old connections in the Low Countries<sup>309</sup>, as he had lived in Leuven for some time before his service to the Duke of Cleves.

Although it may well be that the risks for William's health and safety seriously concerned Henry, he was assumably more upset by his brother-in-law's betrayal. The King's relations with the emperor were tense, and not long before William's short-sighted trip to Gent, Henry had even feared that he may face a war. The King had good reason to be disgruntled in the face of this situation. His brother-in-law and ally, suddenly and without conferring with Henry, had a meeting with

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<sup>305</sup> *Letters and Papers* vol. XV, 519, p. 230.

<sup>306</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 59r.

<sup>307</sup> 'der *Koenig* ist auch informirt das mein g.h. diese reise thut sunder der *Raete* willen die es mit weinenden augen widderraten habben' JB II 2743 fo. 59r.

<sup>308</sup> JB II 2743 f59r.: 'er *Koenig* ist auch informirt das mein g.h. diese reise thut sunder der *Raete* willen die es mit weinenden augen widderraten habben.'

<sup>309</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 59v.

the emperor, thus proving that he would change sides at any time if Charles showed any readiness to compromise over the case of Guelders.

After this unwise move of the duke, the diplomacy with England remained affected despite him having returned home safely and without any agreement with Charles. Harst, at times, suspected the „Burgundians“, i.e. the Habsburg dynasty behind these strains, hypothesising that they secretly interfered to disrupt the friendship between Henry and William, possibly even with the help of bribery. The Habsburg family seemed to be easily suspected of various disappointments and adversities, as Harst reported a warning of the duke of Brunswick that was passed on to him by the Bavarian envoy: William would best avoid a Habsburg bride, as her family would make her drink a concoction to make her infertile.<sup>310</sup> For Harst, it seemed likely that Charles and the Queen Regent of the Low Countries were striving to assure that Henry would not support Cleves in the case of a conflict, and that they conducted secret diplomatic negotiations with England. But he also was aware that William had evoked distrust and resentment at the English court, thus made it harder for his own diplomat to succeed in his mission to secure Henry's alliance and support.<sup>311</sup>

Seeing that the policy of Cleves did not at all meet his expectations and was so obviously intended to play him off against the emperor without anything in return that was of use for him, Henry was displeased with the alliance. But it seems that either he or at least his prime minister still made some effort to rescue the diplomatic ties. Harst gave an account of Cromwell's premonitions to soothe the tensions incurred by William's journey. Cromwell had urged Harst to make the duke realise the importance of communicating with the King faithfully, especially before taking any actions, and also excused the King's temper by assuring that the King did not mean it in a bad way, but with good intentions.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> JB II 2743 f87r.

<sup>311</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 64r.

<sup>312</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 106r.

As the councillors of the Duke of Cleves were used to a relatively frank speech towards their master, Harst did, albeit carefully, express criticism of William's visit to Ghent. On 17 April, Harst pointed to the obstacles for his mission resulting from William's indecisiveness. He attempted to get a confirmation of English support in need, but reported: 'regarding the issue that the King (would) aid milord, personally as well as his territories and subjects etc., I explicitly had no answer yet, but intend to pursue. I am well aware that they are chagrined that the added article is not put down in writing, and also that milord in person so suddenly went to the Burgundians.'<sup>313</sup>

By late May 1540, the late arrival of his post aroused Harst's suspicion. He informed Gogreve that a letter of the duke's councillors to him that was dispatched on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May from Nimwegen only got to him on the 27<sup>th</sup>. Harst did not have any clue about the reason for the delay, but had already wondered why he had not received any messages from the council for some time.<sup>314</sup> According to the Englishmen Wotton and Bearde, the travel between Düsseldorf and England took ideally five to six days.<sup>315</sup> Even under less favourable conditions, such as the weather delaying the passage from Calais to Dover, seventeen days were significantly above the expectations. In June, Harst remarked that in comparison, the transport of his correspondence between Spain and the United Duchies had passed a lot smoother. He specified his contacts for his dispatch of letters from England for the councillors of Cleves; via the Steelyard location of the Rincks, he had his post sent to the house of the Rinck's factor in Antwerp, who passed them on to a man called Heinrich in the inn 'Gulden Becken'. Heinrich then had them delivered to Ravenstein, one of the duke's dominions. Inns played a major role in the networks of merchants and other foreigners, as 'hubs' of trade,

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<sup>313</sup> JB II 2743 f65r.: 'Des puncten halben das der König meim gnedigen hern al seiner gnaden person auch seiner landen und leiten behilffig etc. hab ich noch usdrucklich kein antwurt, wil aber anhalten. Kan wol ermessen verdrist die hie des der artickel mit gezeichnet nit mit schriftlich inserirt ist und auch mein gnediger her in person sich also ilentz zu den Burgundern thut.'

<sup>314</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 104 v.

<sup>315</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 81.

transport, finances and communication. Innkeepers also acted as intermediaries between foreigners and locals, sometimes they were foreign born themselves and their inns frequented as a contact point by their countrymen.<sup>316</sup> After Harst was informed about the annulment of Anne's and Henry's marriage, he was alarmed and suspected a conspiracy between the 'Burgundians' and the English crown, as he confides in a letter to William, dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> July. Although he was not sure and did not 'know what to think' he had immediately commissioned his own lawyer's seal to be crafted, and requested that the ducal councillors should examine whether the seals of his dispatches were manipulated. Furthermore, he sent copies of all his past letters to them, delivered by his own servant, and suggested that the contacts in the Rinck trading company and Heinrich of the 'Gulden Becken' should be checked.<sup>317</sup> As he obviously did not trust the people who had been entrusted with the transport of his post, he also sent a private courier a couple of days later, on the 13<sup>th</sup> July. In a short note enclosed with his dispatch, he remarked that, because he knew the letters would be opened on their usual track, he had given his courier the order to make sure to hand them to none other than duke William. He requested that special care should be taken for the immediate payment of this courier.<sup>318</sup> Obviously, Harst wanted to prevent the risk of a displeased and unreliable courier for the reason of a failed payment for a responsible mission.

On 10th June 1540, Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was arrested during a Privy Council meeting. Seeing that he had just been elevated to the peerage of England in April, he apparently had fallen from favour within a short time and this move came as a surprise.

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<sup>316</sup> For the involvement of innkeepers in trade and transport, which provided them with a considerable additional income, and their contacts to merchant families see Maarten Hell, 'Trade, Transport and Storage in Amsterdam Inns (1450-1800)', in *Journal of Urban History* 40/4 (2014) pp. 742-761. On inns as postal stations see Allen, *Post*, pp. 70-72.

<sup>317</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 177 r and 178 r.

<sup>318</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 218 r.

In his dispatches, Harst provides a lot of information and rumours about the scene of the arrest, its possible reasons, and about Cromwell's alleged treason. Most of these accounts are based on hearsay, a common form of intelligence for diplomats albeit not a reliable one, as valid information was entangled with gossip. Considering that he mentioned a good number of hearsay information, Harst must have had plenty of opportunities to talk to people, despite his inability to converse in English. One of his informants assumably was Marillac, the French ambassador. As Cleves had been in diplomatic relations with the French court at the time and their ambassadors in England exchanged news. Different to Marillac, Harst clearly referenced hearsay information in his letters.

The alleged scene of Cromwell's arrest is known through such hearsay information in Marillac's report to Montmorency, dated 23 June. According to the French envoy, Cromwell threw down his cap in a rage when the Captain of the Guard declared his arrest, said to Norfolk and the other councillors that this was how he was rewarded for his good service and appealed to their conscience as to whether he was a traitor; some in the council called him a traitor, some others said that he should be judged to the strict laws that he made. After the duke of Norfolk, confronting him with some of his 'villainies', snatched the order of St. George off his neck, and the Admiral his garter, Cromwell was said to have been escorted through a door by the water and by boat further to the Tower.<sup>319</sup> While no other source was previously known to describe the scene, Harst's reports about Cromwell's arrest now add to Marillac's.<sup>320</sup> Furthermore, Harst reported the details sooner than Marillac: the French ambassador wrote down the mere fact of the arrest just one hour after it took place, but nothing about how it took place, which he only added in the aforementioned dispatch of 23 June, 13 days after it happened. Harst, when he first broke the news to the duke's councillors in his letter of 12 June, explained: 'I hear that Cromwell, during lunch at court, was not aware of anything yet, but after the meal was taken, the Captain of the

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<sup>319</sup> Kaulek, *Correspondance*, p. 193. and Letters and Papers Vol. XV, 804.

<sup>320</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 145r+v, 122v+123r.

Guard came, and the Admiral tied off his dagger, also the white (Lord Great) Chamberlain's stave, the order and the (Great) Seal were taken from him. He is said to have cried like a child. One of my servants has seen him being escorted into the castle, (he) looked miserable<sup>321</sup>.'

Harst also mentioned that this happened at around four o'clock in the afternoon<sup>322</sup>. Four days later, on 16 June, he wrote: 'They say about (when) he was arrested the duke of Norfolk called him a traitor, and he (Cromwell) said this is a lie you are telling, you are a traitor yourself. I have kept the King to his kingdom and if it had not been for me, he would not be king now. And if the King knew your heart as well as I do, because you would like to be king yourself<sup>323</sup>.' It is remarkable, that the first of Harst's descriptions is a lot less dramatic than his second and that of Marillac. In the latter two, the included words that were allegedly spoken, and the actions, such as the throwing down of the cap in a rage or the snatching of the order, appear theatrical. It is no surprise that the news of this arrest this would have spread quickly and, passing from mouth to mouth, soon develop into a tale. The only thing that is consistent in both Harst's first description and Marillac's, is that the Captain of the Guards and the Admiral were immediately involved in arresting Cromwell. Norfolk is mentioned later, in Harst's second account and in Marillac's dispatch. As it is not possible to determine how much truth can be found in these descriptions, it can also not be safely deducted that Norfolk was indeed one of the main actors in the scene. But the fact that the duke's role in the two later accounts was a prominent one does tell a lot about how he was at least perceived as a key figure in the power shifts

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<sup>321</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 145r+v: 'Ich vernym das Cromwell zu mittag noch zu curt nichts hat gewust aber nach gescheener molzeit ist kommen der garden hauptman und hat im der admiral den dolchen ab gebunden auch sol im genommen sein worden der weisz cammerling stab der orden und das sigel sol er geweint haben wie ein kint. Meyner diener einer hat in gesehen ins schlos furen hat schlecht fursich gesehen.'

<sup>322</sup> JB II 2743 fo 144r.

<sup>323</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 122v-123r: 'Sie sagen von (sic) man innen hat angegriffen sol der hertzog von Norfock innen ein verreter habben geheysen, hat ehr gesagt das leugst du, du bist selbs ein verreter, Ich hab den Konig behalten bym Konigreich, und wu ich nit gewesen, so were ehr uff diß stund kein Konig nit, und wan der konig dein hertz also wol kent als ich, dan du werest selbs gern konig.' Note a disambiguation of the wording: 'angegriffen' would translate into 'attacked' if taken literally, but considering the context, the interpretation as 'arrested' was chosen for the translation.

within the Privy Council. Also, it was apparent during the last year of Cromwell's ministry, that he and Norfolk were not well-disposed towards each other.<sup>324</sup> This perception may, consequently, have earned him a speaking part in the gossip of Cromwell's arrest.

In his letters, the French envoy depicted English politics as two opposing factions in continuous power struggles, which have been taken on by historians and later revisited by others.<sup>325</sup> However, as the descriptions of Cromwell's arrest demonstrate, Norfolk did either indeed play a role in this or was at least perceived as an opponent to Cromwell and therefore included in the gossip. Furthermore, Harst suspected Norfolk and Gardiner to have schemed against Cromwell and later against Anne's marriage to the King. First he reported the rumour that, after Cromwell's arrest, the King dined at Winchester's house, together with the duke of Norfolk and the Admiral and added that he does not know whether it was instigated by the bishops, the Emperor, or the King of France, but that the Elector of Saxony has recently sent some writings to the English King<sup>326</sup>. In the same dispatch, Harst remarked in the context of possible instigators, that 'many also claim that the duke of Norfolk did not welcome the marriage between the King and the Queen and did not help to seal the matrimonial agreement, and (he) seems to have a stubborn mind<sup>327</sup>.'

One prominent explanation that appears frequently in the dispatches is the mentioned scheming. As Harst perceived it, Cromwell was the author of the alliance and the marriage,<sup>328</sup> and his opponents despised this policy as much as

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<sup>324</sup> David M. Head, *The Ebbs and Flows of Fortune. The Life of Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk* (Athens, London, 1995), p.163

<sup>325</sup> Head, Ebbs, p.175; Warnicke, Marrying, pp. 198-202.

<sup>326</sup> JB II 2743 fo 144r.

<sup>327</sup> JB II 2743 fo 145r: 'wollen auch etlich sagen der hertog von norffock hab den hilich zwischen dem **König** und der **Königin** nit gern gesehen, habbe auch den hilichs brief nit helffen versiglen und scheint ein schelligen kopf habben.'

<sup>328</sup> JB II f285r: 'wie ich vermerckt so ist der hilich mit **der Königin** ein ursach gewesen des Cromwells doths, diesen hat Cromwell gemacht und in kein anderen wollen consentieren.' Transl.: 'As I perceive it, the marriage with Anne was a reason for Cromwell's death, Cromwell has created it and did not consent to any other.'

they despised him<sup>329</sup>. Thus, Harst believed the marriage to be the reason for Cromwell's death, and that, at the same time, it was annulled upon instigation of his enemies in order to destroy his legacy. In this regard, Harst reported that 'Norfolk allegedly argued that together with **the Queen [Anne]** many Flemish and foreign people have come into this kingdom in large numbers, and that through **the Queen's** marriage, with the help of the Saxons, who have reigned and ruled this kingdom for a long time in the past, the current young prince would be displaced. This is said to have been partly an argument, as I have heard, and a reason for the repudiation.<sup>330</sup> This hearsay is, in many ways, remarkable. If there is some truth to the allegation that Norfolk used the threat for young Edwards succession to argue against the King's fourth marriage, then his reasoning was a masterpiece. Seeing how important the birth of a male heir had been to Henry, the King would have been very receptive to alerts that concerned the rightful succession of his son, even if it implied further male offspring from his marriage to Anne of Cleves. This sense of threat would have had the potential to upset Henry enough to turn against his chief minister and to have him executed for treason. This would be consistent with Harst's mentions that letters from Saxony were said to have upset the king and been regarded as evidence for Cromwell's treason. As the latter had told Harst shortly before his arrest, 'that the Elector of Saxony has shown himself as a true friend'<sup>331</sup> and that the same 'has written eloquently and friendly to his Majesty and has wished him good fortune with the Queen.'<sup>332</sup> Harst interpreted in retrospective that the proof of true friendship was the sending of religious articles that he had later heard of in connection with the arrest. However, the Elector's letter may have been very suspicious to Henry if he

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<sup>329</sup> Scarisbrick, however, deducted from evidence that it was Henry himself who 'thrust forward' negotiations with Cleves, see **J.J. Scarisbrick**, *Henry VIII* (London, new edition 1997), p. 376.

<sup>330</sup> JB II 2743 f185r.: 'Norfock soll habben furgebben das mit der **Königin** viel flemming und fremdes volck in grosser zal hier ins konigreich sind kommen und also durch den **Königin** hilich mit hilf der Sachsen, die furhin lange zeit in diesem konigreich gegirrt und geherscht habben, und wurd dordurch der itzt jung printz verdribben. Das soll zum teil ein argument sein gewesen, wie ich vernym, und ein ursach repudii.'

<sup>331</sup> JB II 2743 f121v.: 'der Kurfürst von Sachsen het sich erzeigt wie ein getruer frundt'

<sup>332</sup> JB II 2743 fos 121v.-122r.: 'geschicklich und fruntlich hette koniglich Majestät geschribben und glucks gewinst mit der koniginnen.'

really had been under the impression that a foreign infiltration of his realm was under way, even if the Elector only expressed his friendly wishes for the King to have a fruitful marriage with Anne. If the King had suspected Cromwell of plotting the alienation of the realm through arranging Henry's marriage to Anne and the influx of Flemish and German strangers that followed the bride, it would make sense that the plan of action was to remove each of these threats, and in this order.

Regardless of the truthfulness of the allegation that Norfolk expressed his mistrust against the foreigners, this hearsay reveals how exceptional and strange a foreign Queen was perceived by part of the English population at this stage. Even if it was merely gossip, the story still expressed xenophobia in the English populace or the fear of the foreign populace of being under suspicion as a result of xenophobia.

Unsurprisingly, Karl Harst was in a state of shock when the main supporter of the alliance between Cleves and England and his main contact, was taken to the tower. In his dispatch of the 12th June, he informed Gogreve about Cromwell's arrest, and his letter demonstrates that he immediately was well aware of the loss for Anne and William, seeing their main supporter falling from grace and power. He stated that 'I have regarded this Cromwell for being the greatest friend of my lord's grace and of the Queen',<sup>333</sup> and further 'the Queen had a friend, Cromwell, he is one reason for the (arrangement of the) marriage'.<sup>334</sup> The impression that Cromwell had initiated and furthered the relations with Cleves and especially the marriage was surely not only limited to Harst. It is obvious, as most dealings were first met by Cromwell, and not the King himself or any other member of the Privy Council, that he had a vital role in these diplomatic relations. Cromwell's influence must have been crucial indeed, or else the ambassador of Cleves would not have stressed out his significance in every letter, as he did. As losing this influential 'friend' was a major blow to Cleves' hopes and expectations of support

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<sup>333</sup> 'ich hab diesen *Cromwell* fur den grosten frundt meins g.h. und der *Königin* gehalten': JB II 2743 fo. 144 r.

<sup>334</sup> 'die *Königin* hat ein frundt gehabt *Cromwell* er ist ein ursach des hilichs': JB II 2743 fos. 144 v

from England, Harst wondered whether Cromwell could be saved by intervention from Cleves. In his letter on 12th June, for instance, he recommended that the councillors may deliberate with the duke to dispatch a plea in favour of Cromwell.<sup>335</sup> He even suggested requesting William to send one of his most experienced councillors to the King and the Privy Council as impartial mediator, but also admitted that this could cause resentment.<sup>336</sup> Indeed it is very questionable whether this mediator would have been regarded as impartial and not defending Cleves own interests, as this was exactly the purpose of Harst's suggestion. It is even more doubtful that this attempt would have been of any help for the detainee.

During the examination of Anne's marriage, Harst suggested that the Elector may send an experienced negotiator for help, but added in the margin: 'Albeit the Elector is not popular here, since the bishops are gaining the upper hand again. If Cromwell had not been arrested, it would not have come to this'.<sup>337</sup>

### 3.3 Annulment and Survival

The examination and annulment of the royal marriage had been meticulously planned for a swift procedure that would not leave Anne or Harst, let alone the duke and his council, any opportunity for a defence. Usually, these events are told on the basis of the official documents that were collated surrounding the marriage litigation, of which the depositions represented a significant part. These sources are one-sided, as they depict solely Henry's side of the litigation. Kelly, who most prominently focused on the matrimonial trials of Henry VIII<sup>338</sup>, also based his examination solely on these documents. As he had no access to

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<sup>335</sup> JB II 2743 f144v.

<sup>336</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 146 r.

<sup>337</sup> JB II 2743 f176r.

<sup>338</sup> Kelly, *Matrimonial Trials*, pp. 261-275.

the dispatches of Karl Harst, the ambassador of Cleves played no role in his work. On the other hand, much of the preliminary proceedings that were carried out to prepare for the annulment of Anne's marriage happened while she and Harst were still left in the dark. As a result, there is no information to be found on these actions in the ambassador's letters, so they provide an insight into his unawareness and helplessness.

In this chapter, Harst's accounts will be featured particularly, complemented with previous scholarship.

The arrest of Cromwell on the 10th June may partly be seen as a preliminary, as it removed their main contact from power and presence. In turn, the fact that Anne had been away to visit the King's younger children at the time of Cromwell's arrest was not necessarily a coincidence, as it prevented any scenes of the Queen pleading for him or other immediate reactions. On the 24th, Anne herself was ordered to remove to Richmond, and neither she, nor Harst trusted the pretence of an epidemic that she had to be saved of.

At Richmond, the English courtiers and personnel apparently tried their best to entertain Anne and to lift her spirits. After Harst had visited the Queen on 28 June for two days, he reported on 3rd July that 'the English, (and) the servants have (provided) all entertainment they could think of, during dinner (they) exercised and performed respectable stunts to please and amuse her grace<sup>339</sup>'. As Richmond possessed a hunting ground with game, there was also a hunt, after which the Queen gifted Harst with a buck. The Queen's whole household must have been aware of her stressful situation. Some may have been witness to flirtations between the King and Katherine Howard, who, as a lady-in-waiting to the queen, was one of their midst. Those who have not would have heard gossip within the household, and by the time that Anne was sent to Richmond the rumour was spread widely. Either to smooth over the awkwardness or out of

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<sup>339</sup> JB II 2743 f166v: 'Habben aber die Engellender, die hoffdiener alle kurtzweil was sie habben kinnen erdencken under dem nachtmol exeritirt (sic) und honesta ludrica geubt Iren g. freud und kurtzweil zumachen.'

sympathy, maybe also due to orders from Henry or those who were privy to his plans, her surroundings made an effort to distract Anne from the obvious significance of her removal from the King. Although he had promised not to pass on her lamentations and keep them a secret, Harst also reported that during his visit, the Queen spent one full hour complaining to him about one particular woman.<sup>340</sup> Doubtlessly this mention refers to Katherine Howard, although her name is not specified in the dispatch.

Although he tried his best to put Anne's mind at ease, Harst grew considerably concerned, as he remarked: 'the virtuous princess is in an odd nation in my opinion, (I) hope God will turn everything to good account'<sup>341</sup>.

Unofficially, the process had already been planned in detail by a few confidants. A checklist that was written in the hands of Wriothesley and Gardiner and which bears the heading 'an order to be observed in process for this matter', sheds light on the preparations.<sup>342</sup> These included disclosing the matter to a few chosen clerics to seek their advice on how to proceed, arranging the proceedings with the Privy Council, searching Cromwell's house for evidence on the validity of Anne's pre-contract with Francis of Lorraine and her declaration of its invalidity and interrogating Cromwell. Remarkably, the list also bears the item 'How the King's Majesty shall order himself as using his liberty from matrimony or otherwise in the meantime'<sup>343</sup>, which was to be determined by the clergy. This last point indicates Henry's impatience and that his sexual relations with Katherine Howard have possibly begun before their wedding. Finally, the list also contains the note that as much evidence as possible had to be gathered and ready that would prove the King's unwillingness and his abstinence from consummating the union. If possible, a declaration of the Queen should be obtained on this. On a second document, Wriothesley put down a further checklist of the possible

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<sup>340</sup> JB II 2743 f166v.

<sup>341</sup> JB II 2743 f167r: 'die frum furstin ist in einer seltzammen nacion meins erachtens, hof got wirt noch alle ding zum besten fugen'. Note that 'frum' literally means 'pious', but in the contexts that Harst uses it to describe Anne, 'virtuous' seemed to be a fitting interpretation.

<sup>342</sup> *Letters and Papers vol. XV*, 821, p. 387.

<sup>343</sup> *Letters and Papers vol. XV*, 821, p. 387.

arguments that had to be examined to make a case, also noting that it had to be determined which particular evidence had to be gathered with depositions, and how many witnesses would be needed for this. Warnicke dates these lists to the 29th June.<sup>344</sup> The official action took place within only a few days, between the 3rd and 7th July, which did not leave Harst any opportunity to respond to the proceedings.

Meanwhile, unbeknown to Harst and Anne, the efforts to get rid of her as Queen had already been meticulously planned and had entered the last and active phase. Documents that were written by Wriothesley and Gardiner give proof of a diligently drawn schedule and carefully compiled list of arguments against the marriage, which all had to be supported by the depositions of witnesses.<sup>345</sup> Both schedule and actions prove that not only the progress of the annulment litigation was determined before it had officially started, but also the result. For instance, a letter to Richard Pate, who was the English ambassador to the Emperor at Brussels, was dispatched on 4th July. Pate received order that he was to seek an audience on 8th July in order to inform Charles of the investigation of Henry's marriage. The diplomat was told to claim that he had just received these news at the preceding night or morning and had no information about the reasons yet. As a matter of fact, this dispatch had reached Pate at midnight on 6th July- hours before the case was officially put forward.<sup>346</sup> The fact that Carne must have left England with news for Francis I that had not happened yet upon his departure, as he informed the French king on 7th July already, became obvious after the arrival of French ambassador Marillac's letter, that was dispatched on 8th July with a description of the events.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 229.

<sup>345</sup> Letters and Papers vol. XV, No. 821, p. 387.

<sup>346</sup> See 'Henry VIII to Pate, 4 July 1540', in *State Papers vol. VIII*, p. 373-374; and Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 230.

<sup>347</sup> Ellis, *Letters vol. II*, no. 611, p. 392; Müller, *Beziehungen*, p. 85; 'Marillac au Roi, London, 8th July', in Kaulek, *Correspondance*, no. 236, p. 200-201.

On 3rd July, English matrimonial law was changed by statute in preparation for the change of Queens: marriages that had been contracted with *verba de praesenti* but were not consummated would leave way for another marriage of one of the spouses that was entered into at a later date but consummated.<sup>348</sup> Usually, *verba de presenti*, i.e. vows in present tense, would lead to an insoluble, immediately binding marriage as opposed to *verba de futuro*, vows in future tense, that would have needed 'completion' by following intercourse.<sup>349</sup> This change of law was the legal safety net that ensured the annulment of Henry's marriage to Anne and the validity of his intended matrimony with Katherine Howard<sup>350</sup> - provided that it could be sufficiently proven that he never had intercourse with Anne. Therefore, her confirmation of this claim had to be sought and the depositions stress out arguments and anecdotes that provide evidence for Henry's incapacity to consummate the marriage to Anne of Cleves, while partly pointing out that he would still be able to successfully sleep with any other woman.<sup>351</sup>

Although preparations for an annulment had been going on beforehand, the events officially started on 6th July with Audley, Cranmer, Tunstall, Suffolk, Southampton and Norfolk addressing parliament regarding their concern for the validity of the royal marriage. The same day, parliament officially asked the king to allow an investigation of his matrimony, who then wrote a letter to the convocations of York and Canterbury in which he ordered them to examine the matter. This was read to the convocations the following morning, who then formed a commission to gather and examine evidence. The depositions were also taken on 7th July, and the Imperial and French ambassadors were called to court and briefed on the examination of the King's marriage.<sup>352</sup> Streets and ports were closed for two days to prevent any possibilities that news would leave the

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<sup>348</sup> 32 Hen. VIII c38. Statutes of the Realm, vol. 3, p. 792.

<sup>349</sup> See Donahue, Law, p. 16 and Faßbender, Eheschließungsrecht, pp. 22-23.

<sup>350</sup> see Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 230.

<sup>351</sup> see Brundage, Law, pp. 457 and 512; Warnicke, *Marrying* pp. 204-205.

<sup>352</sup> As reported by Marillac in his letter to Francis, written on 8th July: Kaulek, *Correspondance*, p. 200.

country, as Marillac complained in a letter that he wrote on 8th July but was not able to dispatch immediately due to these restrictions.<sup>353</sup> On 8th July, double convocation met in the morning and deliberated the evidence, and in the afternoon decreed that the marriage between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves was null and void. The following day, on 9th July, the precise wording of the verdict was considered, written on parchment, and signed to result in the official instrument that sealed the fate of Anne's marriage.<sup>354</sup> On 12th July, both houses of parliament confirmed the annulment after Anne's submission and acceptance of the verdict, that she had signed on 11th July, had been announced.<sup>355</sup>

It took only three days from the onset of official action in the morning of 6th July to the verdict, four to the official and sealed legal document. Due to this tight schedule, there was no time and possibility for Harst or Anne of Cleves to prepare a defence or call for support from Cleves. But this was repressed in any way- Anne and Harst were informed separately about these proceedings on 6th July, but their attempts to obtain information and opportunities to defend her case were rejected. Usually, marriage litigation would allow both parties to defend their case and to prepare arguments and evidence, commonly through the collection of depositions of witnesses.<sup>356</sup> But this case was by no means a usual litigation process. Isolated, in a foreign land, Harst and Anne of Cleves were confronted with no other options than to concede.

In his 10th July letter to Duke Willliam, Harst complained how perfidiously the proceedings were presented to Anne in order to get her agreement. At the time that he had been at court to be informed about the examination and annulment of Anne's marriage, Suffolk, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of Augmentations, and the Bishop of Winchester as well as some interpreters went to Richmond to break the news to Anne. Although Harst did

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<sup>353</sup> Kaulek, *Correspondance*, p. 201.

<sup>354</sup> State Papers vol. I, pp. 629-635.

<sup>355</sup> See Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 236-239.

<sup>356</sup> Helmholz, *Canon Law*, p. 22.

not point out that this was arranged in purpose of talking to Anne when she was without his support, advice, or intervention, it can safely be deducted that this was the intention behind this schedule. Harst reported that later, when he visited her, he found copies of the documents that declare her marriage void, and noticed that 'her grace (has) known little about the contents of the said letter'<sup>357</sup>. He therefore took the copies to review them and went back to court on 9th July to confront the Privy Councillors. He also requested that some of the bishops who were involved in the annulment should attend this meeting as well, as a number of them was at court and would be readily available, but was denied this wish. Karl Harst expressed his anger and frustration to the attendees: 'I am more than a little disgruntled about such unjust proceedings, also (about) their swift action to deceive her royal highness, who is a diligent, virtuous princess and woman'<sup>358</sup>. He may have intended to involve the bishops into a particular discussion in the case of their presence, as at least to the attendant councillors he remarked that he was surprised to find the marriage declared void by the scholars and the clergy, as this was a matter that only the Lord is to be concerned with, yet they assented to the King, having been intimidated into nodding it through. As he wrote to William, he even asked the councillors 'whether anybody thinks that milord has sent his grace's beloved sister here in order to prostitute her or whether it is the custom in this realm that a matrimony was granted for the duration of six months, to seek a distinguished prince's daughter in Germany and once it suits him (the King) to get rid of such an honourable princess again, and to bring shame on her royal highness and all of her grace's kin'<sup>359</sup>. While Harst may have given a report that was more adequate for its recipient- he may have been either less courageous or less restrained than he admitted to his master-

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<sup>357</sup> JB II 2743 f184r: 'das Ir gnaden gar wenig gewust, was inhalts solchs schreiben hat gehat.'

<sup>358</sup> JB II 2743 f184r: 'Befremt mich nicht klein solchs unbillichs furnemmen, auch das sie also geschwind handelten zu hindergon ire konigliche wurd, ein emzige zuchtige furstin und frawen.'

<sup>359</sup> JB II 2743 184r+v: 'ob yemants vermeint, das meyn gnediger her seiner gnaden liebe Schwester derenthalben hette her gschickt zu prostituirn oder ob das der Brauch were in disem konig reich wan ein hylich tene coniugali, in die sehs monat gewert, eines trefflichen fursten dochter in deitzsch land suchen und wan es im gelegen solcher erenreichen furstin sich widder entschlagen, und ire konigliche wurd und alle iren gnaden verwante also schmeen.'

the tone of his account reflects his outrage and demonstrates how deeply insulting the proceedings were taken.

Through Harst's letters, it becomes obvious that in reality, Anne was far from being content and happy to agree to the annulment. She has been depicted in this way in the official declarations of the time, and subsequently historiography has perpetuated this view, but the information in Harst's dispatches reveals how she was tricked and frightened into her agreement. As we have seen from the 7 July dispatch, hers was not an informed consent. She was, in fact, left ignorant about the details in the papers that she had to sign.

Although Anne was confronted with the matter when she was without the support of her brother's ambassador, this strategy for pressing her to comply fully and immediately did not turn out to be easy: at first, Anne refused to confirm Henry's argument that he never had sexual intercourse with her. She gave Harst an account of her conversation with Suffolk and FitzWilliam.<sup>360</sup> When the King's councillors demanded her to comply, she told them that the King had 'lived with her like husband and wife should live'<sup>361</sup> and that 'she would rather have her head chopped off'<sup>362</sup> than to claim otherwise. She also asserted that she would recognise no other husband in this world than him.

As Harst reported on 10 July, the King had asked for her patience, and that he would be pleased if the bishops would judge in favour of their marriage, but if not, she would have to accept it for the sake of the kingdom. To this, Henry demanded a reply from Anne. But the response was not as desired, for she answered that 'for all she knew, his majesty was given to her as husband, this is what she believed him to be, her spousal master and husband, and nobody could separate them but doomsday'<sup>363</sup>. As the last part, 'but doomsday', is expressed in a way that is peculiar to the region of Anne's origin ('dan der beter dach'), but not

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<sup>360</sup> JB II 2743 fos 190v.-191r.

<sup>361</sup> JB II 2743 f191r.: 'er hette gelebt mit ir wie man und weib miteinander leben sol'.

<sup>362</sup> JB II 2743 f191r.: 'wolt sie lossen ee ir hault abschlagen'.

<sup>363</sup> JB II 2743 f186r.: 'sie hette davon kein wissen sunder das wol, das sein ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt were iren g gebben zu eim man, und do hilt sie in fur, Iren eelich hern und man, und kint sie niemants scheiden dan der beter dach.'

to Harst's, this may be an indicator that this is indeed a truthful reproduction of what she told Harst.

As Anne was alluding to the threat of beheading, she was obviously aware of the looming danger, yet staunchly refused to support an argument that she knew was wrong. Whereas her earlier removal from court made Anne fear for sharing the fate of Katherine of Aragon and facing a life in a form of imprisonment, she had realised at this point that it could potentially get worse. Later, after she realised that resistance was futile, she again referred to this threat in an argument that she had with Harst on the evening of 13 July. To his criticism of her compliance, Anne replied to Harst 'what else she could do, (after all) she was among a pack of wolves<sup>364</sup>', and 'whether she is supposed to risk her head<sup>365</sup>'. When he confronted her for having signed a confirmation that the King would have never touched her, and that she was betrothed to Francis of Lorraine, she retorted that 'if she did not do this, then they would lose their heads that very day<sup>366</sup>', telling him that on one occasion, when she refused to consent, 'Privy Seal had thrown his cap onto the floor being scared at heart<sup>367</sup>'. Anne's response demonstrates that she feared for the lives of others who were involved just as well, although it is possible that FitzWilliam tricked her by staging his reaction. Earlier, she had told Harst that 'that the councillors are weeping bitterly with her grace, everyone is fearing for their heads (and) nobody is allowed to speak up'.<sup>368</sup> It would be interesting to know whether they had noticed that appealing to her pity was more successful than bullying her into compliance. But it is also possible that some members of the Privy Council were indeed sympathetic and at the same time frightened to share Cromwell's fate if they did not provide the King with what he demanded.

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<sup>364</sup> JB II 2743 f205r.: 'was sie thun solt sie were under eim hauffen wolffen'.

<sup>365</sup> JB II 2743 f205r.: 'ob sie solt ir haubt wogen'.

<sup>366</sup> JB II 2743 f205v.: 'wan sie das nit thet so wurden die dan uf dasselbigmol ir heipter verlieren'.

<sup>367</sup> JB II 2743 f205v.: 'hette der privati sigilli sein paret us erschrockenem hertzen uf die erd geworffen.'

<sup>368</sup> JB II 2743 f199v.: 'die Königin sagt mir die rāth weinen bitterlich mit iren g. besorgt ein jetlicher seins kopfs darf keinernit reddē'.

At the time the annulment of the royal marriage was announced to them, Harst and Anne had heated arguments about her reaction to it. After a brief initial phase of protest, Anne accepted the annulment verdict and signed declarations that she and the King had not consummated the marriage and that she accepted the result of the investigation on the validity of their marriage. Karl Harst of course, as ambassador of the duke of Cleves, had to object to this and try to save the marriage ties between his master and the King of England. He reproached Anne for agreeing to this 'disreputable act', thus supporting it, and tried to persuade her to renounce the agreement or give him power of attorney to enable him to challenge the verdict.<sup>369</sup> Ambiguously, he stated that any reasoning or fighting against the annulment would be futile, as the King was determined and 'captured in the life of voluptuousness',<sup>370</sup> yet at the same time grudged that if Anne would do as he advised her, he would have made 'it bitter for the King together with the supposed new bride and also the councillors'.<sup>371</sup> But he faced a disillusioned as well as strongly resisting Anne. He reported his futile discussions with her in a dispatch to William on the 18th July.<sup>372</sup> As he described, she prohibited any renouncement of her agreement, pointing out that she had no choice, as she was 'among a bunch of wolves'<sup>373</sup> and asking whether he expected her to risk her head. Anne feared that, if she would not give her confirmation that the king had not touched her and she was the wife of Francis of Lorraine, they would soon after lose their heads on the block. One of Anne's arguments, whether she was supposed to stay with someone who does not want to have her, he apparently brushed aside replying that this was not the only matter. He warned her with his legal expertise that, by agreeing to the marriage to Henry being void and the espousal to Francis being valid, she would legally be trapped

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<sup>369</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 205 r.

<sup>370</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 251 v: „verstart in dem leben des leibs wollust“.

<sup>371</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 252 r: „dem *König* mit samt der vermeinten neuen braut sauer habben gemacht und auch den räten“. Literally translated he would have „made it sour to them“.

<sup>372</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 205 r - 208 v.

<sup>373</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 205 r: „sie were under eims hauffen wolffen“.

into living a life like a widow for as long as both of these men lived.<sup>374</sup> This seems contradictory, as one might think a widow being free to wed again, whereas Anne was not free to marry without serious legal doubts that potential suitors would shy away from. This would have remained the case until she indeed had outlived both men that could be argued to be her husbands. It may be that Harst was at loss for a definite term of the legal state that she would have to live in, as her case was indeed exceptional and not provided for in legal terminology. As she was to be neither maiden, nor wife, he was left with comparing her to a widow. He suggested that 'her grace secretly wrote a declaration that this all happened for fear and admitted all alone as a woman'<sup>375</sup> and secretly sent this to her brother. Here Harst clearly showed his profession being a lawyer, as his advice contained two common appeals that would usually have had reasonable prospects in a lawsuit to renounce a declaration or testimony, though it is highly doubtful that in this case it would have had any use apart from defending Anne's and her brother's honour. Harst further reported that, as he could not move Anne to give him permission to challenge the annulment, he took his leave to his lodging, where he immediately wrote a letter to her, which he summarised in his dispatch. First he expressed his regret for this heated debate, but soon moved on to bring in the heavy artillery of arguments, that he may have not dared to confront her with in person. He reminded her that it was known to many that her grace and the King had a public wedding ceremony and later cohabitation, thus saying that it was a concluded, valid and binding marriage. Harst appealed to Anne that she was responsible for her and the King's salvation and would have to justify this not just to mankind, but also to god. Furthermore, he pointed out her reputation, that she short-sightedly abandoned- not just in England, but in the whole of Christendom, for eternity.<sup>376</sup> His frank argumentation was that many

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<sup>374</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 205 v: „would her grace by law have to stay in the state of widowhood as long as the *king* and *Francis of Lorraine* lived"/ „wurd ir g von rechts wegen miessen in witwan stant pleiben als lang der *König* und *Franz von Lothringen* lebte".

<sup>375</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 205 v: „ir g in geheim ein geschrift ufrichte das solches alles gescheen us forcht und allein als ein weipsbild gestanden".

<sup>376</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 206 r+v.

people knew that she was lying, that she would have to face the judgement of god for this and live with a tarnished reputation not just for the rest of her life, but eternity. This only prompted Anne to call him back for a further discussion of the matter that went on late into the night. She insisted on surrendering this matter to the will of the King and warned him to not put down anything in writing that might irritate the King, as she was not only afraid of learning at any moment that Harst was brought to the tower, but also of the danger that his letters posed to herself.<sup>377</sup> Thus she criticised his frank and risky letter indirectly, if not more directly without Harst reporting it. Finally she argues that if she would show resistance it would not lead to anything but to setting the King against her brother and causing him to take sides with the emperor, so she had to give in patiently.

In his dispatches, Harst voiced his concern about the safety of Anne. In his 12 July letter, he remarked that if she would not be brought out of the country soon, 'then I am afraid she will die miserably in this country',<sup>378</sup> and further that her family and the duke's councillors should keep quiet on the matter and see to Anne's safe return, 'the sooner the better, because one must fear poison, and that it would not (even) be administered secretly'.<sup>379</sup>

When looking at Anne's and Harst's arguments and their fears, one may ask whether it would have made any difference had Anne not complied, but rather resisted as staunchly as Catherine of Aragon or Anne Boleyn. It seems that Henry and his ministers had learnt from the first two examples, as the dissolution of the fourth marriage was carried out a lot more efficiently. This annulment was executed swiftly and, at least officially, within six days. Unlike Anne of Cleves, the first two consorts were at least given permission to speak in their defence. The tight schedule, and the fact that all opportunities for resistance were repressed, indicate that Anne's compliance had no significance for the

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<sup>377</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 206 v + 208 r.

<sup>378</sup> JB II 2743 f191v.: 'so besorg ich sie wirt ellendeklich in disem land miessen ersterben'.

<sup>379</sup> JB II 2743 f191v.: 'je ee je besser dan gift zubesorgen und nit in geheim vergebben werd'.

case. It was merely a 'cosmetic' advantage for Henry's justification towards his own people and foreign rulers, particularly William of Cleves.

But this exactly makes it appear rather unlikely that her life was at stake, as Henry did not have to refrain to such an extreme measure. Possibly, Anne would have been sent home, or stayed in the kingdom in less favourable conditions as she did following her subordination. But in that situation, Anne of Cleves rightly perceived a threat decided to comply in case she would follow the fate of Henry's first two queens if she didn't.

When the situation had settled enough to see that Anne likely would not share the same fate as her namesake predecessor and her life was not imminently threatened, she and Harst were still concerned about her being virtually a hostage. As the King kept sending officials to repossess part of the endowment that Anne enjoyed while she was queen consort and to scale down the equipment and size of her household, Harst worried about how far this diminution would proceed. On 29 July he suspected that 'the change in her grace's household gives the impression to me that it will get worse soon and is proceeding just as with the Queen Catherine, then I am just afraid that her grace will be brought (further) into the country',<sup>380</sup> which would have potentially made it more difficult to bring her back home if the situation would have become tense. Harst was appalled that in this situation of threat and humiliation, the King demanded of her to put a good face on the matter and present herself as merry and content, which the ambassador suspected to be ordered to prevent any negative talk. For instance, the Duchess of Suffolk and the Lord Privy Seal were sent to her with Suffolk's musicians that were ordered to play for her. She was expected to dance and be merry, and, as Harst claimed, 'her grace was not allowed to let out a sigh'.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> JB II 2743 f225v.: 'die verenderung sicht mich in irn gnaden hof nit anders an als es bald böser werden solt und schickt sich eben an wie mit der konigin Catarin dan ich forcht allein ire gnaden werde noch in das landt hinein gefurt werden.'

<sup>381</sup> JB II 2743 f226v.: 'dorft ir gnaden nit ein sufszen lossen'.

But Harst also voiced concern for his own safety in some of his dispatches. For instance, on 13th July, in a letter to duke Willlliam, he mentions that 'some worry that I may even get sent to prison'<sup>382</sup> and later, on 29th July 'your grace may notice that I am in concern (for) my body if I stay here any longer'<sup>383</sup>, which means that he was even afraid to lose life and limb. In the same dispatch, Harst also mentioned that, as he understood, Willlliam had taken the news very heavily and was suffering from great distress, to which the ambassador wished him and the mother duchess that god may send them patience.<sup>384</sup>

One remarkable anecdote demonstrates that the privy councillors were well aware of Harst's helplessness in this event. As he reported on 18th July, Anne's lord chamberlain passed on an invitation to Harst who had just talked to her. The privy councillors- Harst did not specify in his dispatch how many and who exactly- had invited him to dine with them. The envoy's unsurprising answer after thanking them for the invitation was to decline, stating that he had to pass as he did not feel well. The privy councillors, in turn, reacted by sending several bottles of wine to Harst's lodgings.<sup>385</sup> Although the wine was likely sent as a cure against his sickness, they may have sent it with a double meaning, assuming that Harst could have well needed a drink in those days. Understandably, the envoy had no desire for an awkward dinner with those whom he believed to be partly responsible for the humiliation of Anne and his master, the Duke. As Harst had admitted himself earlier,<sup>386</sup> keeping his calm was difficult for him, and avoiding this dinner was likely necessary to avoid any scenes that would have been derogatory for the diplomatic relations and added to the humiliation.

Although on this occasion his sickness was just a pretence, the great distress took its toll soon after. On 15 August, after confirming that he had received a letter informing him that Willlliam was greatly aggrieved about the fate of his

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<sup>382</sup> JB II 2743 f199r.: 'besorgen etlich das ich darzu in ein gefencknis mocht geworffen werden'.

<sup>383</sup> JB II 2743 f227r.: 'ewer g. kann mercken das ich in sorge sto meins leibs wuo ich lenger hie pleibe'.

<sup>384</sup> JB II 2743 f225r.

<sup>385</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 206r.

<sup>386</sup> On 12 June, after Cromwell's arrest, he stayed away from court to avoid any impulsive reactions that could have a negative effect: f147r.

sister, the envoy admitted that the stressful situation had made him ill. Harst accredited this to his lack of sleep that disturbed his humours, explaining:

'I, as a mere servant, have had no normal sleep in the time since then, therefore had, from melancholia, a severe illness and disturbance of my body, but the doctor's and the pharmacist's advice and foremost the Lord's grace and help have fortunately quite restored me.'<sup>387</sup>

This was also reported by Marillac the same day: he pitied Cleves ambassador, who had 'fallen into a great fever'.<sup>388</sup> However, the French envoy attributed the sickness to Harst's dismay about Anne's behaviour, whom he described to act merrier than ever. Marillac was incapable to decide whether this may be an act of great dissimulation to not show her real mind or a sign of extraordinary simplicity of character. As we have learnt from Harst's dispatches, it was the former and not the latter.

On 4 October, Harst reported in a post scriptum note that he was informed that the new queen, Catherine, had a miscarriage. Somebody told the envoy that 'the new bride has suffered a miscarriage, that is to say, the matter flowed down, and (she) therefore lost the fruit of the womb, but it was concealed as much as possible'.<sup>389</sup> Harst believed that the reason for the haste of 'the dance', meaning the wedding of Catherine and Henry and therefore also the previous annulment of the King's marriage to Anne, was to make it less obvious 'that the friendship had been going on this long'<sup>390</sup>, i.e. the child was conceived while Henry was still wed to Anne. Furthermore, Harst suspected that the scheming of the bishops of Bath and of Winchester played a vital role in the annulment.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> JB II 2743 f258r.: 'ich allein als ein diener hab in der zeit her keinen naturlichen schlaf nit gehabt, also us melancholi ein schwere kranckheit und traubung meyn leips fur gehabt, aber der Medicin und Appetecker Rath, und erstlich Gottes gnad und hilff, hat mich dem lob seye, widder zimlich restituirt.' Concerned about his wellbeing, Anne sent a servant to investigate: f259v.

<sup>388</sup> 'Marillac au Connétable, Londres, 15 août', in Kaulek, *Correspondance*, no. 244, pp. 213-214, here p. 214.

<sup>389</sup> JB II 2743 f290r.: 'die new braut passa sia (sic) abort hoc est quaod materia deflupit (sic) und also um die frucht kommen, man hilt es aber als viel muglich verborgen.'

<sup>390</sup> JB II 2743 f290r.: 'das die fruntschafft also lang gewert hat'.

<sup>391</sup> JB II 2743 f285r and 300v.

As we have seen in this chapter, Harst was taken by surprise when he was confronted with the official beginning of the investigation into Anne's marriage. He soon became overwhelmed when he realised the preparations that had been done and the speed of the action. Nevertheless he did his best to act as a lawyer and demand Anne's right to a defence, even while he was aware of the danger as had been obvious after Henry's first two marriage trials. It was only after Anne realised that they were trying to defend a hopeless case and decided to comply in order to protect both of their lives that Harst focused on supporting her new aim instead of insisting on defending the marriage.

Kelly's work on the litigation<sup>392</sup> because he was unaware of the information in Harst's dispatches, was done under the impression that there was hardly any resistance on the side of Anne. As a result of such an imbalance of source material, scholars have misinterpreted the situation. Starkey, for that matter, believed her decision to comply to have been a quick and easy one, and even suspected that she felt more secure in England than if she had returned home—quite the opposite of what we have learnt from Harst's reports.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Kelly, *Matrimonial Trials*, pp. 261-275.

<sup>393</sup> Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 642-643.

## Chapter 4: Anne of Cleves revisited

### 4.1 The Queen in Diplomacy

In historiography, Anne of Cleves has been depicted as rather indifferent and ignorant of political matters.<sup>394</sup> It is not reasonable to think that any of the six queens of Henry VIII would have been isolated from politics and not involved in any matters of interest to either her family of origin, her protégés or offspring that were of political nature or at least had political implications. Even if a queen would have decided to not get involved in court politics or diplomacy, those who sought any gain through her closeness to the king would have approached her or key individuals of her household, often starting with the sending of gifts and commendations. This is well known in respect to securing sought-after positions in the royal household for offspring or clients, of which Lady Lisle's efforts to get both her daughters, Katherine and Anne, appointed as ladies-in-waiting to the new Queen Anne, is a well documented example.<sup>395</sup> But it certainly did not stop there. Why would a dynasty aim to get a kinswoman married to a king, be it as a token for a strategic alliance or otherwise, and then not try to reap the advantages of having her as close to the monarch as anyone could be? Through a queen consort's more or less subtle influence, her kin could be supported. While Anne was not queen long enough to firmly establish patronage, she had enough reason to get involved as soon as she was queen, as her brother faced the danger of being at war with the emperor and this conflict would ravage her homeland. This marriage was arranged for the protection of Cleves, as the strong ties to the English King could prevent the emperor from taking action.

Although she did not get the same education as her brother, who was prepared for his political role, Anne was raised to be married to the advantage of her

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<sup>394</sup> See the depiction of Anne in **David Starkey**, *Six Wives. The Queens of Henry VIII* (London, 2003), pp. 617-643, particularly concerning the removal of Cromwell p. 639.

<sup>395</sup> See Warnicke, *Marrying*, p. 112.

dynasty. Although in her youth it was expected that she would marry the duke of Lorraine's heir, the fact that these marriage plans were abandoned did not mean that Anne was no asset for the ambitions of her family any more. Especially as her 'career prospects' turned out to be even better than before, when Henry VIII chose to wed her, it is safe to assume that she was at least briefly instructed to support the interest of her family as Queen of England.

As a result of her brief time of queenship, evidence of how she fulfilled her role as Queen of England is scarce. But the dispatches of Karl Harst offer some indications of Anne's political interest, her role in the diplomacy between Cleves and England and her own will, that eventually proved not to be as compliant as her brother and Harst may have wished for.

Unsurprisingly, Anne desired to stay informed on the political situation between her brother and the emperor. In his report of the first meeting with the King and Queen in March, he describes Anne's criticism on his late arrival in England and the lack of information in the meantime, and her remark that the King was not pleased either.<sup>396</sup> Furthermore, when Harst answered to her question where he had departed from her brother, duke Willliam, that he did so at the meeting of Paderborn and that the date shown on the credentials would prove this, he did notice that she had suspicions. They had predated the letters to conceal the fact that this was not true, and Anne obviously did get suspicious that something was not right. In the same dispatch, Harst reports the conversation with the King on the political situation concerning the emperor and the King of France. He mentioned that Henry demanded of Harst to recapitulate in German what they had said to Anne, who was also present.<sup>397</sup> As this letter demonstrates, she was willing to comprehend and Henry supported this, at least at this stage of their marriage, by including her in the audience with Harst and ensuring that she was informed about the contents of their conversation.

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<sup>396</sup> JB II 2743 fos. 81 r+v.

<sup>397</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 82 r. The two men likely conversed in Latin or French, which Anne did not understand.

In some of his dispatches, Harst referred to Anne's explicit wish to be notified of events and to stay updated on the political situation. For instance, in his letter of the 22th May, just after being informed that William had returned home from a risky meeting with the emperor, Harst stated that the Queen had 'wished and ordered me to write to mylord, that his princely grace write or prompt how all affairs and operations with all the matters are doing, it would also be required (to know) what happened in the meeting of Speyer'.<sup>398</sup> Harst adds that this was in regard to news that were not to be kept secret as well as news that were secret and not even known to him. This explains why Anne expressed her wish through Harst instead of demanding this in an official letter herself. As mentioned above,<sup>399</sup> the envoy of Cleves was also the transmitter of secret correspondence between William and Anne, to which Harst referred to frequently. In the dispatches of (add dates), he gave instructions on how these letters could be delivered best to her via his contacts and himself, to ensure secrecy.

Harst reported the delivery of a secret letter to Anne on the 23rd March, after declaring that he would write into his dispatchers any messages to William that she wished to be passed on to her brother: 'the enclosed letter I have delivered to her majesty alone (...) I hope she herself will never let anybody see the letters'.<sup>400</sup> Harst mentioned that he could not prevent her German servant Diennagel to possibly notice, but assumed that he will not pose any danger. The description of this delivery confirms that secret letters did exist and were not just suggested by Harst, as his frequent advice on how to deliver the covert correspondence alone would not prove that this option was not indeed used.

The purpose of this secret communication doubtlessly was to inform her about dealings and intentions that were not intended to come to Henry's knowledge, but maybe also to forward instructions for her to support her brother's interests.

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<sup>398</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 78 r: 'Es hat die konigin begert und mir bevolhen, das ich mein g. hern schreib(en) wolle, das sein f.g. dan schreibe oder entbiette wie alle sachen und handlung(en) mit allen ding(en) ston, were auch von not(en) was sich zu Spire In der versamlung verliffe'.

<sup>399</sup> in chapter 3.2

<sup>400</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 83 v: „den angeschlossenen brief hab ich ir Ma<sup>t</sup> allein zugestel (sic) (...) ich hof je sie sol selbs niemants die brief sossen (sic- lossen) sehen".

A secret correspondence of the Queen would not make sense had Anne really been completely uninvolved in politics, and is in itself a political matter. If the Queen kept secrets from the King, this could technically be seen as treasonous act. The fact that she, Harst and her brother maintained this clandestine channel of communication indicates that the information was important enough, furthermore that involving Anne was important enough, to take the risk. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find and include this correspondence for this research, so the exact nature of the messages remained a secret. It would be interesting to know whether the contents of these letters specified Anne's role in the diplomacy between Cleves and England. But even from Harst's forwarding of her wish to be informed on the latest events and the mere existence of her secret correspondence, it is clear to see that Anne was not as politically ignorant and irrelevant as historiography has attributed to her.

The clandestine communication between Anne and her brother came to an end soon after the annulment, in August 1540. By 15 August, Harst was aware that the English were investigating in this matter after an Englishman in Antwerp had reported that letters were being sent from England to the Duke of Cleves and that he suspected them to be sent by Anne. Apparently her maids were instructed to observe Anne, as Harst reported on 23 August that a secret letter had come to the attention of her maids, causing one of them to search for it in Anne's pouch while she was asleep and to deliver it to the King.<sup>401</sup> Although Henry allegedly was not angry, but even complimented this correspondence between siblings, Anne had to promise to show any future letters of her brother to the King.<sup>402</sup> Thus, Harst warned, they now had to be careful with the contents of their writings. An apparently official letter from William that was passed on to Anne by the King had been opened and read by the English, as Anne had noticed. In the light of this development, she became suspicious that forged letters may be

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<sup>401</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 268 r+v.

<sup>402</sup> According to Harst, who summarised the said letter, William had expressed his sympathy and grief about his sister's fate, tried to comfort her by recommending her to leave this matter to God and pray for divine intervention and offered his support if there was anything that she could suggest to him, as he would not know how to respond to this matter: JB II 2743 fo. 268 r.

sent to her brother that were signed with her name, so she demanded that Harst cautioned the duke that he should only trust letters that were entirely written in her own hand to be genuine.<sup>403</sup>

In the same dispatch of 23 August, he reported to have fulfilled his task of delivering a message to Anne verbally and requesting of her to tell him anything that she wanted to be passed on to her brother via Harst's letters. With the detection of their secret correspondence, only this transmission by Harst was left for Anne and William to exchange sensitive messages. But as the envoy had realised by the time of the annulment, his own dispatches were intercepted and read by the English as well, thus their contents had to remain restricted, too.

It was especially mentioned that William wished her to pass on her opinion and suggestions on how he should respond to her situation to not make it any worse, but to help her.<sup>404</sup> This demonstrates the helplessness of the duke of Cleves, who, young and unexperienced as he was, had to walk on a diplomatic tightrope to neither antagonise Henry, nor forsake his sister and his family's honour. Furthermore it indicates that William and his councillors were aware that Anne could assess her situation and the English King and council better than them, as they were far away.

To the discontent of Harst and her family, she also turned out to have her own mind when she was confronted with the annulment of her marriage and the choice between returning to Cleves or staying in England. But even before, she seems to have had a say in the prospect of marrying Henry VIII, as one interesting account of Harst indicates. As he reported on 3rd July, he had visited Anne on 29th July in Richmond, where she had been sent to, away from the King. He commented that she 'complained to me alone a full hour about one woman but told me to not report this'-<sup>405</sup> doubtlessly she was fully aware of what was going on between her husband and Katharine Howard, and had enough to tell to fill a

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<sup>403</sup> JB II 2743 f268r+v.

<sup>404</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 266 v.

<sup>405</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 166 v: „klagt mir allein schier ein gantze stund uber ein frauen person sagt mir aber ich solt es nit uberschreiben“.

whole hour of complaint. But more interestingly, the above sentence continued with 'because she had done this to herself' which Harst then crossed out and instead wrote 'because it would not have been her mother's will, she (Anne) had done this to herself and her mother had told her so before'.<sup>406</sup> This is a truly remarkable confession in two respects. It gives an insight into Henry's reputation, especially with a concerned mother of a possible bride. Anne's mother seems to have warned her not to marry him and predicted that he may cast her aside for another woman, as he had done so twice before with grim outcomes for the repudiated wives. But it also sheds some light on the deliberations that led to the marriage, including how much Anne had to say about the plans to be married to a groom of ill repute. While the first is not the least surprising, the second certainly is. The evidence proves that Anne gave 'informed consent' to her espousal to Henry, against the will of her mother. She may have done so freely, by her own choice, or been talked into her agreement by her brother and his councillors at the urge of the political situation. But she could have avoided this marriage if she had not wanted to wed Henry VIII by seeking her mother's protection, who still had a strong influence on William and on the politics of the United duchies. Since Wilhelm was still young and inexperienced, having just succeeded his father, and duchess Maria had been the heiress that brought Jülich-Berg into the dynasty, the mother was quite involved in political matters.<sup>407</sup> In marriage considerations, women usually had more say<sup>408</sup> than in politics, so the duchess could have prevented the marriage of her daughter to the King, who obviously already had a tarnished reputation. In fact, she did cause a delay the negotiations and needed persuasion<sup>409</sup>.

When facing the fate her mother had apparently warned her about, Anne blamed herself for having taken this risk, which not only indicates that she was included

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<sup>406</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 166 v: „~~dan sie hette es ihr selbs angethon~~ dan es were irer frau mutter wil nit gewesen sie hette ire es selbs gethon und ire fraumutter hette es ir vorhin gesagt".

<sup>407</sup> Harst himself refers to her influence in one of his dispatches, see JB II 2743 f. 105r.

<sup>408</sup> See Warnicke, Marrying, p. 85

<sup>409</sup> See Müller, Beziehungen, p. 33.

in the deliberations and that her choice mattered, but also that it was her free will to agree to the marriage. Had she been pressured into this marriage, one might expect her to lament the wrong her brother or his councillors had done to her. Provided that Harst reported this incident truthfully, Anne did not make any reproach towards them, and as he did not shy away from criticism that verged on boldness at times, it seems rather unlikely that he omitted any complaints of Anne. Meanwhile, her mother was indeed cross with the supporters of her daughter's wedding, as Harst wrote on 15 August 'I hear that my gracious elder lady has taken the matter of her grace's daughter very heavily, and is said to hold a grudge against all those who have given counsel to this (marriage)'.<sup>410</sup>

Anne's demand that Harst must not write about her husband's infidelity and her removal from court even indicates a slight mother and daughter conflict. Apparently, she was ashamed that her mother was proven right. As Harst expressed on 23 August, one of the reasons why Anne was reluctant to head home was that she expected to be reprimanded by her mother upon her return, as the duchess did not approve of the marriage from the beginning.<sup>411</sup> He suggested that the mother may send a friendly and sympathetic letter to address this problem.<sup>412</sup> In any case, whether Anne had volunteered to marry Henry or was easily convinced to do so by her brother and his councillors, her decision was a significant, political step and she had some agency in this diplomatic episode rather than being a simple token.

There are passages in Harst's letters which imply that Anne was instructed to support her brother's cause through him and through Anne's and William's secret correspondence.

In Harst's correspondence, one expression stood out in several letters: 'fur Augen habben', that is 'to have (or keep) one's eyes on'. Anne was reminded frequently

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<sup>410</sup> JB II 2743 fo 261r: 'Ich vernym das meyn gnedigste alte frawe sich Iren gnaden dochter halb fast ubel gehebbe, und auch ungewillig sol sein uber alle die genne die dazu Rath habben gebben.'

<sup>411</sup> JB II 2743 fo 267v.

<sup>412</sup> JB II 2743 fo 267v. Her other reasons will be examined below in chapter 4.3.

to keep her eyes firstly on the Lord, but then, secondly, on the King. The expression of this advice likely derives from the bible, specifically psalm 16:8 'I have set the lord always before me: because *he is* at my right hand, I shall not be moved'. In some translations this is expressed as 'I keep my eyes always on the lord', and this is how Harst puts his advice for Anne, telling her to be strong in faith, steadfast, and confident. But it is more remarkable that he also mentions the King in this context. One explanation may be that he pointed out the early modern social order, in which God is head of the world, and a sovereign the worldly head of his realm, with the task of ensuring this order on behalf of god. Harst may have advised Anne to 'know her place' and be a humble Christian wife, obedient to god and husband, who happened to be the sovereign of his realm. But in the contexts of the letters, there seemed to be more behind these instructions than merely to pray and be obedient. It had political implications, as in the dispatch of 23rd June, after the arrest of Cromwell but before the removal of Anne from court, Harst reported:

'Last Sunday, when I visited the King, and wanted to take my leave of the Queen, I asked, and advised her grace subserviently that she will keep her eyes on the almighty god, *and thereafter her master the King and thus proceed so that my gracious lord also will keep his majesty's continued friendship (and) not be abandoned in hardship, she answered it shall be no case of concern, she wants to do it.*<sup>413</sup>

The first part, on setting god in front of her, i.e. to trust in god and prioritise him, is not ciphered. The second part, in which the advice was expanded on the King, is written in code, which would not make sense if it had no sensitive information, i.e. political connotation. She was supposed to set both god and the King 'in front of her', but although the expression is the same, the implications

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<sup>413</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 120v: 'Itzt der vergangenen Sondag, wie ich beym konig was gewesen, und ich von der konigin wolt nemmen urlub, bat ich, und ermant ire gnad undertheniglich das sie Got den almechtigen fur augen wolt halten und noch dem iren hern den KOENIG und dem fur gon uf das mein g.h. auch irer Ma(jestae)t stetige fruntschaft mochte behalt sein g in noten nit verlossen antwurt sie es solt kein not habben sie wolt es thun.'

were not. In the case of god, it was an advice for piety; praying and trusting that god will help and stand by the duke in times of need. But in regard to the King, this request implied action, 'to proceed' in order to make the King stand by the duke in dire straits- to which Anne confirmed her willingness to act accordingly. If Anne set the King always before here, he would stand by her brother in times of need. This was a subtle way of instructing her, yet obvious enough that Harst felt the need to put the words in cipher.

Harst's correspondence reveals that Anne was requested and did take an active part in diplomacy, even if this was not a task that was discussed openly and in detail. Generally, the participation of queens consort in diplomatic affairs is difficult to grasp and understand, for that matter. The secrecy and subtlety was intended to bypass the official and formal ways of negotiation, but also resulted in yet more secrecy and subtlety, as the danger of causing a rift between King and queen or even getting her into suspicion of treason had to be carefully avoided.

It would have been interesting to know how she was supposed to- or did- put this request into practice. From Harst's letters, it appears that there had been instructions of some sort for Anne to play an active part in the mission. But unfortunately, they are not specified and may well have been communicated to her verbally. 'Having the King before her eyes' also was an admonishment to be at will to Henry and to avoid anything that would displease him. According to Cromwell's letters to the King in which he supplied the demanded evidence for the annulment litigation, Henry had told him that the Queen 'began to wax stoborn and willfull'<sup>414</sup> when they had a communication regarding the lady Mary. This has been interpreted as an argument about Mary's visit at court, which Anne supposedly did not approve of. It is more likely that, on the contrary, Anne may have wished Mary to be at court permanently or more often than she was. This would have seemed appropriate to her who grew up and lived, together with her sister, in her mother's household until she departed for her marriage. As the

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<sup>414</sup> Cotton Otho C.X. f250r.

surviving evidence shows, Anne tried to establish a friendly relationship with her stepchildren, and arguing against Mary's visit would be very inconsistent with the descriptions of the Queen's gentle and friendly nature. In May, we learn from Harst that '...she likes the King's daughter quite well'<sup>415</sup>, which he mentioned in the context of possible matches for Duke William, and in November, Mary allegedly was chided by her father for being 'as haughty...as to make a present to the lady of Cleves without his Majesty's knowledge'<sup>416</sup> after she exchanged gifts with Anne. Altogether, it seems that Anne, if she really had an argument with Henry about Mary, may have tried to support the King's daughter to which he reacted with displeasure.

In his 12 June letter to Gogreve, Harst reports that he followed his orders, 'as you have commanded me, (which) has probably a meaning, that I point out to the Queen that she not take sides, which I have done on this occasion.'<sup>417</sup> This dispatch was written two days after the unexpected arrest of Thomas Cromwell, and Harst had already received the instruction to warn Anne to avoid taking sides or being partial. Thus, this order was certainly not issued to prevent Anne from being drawn into a quarrel following the downfall of Cromwell, although it had gained more significance in the meantime due to the current events. Neither did it refer to the King's affair with Catherine Howard, as Anne would not take sides, but impersonate one of the 'sides' herself. Yet, as Harst hinted, there was a likely reason for this warning, which he either did not know for certain or avoided writing down. It could have been connected to the earlier argument about Mary, but as months had passed in the meantime and no other evidence supports this suggestion, it may well have been an unknown, different issue that Anne was cautioned about.

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<sup>415</sup> JB II 2743 f69v.: '...das sie ein gantz gut gefallen zu des Königs dochter hat.'

<sup>416</sup> JB II 2743 f300r.: 'also stoltz...das sie sunder ihrer Mt furwissen der frawen von Cleff etwas schencken.'

<sup>417</sup> JB II 2743 f144v.: 'Wiewol das ir mir bevolhen hebben, hat auch wol ein meynung, das ich der Königin anzeigte das sie sich nit partiisch mach, welchs ich zum selbmol thon hab.'

It is clear to see from the evidence in Harst's dispatches, that Anne's role in politics and diplomacy had been greatly misperceived. She did play a role in diplomacy that was more than being merely a token for the alliance, but hers was subtle and clandestine, as is demonstrated by Anne's secret correspondence with her brother and her instructions to behave in a way that would make the King favourable to supporting William. Furthermore, she proves a case of subtle, hidden diplomacy.

## 4.2 Anne and the King

In the narrative of Henry's short-lived fourth marriage, his first meeting with Anne at New Year in Rochester has often received particular attention and interest. The King went to Rochester Castle in disguise to pay his bride a romantic surprise visit, but, as the later depositions of eyewitnesses claimed, was bitterly disappointed when he saw her in the flesh and behaved with visible dissatisfaction. Two of the King's closest courtiers gave their testimonies of this occurrence, Anthony Browne and Lord Russel. The latter merely testified that the King had been dismayed that he found Anne so different to the descriptions, and that Henry told him several times that he did not like her. He also said that, when asked by the King whether he found her as fair as people had claimed, he answered that 'he toke her not for faire, but to be of a brown Complexion'.<sup>418</sup> Anthony Browne's deposition was more detailed and included his description of the first meeting. As the King's Master of the Horse and one of his closest courtiers, Henry entrusted him with delivering a message to the new Queen before the King came in to see her. Browne testified that he was not able to tell which of the ladies in the room was Anne, as he did not find any of them resembled the descriptions of her beauty, and when he was directed to her, was 'lamenting in his hart, which altered his outward Countenance'<sup>419</sup> that the King

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<sup>418</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, Appendix p.310.

<sup>419</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, Appendix p.311.

would never like her. When Henry entered the room and went to embrace and kiss his bride, 'the said Sir Anthony saith, he saw & noted in the Kings Highnes Countenance such a discontentment & misliking of her Person, as he was very sory of it.' Browne claimed that the King did not speak twenty words with Anne, communicated mainly with her councillors and did not present her with the rich sables he brought her as a gift. Instead, Browne claimed that he was sent to deliver them the next morning 'with as cold & single a Message as might be.' When returning in a barge to Greenwich, the King confided his displeasure to him.

Based on Browne's description, it had been treated as a fact that Henry was repelled by his new wife from the moment he saw her, and that he treated her coldly. But one needs to bear in mind that this impression was exactly the purpose of the deposition. The testimonies of witnesses were supposed to supply one of the litigating parties with convincing arguments. Usually, depositions of both sides contradicted each other, which made obvious that one party, or even both, were lying. In the case of Anne's annulment, she was denied her right to name witnesses for depositions that supported her, thus no deposition existed that contradicted Browne's testimony and challenged its credibility. But while this was true for the annulment case, the situation is different for historiography. The surviving notes of Dr Olisleger, a councillor of the Duke of Cleves who accompanied Anne to England and returned to Cleves after her nuptials, can be seen as a counter-statement in retrospective.

According to Olisleger, the King came to Rochester incognito and welcomed Anne kindly, not as King, but as a private person, which meant that the meeting was informal and without ceremonies. Henry stayed for dinner, 'as a good fellow',<sup>420</sup> but different to Browne's description, he also came 'in the same manner in the morning for soup',<sup>421</sup> meaning breakfast. Olisleger's version has more credibility, as he took his notes close to the events and had no reason to claim that the king returned had it not been true, while Browne's task was to supply a convincing

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<sup>420</sup> JB II 1935 f50r.: 'als eyn ghuit gesell'.

<sup>421</sup> JB II 1935 f50r.: 'als gelicher wys des morgens zu der Soppen'.

testimony of the King's instant dislike for his bride. Olisleger's account of the King's New Year's gifts to his bride also differ from Browne's, as the latter recounted them to be sables, while the Cleves envoy described a crystal goblet, decorated with diamonds and rubies at its lid and base, a fork, of which the grip was made of solid gold, a necklace of diamonds and rubies, and other jewels.<sup>422</sup> Olisleger wrote down these notes during the bridal progress like a diary, close to the actual events. His focus rested on Anne's honourable reception, so the information is most detailed in regard to the dignitaries who welcomed her, their attire, the costly settings that the King had ordered to be prepared, the ceremonies, and gifts. He did not describe the King's attitude any more detailed than 'kind', but the fact that he mentioned the King's reappearance in the morning and more precious gifts casts some doubts on Anthony Browne's deposition. If Browne had been sent by the King to bring Anne his New Year's gifts, it seems astonishing that he did not remember the actual presents correctly, unless he deliberately recounted items of lesser value. Although still precious, sables and a fur cap would demonstrate a lesser appreciation of the person than crystal goblets and necklaces that were richly decorated with diamonds and rubies. Furthermore, his deposition implied that the King did not bother to spend more time with Anne after the initial meeting, while he did indeed return the next morning. These two details prove that his testimony was at least exaggerated, probably to intensify the arguments. Charles Wriothesley, who had been a herald at Windsor at the time and thus was assumably well-informed through his role and being the cousin of Thomas Wriothesley, gave another account of the Rochester meeting in his chronicle. He specified that the King and five of his Privy Chamber were disguised 'with clookes of marble with hoodes'.<sup>423</sup> In his version, Henry went into the room where Anne was watching the bull-baiting through a window, and immediately embraced and kissed his bedazzled bride, presenting her with 'a token that the King had sent her for her

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<sup>422</sup> JB II 1935 fols 47v., 50r+v.

<sup>423</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 109.

Newe Yeares gift'.<sup>424</sup> Anne thanked him, but taking him to be a courier, she then ignored him and continued to watch the baiting. When Henry, after changing into a purple cloak in an adjoining chamber, re-entered and all Englishmen showed their reverence to him as the King, she 'perceiving the lordes doeing their dewties, humbled her Grace lowlie to the Kinges Majestie, and his Grace saluted her againe, and so talked together lovinglie, and after tooke her by the hand and leed her into another chamber, where they solaced their graces that night and till Friday afternounge.<sup>425</sup>' As he was a royal herald, Wriothesley may have given a description that was influenced by protocol and an official representation of the event. It depicts the scene as a romantic surprise visit that was a known topic in chivalric tradition,<sup>426</sup> thus the disguised King's sudden embracing and kissing of his bride and her astonishment may have been additions in order to complete the tale. Moreover, the loving talk must be regarded as such an addition, as in reality their conversation would have required the help of interpreters.

According to Cromwell's deposition that he wrote during his imprisonment, Anne had desired to speak to him several times. He declined these requests, but, as a reaction to the probable issue that she wished to discuss, told her Chamberlain to instruct her that she should behave more pleasantly towards the King. This was interpreted as evidence that Anne requested Cromwell's advice because her marriage was not consummated and she was aware of the need to change this. However, it is very unlikely that Anne sought to discuss such a sensitive matter with a man, particularly one whom she hardly knew, as this would have been highly inappropriate and contradictory to her chaste upbringing. From the new information in Harst's letters, it appears that Anne and Henry did have intercourse, thus it is more likely that she intended to solve a different issue rather than to gain advice on how to seduce Henry. As we learn

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<sup>424</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, Vol. I, pp.109-110.

<sup>425</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 110.

<sup>426</sup> Warnicke, *Marrying*, pp. 130-135.

from the 26 June and 3 July dispatches,<sup>427</sup> Anne was well aware of the King's affair with one of her ladies-in-waiting and complained to her brother's envoy about Catherine. Harst pleaded with Anne to stay patient and indulgent, and requested that her brother may send a supportive letter with instructions for her, which indicates that there was obviously a need to admonish her to stay acquiescent. In this light, one can see that when Anne requested to have a talk with Cromwell, she must have intended to complain about the King's affair and to seek mediation. The King's chief minister, however, assumably knowing well enough that there was not much he could have done for her, avoided the potentially dangerous and awkward conversation. Cromwell likely gave his instruction to the earl of Rutland to encourage her to behave more pleasantly towards the King with the intention to prevent confrontations between the royal couple and to diminish the potential for her to incite Henry's anger, as he knew from Anne Boleyn's fate that arguments would only make matters worse. Likewise, when Harst recapitulated a conversation that he had when coincidentally he met 'a distinguished bishop, who is quite well-disposed towards the Queen as I perceived',<sup>428</sup> the advice that he was given by the anonymous bishop can be seen as having a similar intention. Harst was told that 'her grace should not be distressed nor show (to be distressed), but be merry at all times, not to take on the issue but to have the King before her in all matters, then everything will be fine',<sup>429</sup> which he interpreted as a suggestion that she should endure her husband's infidelities with mistresses. It is unlikely that this unnamed adviser was Winchester, as Harst usually mentioned his name and moreover did not find him particularly well-disposed. Nevertheless, whether it was genuine support or a measure to facilitate the annulment on Henry's behalf, it seems that the unknown bishop gave his advice either already knowing or suspecting what Anne

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<sup>427</sup> JB II 2743 fos 157v.-158r. and 166v.

<sup>428</sup> JB II 2743 fl 58r.: 'so kum ich unversehenlich zu eim treflichen bischof der nun der Königin gantz, als ich vermerckt, geneigt were'.

<sup>429</sup> JB II 2743 fl 58r.: 'es solt sich ire gnaden nicht lossen bekimmern noch vermercken, sunder alzeit frolich sein, sich gar nicht annehmen sunder den König in allen dingen zuvor haben.'

would have to go through later. Different to this bishop's confidential warning, Cromwell's indirect recommendation to Anne caused him a lot of trouble, as it was interpreted as treasonous intervention.

As Harst wrote on 3rd July, during Anne's exile, 'there passed no day without the King sending her grace a golden ring, and her grace another to his majesty.'<sup>430</sup> However, the ambassador interpreted this, or maybe he cited Anne, 'as a token of their amity and bond',<sup>431</sup> which indicates that she was reassured about their married status. They may have slightly misinterpreted the signal that Henry sent with this ring to his removed wife. It seems that Anne and Harst perceived it as a reassurance for the stability of the marriage, while similar situations indicate that sending a ring to the apparently disfavoured person was to signal that they do not have to fear for their life and are protected by the King's favour. Cardinal Wolsey received two rings within a short timespan in his distressing last months as a token for the King's still lasting goodwill, despite the Cardinal being banned from court.<sup>432</sup> As late as 18th September, Harst mentions this token, as he wrote that 'her grace showed me a ring that the King has sent to her as a sign; her grace is somewhat glad again.'<sup>433</sup> Apparently, some time after the dangerous phase of the annulment, Henry still intended to reassure Anne of his goodwill.

As we learn from Harst's 31 July letter to Duke William, the King had visited Anne on 29 July.<sup>434</sup> Although the gossip at court claimed that Henry talked to her in private for several hours, Harst knew from Anne that this was not true. Her letter to the ambassador, which was apparently a response to a request from him, was enclosed with Harst's dispatch. She confirmed that what he had heard was indeed true and the King, who was 'mightily merry', had come to see her. Not a

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<sup>430</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 166v.

<sup>431</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 166v.

<sup>432</sup> Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 238.

<sup>433</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 295r. 'es hat mir ir g. ein ringlin zeigt welchs der **König** zu eim zeichen hat geschickt ist ir g. widder etwas erfreut.'

<sup>434</sup> JB II 2743 f239r.

single word was spoken of the 'dealings', meaning the annulment, apart from the fact that she was called 'sister'. According to Anne, the two or three Privy Councillors that accompanied the King watched him closely to prevent any conversation in this matter, as he was very affectionate towards her. The next day, Henry sent the Lord Privy Seal and the Secretary of State to bring her some dresses and unspecified things that were 'of need in the house'.<sup>435</sup> Whether her perception, that the councillors kept Henry from speaking out and that he was affectionate, was right or rather a case of wishful thinking remains open. However, the fact that the King visited her to assure himself of her wellbeing and subsequently sent her whatever he found missing in her household at his inspection shows that he genuinely cared. It is unlikely that this was merely an intentional display of his kindness, as the visit had the potential to rather spark rumours that were not desirable, as Harst's remark on the gossip at court shows. While it was certainly in the King's interest to demonstrate that he treated Anne well in order to save what was left of his chivalric reputation, it was more important that his marital status was perceived by the people as beyond doubt. Stories of tête-à-tête conversations with his former spouse could have been confusing to some of his subjects, thus taking this risk by visiting Anne at her home must have been caused by a genuine interest in her wellbeing. While it was not love, at least Henry seemed to deeply care.

It is furthermore remarkable that this visit took place the day after the King was married to Catherine Howard. This may well have been the reason for his 'mightily merry' appearance.

Anne did not give up hope on her marriage, although there was little reason to hope that Henry would change his mind. In the dispatch of ???, Harst reported that Anne had told him confidentially, that someone had reassured her to not give up hope and that actually she would soon be reinstated. It is not specified who this alleged informant was, and their motives remain all the more a mystery.

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<sup>435</sup> JB II 2743 f240r.

It may well be that some well-meaning person intended to comfort her, but also that this misinformation was delivered to her on purpose to prevent her from trying to take any measures against the annulment. Harst was very discontented about Anne grasping at straws in her futile hope of reconciliation.

But there was another aspect about her prevailing hope. Harst mentioned in his dispatch of the 2nd October that he could not see any reason for hope, but that 'her grace is still hoping, but (it) is nothing but only her air or winds'<sup>436</sup> - indicating that she hoped to be with child. In a time without any possibility to reliably determine a pregnancy, wishful thinking and the misinterpretation of physical symptoms could easily lead to wrong assumptions. But the fact that she did consider a pregnancy is remarkable in itself. It shows that she was indeed desperately hoping for a twist of fate to her favour again, as well as that, at least at an earlier date, she had reason to hope for a pregnancy after having had sexual intercourse.

### 4.3 New Information vs Historiography

It has been treated as a fact by past historians that Henry and Anne had no carnal knowledge/ sexual intercourse, as this was stated in several depositions of the annulment process. Starkey, describing Henry's troubles with consummating the marriage and the faint efforts that were made to discuss the issue with Anne relies fully on the depositions given by the ladies Rutland, Rochford and Edgecomb as well as the declarations in the letter of Thomas Cromwell.<sup>437</sup>

As Kelly points out, in the previous litigation to annul the marriage of Henry and Catherine of Aragon, the mere effort of intercourse, even if unsuccessful, was stated as sufficient to declare the marriage consummated. This was necessary to retrospectively validate Catherine's marriage to Arthur and thereby reinstating

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<sup>436</sup> JB II 286r: 'dan do kan ich kein hofnung vermercken aber ir g. hoft noch ist aber nicht dan allein ir luft oder wint'

<sup>437</sup> Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 632-635.

the impediment to Henry and Catherine as being within prohibited degrees of affinity. Now, with Anne, it was stated that Henry tried but failed to consummate. Contradictory to the previous litigation, this time this was not deemed as sufficient effort.<sup>438</sup> These confusing details, of course, would not appear in detail in the official statement that Anne had to attest.

Saaler, in her biography of Anne of Cleves, clearly acknowledges that the non-consummation was the most powerful judicial tool in this annulment process, more important than any of the other arguments raised, including the uncertainty of Anne's pre-contract with Francis of Lorraine.<sup>439</sup>

Because it was the central argument for obtaining an annulment, the King and his advisors took great care to gather a variety of reasons in the depositions. It would have been a significantly weaker, if not impossible, case without the assertion that the marriage was unconsummated.<sup>440</sup> For its importance and the fact that Harst's dispatches deliver more information touching this question, it deserves further examination. Naturally, there is no way of proving whether the marriage was validated by intercourse or not, and the surviving evidence is contradictory.

In the depositions for the litigation, Henry's doctors, some of his councillors and three ladies in waiting of the queen's household gave the according testimony that Henry never had intercourse with Anne. Doctor Butts and doctor Chamber testified, that the King had confided his physical inability to consummate the marriage, which he ascribed to her body being too repulsive for him. To avoid that the King would have an impediment preventing any subsequent espousal for the reason of impotency, it was important to state that the King nevertheless had

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<sup>438</sup> Kelly, *Trials*, p. 270.

<sup>439</sup> Saaler, *Anne of Cleves*, p. 68.

<sup>440</sup> In my dissertation for the *Magister Artium* degree, I gave more detailed attention to the argumentation contained in these depositions in the annulment case and their use in historiography: N. Bertzen, *To get rid of your Queen- eine quellenorientierte Analyse zur Anbahnung und Annullierung der vierten Ehe Heinrichs VIII.*, unpublished dissertation, University of Mainz, 2011.

two nightly emissions and would be capable of the act with any other woman but Anne.

In their deposition, the ladies Rutland, Edgecomb and Rochford testify the contents of a chatter that they had with the Queen on 22nd or 23rd June. The ladies had asked Anne if she may be with child, but Anne assured that she knew that she was not. When Edgecomb and Rochford suspected that she might still be a maiden, Anne replied:

'when he comes to bed he kisses me, & taketh me by the hand, & byddeth me, Good night swete hart: & in the Morning kisses me, & byddeth me, Farewel Darlyng. Is not thys enough?'<sup>441</sup>

Lady Rutland said that there needs to be more than this to have a duke of York, but Anne stated 'Nay [...] is not this enough? I am contended with this, for I know no more.' Asked by Rutland whether she had talked to Mother Low, the supervisor of the German maids and a trusted confidant of Anne, the Queen said 'Mary, Fy, fy, for shame. God forbid.', which indicates that she was appalled. This, they claimed, had been spoken several times, to all of them together and each alone.<sup>442</sup>

Bearing in mind that this deposition was taken for obtaining the desired annulment, the testimony of the ladies Rutland, Edgecomb and Rochford has to be taken with more than just a grain of salt. Apart from the unlikeliness of this conversation to have taken place 'divers & sondry tymes' and with the group as well as each of them on their own, something does not make sense. If Anne had been as naive as to believe that a kiss on the cheek was already all the sexual intercourse and had no clue that anything further was missing, as they claimed, then why would she react coyly to their suggestion to ask mother Lowe for advice? It would only make sense if she knew that her marital sex life was lacking a lot, and the conversation would have been significantly different. Had she really

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<sup>441</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, Volume I, 314-315.

<sup>442</sup> Strype, *Memorials*, Volume I, 314-315.

thought that kisses were enough for causing a pregnancy, there would not have been any reason to act coyly, as in this case, she would already have talked as openly and in detail as she could. It would also not make any sense why she should know for certain that she was not pregnant, had she really believed kisses to be sufficient for conceiving a child. While it is impossible to determine which aspects of this deposition create this inconsistency by being invented or whether this conversation has taken place at all, the evidence that it contains needs to be used carefully.

Harst's letters tell a different story. The first mentioning that relate to this matter were his suspicions that Anne may be with child. As he remarked in his dispatch from 23rd March, Harst understood from his talk with Cromwell that there was hoping that the Queen was pregnant<sup>443</sup>. He did not specify the wording of Cromwell that led to this interpretation. Then, over three weeks later, on 17 April, Harst derived from Anne's distressed reaction upon her brother's risky travel to the Emperor's court, and likely from the earlier suspicion, that she was with child<sup>444</sup>. But on 6th May, after reporting the slow progress in respect to the confirmation of the Queen's pensions, he declares that he had hoped that Anne was pregnant, but that she doubted this<sup>445</sup>. On 12 June, when the situation started to get tense after the arrest of Cromwell, Harst reports that she still was not pregnant<sup>446</sup>. The ambassador started to worry for her future in case this did not change and feared on 19 June that she might share the same fate as the first queen<sup>447</sup>, Katherine of Aragon. After the annulment, in early October, Anne was clinging to her hope that she may be pregnant and reinstated once there was proof that she would provide the King with more offspring. But Harst was in disillusioned, as he expressed in his dispatch on the 2nd October: 'in time one

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<sup>443</sup> JB II 2743 fol. 86r.

<sup>444</sup> JB II 2743 fol. 64v.

<sup>445</sup> JB II 2743 fol. 69v.

<sup>446</sup> JB II 2743 fol. 144v.

<sup>447</sup> JB II 2743 fol. 135r.

may seek a solution how her grace could get out (of this country) best, as I do not see any hope, although her grace is still hoping, but (it) is nothing but her air or winds, (she) is hoping but must no longer put her trust in the wavering King<sup>448</sup>.' On 25 November, the envoy incident of the arrest of a herald who had claimed that Anne had gone to Richmond and was pregnant with a prince was reported on 25 November, shows that not all subjects took the King's vow, that he never had intercourse with her, for the serious truth.

During and after the annulment litigation, the focus shifted towards the question whether the marriage was valid and binding. Harst and Anne had rather heated discussions about her stance toward the proceedings. While she complied, for fear of a violent ending should she not agree to the legal procedure, Harst tried to argue her into objecting the annulment. On 18 July, he gave an account of one of these disputes, including his statement that 'everybody knows that your grace was married to his royal majesty in public, and that the intercourse took place afterward<sup>449</sup>s'. Harst also confronted the King in this matter, telling him that 'his majesty himself has taken greatest care that this matrimony may be secured most solidly und can not be declared invalid and thereafter the marriage ceremony was celebrated with the highest dignitaries and in the face of the church, the marital intercourse followed, and thereafter (the marriage) with the lauds of the whole kingdom was continued<sup>450</sup>'. In his response, Henry set out his points for the argument that Anne's betrothal to Francis of Lorraine was an impediment that rendered her marriage to the King invalid. He did not subsequently comment on the consummation or any other element of their matrimony.

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<sup>448</sup> JB II 2743 f. 286r.

<sup>449</sup> JB II 206r: 'weis menneklich das ewer gnaden mit koniglich Majestät öffentlich vermehet daruf der Beischlof erfolgt'.

<sup>450</sup> JB II 2743 fols. 234v-235r: 'es het auch ir majestät selbs die hochste fürsorg gedragen wie das matrimonium am bestendigsten befestig und nit widerlegt werden mocht und doruf die ebewilligung mit den hochsten sollenitäten in angesicht der kirchen celebrirt das elich beileger gefolgt und darnoch mit loben des gantzen konigreichs continuirt'.

While in the communication with Anne and Harst the argument focuses on her previous contract and the declaration of the non-consummation of her marriage to Henry was explicitly given for the preservation of her honour, the documents of the annulment litigation have a very different tenor. Here, the focus of the depositions lies on the aspect that the King did not have intercourse with Anne, and her previous contract only received attention as the reason for Henry to refrain from the consummation of the marriage. The document that was delivered by the Cleves envoy may have been deemed sufficient proof on its own that the betrothal was not properly dissolved<sup>451</sup>. But the matter of missing intercourse is featured so prominently in the depositions, and so much in detail, that it must be concluded that it was the most important argument for the annulment, in conjunction with the lack of Henry's true consent to the marriage. Different to the explanations given to Anne and Harst, these details, that were naturally not meant to be known to them, were not preserving Anne's honour. They are shockingly insulting to the modern reader, and likely would have been for Anne. They also contain a slight contradiction: while in some depositions, her maidenhood is affirmed, in others, including the King's own, doubts are voiced whether she has been a virgin before she came to England, thereby implying that she had been with Francis of Lorraine. In case of a request for a physical examination of Anne to prove or disprove her virginity, this contradictory evidence would have allowed for denying the King's responsibility, irrespective of the result. However, whether this was the intention behind these inconsistencies can not be safely concluded.

By declaring openly and repeatedly that Anne's honour was still intact, and asking her to confirm this, the King and his councillors addressed her pudency

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<sup>451</sup> As the joint deposition of Audeley, Cranmer, Suffolk, Norfolk, Southampton and the bishop of Durham explains: '...but also sent such a Writing for a discharge not bein autentique, that putteth it in moch more doubt, cowching the Words of that sort, that thespousals by theym spoken of to have ben made long agoo, may be taken for Espousals not only *De futuro*, but also *De praesenti*; which intriketh the mattier moch more & doth not clere it, as was promysed; as by the instrument therby it wil appere to al that read it.' John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of The Church of England Under King Henry VIII*, London 1721, Appendix, pp. 307-308.

and relied on societal norms; this made it very unlikely that Anne would publicly object this declaration.

Harst was particularly disgusted by the charade of the Chancellor of Augmentations, Sir Richard Rich, who gave a stagy speech in parliament on the annulment that was reported to Harst. According to what Harst was told later, 'the chancellor of augmentation had even a fine speech in front of parliament on this being an outstanding grace (that) god had shown to their King that he never touched the beautiful person'<sup>452</sup>.

The interpretations by previous historians that were based on the information in the very biased depositions, so it is clear to see why it has been assumed that the marriage had never been consummated. But with evidence now found in Harst's letters, this question must be entirely revisited. Although Harst does not believe Anne to be pregnant after the annulment, he and also Anne, indirectly through his letters, state too obviously that the marriage was indeed consummated. The much doubtful conversation in the deposition of the ladies Rutland, Rochford and Edgecomb does not prove otherwise, as it was crafted to give the impression that Anne would not be able to tell whether intercourse had happened. As Retha Warnicke rightly points out, it is not believable that Anne would have been this naïve about the sexual act as described in the deposition. It was her most important duty to bear the king's children to strengthen the family ties and her family must have made sure that she would know how to.<sup>453</sup> Warnicke reminds us that 'this was not Victorian England where legs were delicately referred to as limbs but early modern Christendom where men boldly wore codpieces to signal their manhood'<sup>454</sup>. The deposition was intended as a preventative matter in case Anne would protest and declare the marriage to be consummated, so her judgement would be doubted.

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<sup>452</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 208v: 'der cantzler von der augmentatz (sic) gar ein schon red hat gehabt fur dem perlament wie das es ein sunderlich gnad got irem *König* hat verluhen (sic) das schon mensch nie berurt'.

<sup>453</sup> **Warnicke**, *Marrying*, p. 235.

<sup>454</sup> **Warnicke**, *Marrying*, p. 236.

Although Harst's dispatches do not provide objective evidence and reflect his limited insights, they are more trustworthy than the depositions that were tailored to securing the annulment. Harst's letters were not intended for any readers apart from William and his most trusted councillors, neither do the dispatches appear to be meticulously composed to intentionally present a false assertion to any person who may have intercepted and read the letter. Harst would have had no reason to be as explicit about the consummation of the marriage as he was, had he believed it was not true. Instead, in this case one would expect him to have kept a low profile on the issue.

As already mentioned above in chapter 3.3, Anne of Cleves and Karl Harst had heated arguments during the dire days of the annulment proceedings about how to react to the situation. While Anne initially opposed to the investigation of her marriage, she later consented in order to prevent any danger posed to her or Karl's lives. As the envoy did not approve of her compliance, he tried his best as a lawyer to convince her to recant her consent. But whereas Harst could not move Anne to change her stance, her reasoning did bear an effect on him. He advised William to treat the information and dispatches with greatest secrecy, to carefully avoid anything that might bring harm to his sister or the alliance and to try dealing with this matter with benignity. Anne must have had some talent to convince her brother's ambassador. This scene reported by Harst also shows that she did not comply with the King's demands without thought and awareness or any mind of her own. Anne was threatened and frightened by the possible consequences that would occur if she did not accept the annulment, but when confronted with the reproaches of Harst, she was not too daunted to react to them. She justified her compliance and argued that she had confirmed the annulment not without good reason- after all, it was more sensible for her to stand her ground for her life than for a marriage that she would not be able to reclaim by any means. In Harst's report, Anne of Cleves does not give the

impression of a timid personality, as she seems to have aimed at having the final say in her discussion with Harst and succeeded.

Since the 1990s, there has been a shift in how the participation of women in politics was perceived. As Rutz points out, scholars now are aware of how power was not only a matter of top-down decisions by a prince via councillors and holders of important offices. Instead, there was a lot of decision-making through relations and verbal communications that have not found their way into written sources. Women, such as the wives of rulers, participated in various ways through their connections, correspondence and in verbal communication with their spouses or courtiers.<sup>455</sup>

As a result of the very nature of these subtle requests and the secret correspondence with her brother, Anne was never known as a political queen. Her involvement, or rather perceived non-involvement, is not even mentioned and an absent topic in scholarship about her marriage. Such is the expectation towards Anne as a political figure. With the evidence of Harst's letters, this perception is bound to change. As a result of the very nature of these subtle requests and the secret correspondence with her brother, Anne was never known as a political queen. The fact that the mission that she was instructed to support failed as well as her marriage did not help to change this. The mere consent of the bride was already a matter of immense political importance and placed a lot of responsibility on Anne's shoulders. Harst's letters deliver proof that Anne had a lot more agency in this matter than was attributed to her in historiography.

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<sup>455</sup> See **Andreas Rutz**, 'Formen und Funktionen weiblicher Herrschaftspartizipation im Heiligen Römischen Reich am Beispiel der Herzoginnen von Kleve (1417-1609)', in Becher, Matthias (ed.), *Transkulturelle Annäherungen an Phänomene von Macht und Herrschaft. Spannungsfelder und Geschlechterdimensionen* (Macht und Herrschaft 11), Göttingen 2019, pp. 213–252.

## Chapter 5: Mission Impossible

### 5.1. Failure of Mission

After Cromwell's arrest, but still before the annulment of Anne's and Henry's marriage, Harst had already realised that this union would not be reliable for protecting Cleves. He advised Gogreve on 12 June that new allies should be sought and secured with marriages for the Duke and his sister Amelia, so that new friends would step in should one friendship be lost, whereby he obviously alluded to the English alliance.<sup>456</sup> He still seemed to keep up a rest of hope for the English ties, as he added: 'not that I would become desperate throughout here, as the King and the councillors have all given good words'.<sup>457</sup> But by and large, the envoy's recommendation was to not rely on the King of England and to seek alternative alliances.

After Cromwell's downfall, Harst's helplessness became increasingly obvious. In his dispatch of 19th June, after informing Gogreve about Cromwell's arrest, he remarked that 'the emperor rarely laughs, but about this he will laugh, but my lord not at all'.<sup>458</sup> Then, relating to the widespread belief that stress would cause the hair to grow grey or white,<sup>459</sup> Harst described the level of his stress and anxiety that was caused by his mission: 'In (the embassy to) Spain I have become partly grey, here I will even turn white like a dove'.<sup>460</sup> He even lamented that he could not find any sleep and his mind could not find any rest, for „(I) do not

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<sup>456</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 149r

<sup>457</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 149r: 'nit das ich hie gar verzweifel dan der *König* und die rath habben alle gut wort gebben'.

<sup>458</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 144v: 'der *Kaiser* lacht selten aber hie zu wirt er lachen aber mein g.h. gar nit'.

<sup>459</sup> In some cases, it had been claimed to have happened overnight, such as Thomas More in the last night before his execution: Anne-Marie Skellett, George WM Millington, Nick J Levell, 'Sudden whitening of the hair: an historical fiction?' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (12), pp. 574-576.

<sup>460</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 144v: 'In hispanien bin Ich gro word(en) zum teil hie werd ich gar weis werden wie ein daub'. Interestingly, the half-sentence about turning grey in Spain was unciphered, whereas the part regarding growing white hair in England was coded. This reflects the remarks later in the same despatch (fo. 148v) about him starting to suspect that it was actually the English who intercepted his correspondence, not the 'Burgundians'.

know at all what I should think or whom to trust".<sup>461</sup> Feeling out of his depth, he requested to be replaced or at least supported by an experienced and 'more subtle' person than he was, as this would be the best for his duke and Cleves.<sup>462</sup> He was willing to do his utmost to support another envoy, but did not want to negotiate with 'this nation' on his own.<sup>463</sup> To underline the necessity of reinforcement, Harst remarked that, since Cromwell had been arrested, he had not met the Queen in order to not get anyone into difficulties due to his temper in the heat of the moment. He seemed to have perceived his temper as an impediment to fulfilling his task properly, but also to have felt his negotiation skills were not discreet enough for this demanding mission. Whether this is an indication that the inequality of the diplomatic parties, the crown of England and the ducal court of Cleves, may have proven to take its toll or rather a personal matter of Harst not feeling able to cope, can not be answered with certainty. The capacities of a ducal court and government, including ambassadors, were significantly smaller than those of a monarchy. Thus Harst was not provided with the same resources and experience that ambassadors of greater realms had to their disposal, and had to cope with significant disadvantages.

By that time, he still blamed the Habsburg dynasty for his troubles, and although he did not trust the English, he suspected the 'Burgundians' would instigate the King or part of his council. He even ascribed the resentment at court after William's journey to Gent to be caused by the Habsburgs and hypothesised that they had taken the advantage to discredit the duke and Cromwell to the King.<sup>464</sup> Later, after the annulment, Harst expressed his suspicion that the Habsburgs had instigated this and the bishops, who had declared the marriage void in the convocation, had taken revenge on Saxony.<sup>465</sup> How exactly he perceived this possible revenge is not clear. The convocation consisted of bishops of different

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<sup>461</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 146v.

<sup>462</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 147r: einen wolerfarnen und einen geschicktern her schicken dan ich bin'.

<sup>463</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 174r: 'wil mit der nation nit allein handeln'.

<sup>464</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 145v.

<sup>465</sup> JB II 2743 fo. 209r.

positions- some disappointed in their hopes of closer religious ties to the German Protestants, as well as some who were conservative or moderately reformed and welcomed the failure of the negotiations with Saxony. If this annulment had been a revenge, one might wonder whether Harst thought that the former took revenge for the failure or the latter for the fact that there had been negotiations at all. Harst seems to have been desperate to understand the political schemes, but suspected the Habsburgs on all occasions, as they were the party that had the greatest interest in the failure of the Cleves politics.

The fact that the alliance between Cleves and England had failed was obvious from the moment that Harst was informed about the examination of the royal marriage. Although the councillors who broke the news to him passed on Henry's assertions that he would continue the friendship with William<sup>466</sup>, the contrary was signalled by other means, as a prelude to the announcement. On 7 July, Harst reported:

'On Tuesday, around two o'clock, on the 6th of July, the Duke of Norfolk and other of the King's councillors have sent for me to come to court, which I complied with the same hour. They first apologised (that) I was to be invited for lunch at court, but the person who had the order, did not deliver the message accordingly, and (it) was forgotten. At the same time, there have also dined the Emperor's and French King's ambassadors.<sup>467</sup>

There can be no doubt that this was to demonstrate that the relations with Cleves had lost significance for the English policy, while the Imperial and French relations were preferred. With this diplomatic artifice, the signal was unmistakably given to all ambassadors involved at the same time, and through them to their masters, which underlined Henry's determination. Harst did not

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<sup>466</sup> After reporting to Harst that the marriage was declared void, they promised that the King nevertheless was willing to keep his pact with Wilhelm, and to conclude further if need be: JB II 2743 f186r.

<sup>467</sup> JB II 2743 f175r.: 'Uff dienstag ungeferlich nach zwey uwerern den 6. Julii der hertzog von Norfock und andere des konigs Rāth nach mir zu hoff zu kommen geschickt, welchem ich also uff stund nachkommen. Habben sie erstlich ir entschuldigung gethon ich were zu mittetage zu hoff geladen worden, aber der ghenne der bevelh hette gehat, hette die botschafft nit Recht uß gericht, und were vergessen worden. Es hat auch dasselbigmol do gessen key<sup>ch</sup> und ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt Botschafften, uß Franckerich.'

fail to realise the implications of this action, as he noted further down in his dispatch that he believed the two other ambassadors had been informed about the annulment proceedings on this very occasion and described this incident as 'well worth the effort' for the English to announce such bad news of the litigation to him after a supposedly failed invitation and their 'gluttony and indulgence'.<sup>468</sup> He had also heard that the Imperial ambassador had left the Privy Council with a 'merry countenance' and that the Prince of Salerno and one of the Emperor's Spanish councillors, have arrived. The Cleves envoy suspected that they likely came to improve relations.

As early as 12 June, just after the arrest of Cromwell, Harst began to indicate that he would demand to be recalled if he would not be reinforced by another, more experienced and cunning councillor, 'for the reason, you may notice, that I do not want to deal with this nation on my own.'<sup>469</sup> Later, with the annulment of Anne's marriage, Harst realised that Cleves' alliance with England would have no effect and that all negotiation would be wasted effort, and that his life may even be at risk. Thus he argued on 18 July in a letter to duke Willliam that he had nothing left to hope for, nor to achieve, and as Henry's ambassador was still at Cleves, Harst requested his master to send message to the King and withdraw his own embassy to England. He admitted his concern that otherwise it would get too difficult for him and he would achieve nothing but 'getting tangled',<sup>470</sup> and stated that 'even if everything would turn out well, I have no desire to further deal with this people.'<sup>471</sup> Harst mentioned that Anne, 'in gracious sympathy',<sup>472</sup> did not cease to warn him and to plead with him that 'for the sake of his body'<sup>473</sup> he should not

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<sup>468</sup> JB II 2743 f177v.

<sup>469</sup> JB II 2743 f147r.: *umb der ursach wie ir mercken wil mit der nation nit allein handeln.*

<sup>470</sup> JB II 2743 f209v.: *'verstrickt.'*

<sup>471</sup> JB II 2743 f209v.: *'Wan schon alle ding gut wurden, so hab ich keinen lust mit diese volck me zuhandelen.'*

<sup>472</sup> JB II 2743 f210r.: *'us gnediglicher zuneigung'.*

<sup>473</sup> JB II 2743 f210r.: *'bei meim leib'.*

write anything. But being an ambassador who was kept from writing freely and about everything as necessary, he did not see the point of his presence.

Henceforth, Harst did not cease to point out the uselessness of his embassy and its unnecessary cost in nearly every dispatch.<sup>474</sup> On 18 September, for instance, he remarks that 'Expenses are accumulating, and nothing is to be accomplished here, (I) would rather be gone, and to stay with milady would not be appropriate. Because of me, her grace would get more suspicious (as they) do not like me to be there a lot anyway.<sup>475</sup>' To Harst's disappointment, the Duke and his councillors did not recall him, which left the ambassador wondering about the usefulness of his prolonged stay, as in December he commented that 'I do not know of which use I am to milord any longer'.<sup>476</sup>

## 5.2 Aftermatch

Despite Harst's pleads, Anne of Cleves stayed in the kingdom after the annulment of her marriage. At first, she planned to stay only for a while, but subsequently postponed her return until Easter. Her brother's envoy frequently remarked on this matter in his dispatches, specifying different considerations that may keep Anne from returning. One of the reasons he believed to be the question of status. On 23 August, Harst wrote to Gogreve and Olisleger: '...for another thing her grace may not like to leave (because) she was kept in high esteem and richly as a queen and now (would not like to) reduce herself again, as is many women's nature. Not that I would blame her grace for this, but if her grace would trust and

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<sup>474</sup> See 15 August: f260r.; 23 August: f269r.; 1 September: f280r.; 18 September: f294r.; 20 December: f328r.  
MORE OF THEM?

<sup>475</sup> JB II 2743 f294r.: 'Es laufft ein costen uff, und ist nicht hier zu handeln, wolte gern das ich von hinnen were, und by meyner gnedigsten frawen zu sein, will sich nit schicken. Durch mych wird Ir gnaden mhe beschwert, habben sunst nit gern das ich viel do bin.'

<sup>476</sup> JB II 2743 f328r.: 'Kan nit wissen was ich meym gnedigen hern hinfurter nutz bin.'

take my advice, I would in recommend to her that her grace should rather be with her brother with one maid than here, in this way and manner, with fourteen.<sup>477</sup>

Although Anne's fate and welfare depended on the King's goodwill, staying in England allowed her liberties that she would not have had if she went back to her family. To have her own household and several properties and to live without a husband or parent as guardians was an exceptional occurrence for a young noblewoman, unless she was widowed and the custodian of her children's inheritance. If Anne had moved to her family again, she may have had to live in her mother's household again, but this time without the prospect of getting married and moving on one day. Although her surrounding would probably have treated her with all due respect and reverence as a Queen, and likely this would also have extended to her expenditure, she would have been in the custody of her mother and brother again. After having lived as a Queen for half a year, it is understandable that she was not inclined to reduce herself again and to return to her role of a daughter. In this regard, we learn from Harst that Anne had confessed to him that she would feel too ashamed to return to her mother,<sup>478</sup> and that she feared her reaction:

'Also in part (she) fears her mother's criticism, who apparently never liked this marriage from the beginning. Thus a good advice would be (that) a motherly kind and comforting letter was written.<sup>479</sup>

On 3rd July, a new law had been passed to accomodate the acute requirements of the King. From 1st July 1540, any marriage that was entered into by *verba de praesenti* that was not consummated would have to make way for a later

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<sup>477</sup> JB II 2743 267v.: 'Zum anderen komt ir gnaden vleicht nit gern hinnaus hie hoch und reichlich als ein koniginnen gehalten worden und sich nun widderum verkleinern, wie dan vieler weiber art ist. Nit das ich ir gnaden hierin stroffen wil, wiewol wan ir gnaden mir glauben und volgen wolt, wolt ich ir gnaden ee raten das ir gnaden bei iren gnaden bruder were mit einer junckfrauen dan hie, in dieser art und solcher gestalt, mit vierzehnen.'

<sup>478</sup> In his 27 July dispatch JB II 2743 f226r.

<sup>479</sup> JB II 2743 f267v.: 'Auch forcht zum teil iren gnedigen frawen mutter ufsprechens, deren anfenlich dieser hilich nie gefallen sol habben. Were derenthalben wol ein meinun (sic) mutterlichen fruntlichen und drostlichen brief hette geschribben.'

marriage of one of the spouses, if the later one was vowed in the presence of the church and afterwards consummated.<sup>480</sup> Before this adjustment, *de praesenti* marriage vows would be binding immediately, whether followed by intercourse or not. This was the reason for Henry's eagerness to have the Lorraine contract interpreted as *verba de praesenti*; it would have made his own vows, that were also *de praesenti*, obsolete. But in case it could be proven that Anne's first contract was in fact *de futuro* and subsequently withdrawn, or if for any other reason this contract was void, such as the lack of Anne's and Francis's declaration of consent, Henry's own *verba de praesenti* with Anne would be binding. As, according to the canon law of the time of the latter, they created an indissoluble marriage even if he had no intercourse with Anne, Henry's case was at best highly questionable, or against the law. Thus the legal grounds for the King's marriage with Katherine Howard were created with the passing of a new law before the annulment process had officially begun. However, contradictory to logic, Anne was declared free to be married as well.<sup>481</sup>

As the argumentation in the declaration of the invalidity of Anne's marriage was ambiguous and she was declared free to marry despite the main reason of the annulment was claimed to be her binding contract with the heir of Lorraine, Harst was suspicious. Soon after the annulment, the envoy was concerned that the King may have plans to marry Anne off to a nobleman of his realm, which would have ended all rumours about a reconciliation. In his 23 August dispatch, he stated that he was proven right, as Anne had told him that the Duke of Norfolk's daughter had approached her and had asked whether Anne intended to remarry. Harst insistently warned her to refrain from doing so, but she responded that there was no reason for his concern.<sup>482</sup> To this, Harst commented 'if this happened, the King would be supported in his wickedness.'<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> 32 Hen. VIII c38, *Statutes of the Realm* vol 3, p. 792.

<sup>481</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (Stanford, 1976), p. 262-264.

<sup>482</sup> JB II 2743 f268v.

<sup>483</sup> JB II 2743 f268v.: 'wan solchs geschee, so were dem König in seiner bosheit geholffen.'

Three months later, the ambassador reported that yet another member of the Howard family was enquiring in this matter: 'Milord Willem, the brother of (the Duke of) Norfolk, has sermonised a lot to her grace to take another husband. (He has) also eagerly requested to be informed about when milord (Duke William of Cleves) has written to her grace, and when her grace plans to leave (the country). To this, her grace answered well that neither her grace, nor I have received a letter in a long time, also her grace said that her grace would not like to leave, unless the King demanded her to go.<sup>484</sup>

Anne's answer certainly was not what the Howard family had wished to hear. It is interesting, that at least two relatives of the new Queen and Anne's former lady-in-waiting pressed the matter of remarriage, or at least Anne's leave. They seem to have been a little nervous as long as the former Queen stayed in the realm and unmarried, which means that they apparently had some concerns that Henry could have a change of mind and reinstate her. It is interesting that it was not only Harst who saw the King as 'inconstant'. As much as the aforementioned William Howard would have liked to see the back of Anne, he was to be disappointed. Neither did she ever remarry. There was not much that he or his kin could do, however, as the King was well-disposed towards Anne, and had declared that as his 'beloved sister', she would have the highest rank of all ladies except for his wife and daughters. This may have protected her from any open or covert attacks by the Howard family.

However, the matter of remarriage was an option that they tried unsuccessfully. As Harst further mentioned in the same letter of 23 November, he had also been warned by unnamed informants that the King may intend to match Anne with

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<sup>484</sup> JB II 2743 f316v.: 'Milord Willem, des von Norfocks bruder, hat meiner gnedigen frawen viel gepredigt von eim anderen man zunehmen. Auch fleissig begert zuerkundigen wan mein gnediger her irn gnaden geschribben hab und wan ir gnaden hinnaus wil. Hieruf hat ir gnaden wol geantwurt das noch ir gnaden noch auch ich in langer zeit nie kein schreiben gehat, auch hat ir gnaden gesagt ir gnaden wil nit hinnaus, es heis dan der König sie hinnaus ziehen.'

Anthony Browne.<sup>485</sup> This made him suspicious of Henry's order that she was to move to Richmond again, nearer to court. As these rumours and warnings persisted, Harst resolved to remain alert and to persistently caution Anne.

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<sup>485</sup> JB II 2743 f319r.

## 6. Closing remarks

The story of Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves has often been depicted as a tale of a mismatch between a desperate groom and an unattractive bride. Scholars have often focused solely on the lack of attraction as a reason for the annulment.<sup>486</sup> Others like Warnicke and Saaler have taken the political situation into consideration; as the peace between French king and Emperor Charles had broken and Henry did not want to be drawn into a war by his alliance with William of Cleves, the marriage became a hazard. But then, was the marriage a result of a mismatch? As we have seen in chapter 4.2 based on Harst's information, Henry did respect Anne, and he continued to do so after the annulment. He seemed to genuinely care for her wellbeing, but this was simply not enough for him to stay in this marriage. Judging from the evidence in Harst's dispatches, there is as much reason to believe that Henry had consummated the marriage with Anne as otherwise. As he had proven before, Henry would go great lengths for a marriage if he passionately wanted to. Unfortunately for Anne, his passions were set onto Catherine Howard. Nevertheless, politics have played a significant part in his dislike of his marriage. Anne, as we have seen in chapter 4.2, realised that her brother's actions were upsetting to Henry and feared that it would affect her marital life as well.

As for the involvement of Anne in the diplomacy of Cleves and England, her interest in and her role in politics have so far been a non-topic. It has not even been mentioned as a possibility, apart from her passive role of being a marriage pawn, that she could have been any political figure. As we have seen in chapter 4.1, she was included in Harst's audiences with the King, who asked

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<sup>486</sup> **Starkey**, *Six Wives*), pp. 617-643; **Kelly**, *Matrimonial Trials*, pp. 261-275; **McEntegart**, *Fatal Matrimony*, pp. 140 - 144.

him to translate for her, she discussed political matters with Harst, secretly corresponded with her brother Duke William and even had married Henry against the will of her mother. Without the information in the letters of Karl Harst we would never know about her involvement, as it was of a subtle, face-to-face or even clandestine nature.

Is there a way to pinpoint the nature of Harst's whole mission? As we have seen, there is no straightforward answer to this question. His role would change from a lawyer who was appointed ambassador, to a lawyer who tried to defend Anne's case, and in the end to a supporting role who had almost none diplomatic access to the court he was dispatched to. As his letters met little recognition in scholarship, his efforts and struggles, as well as his valuable insights were largely ignored. Scholars like Kelly who had no knowledge of the information in Karl Harst's correspondence could only rely on the biased documents of the annulment litigation. As we have seen in the case of Starkey's interpretation of Anne's compliance, the absence of Harst's accounts in scholarship has led to severe misunderstanding. This work has therefore provided the perspective of Harst alongside the previously known information in order to see the full picture.

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# **Part II**

## **Transcription**

## The Letters of Karl Harst, Ambassador of Cleves to England in 1540

### Introduction

This edition contains the dispatches of the Cleves ambassador, written between 15 March 1540, the start of his embassy, and 20 December 1540. The documents are kept in the Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen in Duisburg, Germany, in the record Jülich-Berg II 2743. Another record, Jülich-Berg II 2744, contains Harst's letters from January 1541 to 29<sup>th</sup> May 1542. These later documents are not included in the edition, as the focus of this research was on the events of 1540.

In addition to the dispatches that were transcribed, the examination included two letters that had been edited and published in Georg von Below (ed.), *Landtagsakten von Jülich-Berg 1400-1610, first volume: 1400-1562* (Düsseldorf, 1895). As these two dispatches were referenced as being held at the predecessor of the *Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen*, the *Königliches Staatsarchiv Düsseldorf*<sup>1</sup>, they were most likely originally part of the same record that the letters below are still kept in, but are not enclosed anymore. It may be that it was at the occasion of removing the two letters for publication that some of the documents came into disarray, as this happened before the pagination.

Harst's dispatches were, to the greater part, ciphered. Therefore, the coded parts were transcribed into normal font, and the non-coded parts are set in italics. Personalities that have their own code symbol in Harst's letters are written in bold. As the councillors of Cleves still deciphered the personal of Anne of Cleves as 'Queen' after the annulment, this is maintained in the transcripts as well.

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<sup>1</sup> These were published in Georg von Below (ed.), *Landtagsakten von Jülich-Berg 1400-1610, first volume: 1400-1562* (Düsseldorf, 1895): 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 4', p. 317-324, and 'Karl Harst an Kanzler Ghogreff. London 1540 April 5', p. 324-326.

## fos 26r. - 27r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 15 March 1540

### Summary:

Harst has travelled through the Habsburg Netherlands anonymously, arrived in good health. Cromwell immediately desired to speak to him. King and Queen are 15 miles away, Harst plans to visit them later this day. Cromwell gives his commendations to the duke, is very pleased with the queen and takes delight in her calling him 'father'. Cromwell is pleased with the meeting of Paderborn, regrets that the English envoy did not attend. Rumour from the court at Ghent says that the duke of Cleves will marry the duchess of Milan, but Cromwell hopes that the duke would not do this without advice of good friends (i.e. the king of England). Harst requests a report of Dr Bor's (Barnes?) leave from Ghent. The ambassador of duke Wilhelm of Bavaria confidentially declared his master's support for the duke of Cleves. Bavaria may send Dr Eck for further talks. In the Habsburg Netherlands, someone told Harst that the duke of Cleves has stubborn and haughty councillors. Thinks that scoundrels are convincing the Emperor thereof, as he 'does not have a small, but a hidden mind'. The man also said that he knew no means (for peaceful negotiations) between the duke and the emperor if the duchess of Milan was married to someone else but the duke.

### Transcript:

f26r.

*Meynen willigen dienst* her durch der  
 burgunder lant hab ich mich  
 heimlich als ein unbekanter ge:  
 stolen uber mit gesuntheit got  
 sei lob kommen krumfel hat  
 mich zu lunden uf stund begert  
 zusprechen dan der **König** und die **Königin**  
 sind funfzeh milen vor hinnen  
 heit reit ich zu iren maiesta:  
 ten krumfelt hat sich meim  
 g.h. viel erbotten ist mit  
 der **Königin** wol zufridde sie nent  
 krumfeld iren vatter do er  
 ein gros gefallen an hat  
 er lost den abschidt zu pater:  
 born etwas sein gefelt im  
 sagt es were im leit das ir  
 gesanter nit zum dag kommen  
 were  
 es sagt krumfel er hette  
 in dieser stund von gent

brief enpfangen die inhilten  
 wie an das **Kaiser** hof ein gewis  
 rumor und geschrei ging das  
 mein g.h. solte hebben die  
**Herzogin von Mailand**<sup>2</sup>  
 und sagt krumfeld er hoft

f26v.

es nimmerme das mein gnediger her solc[h]  
 thun solte sunder furwissen und  
 rath guter frund ich hette  
 gern gesehen das mir doctorn  
 bore sein abschid von gent het  
 heimlich zugeschickt ursach  
 hat er vleicht nit verstanden  
 wuo von noten solchs und an:  
 ders das man mirs noch zu:  
 schickt  
 ich hab uch auch von an:  
 dorf geschriben wie hertzog  
 wilhelms von beiern gesanten  
 mit mir hat geret und seis  
 hern gemiet meinung en:  
 deckt auch das er bieten wuo  
 einich mittel und wuo muglich  
 wolt er allen vleis in ge:  
 heim furwenden uf des die  
 sach verddagen werd und wan  
 der hertzog doch nit selbs  
 dar keme so wurd dockter eck  
 dohin kommen der dan meim  
 g.h. sunst von im selbs ge:  
 neigt were der von Vlatten

f27r.

were der decht [sic, recht] man mit  
 doctor ecken zureden  
 wuo die antwurt doctor bore  
 nit gut ist gefallen als  
 ich besorg solt et nit druf  
 gedrunge haben uf das  
 er sich daster lenger am hof  
 hette gehalten sunderlich  
 in diesen leiffen dieweil  
 einer zu der ander abzeigt

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<sup>2</sup> [In the margin, the folio bears the drawing of a manicule]

in diesen leiffen  
 es hat sich in **Burgund** ein treflich:  
 er lossen mercken gegeb mir  
 mein g.h. hette hertnackig [sic] und  
 hochmutig rath solch bilden  
 die schelck on zweifel dem  
**Kaiser** in der nun nit ein kleinen  
 doch ein verborgnen geist  
 hat derselb sagt mir auch  
 wuo die **Herzogin** von meilant mit eim  
 anderen und nit mit meim g.h.  
 verhilicht wird so wuste er  
 zwischen meim g.h. und dem **Kaiser**  
 kein mittel me hiemit seit  
 hot [sic, got] bevollen gebben zu lun:  
 den den funfzehenden martii  
 anno virtzig euer williger karl  
 harst

**fos 81r. - 87v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 23 March 1540**

Note: The folios of this dispatch were in disarray.

**Summary:**

The queen was very happy when she noticed his presence. Things are very well and in harmony with the king and queen. When he had an audience with her, she complained his delay without any explanation, and told him that the king was discontent with this.

Was asked where he had parted from the duke, to which he answered Paderborn, as the date on the letter to the king would prove. She was suspicious, but Harst did not tell her that the letter had been antedated.

Has made his reverence to the king and told him about the mission of the Cardinal of Farnese to France as Papal legate. The English king has information that Ferdinand, King of the Romans, pretends to mediate between the Emperor and Duke Wilhelm, but in the meantime the Habsburgs would seek to prevent his inclusion into the Schmalkaldic League. Henry voiced his concern that the duke may become more involved with the Emperor and the French king, but cautions 'if there is anybody who knows these two, the Emperor and the King of France, then it is him, he had many dealings with them, has done good for both of them, knows what is going on in their minds'. Was requested by the king to interpret for the Queen.

The King has inquired about the meeting at Paderborn, has asked whether all has been concluded. Has told him that it has not, the king said, talking 'with the whole body', that he wished it was secured, as he worried it would be disrupted.

At the next audience, the king has expressed his gratitude that god has given him such a good, virtuous and wise princess as a wife, and that he was very pleased with her. Has asked him for support and protection in the negotiations with the Emperor, but the king answered that he was not able to mediate, as the Emperor would reject this.

Has excused the delay in signing the missing clause with the absence of the most important councillors for whom Duke Wilhelm had to wait. Was asked by Cromwell whether he had any further announcements, but negated it, as he deemed it too early to disclose the duke's troubles with this clause. Explained that the Duke of Cleves had obligations towards the Empire and other princes and needed to beware defamation.

Has told the queen that he will report everything that she wanted her brother to know, and handed over to her the enclosed letter in secret. Diennagel, a German servant, has noticed, but Harst thinks that he posed no danger. Has passed on to Cromwell the marriage settlements between Lorraine and Anne and the document that proved the cancellation of the planned marriage.

### Transcript:

f81r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepietender  
gunstiger her ich hab uch diese  
vergangen dag von Lunden aus  
geschriben wie ich erstlich  
mich by dem **Cromwell** hab anzeigt. solchs  
schriben habt ir onzweifel en:  
pfangen und mich des anderen  
dags bey das **Königs** hof in ein dorf  
gethan verhoft die selbig nacht  
zuverhalten ist aber die **Königin** mein:  
ner gewar worden und sich fast  
erfraut hab aber alle ding zwerch  
\*und turbirt\* funden wie ir dan hernoch  
vernemmen werden doch stat es  
von den gnaden gotten mit  
dem **König** und der **Königin** fast wol und gantz  
wol zufridden und eins mit  
einander der her hab lob  
wie ich fur die **Königin** kam beclagt*

sie uf stund das ich zuviel  
lang us were plibben nicht  
sither geschriben das der **König** nit

f81v

wol zu fridden were frogt  
mich die **Königin** wuo ich von meim  
g.h. gescheiden were antwurt  
ich zu paterborn wie dan auch  
des \*datum des schreibens\* an ~~den König und mein instruction~~  
hult nam sie wunder, ich lies  
mich aber nit mercken <sup>3</sup>in dem  
so komt der **König** auch, thot [sic, that]  
mein geburen reverentz em:  
pfing mich zum gnedigsten  
und fruntlich fing ich anzusagen  
\*under allem\* von dem cardinal farneso dem  
legaten was er sich solt hab:  
ben lossen mercken in franck:  
erich hieruf hat mir der  
**König** also geantwurt es sei nicht  
der **Kaiser** wirt mit den **Protestanten** kein krieg  
anfahen abe (sic) das hab ire maiestat  
gewisse kuntschaft das sich der<sup>4</sup>  
**Römische König** under dem schein sol sich un:  
derston zuunderwinden als wan er  
den **Kaiser** mit mein g.h. verglichen wolt  
und in mitler zeit sollen die  
**Burgunder** onder anderm handeln das die **Protestanten**  
meinen g.h. nit annemmen und das

f82r

solt gewislich war sein der  
**König** sagt auch er besorgt unser g.  
h. wird sich mit den **Kaiser** und **König von Frankreich** verdief:  
fen und sagt were iemans der  
die zwen ken den **Kaiser** und den **König von Frankreich**  
so kent er sie er hat viel  
mit in gehandel hat in allen  
beiden guts gethan wust was  
glauben hinder in were solch  
begert \*der **König**\* das ich es der **Königin** zu deutzsch

<sup>3</sup> das das [sic] datum mit ufsatz also hindersich gesetz were worden

<sup>4</sup> [In the margin, the folio bears a little drawing of a hand . Whether this is just a manicule pointing to an important part of the letter is not clear, as the hand does not just extend the index finger. It shows the sign of giving an oath: thumb, index and middle finger are extended, ring and little finger curled in]

anzeigt danoch frogt mich  
 ir maiestat was uf dem dag zu  
 paterborn were gehandelt worden  
 under allem zeigt ich maiestat  
 den puncten in geheim belang:  
 en was sie in der not einan:  
 der fur ein hilf thun wolten  
 frogt mich maiestat ob das  
 schon vest beschlossen were  
 sagt ich es were noch bey den  
 anderen zu handeln verhoft  
 aber es wird kein not han  
 sunder sein stracken furgang hab:  
 ben reth ir maiestat mit  
 dem ganten leib und sagt er wolt  
 das es schon bevestigt were dan e[r]

f. 82v

besorgt es wert anders dorzwisch:  
 en kommen und verhindert werden  
 durch des widderteils practica  
 aber den zweiten dag darnoch  
 thot (sic) ich mein relation also be:  
 danckt der **König** das im got hat ein also  
 gutte dugendsamme auch weise  
 furstin zugefugt und fast  
 wol mit irer koniglicher wurd zu:  
 fridden  
 darnoch bat ich ir maiestat zum un:  
 derthenigsten das ir maiestat wie  
 anfangen wolt noch anhalten  
 und ein mitler sein zwischen dem  
**Kaiser** und mein g.h. und wolt sein g.  
 mit rath macht und hilf nit ver:  
 lossen sunder sein g. helffen und  
 beschirmen in seiner g. gegrunt  
 sachen hieruf antwurt mir  
 der **König** der **Kaiser** wolt nit darvon horen  
 redder so kint sein person nicht  
 weiters handeln er thet es dan  
 durch ein ander person und anwurt  
 mir uf die begert hilf nicht sagt  
 aber mein g.h. rath hetten irer  
 maiestat zugesagt man solt mit im

f. 84r

alle ding communicieren und mit  
 dem **Kaiser** nicht handeln sunder sein  
 furwissen uf solche meinung un:  
 ungeferlich clagt ir maiestat mir man schrib  
 im nicht noch man het im durch  
 mich nicht enbotten und mein g.h.  
 handelt itz mit dem **Kaiser** und sagt im  
 nicht darvon und sagt ir maiestat  
 wan meins g.h. **Räte** rieten das sein g.  
 die buntnis mit den **Protestanten** nit ein:  
 ging so rieten sie seinen g. nit  
 wol und lies sich uf solche  
 meinung mercken wuo sie fursich  
 were gangen wolt sich ire maies:  
 tat auch in die handlung habben  
 begeben und sagt ir maiestat  
 es ging ir noch ab noch zu ob  
 mein g.h. das lant von gellern het:  
 te oder nit er was er thet wolt  
 meim g.h. wol und gunt im guts als  
 seinem lieben bruder und hette  
 darum sorg sein g solt sich mit dem  
 widderteil verdieffen und be:  
 drogen werden und sagt die **von Mailand** wird  
 seinen gnaden nit weren andere fur handen

f84v

und nant under allem denen von [unknown cipher]  
 also hab ich den **König** also viel gestilt  
 als mir muglich was sagt es were ein  
 doctor do sol ansuchung thun und be:  
 geren ort und platz wuo mein h selbs  
 oder durch die seinen mocht die  
 lehen entpfohen wird hier und dar  
 gewiesen kinte zu keiner antwort  
 kommen antwort mir der **König** solchs wust  
 er wol derselb het schon sein ab:  
 schidt es weren nun andere dohin  
 verordenet antwort ich es mochten  
 vleicht die sein die von wegen meins  
 g.h. die lehen solten enpfohen sagt  
 sein maiestat sie were dohin  
 sunst nimt mich wunder wer das feuer  
 hat entsteckt dan es hat der **König** einmol  
 genug verstanden das ich dorum kom  
 ire meinung von innen anhor und her:

gegen widder referir es mus etwas  
 dran sein das mein g.h. etwas fur  
 handen hab dan er lost sich duncken  
 er wis es fast wol und wirt hinfur:  
 ter von noten also viel dem **König** mit  
 zu communicieren in diesen leiffen  
 dan als ich noch vermerck so meint er  
 es treilich dan ich sagt auch es were  
 noch nicht neus fur handen das schrei:  
 ben wert were

f83r

und etwas weiters habben ver:  
 schriben dan mein g.h.  
*den puncteen belangen nit Uberzeichnet were meym*  
*gnedigen hern etwas schwerlich anzunehmen, kan Ich wol*  
*vermercken, CH hat mich desselben*  
 puncten halben gefrogt der von **Cromwell**  
 hab ichs entschuldigt das unser g.h.  
 nit geantwort das die rāth in eng:  
 ellant gewesen die sein g. hierin  
 gebrauchen weren der merentheil  
 nit bei der hant gewesen dorum  
 nit entlichs antwurten  
 es zog under anderen gescriften  
**Cromwell** ein brief herfur ich hab dar  
 fur es hat in des **Königs** botschaft  
 itzunt bey meim g.h. wesend ge:  
 schriben (und frogt mich doch **Cromwell**  
 ob ich nicht weiters hette sagt  
 ich nein dan der gelegenheit  
 noch was ich noch nit bey mir  
 deliberirt anzuzeigen was mein  
 g.h. fur ein beschwernis hierin  
 hette er frogt mich us anwei:  
 sung desselbigen brief sagt ich  
 wuste kein ander beschwernis  
 dan das die einegung die schrift:  
 lich gestalt wurden offenbar

f.83v

*were auch meyn g.h. dem Reich verpflichtet und sunst*  
*bey anderen hern In fruntlicher verstentniß, und*  
 CH also durch seiner g. misgunnst  
 oder **der Burgunder** zum unglimpf und nachteil  
 nochgesagt werden so es doch

an seiner f.g. kein mangel sein  
 wurd. und hab dem **Cromwell** erofnet den  
 puncten *wie mit C. gezeichnet wirt sich als*  
*Ich vernimt, mit dem Konig beratschlagen,* dis  
 alles hab ich nit kinnen hingon  
 noch gelegenheit diesen leiffen  
 ich hab mich gegen der **Königin** angezeigt  
 was sie irem bruder **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** anzeigen wil  
 wil ich zum treulichsten uber:  
 schreiben den angeschlossenen brief hab ich  
 ir Mat. allein zugestel [sic] aber  
 diennagel volgt kunt ich mit fugen nit keren hat aber mit  
 dem kein noth ich hof ie sie  
 sol selbs niemants die brief  
 sossen [sic, lossen] sehen  
 den von planche hab ich by dem **Cromwell**  
 entschuldigt  
*Die überschickte autentiß Copey der eheberedung*  
*etwan zwischen Luttringen und unser gnedigster frawen*  
*der itzigen koniginnen, auch ein Instrument wie*  
*der verschribben hylich ab seye hab ich Monßieur de Crumfeld*  
*uberantwort ich vernim das Christoffel*

f86r

Munt zum **Römischen König** von des **englischen Königs** wegen sei geritten  
 was aber die werbung seie weis ich  
 nit und also fort sol er reiten zu  
 graf wilhelm von furstenberg  
 es sagt mir **Cromwell** mein g.h. wurde dies iar  
 kein noth habben dan der durck  
 were zu wasser in grosser rustung  
 wan der cardinal Ferneso der knab  
 oder das kint do vleissig solli:  
 citirt solt italia nit ubel bekom:  
*men cum ille puer cum aliquot aliis pueris essent ornati*  
*galleris tum Pasquillus dixit Laudate pueri dominum*  
 CH es hat Lasco wol Lasco us gespreit es sol:  
 len etlich monat fridden gemacht sein  
 sol aber nicht doran sein mit dem durcken  
*Marggraff Casimirn Sun ist hie gewesen allein*  
*das konig Reich zu sehen, und den konig und die koni:*  
*gin angesprochen und als bald widder enweg zum hoff*  
*uff Gent*  
*Als ich meyn Relation hab than gehabt und urlup vom*  
*konig genommen, in meyn herberg zugen, hat mir der*  
*konig ob ich uß dem zweyte Sall bin kommen, Monßieur*

*CrumWeld nach geschickt, und mir gesagt ehr will  
mir ein gutt herberg zu Lunden verschaffen und als  
anderen tags ein hern, der kurtzverschinnen zeit in zwey  
Jar lang botschafft weyse by der konigin uß ungeren  
gewesen, mir zugebben und ein ~~herberg~~ erlich uß [huß?]  
zugestellt auch den zweyten dag hat Monßieur de Crum:  
Weld den selben hern widder zu mir geschickt, und mich  
lassen fragen ob ich wol seye wu nit, so will ehr mir  
ein ander herberg bestellen, hab Ich im hochlich gedanckt*

f86v

*Quando Synodus generalis per perlamentum convenerit  
tum monebat serenitate et alios consiliarios, ut [...] ann[...]  
pensionis quoad vixerit Regina auctoritate per:  
lamenti confirment, forte ante Maium convenient  
mit der cronung wil ich noch geleg:  
enhei [sic] der zeit by **Cromwell** und dem admi:  
raldo anhalten auch uch solchs zeit:  
lich zuschreiben  
Als viel als ich wol halb vermerck von Monß. de  
CrumWeld so ist es in hofnung das  
mein gnedigste frau die **Königin** solt  
schwanger sein got verleie gnad  
ferrer her hat ewer liebden gut wissen wie das ich uch von ant:  
dorff hab geschribben wie das bonacurs \*von grein\* das  
hertzogen von beiern gesantter mit  
mir hette geret der zeigt mir uf  
dasselbig mol an doch in geheim das  
ich schwig wolt nit das die **Burgunder** \*oder der **Kaiser**\* wusten  
er solt von wegen seins hern zu  
dem konig **von England** solchs hab ich niemants gesagt ich  
nam mein weg des anderen dag  
hertwerts sagt im nichts darvon itz  
ist ist [sic] er in engellant ankommen  
meiner gewar worden uf stund mit  
~~mir~~ begert zureden mir anzeigt er  
hof alle sachen sollen mit meim  
g.h. wol ston sagt mir auch wie der  
hertzog von brunzwig by meim g.h.  
were gewesen und sagt viel lob  
preis und guts von unserem g.h. auch*

87r

verhofte er sein her der von  
beiern wurde meinem gnedigen hern nit verlossen<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> dan der hertzog kint es nit erleiden das mein g.h. solt verjagt werden

wan es zum ernst keme dan sein g.h.  
 kunte es nit erleiden *Hodie tibi eras mihi* was aber dessel:  
 ben gesanten werbung seie weis  
 ich nit hab auch nit gefrogt sagt  
 mir etlich mol er hofte alles guts  
 doch sagt er alzeit dorneben man  
 sol nit destweniger mit ufwach:  
 en und nit zuviel vertruuen sagt  
 auch er besorgt allein mein g.h.  
 wurd mit den **Protestanten** in ein buntnis kom:  
 men es hette aber der von brun:  
 zwig im gesagt wie das mein  
 g.h. bekant hette sein g were mit den **Protestanten**  
 noch in keiner verbuntnis er sagt  
 auch der von brunzwig hilt darfur  
 wuo sich **der Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** verhiret an ein doch:  
 ter des gebliets von burgund ist  
 zubesorgen wurden die burgundischen ir etwas  
 in gebben das sie nit frucht:  
 bar wird und dardurch dan mitler  
 zeit meinen g.h. erbt *hör uff raten aber*  
*Got wirt es hoff ich anders schicken* hertzog  
 heirich [sic] wolt vleicht gern sein  
 dochter in das spil bringen der  
 beierisch gesanter wil noch zur  
 zeit hie nit bekant sein hat auch  
 an mich begert ob der **König** mich frogen  
 wird was sein furst were solt ich  
 in lobben auch anzeigen wie es ein  
 gewaltiger furst were *Ich antwurt ich kunte*  
*nit anders sagen was ehr damit gemeint kan ich nit*

f87v.

*wissen* vermeint auch er wurd ein cre:  
 dentz brief zu meim g.h. zuverreiten  
 sagt auch er hette itzt kurtzlich us  
 erfahrung hertzog Heinrich zu seim  
 fursten viel guts von meim g.h. geschri:  
 ben dodurch erhofte seinen fursten  
 zubewegen <sup>6</sup> *Wie dem es gilt vleyssig uffsehens*  
 und sagt er hette seim hern anzeigt  
 das erbaren erbietens das mein g.h. thet  
*her habt acht* wuo die **Burgunder** gnediglich execution und *schmeichel*:  
*echtig* mit den von Mastricht handeln so  
 steckt gewislich ein schalck dorhinder

<sup>6</sup> und auch geschriben das sein gnaden mein g.h. nit lies verdriben

wuo mein g.h. wirt des **Königs** bedorffen so  
 geb man in alle weg des **Königs Botschafter** gute  
 wort und alle ehr an  
*der Romisch konig als ir Mt. ist kommen gen wissenburg*  
*ist ehr von dannen uff Bitzsch durch das westerrich ge:*  
*ritten uff das landt von Lutzburg also den Rein zeitlich*  
*verlossen ob das geschen seye, das sterbens halben*  
*oder das die Brabender im gebetten habben das ir Mt.*  
*durch meyns gnedigen hern landt nit ziehe, kan ich nit wissen*  
 man schrieb mir nit allein durch  
 des **Königs Botschafter** sunder auch durch der Rinck:  
 en factor uf antdorf oder iemants  
 anders mit einer anderen ufgeschrift  
 zu Lunden in Stalhof zu der Rincken  
 factor den doctor Olischschleger wol  
 kent hiemit seyt Got bevolhen allzeit datum  
 zu Lunden den xxiii Martii Anno 15 xl

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger*  
*Karl Harst*

f85r

*Weyter gepietend her will ich ewer liebden uß gutig*  
*meynung nit verhalten, wie das mir durch Monßieur*  
*Crumwelds schrifften sind den xvi Martii uberantwort*  
*worden am ko.ch Mt. hoff, zu dysseldorff, den ii Martii*  
*durch meyns gnedigen hern Rāth ußgangen auch hat meyn*  
*g.er h. ko.ch Mt. geantwort, dorin anzeigt wirt cum*  
*hisce temporibus non satis tutum sit tris? omnia committere, quare*  
*mihi transcriptu sit, certis atque arcanis clementer*  
*figuris, ut ordine quam diligentissime omnia serenitati sui*  
*exponam So hat mich ewer liebden wol verstanden in meynem schreiben*  
*hie oben onzweyfel wie ich dem **König** hab anzeigt*  
 was der legat vom **Papst** hat vorgetra:  
 gen die **Protestanten** und in sunderheit mein  
 g.h. betreffen sagt mir der **Cromwell** es were  
 ein alte zeitung so hette es der  
 cardinal nit us des **Kaisers** bevel gethon  
*sed ego credo plane ~~quod~~ imo ex instructu et iußu*  
*ipsius caesaris et suorum hoc est Vestrum Vicinum* aber der  
**Cromwell** sagt der **König von Frankreich** hette geantwort er  
 stund mit den deitzschen fursten  
 in einer alten verbuntnis dorum  
 wolt im nit geburen das ein kron  
 von franckerich widder die thet  
 und wie mir dan auch anzeigt von

meins g.h. rätthe das ich nit fur den **König**  
 sol gon sunder furwissen des von  
**Cromwell** auch im mit anzeigen alle  
 handlung so hab ich im anzeigt wie  
 das des **König von Frankreichs** admiral der etlich iar  
 us dem hof gewesen sol nun widder

f85v

umb gegen des connestables willen  
 vom **König von Frankreich** erfordert sein hieruf anwurt  
 mir **Cromwell** es were nicht also ich solt  
 im glauben auch were er fro das ich  
 dem **König** hette nicht darvon gesagt ich  
 solte auch nicht darvon sagen der **König**  
 wuste wol besser hette einen eige:  
 nen do gehat solchs zuerfaren und  
 sagt auch es were einer gnant kru:  
 ser von meins g.h. wegen by dem **König von Frankreich** der  
 het solchs usgespreit were derent:  
 halben gut das man von hof dem  
 Kruser schribbe und alle ding ge:  
 wisseclich [sic] und eigentlich erfure  
 ob man mit dem **König** weiter darvon rette  
 wan aber etwas dran were das der  
 admiral solt widder bey dem **König von Frankreich** sein  
 so wurd ich ein gros suspition  
 habben dieweil der **Cromwell** gesagt es  
 sei nicht dran ich besorg auch es  
 seie nicht dan der **Cromwell** hat es also  
 stanthaftig widderreth und widderfochten  
 die vereinegung zwischen dem **König**  
 und unserem g.h. solt ie dem **König** meins  
 erachtens genug thun dorin dan  
 clerlich begriffen quod neuter in  
 preiudicium detrimentum aut damnum  
 alterius cum **Kaiser** aut **König von Frankreich** vel **Papst** confederatio:  
 nem faciet vel concludet billich in  
 solcher vereinegung me habben thon

## fos 40r. - 46r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 30 March 1540

### Summary:

Henry has told Harst that the King of the Romans [Ferdinand] pretends to reconcile the duke of Cleves with the Emperor, but later will make peace with the protestant princes just to facilitate action against the duke of Cleves. Received the Cleves councillors' despatch last Saturday about how Dr Born? was treated 'in the Burgundian fashion' and suspects that the 'Burgundians' are scheming again.

Cautions that it bears great risk to send the most important of the council as ambassadors to the Habsburg Low Countries, as even he, as a man of lesser importance, needs to tread warily. Told Cromwell that Scipperus has advised the Emperor to negotiate peace with the Protestants, make war with the duke of Cleves and then attack one by one [of the protestant princes], and that Schor has given advice to the Emperor that he should not start a legal case against Wilhelm, as none of the imperial princes would favour the Emperor's possession of Guelders.

Reports a long monologue of Cromwell about how the United Duchies would face misery if Wilhelm died without an heir, thus it would be best to seek a virtuous princess to beget heirs and not prestige, wealth and lands. For the same reason, and for prevention of elevating one of the English noble families, Cromwell had counselled the English king to marry Anne of Cleves. Seconds this and advises to search for other brides, as a match with the Duchess of Milan seems hopeless.

Cromwell confided that the ambassador of Bavaria came to woo Lady Mary on his lord's behalf. Suspects scheming. Cromwell announced to communicate less formal with Harst henceforth.

The king's daughter [Mary] has inquired about Wilhelm and told Harst, who did not recognise her, that Heinrich of Saxony had asked for the hand of Amalia for his son, which Wilhelm had rejected. Advises how secret correspondence between Wilhelm and Anne should be dispatched.

### Transcript:

f40r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietender gun:  
stiger her Ich hab e.l. den 23 Martii geschribben  
welchs Ir ungezweifelt empfangen werden, und under  
allem anzeigt wie das mich der **König**  
verstendigt hab das ir maiestat ge:  
wisse kuntschaft hab wie das der **Römische König**  
sich underston sol under dem schein  
als wolt er mein g.h. mit dem **Kaiser** ver:*

dragen und mitler zeit sol der **Kaiser**  
 ein anstant mit den **Protestanten** machen  
 darnoch daster leichter unsern g.h.  
 in das ellend zujagen haben  
*Weyter her will Ich e.l. nit verhalten, wie das*  
*mir Itz verschunnen Samstag, uff dem Oster abent,*  
*ein Schreiben von unsers g. hern Rätthen durch Monß.*  
*Crumfeld uberantwort worden, den xviii martii uß*  
*gangen, daruß Ich vernommen hab, welche*  
*gestalt doctor Bern/Barn abgefertigt seye worden (das ist*  
*der burgundische weyse, und hoff Iustilus ) were nit not*  
*ferner zu warten sunder mocht widder sunder sich*  
*ziehen us dem wort hindersich zie:*  
 hen vermerck ich wol das die **Burgunder**  
 widder in einer practica ligen, *Ist mir In fer*  
*ner vergund auch ein solchs antwort worden In his:*  
*panien Und das sich Romisch ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt sich also*  
*guediglich hat lassen vernemmen gegen meyn g. hern,*  
*und wie sein g. der gehorsamen neigung und gemuts*

f40v.

*were, derenthalben nochmals zu Irer Mt zuschicken*  
*und sich In den sachen derselben erbietten noch, gegen key<sup>ch</sup>*  
*Mt zu [...] g. und also gehorsamlich zuerzeigen*  
*und halten, wie sich dan In dem wol seinen g. von*  
*recht billicheit und schuldigsten gehorsame wegen wol ge:*  
*burt, und zu statt ? und das noch mayns g.<sup>en</sup> hern gesantten*  
*ankumpt, Ir ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt bey der key<sup>ch</sup> Mt alle guedig*  
*und dienstlich handlung gern g[...] und vernemen g.*  
*Solchs Ro. ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt erbietten und gemuts hab Ich*  
*fast gern gehat wuo es us rechtem ge:*  
 mut were sed arrige aures pam:  
 phi und uf das **König** kuntschaft und  
 warnung das ire mat forcht mein g.h.  
 sol sich verdieffen das gilt uf:  
 mercken ob sie meins g.h. gemut  
 erfaren mochten es darnoch dem [...]  
 oder anderen anzeigen bey dem  
 sie verhoften meinen g.h. zubeschwe:  
 ren der **König** gemeint es tru:  
 lich und kent sie wol beide [...]  
 das der **Kaiser** wil das lant von gellern  
 fur allen dingen in seinen handen  
 haben warf der **Cromwell** das haubt uf und  
 sagt das wer das dechten das wird man  
 gern thun *Ist aber dieselb begerdt, wie vorigend*

*\* als der her von Büren und der her von [...] handelten, wolten sie auch dagen so: fer meyn gnedigen hern erdienen wolt\**

aber in gros disputation mit innen sich  
 zubegeben *et caußam quare non sit cedendum*  
*nihil inde [...] modi habe[...] quam quod illis ostenditis* origenem  
 fontis ich besorg auch das die [unknown cipher] nit viel  
 erhalten werden der **Kaiser** und **Römischer König** werden als ir gesang sing  
 het [sic, her] habt acht das meins g.h. gesan:  
 ten nit sunder geleit in **Burgund** kommen  
 und das solchs wol gesetzt seie

f41r.

wirt dannet noch von noten sein  
 got anzuruffen dorneben das  
 es gehasten werd was schem:  
 men sich die leit nit zuthun  
 ich weis es auch nit ob es zu  
 roten seie das euwer person  
 und andere von den namhaftig:  
 sten sich dohin dorffen wogen<sup>7</sup>  
 wuo ich nit zusehe und mich  
 got nit behutet wird ich musel  
 hans zu viesforden bald erben  
*wan sie Ir der meynung weren, und zu dem ball*  
*kheme, do Got fur sye* zum krieg must  
 ich ie drachten wie den buben  
 scipperro und doctor schor der  
 schlof zuvertreiben were ? den  
 ich merck das man mir nit allein  
 noch mein leib stot sunder noch  
 meinen eren auch wie schlagens  
 die buben so leichtlich in die  
 schantz ufrur und meiterei in  
 deutscher nation in diesen  
 trostmuttigen leiffen ufzuwick:  
 elen ich hab dem **Cromwell** anzeigt was  
 scipperus mit dem **Kaiser** sol gereth  
 hebben und geraten mit den pro:

f41v.

testierendenzu dieser zeit ein  
 anstant zumachen den **Fürst Wilhelm von Kleve** zube:  
 kriegen und darnoch einen noch  
 dem anderen anzugreifen ich

---

<sup>7</sup> *Bin euer kein zuvergleichen und ein unschedlich person*

hof er kom mit seinem rath zu  
 spot er hab die metten verschlof:  
 fen es sagt mir **Cromwell** das mein g.h.  
 schon mit den **Protestanten** verbunden were  
 doch wolt sein g. alle handlung mit  
 dem **König** beratschlagen welchs dem **Cromwell**  
 fast wol gefallen hat  
 ich hab auch dem **Cromwell** anzeigt wie  
 doctor Schor dem **Kaiser** geroten das er  
 sich mit meim g.h. keins wegs in  
 das recht begeb dan es seie  
 kein reischer furst [sic, reichsfurst] \*der dem **Kaiser** das lant gellern gunne\* sagt mir er  
 wuste solch verlaufner handlungen vor:  
 hin wol von wem aber weis ich nit  
*Ferrer her*, hat sich **Cromwell** in ein lang  
 gesprech mit mir begeben in  
 solcher gestalt auch us getruer  
 gutter meinung ist by mir gar  
 kein zweifel nit und fing an und  
 sagt man sehe wol was Burgund het:  
 te gewonnen das solch lant uf  
 ein dochter were geerbt nicht dan  
 das sie dordurch weren eigen worden

f42r.

*Item* dergleichen die hispanier *Item* hung:  
 ern und andere land me ich antwort  
 wuo es hispanien noch zu thun het  
 wurde vleicht nit me geschehen  
 er sagt auch er het seim hern  
 dem **König** geroten er solt kein im  
 land nemmen *q statim [...]* *institutione no:*  
*vam familiam* er het aber gerotten  
 das ire Mat nit suchte reichthum  
 noch gelt noch gut sunder eine  
 von eim adellichen geschlecht die  
 wol erzogen mit deren zuhoffen  
 were frucht zuuberkommen und er  
 hette dem konig zu dieser **Fürstin Anna von Kleve** gerotten  
 an deren in diesem allem kein  
 mangel nit were und sagt mein g.h.  
 were ein einiger furst auch sterb:  
 lich man kunte wol erachten wan  
 die land solchen hern verlotten [sic, verloren]  
 hetten was not den landen dorus  
 entston wurd auch were ein hertz:

og von Gulich allein vor zeiten  
 auch ein hertzog und ein her  
 gewesen und were nun mein g.h.  
 ein vielfeltiger reicher hertz:  
 og und derenthalben nit ansehen gelt

f42v.

und gut sunder ein adelliche  
 wolerzogen fromme furstinne  
 mit deren erben zuuberkommen  
 und sagt er hette bey seinenm [sic] le:  
 ben viel seltzam leif gesehen  
 und darum mit ufzusehen fur gift  
 auch sagt er engellant als sie  
 fur zeiten hetten franckerich in  
 gehat were kein gewin gewesen  
 dan grosser kost diesem konigreich  
 und wan unser g.h. kein erben hette  
 und weren do dri dochter kint  
 man wol verston was nutz es den  
 landen were \*wan kein her oder schwert seit do were\* und sagt die sachs:  
 sischen lugten irer schantz ver:  
 merckt ich wol das solches meint  
 der beredding vor zeiten  
 zwischen **Franz von Lothrigen** und **Anna von Kleve** ufgericht meint  
 die **Kurfürsten von Sachsen** hetten den wenigsten ver:  
 lust dran und sagt auch er  
 redde solchs us guter meinung  
 als der meim g.h. wol wolte und  
 verstund auch von menneklich  
 das dor von noch viel guts zu  
 hoffen were und kommen mocht

f43r.

auch sagt er ich solt darzu  
 helffen raten  
*So weyß Ich mich her fur meyn person zu klein,*  
*darzu zurate* CH ich gunt aber einmol  
 meim g.h. wol die **Herzogin von Mailand** ist meins  
 erachten ein zichtige fromme  
 furstin wot auch gutwillich 1000  
 mylen drum reiten wan es aber  
 vleicht von got nit versehen  
 ist und seiner g. misgunner solchs  
 hinderstellig machen so were es  
 ein mol zeit das man andere weg

suchten *welchs onzweyfel* ir und ande:  
 re meins g.h. rāth vorig dickmol  
 und noch zum treilichsten be:  
 wegen und zuhertzen fassen dan  
 ich besorg das wie die sachen  
 nun gelegen die von **Mailand** unse:  
 rem g.h. nit were anders kan ich  
 bey mir nit erdencken oder wuo  
 es ein furgang wurd habben  
 wurd es gescheen mit solcher  
 condition und mit gegenteils solch:  
 em vorteil welchs doch meim g.h.

f43v.

in keinen weg anzunehmen wer:  
 ren sein und mein g.h. gemut zuer:  
 faren und lauft die zeit unse:  
 rem g.h. uf gutte hofnung enweg  
 und schloft onzweyfel der **Kaiser** mit  
 seinen finantern nit solchs hilt  
 auch der **Cromwell** darfur  
*Ferrer gepietender her* wie das ich  
 uch das lets mol hab geschriben  
 wie das ein beierisch **Botschafter**  
 hier ist kommen *So hab ich eruirt in*  
*nomine* er ist nit hie von wegen  
 hertzog Wilhelms sunder von  
 wegen seins bruders hertzog  
 Ludwigs von Beiern und hat mir  
 der **Cromwell** vertruter meinung und in  
 geheim gesagt wie das er be:  
 gert von wegen seinen fursten  
 des **Königs Tochter Mary** *Nun kan ich mich her, dieser hand:*  
*lug nit verston* ob das ein gemachtte  
 neue practico erfunden meinen  
 g.h. also widder us der engelsch:

f44r.

en funtschaft [sic] zubringen und  
 wuo mitler zeit durch der **Lady Mary** erben  
 unser gnedigsten **Königin** erben mochten  
 dordurch verstossen werden also  
 zukünftiger zeit zwischen  
 meim g.h. und dem haus von Bei:  
 ern mochte also zwitracht ent:  
 ston es ist ein mol wor hertzog

Ludwig ist alzeit gut **Kaisers** gewesen  
 und sol nun begeren die **Lady Mary** sunder  
 furwissen das **Kaisers** und der itzt nit  
 wol mit engellant stot die zwen  
 bruder habben vleicht auch sorg  
 sie sterben ab sunder erb dan hertz:  
 og Wilhelm nit me dan einen  
 sun hat und besorgen vleicht auch  
 das Osterreich mocht sich doin dringen  
 also fur zukommen<sup>8</sup> were derent:  
 halben ein meinung das mir durch die **Räte**  
 anzeigt wurd wen mein g.h. do zum  
 liebsten leiden mocht so ist es offen:  
 bor das die zwen bruder mit dem **Papst**

f44v.

verbunden und anhalten und sie nun das **Königs Tochter Mary** bege:  
 ren do sie doch wol wissen wie  
 der **König** mit dem **Papst** stot oder ob sie  
 vleicht des **Kaisers** und **Römischen Königs** gnaden auch  
 mied sind es sagt wol der gesanter  
 sein hern kinnen nit erleiden das  
 ein **Herzog von Kleve** verdrriben wurd von den bur:  
 gundischen wurden ee das schwert  
 selbs mit in die handt nemmen  
 es sagt mir der **Cromwell** mein g.h. wird dis  
 jar kein noth habben vor dem **Kaiser** denck  
 der durck seie widder in rustung  
 es hat mir gesagt der **Cromwell** er wil  
 hinfurter vertruter und unverbo:  
 gen mit mir handeln *Got fug alle ding*  
*zu gute end* wil morgen zum **König** reiten<sup>9</sup>  
 es hat diese vergangne dag das **Königs**  
**Tochter Mary** mich vleissig noch meim g.h. ge:  
*frogt Ich wust aber uff das selbig mol nit*  
 wer sie ware als ich ir antwort  
*nam mich wunder erstlich* wer die person  
 were die mich also vleissig  
 frochte alle ding wie wan und wuo  
 sei g. were etc.  
 sagt mir wie das hertzog Heinrich

<sup>8</sup> aber **Cromwell** hot der **Botschaft** geantwort do weren noch erben [...] hertzog Oth Heinrich und sein bruder Philips hat die **Botschaft** auch *END arborem annologiem* CH mit bracht schon us gestrichen zeigt mir **Cromwell** in geheim dan die Beierisch botschaft meint nit das ich seine werbung wuste

<sup>9</sup> were heit geritte aber des beierische **Botschafter** halben unterwegs gelossen der gestert audientz hat gehat es hat mir gesagt **Cromwell** ich sol in alle weg hinnaus zum **König** kommen gestert ist er auch dohin geritten

von Sachssen het lossen begeren  
von wegen seins suns mein g junck:

f46r.

frau **Fürstin Amalia** aber mein g.h. solt geantwurt  
habben er hette uf dismol mit  
dem haus von Sachsen gutte frunt:  
schaft etc.

*zu gedencken* ob auch sach were das mein g.  
h. der **Königin Anna** in geheim wolt schreiben  
mag man mir durch der Rincken  
factor in Stalhof *per amicus zuschicken*  
und alle andere geschriften  
wie man bisher hat thon durch die  
engelsch botschaft dem **Cromwell** zu  
oder wie es die gelegenheit gibt  
*her* wie man sich gegen des **Königs Botschafter** funt:  
lich [sic, fruntlich] hal [sic, halt] uf das mein g.h. und sei:  
ner gnaden **Räte** in einer autoriten by dem  
**König** und **Cromwell** verleiben dan wuo es die  
not wurde erheisch so mag die **Botschaft** des  
**Königs** mit fruntlichen überschreiben  
viel guts thun *sunt intertenendi* mein g.h.  
bedarf in dieser zeit viel gutter  
frund *Solchs zeig Ich an uß getruer meynung*  
*werd aber uch selbs wol wissen zuhalten, hiemit seye*  
*e.l. Got dem almechtigen alzeit bevolhen, datum zu*  
*Lunden den 30 Martii Anno 15 xl*  
*E.L. gutwilliger diener*  
*K. Harst*

ob meins g.h. **Botschafter** gon brussel keme das man  
sich frunt:

lich gegen des **Königs Botschafter** by dem **Kaiser**  
itz erzeugte *dan als ich vernommen*  
*hab In hispanien von anderen, es seye*  
*ein man von verstant, onzweyfel*  
vom **König** und **Cromwell** lieb gehabt

### Enclosed:

f45r .

ich hab dem **Cromwell** von e.l. wegen ge:  
danckt dreit ein gut gemut als  
ich noch nit anders vermercken  
kan gegen solchs wil ich  
morgen by dem **König** wie mir dan

doctor Olichschleger bevollen auch  
 thun  
*her seyt Ingedenklich der hundert ducaten  
 und hundert kronen, dem widder zugebben  
 Item den Welsern zuverschaffen  
 zu antdorf zwentzig golt gulden, und hebben  
 sie mer costen onzweyfel gehabt, auch berdarff  
 man der leyt, allein seiner hußfrawen  
 zu geschickt were*

### **fo 112r., Karl Harst**

This note was enclosed with a dispatch, but it is not clear to which one. The mentioned gifting of apparel was an issue raised in April<sup>10</sup>, thus the note was likely written around the same time.

#### **Summary:**

Is discontent that a friend, 'N.', has not been paid back the one hundred Ducats and one hundred Écus au Soleil he had lent to Harst when he was in Spain, although the receiver of the letter has been in Gent, where N. lives. Requests this sum to be given to Hieronymus Seyler, factor of the Welser merchants in Antwerp, who will pass it on to N, so that N will not turn against them.

The same merchants have delivered his dispatches, asks for twenty gold gulden to be paid out to the merchant's wife, which would still not cover all of their costs and effort. Would not like them to think they would end up being left with the effort and the costs.

The King has ordered, through Cromwell, three silk doublets to be gifted to Harst. Was free to specify his wishes, but declined the offer, as he already has one doublet made of damast and otherwise decent apparel. Was sent a doublet made of velvet. Expressed his gratitude to the king in the presence of Cromwell. Requests to pass on to the duke that being 'tarted up like a beautiful picture in a church' is very important at this court.

#### **Transcript:**

f112r.

*Her, es befrembt mich nit klein, das der gut frundt N.*

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<sup>10</sup> [See the published dipatch of Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 4th April 1540 in von Below, *Landtagsakten*, pp. 317-324, here p. 323.]

der mir in hispanien die hundert ducaten und die  
 hundert sonnen kronen hat gelien, sunder einich inter:  
 esse seins gelts alo lang enbert, noch nit entRicht,  
 und ir doch by im zu Gent sind gewesen. Ich in auch  
 vertrust, und im dem selben N. ob ich in Engellant  
 bin geritten, wie das ir solches vleyßlich und auch  
 gutwillig erzeugt, werden verschaffen das solche obgerurte  
 Sum den Welsern zu Andorff antwort werde, wil  
 derenthalben uch widder gebetten haben das es nach Hie:  
 ronymo Seyler, der Welser factor zugeschickt werde, der  
 wirt es dem N. wol wissen zuuberantworten, uff  
 das N nit ungewillig werd, oder in verdruß nemme

Auch haben mir die selben kauffleut, wie uch be:  
 wust, alle meyne briefff vleyssig und uff iren kosten  
 hieruß verfertigt, hab ich auch angezeigt, das man  
 seiner hußfrawen zum wenigsten ein Zwentzig golt  
 gulden hette geschenckt, dan dormit der verlegt costen  
 noch nit bezahlt. Ich will verschweigen die muhe, hierumb  
 weil ich uch auch gebetten haben zuverschaffen das in solchs  
 werd, uff das sie nit dencken mochten, sie hetten muge  
 mit sampt dem costen

Her, es hat mir fur etlichen tagen ko.ch Mt. lossen ver:  
 ordenen, durch Monß. Cumfel, drey seiden Röck, solt  
 allein anzeigen was ich haben wolt, danck ich ko.ch Mt. sagt  
 ich hette ein damasten Rock, und sunst zymliche kleyder  
 also schickt ehr mir das anderen tags ein gantz sammete  
 stuck, hab ich diese vergangene tag ko.ch. Mt. in beysein  
 Monß. Crumfels gdanckt Solchs zeigt meyn  
 gnedigen hern an, her auch wie wil sein, der muß uß ge:  
 strichen sein, wie ein schönes bild in der Kirchen, ich  
 weyst mich der leut nit zuvergleichen ist ein wust  
 mit uberfluß mit kleydern, ich hette mehr gelts im seckel  
 do ich sunder gdiener ging

## fos 56r. - 58v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 14 April 1540

### Summary:

Reports a talk with Cromwell, who assured him that the King will not abandon duke Wilhelm. He also requested that the duke will communicate honestly and openly, just as he did. Cromwell remarked that there is no need to send news about France, but news about negotiations in Germany, and demands them to be immediately reported for seeking the king's advice, not after negotiations have been concluded. He also lauded the queen's prudence and enquired whether Guelders and Jülich [Jülich standing for the duke's old domains altogether] are and would be solidary even in case of a war, and whether the councillors would collaborate well, to which Harst answered 'Yes. I do not know any different'. Has explained to Cromwell's inquiry regarding the missing clause in the treaty that the councillors have not been in a meeting together since returning from England, that the duke was also obliged to the Emperor and the Holy Roman Empire, and that the malevolent would turn it against the duke. Cromwell remained silent to this.

The ambassador of Bavaria has commended his lord to Harst as an adversary to the Habsburgs and suggested a friendship between the dukes. Has also told him that the cause of the duke of Milan's death was the syphilis, but Harst has more trustworthy information that disproves it.

Thinks that the queen's provisions will be signed off by the parliament soon. Has heard that her coronation will not take place this year, allegedly to wait until the prince's celebration. Thinks it is a matter of importance to Anne.

Cautions that any secret correspondence from the duke to the queen needs to be sent through the merchants Rinck to the Steelyard and any other letters through the English ambassador.

### Transcript:

f56r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepietender gunstiger  
her. Ich hab widder diese dag besucht  
den von **Cromwell** lies er sich under allem  
mercken ich solt es entlich darfur  
haben der **König** wird unseren gnedigen her nit ver:  
lossen auch wird der **Kaiser** dis jar nicht  
thun dan do were kein gelt bat auch  
das mein g.h. alle handlung unverborgen  
wol frei anzeigen sagt er het diese  
vergangen dag frei geschribben sagt*

auch als viel net zeitung us frangk:  
 erich zuschreiben oder anzuzeigen  
 were nit von noten dan sie alle dag  
 ir leit in francerich hetten die in:  
 nen neue zeitung und alles zuschrib:  
 ben was aber in deitzscher nation und  
 in heimlichen handlun [sic] sein gnaden begegnet  
 und bewust das dan mit zucommunicieren  
 und dem **König** nicht verschwigen sunder sei:  
 ner ma.t rath zupflegen und nit also lang  
 verhalten bis es beschlossen und ver:  
 alten ist *Praeterea commendavit mirum in modum prudentiam*  
*Reginem [sic]* hat mich auch gefragt ob gulige  
 und gellern wol gesint sind wan sie  
 bekrigt solten werden sich eindrechtig  
 weren wurden auch ob sich die rate  
 under in wol verglichen uf das ant:  
 wurt ich ja anders were mir nit wis:  
 sen

f56v.

ferrer hat mich **Cromwell** widder gefragt  
 worum der puncten nit mit in tractat  
 seie gesetzt worden und dorin nicht ge:  
 handelt sagt ich die Räte die hie  
 im land weren gewesen weren sither  
 an hof nit zammen kommen wolt mein  
 g.h. die weil die sach innen bewust  
 nicht handeln so kint ich auch bey mir  
 ermesen was also in geschrift usging  
 wird offen bar so were mein g.h. dem  
**Kaiser** und reich verpflichtet und darnoch  
 viel misgunner alle ding zum bosten  
 uslegten und in sunderheit die **Burgunder**  
 wuo sie kunten meinen gnedigen hern beschwe:  
 ren bey den stenden wurden sie nit  
 underlossen also schwig **Cromwell** hieruf  
 und sagt uf dismol nicht weiter  
*ferrer her* wie ich uch vorigmol hab ge:  
 schribben wie das der beierisch **Botschafter** an  
 mich begert dieweil er besorgt der  
**König** sei nit recht informirt als wan sein  
 her gantz us dem **Kaiser** vlese so solt ich  
 anzeigen dem **Cromwell** erstlich das sein her  
 sich der election mit dem **Römischen König** widderge:  
 spert und also den **Kaiser** in ein grossern

costen gejagt *Item* das sein her sich mit  
dem **Römischen König** gezwispalt hette des konigreichs  
bohems halben *Item* das sein her practicirt hat

f57r.

das hertzog christoffel von wir:  
tenberg dem **Kaiser** entpfhurt were wor:  
den *Item* sein her ein ursach were ge:  
wesen das der schwebisch bunt were  
zertrunnen worden *Item* auch ursach ge:  
wesen das dem **Römischen König** das lant wirtenberg  
ist abgetrunnen worden *Item* sein her ein  
heimlichen verstant mit konig  
hans von hungern gehabt vleicht heim:  
lich hilf gethan etc. solchs hat sich  
derselb gesanter bedanckt das **Cromwell** also  
viel ist informirt worden und sagt  
auch wuo es fursich ging es solt  
ein sunderlich fruntschaft machen  
zwischen seinen gnedigen hern und unserem g.h.  
sagt es kint sein her unserem gnedigen hern viel  
fruntschaft in noten beweisen als nem:  
lich wan meins g.h. widderteil wolten  
knecht annemen als dan hette sein  
her viel bestelter haubtleit nem sie  
nit me dan etlich tag an und wan  
widderteils knecht verzogen weren  
lies er sie als dan widder lauffen *laut*  
*nit, dünckt mich ein keler anschlag sein, In Summa* er  
sagt sein h. kinnen nit erleiden das  
mein g.h. solt verdrribben werden und es  
ist ein gleichnis wie mein g.h. mit  
**Burgund** stot so ston seine hern mit oster:  
reich ich merck also viel sie hetten  
gern **Lady Mary**

f57v.

der fur etlichen wochen von wegen  
hertzog friderichs pfaltzgraffen bey  
meim gnedigen her was ist itzunt vom konig us  
schotlant kommen begert hie vom **König** ein  
antwort uf sein werbung sagt mir der ko:  
nig von schotlant werd vom cardinal und den  
pfaffen regirt bedunackt (sic) in als wan sie  
sich dorzu rustete den **König** zu bekriegen  
*halt aber nit dar vor, das es itzunt sich wirt habben*

*wie itzunt die sachen gestalt sind sagt mir  
 auch derselbig wie er ein geschrift  
 empfangen hette ein fridden in viel  
 jar mit dem hertzen von holstein  
 itz konig zu denmarck wolten machen<sup>11</sup>  
 doch andere articklen mit eingezogen  
 die im nit bewust kan wol dencken  
 gellere werd auch under den articklen  
 ston *Sagt auch ehr hette vernommen*, wuo der ko:  
 nig von schweden wolt des konigreich  
 entpfihen (sic) wie ein lehen des reichs  
 so wolt der **Kaiser** es im conformieren habt acht  
 was die **Burgunder** practizirn *Er sagt mir auch, der hertzog  
 von Meylant, als ehr gestorben were, were Im das ange:  
 sicht geschwollen gewesen, von den frantzosen<sup>12</sup> aber  
 Ich hab mit denen gereth, die dem hertzog gar ge:  
 meyn, und biß zum doth bey Im gewesen. Solches nie  
 kynnen von Innen vermercken sunder contract worden, und  
 also uß gedrüht, und am trib allenthalben glat gewe:  
 sen. glaub derenthalben den anderen mhe dan diesem. Ist  
 auch zum teil uß ußtrurigkeit, wie Ir dem vorigmol von  
 mir vernommen gestorben**

f58r.

das perlament ist gestert angangen wil  
 diese dag sollicitirn das der **Königin** pension  
 underzeichnet werd und conformirt.  
 ich hab in geheim an eim ort verstan:  
 den es werd dis jar us der corona:  
 cion nichts sunder erst uber ein jar  
 und wirt mitler zeit des **Königs** sun den sie  
 nennen der prinzen grosser und dan  
 auch herfurgezogen werden und sagen  
 so get es mit eim costen und einer  
 arbeit zu es solt gewisser sin wan  
 es nun sein furgang hette gehabt dan **der König**  
 ist auch sterblich aber der **König** wil  
 nit gezwungen noch viel gemant sein  
 mus von im selbs kommen also sagt mir  
 die **Königin** darum nicht besser dan das die **Königin**  
 den **König** fur augen hab und sich mein g.h.  
 sich zum fruntlichsten alzeit erbeite  
 dieser und der gelderischen sachen hal:  
 ben und als ichs darfur hab so ist der **Königin**

<sup>11</sup> und sei kinder solte succedieren

<sup>12</sup> [Syphilis, also called French Disease]

groslich dran gelegen das sie wuo mug:  
 lich zum furderlichsten kront werde.  
 ich vernem das der itzt konig von den:  
 marck ein fast schone dochter habbe.  
 wuo mein g.h. der **Königin** etwas geheim wolt  
 schreiben das solches geschicht werd  
 der rincken factor zu antdorf und  
 fort mir zugeschickt werd uf lunden  
 in stalhof oder was mir sunst zu:

f58v.

kommen sol uberantwurt werde des  
**Königs Botschafter** bey uch wesende der es dem **Cromwell**  
 zuscicken [sic] werd welcher es mir dan  
 alle stund uberantwurten *hiemit seye*  
*ewer liebden Got bevolhen don zu Lunden den 14 Aprilis*  
*Anno xl*  
*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger diener*  
*Karl Harst*

### fo 59r+v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 16 April 1540

#### Summary:

The Queen has given him a letter that she had accidentally opened, but could not read because it was ciphpered. Was shown another letter that Wilhelm had sent to the King, informing him that the duke was meeting the Emperor. The Queen was very shaken, thus saw her twice that day. Wonders why the duke would take such a risk. Waits for an audience with the king, but Cromwell has given a warning that Henry is bad tempered. Cromwell was too worried to sleep. The king is informed that the duke has travelled against his councillors' advice.

Suggests an emergency plan involving his old connections in Flanders in case Wilhelm has to flee. Thinks that the 'Burgundians' will suggest such conditions that the duke will thank once he is away from them again. Hopes that the duke will beware of poison, else his lands would get into misery.

#### Transcript:

f59r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gespieltender gunstiger  
her Cantzler, gestert hat die konigin noch mir geschickt  
und mir ein schreiben uberantwort, welchs durch ire gnaden  
uff was gesprochen sagt es were ungefer gescheen  
hett gemyn sie weren an sie gestanden \*kunt sy aber nit verston der zeyfferen halben\* zeigt mir  
auch das schreib das mein g.er h. an den konig hie thut,  
kunte aber die konigin nit erwarten biß das ich  
die geschriften lese, sunder sagt mir fur neue  
zeitung, Irer gnaden bruder were bey key.ch Mt., was  
dem selben tag zweymol bey Irer gnaden dan die **Königin**  
kein rast hette und ubel erschrock:  
en mit samt dem **König** auch ich stund  
ich mich verfugte zu der sich  
nit kunt genug verwunderen das  
sich mein g.h. mit den besten **Räten** in  
solche eisserste gefarlichkeit  
stellte heit wirt mir der **König** audientz  
gebben es sagt mir **Cromwell** ich wird den  
**König** ubel zufridden finden dan ur:  
sach mein g.h. hette uf den eignen  
grentzen ein wenig mogen verzie:  
hen bis sein gnaden gutter hern und frun:  
den raths hette gehort es sagt mir  
der gut her **Cromwell** er kunte der gefer:  
lichkeit do sich mein g.h. hette in  
begebben nit schloffen so thue ich  
auch der **König** ist auch informirt das  
mein g.h. diese reise thut sunder der  
**Räte** willen die es mit weinenden augen  
widderraten habben der her gebbe  
sein gnad*

f59v.

*her ob es die noth erheischen wurd  
das sich mein g.h. us dem land solt  
sich widder in geheim miessen  
thun so hab ich ein gutten frund  
fur der stat Loven heist Peter  
do moch man in geheim etlich dri  
oder vier postros ein stellen  
mein hausfrau wird uch wol anzei:  
gung kinnen gebben und auch behilf:  
fig kinnen sein darnoch ein dorf  
heist Balen in der Kempen lost  
diest uf die recht hant ligen ist*

man als bald im land von gellern  
 muselhans wirt die weg zum teil  
 wissen das schreib ich hierum  
 die ungetruen **Burgunder** werden meim gnedigen hern  
 solche conditiones furschlagen und  
 so unleidlich das mein g.h. wirt  
 got dancken das sein g widder von  
 in ist ich besorg sie werden uch  
 allen ein knopf darfur machen  
 auch das **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** das lant gellern nit als  
 von dem haus von burgund oder bra:  
 bant zu eim lehen entpfahe itzt  
 wil ich uf stund vor den **König** *Got der*  
*her beware uch alle datum zu Lunden den 16 Aprilis*  
*Anno 15 xl*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger*  
*Karl Harst*

das sich mein g.h. wart fur allem  
 gift in was noten wurden die landen  
 ston wuo es ubel geriet do got fur  
 seie

### **fos 64r. - 65v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 17 April 1540**

#### **Summary:**

The king sends message to his envoys at the Emperor's court that he will support and advise the duke. Thinks that it is important to have the English ambassador 'before one's eye' and bear in mind this new friendship with this king, as his majesty is very upset about the duke since he put himself at such a risk. Cromwell said that he would pay 200,000 gulden if only Wilhelm had not done this. The king's privy councillors say the duke will lose his reputation and all his best friends because he took this risk without their knowledge and approval. They voiced their doubts about trusting a letter, the emperor's dubious promise and the solicitation of the duke of Brunswick, who has turned his back on the companionship of all German princes. The councillors also suggest that there is a way of making peace if the Duke of Cleves surrenders Guelders, which God may not mean to be in Wilhelm's hands. Thinks the queen, who is very

saddened and depressed because of her brother, may be pregnant. Anne told Harst that 'the king has said to her if he had had [the duke's] trust, milord would have not [travelled] further than to the border, waited for three days and informed his majesty about this beforehand'. Seconds this opinion.

Count Wilhelm of Fürstenberg has been contracted, does not know anything more specific but that he will receive 4000 crowns as pension.

Has not received any answer concerning the support of the king for the Duke of Cleves as well as for his lands and people. Will pursue this but understands that the English are disgruntled that the clause is not formally documented and that the duke headed to the Burgundians all of a sudden.

Worries that the Emperor and the King of France are pretending to be dissenting, but secretly scheming, together with the pope.

### Transcript:

f64r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepietender günstiger*  
*her*, CH der **König** schreibt irer mat gesanten bey  
 dem **Kaiser** das er meim g.h. wil beystendig  
 und beyretig sein ist mein gut be:  
 duncken das man das **Königs Botschafter** itzt bey dem **Kaiser**  
 wesend fur augen hab und wol be:  
 dracht die neue ufgerichte frunt:  
 schaft mit diesem **König** dan ire Mat  
 fast bewegt uber meinen g.h. ist  
 dieweil sich sein g h (sic) in solche ge:  
 ferlichkeit hat begeben hat ge:  
 sagt zum **Cromwell** er wolt zweihundert tau:  
 sent gulden dorfur bezalen \*das sein g. nit gethan hette\* sagen  
 auch des **Königs** rath wuo es anders got  
 dan wol wirt mein g.h. verlieren sein  
 reputation und aller seiner g. guten  
 frund fruntschaft verlieren dieweil  
 sein f.g. solche geferlichkeit ist  
 eingangen sunder deren wissen und  
 willen und sagen ob es wol seie  
 gethon das sich mein g.h. uf ein ver:  
 trostung eins kleinen brieflen und  
 us einer schlechten verwilligung des  
**Kaisers** und us ansuchung des hertzogen  
 von Brunzwigs der sich aller ander  
 deitzschen fursten gesellschaft ent:  
 schlecht und auch kurtzlich ein famis

f64v.

libel hat lossen usgon und sagt durch  
solche vertroistung lost sich mein g.h.  
ein einiger furst bewegn (sic) und sagen  
sie kunnens wol erachten es werd  
meim g.h. kleine fruntschaft bey dem  
anderen teil machen doch sagen sie  
es ist och ein mittel mein g.h. geb  
das lant gellern so ist sein g. bald er:  
ledigt und bald vertragen und sagten  
got wils vleicht nit hebben als ich us  
meis g.h. schreiben versto zu dem **König** so  
vergleitet der **Römische König** mein g.h. in **Burgund** do  
doch der **Römische König** gar kein gerechtigkeit hat  
noch iemants zuvergleiten  
Die **Königin** ist gantz trurich und scwermutig (sic)  
ires bruders halben got als ich glaub  
schwanger ich trost ire g. also viel  
als mir muglich was die **Königin** sagt der **König**  
het zu ir gesagt wuo man im vertrute  
so hette mein g.h. wol nit me dan uf  
den grentzen kinnen dri dag warten  
und solchs ir mat vorhin anzeigt  
das hette man meins erachten wol  
kinnen thun das konigs fruntschaft  
zubehalten wie graf wilhelm von fur:<sup>13</sup>  
stenberg angenommen ist worden hat die  
**Königin** kein wissen hab aber sunst gehort  
der konig geb im viertausent kronen  
pension hat mir auch vor guter zeit  
gesagt er seie angenommen aber wie

f65r.

die bestellung lautet weis ich nit  
ich mein aber ich wils zum deil er:  
faren das puncten halben das der **König**  
meim g.h. als seiner g. personen auch sei:  
ner landen und leiten behilffig etc.  
hab ich noch usdrucklich kein ant:  
wurt wil aber anhalten kan wol ermessen  
verdrist die hie des der artickel  
mit gezeichnet nit mit schriftlich

---

<sup>13</sup> [Graf Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, an experienced mercenary leader who was associated with the Schmalkaldic League at the time. Henry intended to take him into his service. Johannes Volker Wagner, *Wilhelm von Fürstenberg 1491 – 1549 und die politischen Mächte seiner Zeit* (Verlag Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1966).]

inserirt ist und auch mein g.h. in person  
 sich also ilentz zu den **Burgundern** thut wirt mir  
 meinserachtens daster nachlessiger als zu den gen:  
 nen do sie kein hofnung zu haben  
 auch geantwurt helfft und rath das  
 sich mein g.h. nit also mit den **Burgundern** ver:  
 bind doraus die **Protestierenden** mochten einen neid  
 gegen meim g.h. haben oder seinen g.  
 ein ungunst bey den gemeinen stenden  
 erwachsen mochte ich besorg noch es seie halb  
 ein gemacht spiel zwischen dem **Kaiser** und  
 dem **König von Frankreich** als wan sie fast uneins und doch  
 nicht dran were *her* ein ding wil ich  
 mein g.h. us treuer meinung gemant haben  
 ob es sach were das der **Kaiser** mit dem  
 hilich mit der **Herzogin von Mailand** nit consentieren  
 wolt das sich dan mein g.h. nit lang  
 in **Burgund** seime ob der **Kaiser, König von Frankreich** und **Papst** uf der  
 post viel zammen schreiben und ein  
 new gewitter uf stund das habt entlich  
 darfur wan mein g.h. zum **Kaiser** were kommen  
 in einer reicstat so were es ein  
 klein sach aber sich in die ungetrue  
 art gelossen ist schwerlich dan es hal:  
 len alle augenblick neue practica zu got  
 helf uns wuo man etwas heimlich wolt schreiben das  
 man es in alle wege in zeiffer schreib

f65v.

*hiemit seye ewer liebden Got dem almechtigen bevolhen  
 datum zu Lunden den 17 Aprilis Anno 15 xl*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger  
 Karl Harst*

## fos 69r. - 70r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 6 May 1540

### Summary:

Has explained to the King of England the reasons that made the duke meet with the Emperor. The king responded that there was not much left to advise, as the duke was in Habsburg hands now, but offered to instruct his men at the Emperor's court. Has not been able to verify that the count Wilhelm of Fürstenberg is in service to the king now. Heard that he received a good offer but nothing was concluded yet.

Has been given the copy of the statement of Brabant in regard to Guelders, and was asked to translate it from German into Latin, which he has done. It is necessary that the duke's response to this statement is sent to England as well, to inform the English of all procedures therein.

The ambassador of Bavaria has left, but will return. The king has commended the duke of Cleves unto the dukes of Bavaria.

The queen has let him know how she likes the King's daughter Mary, who seems to be a respectable person and princess except for the disadvantage that the king demoted her. If it will not be the duchess of Milan [for the duke's marriage], it is necessary to look elsewhere. Has heard that the sister of the duke of Vendôme has an unhealthy complexion and black teeth.

Hopes that the queen's provisions will be signed off soon, as it is already underway. Had hoped that Anne may be pregnant, but she doubts it. Has not received any message for some time with news about the duke's return or how matters have developed. Distrusts [the Habsburgs?], is convinced that, while they are negotiating with Cleves, they are scheming with others.

### Transcript:

f69r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, und alles guts zuvor gepietten:  
der gunstiger her Ich hab fur longest dem konig an:  
zeigt alle circumstancien was meyn gnedigen hern bewegt, das  
sich sein gnaden zu key.ch Mt. gethan hat, wie ich dan ewer liebden  
fur kurzen tagen auch geschribben hab, der **König** antwurt  
was er nun viel raten solt mein g.h.  
were in iren henden und von dem **Kaiser**  
nicht vergleitet auch was mein g.h.  
den **Kaiser** forcht er hette doch kein gelt  
doch erbot sich ire Mat gern helffen  
raten seine am keyserlichen hoff bevelhen  
Die konigin hat kein wissen wie graf Wilhelm*

von Furstenberg seie angenommen wor:  
 den *Ich hab mich aber sunst erkundigt* by **Cromwells** la:  
 tinissher segretarius *der sagt mir*  
 Graf Wilhelm were angenommen wor:  
 den *Ut etiam isset Regius amicis, amicus* sagt  
 auch mein g.h. were in specie ernent  
 und deren begriffen worden, *ob Im aber*  
*also seye, oder wie und In welcher gestalt wyß*  
*Ich nit weyers von zuschreiben wie oder In welcher ge:*  
*stalt mit Im gehandelt seye worden*, es hat mir  
 aber sither gesagt das **des Königs** obrister se:  
 cretarius es seie wol mit dem von  
 Furstenberg gehandelt worden aber  
 noch nicht entlich beschlossen *man wart*  
*der antwurt, die Copey der Brabandischen antwurt, In Sachen das*  
*furstenthumb Gellern belangen. hat mir das koniggs?*  
*oberster secretarius zugestellt und an mich begert, solchs*

f69v.

*uß dem deutschen In latin zu transferiren welchs*  
*Ich than hab, were nun von nothen das meyns gnedigen hern*  
*reptic daruff auch hieher geschickt wurde, uff das*  
*die hie aller handlung verstendigt wurden, dan ich bin*  
*ungezweyfelt meyn g.h. seye also gefaßt, das man*  
*leichtlich uff diß libell hat kunnen antwurten, Ist auch*  
*vorhin latissime tractirt, Hertzog Ludwigs von Beiern gesanter*  
*hat sein abschidt denck es seye halb so und halb*  
*anders, aber stott druff ehr wirt widder kommen*<sup>14</sup>  
*die Konigin hat sich gegen mir also viel lossen*  
*mercken, das sie ein gantz gut gefal:*  
 len zu des **Königs** dochter hat dunckt  
 mich ein erbar person und furstin  
 sein *allein der mangel* das sie der **König** also  
 hindersich setzt  
 wan es ie mit der **Herzogin von Mailand** nit wil sein das  
 ich besorg *auch vleicht von Gott mir also versehen*  
*miest man dannet sunst umb sehen, dan die noth erheischt*  
 der von vendomen schwester sol  
 haben ein ungesund farb und schwrtze [sic, schwartze]  
 zen  
*Ich hoff es soll alle ding mit der Konigin pension, der*  
*underzeichniß halben und confirmation, wol naher gen, dan*  
*es ist schon underhanden. Ich hette verhofft die Konigin*

---

<sup>14</sup> der **König** hat gebetten die

Fursten von Beiern wollen in seiner Mat. bruder **Wilhelm von Kleve** lossen  
 bevollen sein

*were schwanger gewesen, sie zweyfelen aber widderumb,  
 Ich hab hie lang kein schrib gehabt, ob meyn g.h. wid:  
 der heim seye, oder wie die sachen ston, Non noscitis  
 Gra(v)ior dolos, fraudemque apud me nullu est dubium, inte:  
 rea cum vobiscum verbis agunt, cum aliis componunt, est  
 populus inquietißimus, tempora obseruant, nonullos bona  
 spe lactant, non solum occultantur, sed etiam machinantur, ne dubitato,*

f70r.

*hiemit seye ewer liebden Got bevolhen, datum zu Lunden  
 den vi ten Maii Anno 15 xl*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger diener  
 Karll Harst*

## **fo 78r.+v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 22 May 1540**

### **Summary:**

The queen's provisions have not only been confirmed, but also increased, by Cromwell's doings. Advises that the duke expressed his gratitude.

All noblemen are pleased that Wilhelm has returned home. The queen demanded him to ask for the duke to send her news about all matters and proceedings, also about the diet at Speyer.

Thinks the Emperor will file a suit against the King of France at the estates, and maybe turn the Germans against the French king, then the two monarchs will reconcile and the Burgundians strive for Guelders.

It seems that the governess Mother Lowe [von Loe] and the German maids who wish to take their leave have enquired on how to proceed. The queen has requested four dachshunds. Lord Lisle is in the tower, but Harst cautions not to intervene, as it would bear the risk of disagreements. Send his regards to the English ambassador and requests that more commendations are made, also to Cromwell, 'because one has to make commendations intensely, [they] have a short memory [and] are, in my view, inconstant'. Recommends to send Dr Olisleger for difficult and important negotiations, as he is well known and liked. Thinks that as long as England stands by the duke, the Burgundians will refrain from aggression, but if the king died, this inconstant nation would change and the Burgundians take action. 'It takes a peculiar way to deal with this people, which I will not learn this year.' Parliament will commence on the 25th this month.

**Transcript:**

f78r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietender gunstiger  
 her, der Konigin pension ist nit allein confirmirt  
 sunder auch verbessert, wie mir Monß. Crumfeld  
 hat angezeigt, et hoc factum eo auctore, darumb van  
 nöthen das Im meyn g.er h. danckte, durch koniglich Mt.  
 herschafft, aldo. Es erfrawen sich alle grosse heren hie  
 das meyn g.er h. widder frey anheim kommen ist. Got  
 der allemechtig hab lob loß Im aber sein gnaden nit me wid:  
 derfaren. Es hat die konigin begert und mir bevolhen,  
 das ich meym gnedigen hern schreiben wolle, das sein furstliche gnad dan  
 schreibe oder entbiette wie alle sachen und handlungen  
 mit allen dingen ston, were auch von nöthen was sich zu  
 Spire In der versamlung verluffe,<sup>15</sup> das solchs zum fur:  
 derlichste hieher uberschribben wurde ich denck der **Kaiser**  
 wirt den **französischen König** fur den stenden verclagen  
 ob er mocht hetzen die deitzsche uber  
 den **französischen König** und darnoch wurden sich die  
 zwen potentaten verglichen und also  
 die **Burgunder** alsdan noch gellern drachten  
*Es bedunckt mich die hoffmeysterin, die von Loo, und die  
 Junckfrawen drachten widder hinauß,  
 zeigt auch ersochen an, was hierin zuthun Ist ewer liebden besser  
 bewust dan mir, wu die sach mit der gnad Gottes diß  
 gestilt wirt, als ich hoff, wirt mir meyn g.h. auch widder  
 schreiben lassen die vier hund, oder dacken, hat die Konigin  
 lassen bestellen, hat des Graven von Solms diener vor  
 langest hinnauß, Milord [Lisle], der obrist zu Calis,  
 Ist hie zu Lunden, wie man sagt Im thürn, der hoffmeyster  
 Hochsteden, und doctor Olischschleger kennen Innen fast woll**

f78v.

*sagt nicht, oder nempt uch nicht an by das **Königs Botschaft**  
 das ich solchs uberschribben habbe, oder das ir es von  
 mir hebben man mus sich fur solchen  
 katzen hietten uff das man an dieser art nit ursach  
 gebbe zu Cavillieren. Weyter her thut mir griessen koniglich  
 Majestät uß Engellant botschaff bit uch bemugt uch also viel umb  
 meynet willen nit allein, sunder auch meym gnedigen hern zu  
 gutem, auch das ehr mich wolte mitler zeit, wu ich von meyns  
 gnedigen hern wegen solt lang hie pleiben, Monß de Crumfell*

---

<sup>15</sup> das sich ließ überschreibe, oder mir so gar geheim were

*bevolhen hebben, dan man muß den Engelischen hern sich  
 dick bevelhen hebben ein kurtz memori sind  
 mein erachtens wanckelmutig Solten hefftige  
 und wichtige gescheffte zu fallen, so sehe es mich fur gut an,  
 das man doctor Olichschleger widder hieren schicke, Ist  
 bekant und liebzelig dan Ich hab das darfur als  
 lang das konigreich Engellant meinen  
 g.h. mit treien meint so werden die  
**Burgunder** das schwert in der scheiden behal:  
 ten drum wil von noten den **König** fur au:  
 gen zuhalten *wan der aber stirbt und etlich an:*  
*dre haupter die es ietzt gut meynen, dan wir alle sterb:*  
*lich sind wu dan hinnauß dan die natur der nation*  
 dunckt mich wanckelmutig sein und  
 werden als dan die burgunder oder **Habsburger**  
 widder practicieren *darumb von noten, das*  
*solches wol versehen were, solchs schreib ich uß guter mey:*  
*nung es mus ein sunderlich art hab:*  
 ben wer mit diesem volck wil um gan  
*werd ich diß Jar nit leren. Hiemit sey ewer liebden Got bevolhen.*  
*datum zu Lunden den xxii Maii Anno 15 xl*  
*den 25 diß monats göth das perlament widder an**

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger  
 diener  
 Karl Harst*

### **fos 99r. - 100r., Karl Harst to N.A.**

This is a postscriptum, but it is not clear to which letter.

#### **Summary:**

The envoy of Bavaria has promised his lord's support in the duke of Cleves' negotiations. Is suspicious of this, as duke Wilhelm of Bavaria's son was once said to be married to a daughter of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Also remembers an occurrence of the French king and the Protestant Princes negotiating with Bavaria, and the latter afterwards revealing everything to the Emperor. The Bavarian envoy seconds the suspicion that the Emperor and the King of France are holding secret communication and told him that Scipperus and another man called Hopfenstein, advised the emperor to make peace with the Protestants and then demote the duke of Cleves. The Bavarian ambassador knows someone who used to be his servant and

is now a scribe to the Emperor and claims that he would have intelligence if matters would develop further. Cromwell approved of passing this secret information to Gogreve. Cautions that Dr Born, who holds Scipperus in high esteem, should not be too trusting towards him.

### Transcript:

f99r.

Her ob ich diesen brieff hab geschlossen, bin ich  
zu dem beierischen gesanten  
gangen so schwert er mir hach (sic)  
und deuer wie hertog (sic) heinrich  
in mein g.h. sachen also ernst:  
lichen vleis hat an kert *Sulchs*  
*onzweyfel ist doctor Born gut wissen, der nun*  
*do ist* und hat mir zum deil  
bekant der beierisch gesanter  
das sein werbung von wegen meins  
g.h. wirt sein das mein g.h. **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** von  
seinet wegen<sup>16</sup> wolt helffen hande:  
len bey dem **Römischen König** weis aber nit ob  
es ein gerechtigkeit oder was  
es an dreffen sol kan mich nit  
genug befremden was das wol  
sein fur ein spil dan einmol  
sol hertzog Wilhelms ~~dochter~~  
sun sol habben des **Römischen Königs** zweite  
dochter  
weiter hat selbig mir widder  
underweisung gethon ob mich  
der von **Cromwell** wurde fragen ob sein  
her mochtig were solt ich sa:  
gen was mir hierin wissen were  
*und mogt/magt mir widder ein ander argument, und sagt*  
er forchte nit me dan ein ding  
das im der **König** nit verdruen wirt die  
weil seins fursten mutter keiser  
maXimilian schwester ist gewesen

f99v.

nun ist es nit on ich hab wol vorig:  
mol gehort als der **König von Frankreich** oder die **Protestanten** etwan  
viel gehandelt hat mit den beie:  
rischen solt er es darnoch alles

---

<sup>16</sup> q. manus manum fricat

dem **Kaiser** erofnet habben *ob im aber also*  
*seye das weyß ich nit* wiewol ich nit glau:  
 ben kan das der hertzog von bei:  
 ern meim g.h. ubel wollen glaub  
 aber wol das sie nit gut konigs  
 sind oder osterreichs leit  
 um ir lant tirol osterreich und  
 behem<sup>17</sup> er meint auch es gilt  
 den deitzschen ufsehen dieweil  
 der **Kaiser** und der **König von Frankreich** also heimlich mit:  
 einander sprechen sagt mir auch  
 scipperus und einer gnant hopf:  
 fenstein hetten sich lossen  
 mercken der **Kaiser** solt ein vereine:  
 gung fur allen dingen machen mit  
 den **Protestanten** und darnoch unsern g.  
 h. verjagen er sagt mir er hette  
 einen diener gehabt der were itz:  
 unt ein schreiber am hof der **Kaiser**  
 noch Schipperus solten sich nit  
 regen wan er so were er wolt es  
 erfahren was ir furnemmen were  
 und wuo sie ussen wolten ich  
 wil besehen ob ich meim g.h. kunte  
 ein kuntschafter do machen  
 der **Cromwell** mag wol leiden das ich uch  
 solchs in geheim schreibe das aber  
 das oder anders niemants offenbort werde

f100r.

ich werd verstendigt wie  
 das *doctor Born* uf Scippero  
 viel hilt *das ist ein klein*  
*sach fur sein person* doch das  
 er im nit zuviel ver:  
 tru in mein g.h. sachen  
 oder er wirt in uber das  
 seil werffen

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<sup>17</sup> [Böhmen]

## **fos 104r. - 107v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 1 June 1540**

### **Summary:**

Has received the councillors' dispatch of 17th May on 27th May and immediately went to report to Cromwell and the Admiral the news that were contained in it: the duke of Brunswick's visit at Düsseldorf, his claim that he requested from the King and the Emperor after duke Wilhelm's leave from Gent if there were other means of reconciliation as it was not even in Wilhelm's power to abandon Guelders, and their negative reply. The Admiral wished to know the conditions that the Emperor had made, to which Harst answered that the duke, knowing that he could not accept the offer, had not desired to enquire about them. Was asked to show the translations of the negotiations and the Burgundian libel.

The next day, on 28th May, he received the councillors' letter from Nijmegen, dated to the 10th May. Does not know why and how this letter was delayed this much. Summarises the contents: the Emperor has insisted that Wilhelm surrendered Guelders after which he would reward him in other ways, but if Wilhelm did not comply, the Emperor would be forced to take other measures; The duke of Brunswick has suggested that Wilhelm was granted to keep Guelders for the remainder of his lifetime; This last suggestion was approved of the duke of Cleves. Has reported it to the king of England, who was surprised about the duke's willingness to agree to these terms.

Has explained that, if Count Palatine Friedrich and the Duke of Holstein should have no heirs, the Duke of Cleves with the Duchess of Milan would get the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and the Count Palatine and Holstein would be compensated. The king has laughed about this. The duke had hoped for good results in the negotiations, or peace, or a compromise that lasts for his lifetime, but did not decide anything without conferring with his mother, through whom the interitance is passed, and the estates. Has asked the king, as the particulars were known to him, to communicate his advice as to how to respond to the Emperor, and how the duke should treat this matter. Was told to wait for the answer, as his majesty consulted his Privy Council. When he was called back, the king was surround by all these councillors and said that now the duke requested his advice, after visiting the emperor and conducting negotiations, all without prior notice to Henry; in matters that were announced formally, his majesty and his council would give their sincere advice. They also remarked that the duke has promised some of his lands in Flanders, that belong to the county of Ravenstein, and money in the negotiations. The king promised to send message to his ambassador and advised him to do the same to the duke. The Admiral has explained that, like a sick person who wants to get back to health needs to tell his doctor all his ailments and symptoms, the duke needed to report everything in order to receive help.

Expressed gratitude to the king and his councillors and excused duke Wilhelm; the meeting with the emperor and the promise of exchanging lands was done to satisfy the estates that Wilhelm has done everything that he could.

Was told by Cromwell not doubt the king's support, his majesty would do more than the obvious. Did not sleep well and went to see 'milord' Cromwell again the next day. Voiced his concern that the king was displeased with the duke, but Cromwell assured him that the king was not displeased and was well-meaning; but it was Henry's stance to communicate honestly and openly, and he would give his sincere advice in turn. Also, the duke was young and the emperor an opponent too powerful and swift for him; the king could act for the good or bad of Wilhelm, but seeing that he would not be an heir to the United Duchies and would gain anything, he was doing everything only as a favour to the duke. Thinks that Wilhelm should proceed with anything without consulting the king and trusting him, as the duke needs Henry's support. Requests a detailed report of the English ambassador's declarations. Has assured Cromwell that the duke puts a lot of trust in him.

The supervisor of Anne's German maids, Frau von Loo/Mother Lowe has received permission from the king to leave and will be gone on two days. Regrets her leaving, as he considers her a decent maid. The permission includes Diennagel. Recommends that Olisleger interrogates her upon her return.

As the Emperor extends Habsburg influence in the Low Countries, Harst fears a war against the duke. Sees the scheming of the Habsburgs against Cleves, but thinks that they appear more cooperative whenever the Turks are advancing, but only until they are back in a secure position. Emphasises the need for doing whatever it takes for keeping the English king's favour.

### **Transcript:**

f104r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietender gnedigster  
her. Ich will ewer liebden nicht verhalten Es habben mir meyns  
gnedigen hern Rāth den xvii tag Maii zu dysseldorff  
ußgangen zugeschribben welchs ich den xxvii Maii ent:  
pfangen hab, und als bald ich ales vernommen mich  
zu curt verfügt und meynen hern Monß Crumfel, der  
dan zu sich berufft den Admiral, Relation gethan.  
Nemlich wie herzog Heinrich von Brunzwig uff Mon:  
dag nach pfingsten bey meym gnedigen hern zu dysseldorff  
gewesen, und gefrogt und auch wie der  
hertog [sic] noch meing [sic] h. abscheiden sei:*

nen f.g. zu gutem weiter mit dem **Kaiser**  
 und **Römischen König** gesprochen und usdrucklich an:  
 zeigt wie das nit vermutlich und  
 auch in meins g.h. macht nit  
 sei das **Land Geldern** zuverlossen und ob nit  
 in andere weg der unverstant mocht  
 verglichen und hingelegt werden  
 darum ire Mat allerlei sich ver:  
 nemmen lossen doch by dem verhar:  
 ret das lant zu gellern übergeb:  
 ben und irer Mat vertrauen *hieruff*  
*fragt mich der admiral* was das fur puncten  
 weren der sich der **Kaiser** het vernem:  
 men lossen *Sagt ich, dieweil sich mein g.h. do:*  
*ruff nit wol einlossen, hette sein furstliche gnaden derenthalben*  
*kein erclerung begert, Sagten sie sie wolten die handlung*  
*\*und das Burgundisch libel an Romischen konig\**  
*das ich translatiret hette ubersehen und meyn g.h. solt*

f104v.

*alle ding clerlich anzeigen In dem her, so kumpt mir*  
*den xxviii Maii von meyns gnedigen hern Räten noch ein schrei:*  
*ben, den x Maii zu Nymigen ußgangen*<sup>18</sup> *Inhalt wie das*  
*key.ch Mt. daruff verblibben das unser g. h. das fur:*  
*stenthumb Gellern verlassen solt, wie solchs geschee*  
*wurd ~~unser g.h.~~ Ire Mt. mit grossen gnad und*  
*sunderlichen wolthaten in andere weg versehen, wu auch nit*  
*wurd Ire Mt. verursacht in andere weg verdacht zu sein*  
 es hette auch hertzog Heinrich von  
 Brunzweig mittel fur geschlagen das  
 mein g.h. seiner g. lebenslang bei dem  
 lant Gellern pleibe welchs sein g.  
 bewilligt wie ich solcs [sic] dem **König** fur:  
 hult sagt der **König** wie bewiligt ja  
 sagt ich g.*ter* her mit dem anhang das noch  
 seiner f.g. doth ein jeder bei sei:  
 nem rechten ston sol *Item* so mein g.  
 h. geneigt were mit irer Mat in ein  
 buntnis gegen menneklich nieman nit  
 us geschlossen *et quod ad hoc quedam persone*  
*responder[...], forte iure unionem ad defenden:*  
*dum et non ad offendendum Item dieweil*  
 pfaltzgraf Friderich und Holstein  
 keine kinder ~~haben~~ überkommen als

<sup>18</sup> wie aber solchs schreiben also lang verhalte seye worden oder wieder wu verhindert kan ich nit wissen nam mich wol wunder das mir kein schreiben nit wurde

dan mein g.h. mit der **Herzogin von Mailand** die konigreichen  
denmarck schweden etc. ubercome und pfaltz:  
graf und Holstein in im anderen zu:  
fridden gestelt darzu lacht der

105r.

**König** und wie sich aber meyn g.h. besser handlung  
vertroestet und verhoffnung gewest oder  
einen bestendigen fridden, oder einen anstant seiner gnaden le:  
benlang zuerhalten, oder zum wenigsten die sachen on:  
geburlich Recht zubringen Und hette hertzog Heinrich  
die artickel, die key.ch Mt. uß sich selbs angezeigt  
und irer Mt die postill darby gezeichnet stellen  
lassen und also sein gnaden nicht handeln sunder seiner  
gnaden fraw Mutter do es her kompt, und der landtschafft  
verpflicht, on der Rath nichts handeln, die Inhal:  
tung der artickeln und postil were irer ko. Mt. bewusst  
Bät derenthalben underthenigklich, von wegen meyns gnedigen hern  
das der koniglich Mt. seiner furstlichen gnaden irer Mt. gutte Rath  
wol mit dylen, was key.ch Mt. zuantwurten, und auch  
wie sich sein furstliche gnaden in diesen sachen halte und schicken  
soll ~ Sagt ir ko.ch Mt. ob ich per par:  
tes oder summatim wolt geantwort  
haben so must sich mein g.h. auch  
dornoch in handlung frei schick:  
en begert ich ein gnedig antwort uff die  
artickel und postill, Hieß mich ir Mt. abwarten  
dan ir Mt. hette die trefflichste Rath und die für:  
nemlichste des konigReichs also wie ich ein gut:  
te heit hauß was berufft man mich widder fur ire  
Mt. in gegenwurt aller derselben Rät<sup>19</sup> und Rette koniglich  
Mt. selbs ungeverlich in solcher gestalt als wan  
mein g.h. rath sucht particulierement  
do doch ire Mat vermeint nicht sunder rath  
haben gethon were mein g.h. itzt ge:  
ritten zum **Kaiser** und do gehandelt sunder

105v.

irer koniglicher mat furwissen ~~und~~  
~~auch do gehandelt~~ wuo man alle ding  
usdrucklich anzeigte so wolt ire Mat  
und deren Rät<sup>h</sup> us treuen raten und  
handeln und alles das gene thun  
wie es sich geburt ward auch ge:  
meldet wie das mein g.h. den bur:

---

<sup>19</sup> die ire Mt gantz fur sich berufft

gundischen die gutter in vlandern  
 selant<sup>20</sup> auch sunst gelt schuld offe:  
 rirt und sagt der **König/königliche Majestät** sie wolt irem **Botschafter** uf  
 stund schreiben desglichern solt ich  
 auch an meinen g.h. thun der admi:  
 ral sagt mir auch dasselbig mol  
 vor dem **König** und allen anderen raten  
 ein gleichnis ein krancker der do  
 wolt gesunt werden der miest seim  
 medicin meister alle seine kranck:  
 heit und gebrechen an zeigen so  
 must mein g.h. auch thun so wurd man sei:  
 nen g. kinnen helffen noch solchem  
 hub ich an und danckt koniglich Mat  
 und deren räten undertheiglich des  
 guten willen den sie zu meim g.h.  
 trugen als aber mein g.h. sich er:  
 bette zu dem **Kaiser** ritte wer irer Mat  
 nit zuwider auch seiner g. in vlan:  
 dern gutern erbierten und ursach

f106r.

in eim gietlichen vertrag zugebben  
 geschee auch dorum das sein f.g.  
 by gemeinen stenden mocht anzei:  
 gen das es an seinen g. nit erhalten  
 hette *Also schid ich von ko.er Mt. mit geburender*  
*Reverentz Es sagt mir aber meyn gnaden Monß Crumfel*  
*der es meyns erachtens gut gemeint ich solt nit zwey:*  
*felen koniglich Mt wurd viel mhe [sic] thun dan man meynte,*  
*hab die selbige nacht nit viel geschloffen, und also des*  
*dags darnach ultima Maii, zu fruere tagzeit, bin ich*  
*widder zu meym hern Crumfeld gangen und zeigt*  
 im an ich hette den vergangnen dag  
 genugsam vermerckt das koniglich Mat  
 etwas uf mein g.h. erzirnt were ge:  
 wesen sagt mir **Cromwell** nein ire Mat were  
 nit erzirnt dan ire Mat were ein ver:  
 stendiger her gemeint es gut begert  
 ich das er mir noch ein besser de:  
 clARATION wolt thun zu verstendi:  
 gung des konigs gemut sagt **Cromwell** es  
 were des **Königs** meinung das man franck *franc*  
 und unverborgen handelte so wurd  
 der konig hergegen trulich raten und

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<sup>20</sup> nants der hertzog von Norffock Ravensteinisch guter

handelen und wird meinen g.h. nit  
 verlossen auch were mein g.h. jung  
 und der **Kaiser** geschwind und forcht de:  
 renthalb der **König** mein g.h. werd bedrog:  
 en sagt auch es were nit on der **Kaiser**

f106v.

were meim g.h. zu mechtig und sagt  
 der **König** mocht meim g.h. guts und bos thun  
 sagt auch der **König** hette nicht vom land  
 er were kein erb dette es meim g.h.  
 zu guttem *Wiewol das es mich schier also erdunckt*  
*als wan* mein g.h. solt nicht thun muste vor:  
 hin den **König** drum frogen *Ich vermerck aber*  
*das wol* wolt ir den **König** zu frund halten  
 und bedarf mein g.h. sein so mus  
 man im vertruem meint ir das die  
 burgundischen dran wollen so habt  
 diesen **König** vor augen sagt mir auch **Cromwell**  
 es weren *dreyerlei artickel des keysers, die postil*  
 und hertzog Heinrichs habt acht  
 was der **König** seiner **Botschaft** zuschreibt was  
 doch des konigs gemut ist ich  
 bin in eweren räten nie gesessen  
 drum versto es ich nit wuo es  
 ussen wil oder wuo es meinen gnedigen hern  
 druckt auch bit ich uch her das  
 man mir in leng schreib was das  
 konigs botschaft wirt furtragen und  
 was doch der **König** habben wil *wie es*  
*doch zuverston seye* ob er vleich [sic] meinen g.  
 h. in ein dieffere buntnis wil furen  
 es ist auch nit von noten das mein  
 g.h. dem **Kaiser** also uf ein stutz ant:  
 wurt gebbe dan steckt doch ein bedrug

f107r.

dohinder ich sagt dem **Cromwell** mein g.h. het:  
 te ein grosse vertroftung zu im ich  
 hab es auch darfur er gemeint es  
 wol mit meim g.h. es seie im alweg:  
 en wie im wolle man gebbe des **Königs**  
**Botschafter** by uch alweg ein frolich angesicht  
 uf das man hie kein ursach habbe  
*die hoffmeysterin die von Loo, hat erlaubniß von*  
*k.ch Mt. erworben, wirt in zwen tagen uff sein, ist*

*mir leit das sie enweg zeiht, dan ich hab sie fur ein  
feine Junckfraw Stot druff das der hoffmeyster  
dinnagel auch mit kommen wirt.*

das man verschafte das doctor olich:  
schleger oder jemants vertragen zu  
der hofmeisterinnen schickte sich  
allerlei zuerfahren und furrath ge:  
schee und allein mein g.h. underrich:  
te und sich gegen meiner g.f. gar  
nit mercken los.

*Ferrer her ist es sach das der **Kaiser** in mas:*

tricht komt und sein willen wie  
zu gent volbringt so wirt lutig und  
alles miessen burgundisch werden  
und mein g.h. darnoch ein ewigen  
krieg am hals haben wan die von  
mastricht widder by den gmeinen  
stenden zu spier anhilten kinte  
nit schaden *in cauþa appellationis* dan die  
[unknown cipher, maybe 'the Spanish'] und die **Burgunder** ~~haben~~ sind ursach alles ubels

f107v.

und sie mein g.h. **Botschafter** zu spier heimlich  
by den protestirenden *und anderen Reichs:*  
*liebhabbern furderten ich sag es der stat halber nit  
sunder zubesorgen das solches wie abgemelt, meym  
gnedigen hern gleichs druff wirt begegnen wuo der  
durck kompt gebben sie widder gut wort biß zu irem  
forteil der **König** sagt mir des **Kaisers** ubergeb:*  
bene cession articeln weren scharf  
*Es ist eben die selbig meynung auch gewesen, als  
key.ch Mt. und Monþieur Croweld gern hette ghat  
das ich mich uff die post hette begeben zu Toledo in  
Summa do ist der ernst und der ho:*  
mut mit dem geitz unserem frommen  
fursten die spitz keret hierum lug  
man in alle weg das man den gunst  
by dem **König** habbe und behalte *das schreibt die  
noth, wie wil man im auch thun, man muß vertragen, wil  
mein g.h. das lant gellern behalten so  
stel sich sein g. zu ernstlicher und wil  
berathlicher widder were dan die  
duckischen figen sind nit zuver:*  
*achten hiemit will ich ewer liebden Got dem almechtigen  
bevolhen haben Datum zu Lunden prima Junii  
Anno 15 xl*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger  
Karl Harst*

**fos 144r. - 149v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 12 June 1540<sup>21</sup>**

Harst mistakingly dated this letter to 19th June and Cromwell's arrest to the 17th. He corrected this error in a later letter, see f134r.

**Summary:**

Reports the sad news of Cromwell's arrest. At the same time as he was taken to the tower, the King's guards have taken all his houses and evacuated his servants, probably for searching and taking his papers and money. Has regarded Cromwell as the best friend of the Duke and the Queen, but he suffers now. Has heard that after the arrest, the King, the Duke of Norfolk and the Admiral have dined at the Bishop of Winchester's house. Does not know whether this move was instigated by the bishops, or the Emperor or the French King. The Elector of Saxony has sent documents to the King of England, but Harst does not know more. Suggests that the Duke makes an urgent and secret inquiry with the Elector and cautions that his own dispatches must be kept safe.

'The Emperor rarely laughs, but about this he will laugh, but milord not at all. In Spain I have become partly grey, here I will even turn white like a dove. The Queen had a friend, Cromwell, he is an agent of the marriage' and therefore Harst suggests to deliberate whether the Duke may try to intervene by sending a friendly letter to mediate in the matter. Has warned the Queen to not take sides. Thinks that she will lose a lot with losing him. She had not been at court, but visiting the prince and the king's daughter on the day Cromwell was arrested.

Many say that the Duke of Norfolk never approved of the marriage.

Does not know the Queen's two maids 'from our land', but has heard that they are remotely related to her through bastardly birth and thus were appointed by favour. Thinks this not well arranged and that an experienced maid should have been sent.

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<sup>21</sup> [Harst mistakingly dated this letter to 19th June and Cromwell's arrest to the 17th. He corrected this error in a later letter, see f134r.]

Heard that Cromwell was not aware of anything at lunchtime, but after the meal was taken, the Captain of the Guard came in, the Admiral took away his dagger, and he was stripped off the insignia of his offices. He is said to have cried like a child. Harst's servant has seen him being escorted and looking miserable.

Many say that he intended to defend the gospel with the sword, but he suspects that the Emperor has schemed against him. Worries that the 'Burgundians' have made the king suspicious against the duke, seeing that Wilhelm has been at Gent for a while and judging from the indignant responses that he received here at court. But it is hot gossip that the king is said to love another woman, and the Burgundians will be alert about this. Cautions that the mother duchess should not hear these news and that the English ambassador not notice that he has informed them.

Has heard that the most distinguished of the nobility are taken against Cromwell, but does not know yet why he was arrested. Suggests that the Duke dispatches one of his experienced councillors, perhaps Olisleger, in the disguise of a merchant to try to mediate a reconciliation.

Requests to be informed about the English ambassador's orations. Complains that he cannot find sleep or peace, as he does not know whom to trust. Repeats request that the Duke may send somebody more experienced and more subtle than him, and hopes that, in case this will be denied, Wilhelm will not hold a grudge against him that he will request his withdrawal. Does not want to negotiate with this nation on his own, and has not met the Queen since Cromwell's arrest, to avoid getting anyone into difficulties in the heat of the moment.

Has visited the Queen last Tuesday, who told him to stay and have a meal together with her and her ladies. Anne's Chamberlain's wife [the countess of Rutland] has adopted Harst as her brother and demanded that he will call her sister, which she told the Queen in English, who laughed and then acted as their interpreter. The ladies had a lot of banter, which he did not understand unless Anne translated it for him. 'Would like to notify milord that I do not hold it in little esteem that [I], with my [common] birth, and in this manner, have gained such a highly noble sister. However, I will not regard myself superior and not trust the world too much.'

Now it is being exclaimed that Cromwell allegedly had written a letter to someone that incriminated him that was forwarded to the King by the Emperor. People say that the king has given the office of Privy Seal to the Admiral, and that there is no hope left if this is true.

A merchant has claimed that the Emperor has proclaimed a public peace in the Low Countries. Does not believe there is a public peace, but rather a treaty between the Emperor and the Protestants, to allow a campaign against the Turks.

Received a letter from the ducal council, dated 2 May, just as he wanted to close his dispatch. Has received the letter from 17 May on 27 May and the one from 12 May on 28 May, both were forwarded from Cromwell's household. Does not know whether they were forgotten or otherwise held back, thinks that it is caused by the English and has complained immediately to the King and Cromwell in the presence of his majesty's councillors.

Advises that the Duke and his sister Amalia should be married off to secure new 'friendships' to replace another in case one was lost. As for the English king, he and his council have talked favourably, but the Duke needs to send message to the Queen, so she will keep the king in favour and guide him.

### Transcript:

f144r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gespiettender gunstiger  
her, truriche zeitung leider kan  
ich uch nit verschwigen uff dunner:  
stag dem 17 Junii, umb vier uweren, ungeferlich Ist  
der her Crumfel gefencklich in  
thurn zu lunden gefurt worden im  
in der selben stunden durch das **Königs**  
garden alle heiser ingenommen wor:  
den die diener alle heissen drus  
gon vleicht alles das sein brief  
und gelt zubesichtigen und zuin:  
ventieren ich hab diesen **Cromwell** fur den  
grosten frundt meins g.h. und der **Königin** ge:  
halten der leit nun *Got helff uns allen*  
wie das man den **Cromwell** in thurn hat ge:  
furt sol der **König** duco de norfort und  
der admiral by dem bischof von  
wincestern habben gessen \*zu nacht\* ob das  
von den bischoffen her komt oder  
vom **Kaiser** oder vom **König von Frankreich** seie practicirt  
worden kan ich nit wissen einmol  
hat der **Kurfürst von Sachsen** geschriften dem **König** zuge:  
*schickt was aber weyß ich nit, als ich auch ver:  
nym soll der selbig Bot, ungeferlich fur Sehs  
tagen abgefertigt sein worden, wie aber weyß ich  
auch nit, hab auch nie gefragt* es kint nit  
schaden das es mein g.h. dem **Kurfürst von Sachsen** hette*

144v.

in der eil und in geheim zuge:  
 schriben und das man fursichtig mit  
 das **Königs Botschafter** handel und das meine brief  
 nit under jedermans hend kommen  
 der **Kaiser** lacht selten aber hie zu wirt  
 er lachen aber mein g.h. gar nit *In*  
*hispanien bin Ich gro [grau] worden zum teil hie werd*  
*ich gar weis werden wie ein daub*  
 die **Königin** hat ein frundt gehabt **Cromwell** er ist  
 ein ursach das hilichs und sehe  
 mich fur gut an das man in das al:  
 ler geheimischt mit mim [sic] g.h.  
 beratschlagt hette ob mein g.h.  
 ein fruntlichs beweglichs schreiben  
*citra alicuius offensam* an koniglich Mat het:  
 te thon *Wiewol das ir mir bevolhen hebben, hat*  
*auch wol ein meynung,* das ich der **Königin** an:  
 zeigte das sie sich nit parteiisch  
 mach *welchs Ich zum selbmol thon hab* ich be:  
 sorg sie wirt an diesem nit wenig  
 verlieren *Als ich auch vermerck* so ist sie  
 noch nit schwanger solten wol die  
**Burgunder** mit iren finantzen etwas kochen  
 wollen uf den dag als **Cromwell** gefangen  
 ist worden und in thurn gefurt ist  
 die **Königin** nit zu hof gewesen sunder  
 verritten zu dem jungen princen

f145r.

und zw [sic- zu] **des Königs Tochter** wollen auch etlich sagen  
 der hertog von norffock hab den  
 hilich zwischen dem **König** und der **Königin** nit  
 gern gesehen hadde auch den hi:  
 lichs brief nit helffen versig:  
 len und scheint ein schelligen  
 kopf hebben *Ich ken die 2 Cammer Junckfrawen*  
*nit \*uß unserm land\* hör wol sagen, sie sind etlichen verwant von*  
*Bastardi geschlechten und also durch gunst, denck*  
*Ich wol In diesen dienst kommen, Besorg aber es*  
*seye ubel verordenet, man solt ein verstendige*  
*fraw hebben her mit verordenet, die etlich Jar were*  
*blibben* wan sich schon etwas erhebt  
 oder sich begibt das ich vleicht  
 mocht mit underthenigen *glimpffigen*  
*gietygen worten mocht*-keren so hab  
 ichs kein wissen nit besorg es

wirt sich mitler zeit allerlei  
 verlauffen *Ich vernym* das **Cromwell** zu mittag  
 noch zu curt nichts hat gewust *aber*  
*nach gescheener molzeit* ist kommen der  
 garden haubtman und hat im der  
 admiral den dolchen ab gebunden <sup>22</sup>  
 sol er geweint hebben wie ein  
 kint *meyner diener einer* hat in gesehen  
 ins schlos furen hat schlecht fur:  
 sich gesehen es wollen etlich sag:  
 en er sol gesagt hebben er wolle mit

f145v.

dem schwert das evangelium erhalten  
*Es felt mir aber ein anders In, doch weyß Ichs nit,*  
*ob der Kaiser* widder innen practicirt hette  
 und besorg ob die burgundischen mei:  
 nen g.h. hie by ko Mat beschwert und  
 suspect gemacht hetten dieweil  
 mein g.h. also lang zu gent verzogen  
 hat und das suspicir ich us den un:  
 gewilligen *oder wie ichs nennen soll* antwurten  
 die ich hie empfangen *hab woll halb,*  
*wie ich dan ewer liebden vorigmol In meynen schreiben ver:*  
*nommen hat* ich furcht die burgunder  
*wie dan Ir art Ist,* hebben meinen g. h.  
 dem **König** unverschult suspect gemacht  
 wiewol das es gantz lautschreiiich  
 wirt als wan der **König** ein andere junck:  
 frau solt lieb hebben wie werden  
 die **Burgunder** ire oren ufstrecken verhutet  
 in alle weg das solchs geschrei fur  
 mein g.f. nit kom noch das des **Königs Botschafter** ei:  
 nich wort nit merck was ich schreibe  
 dan mein g.h. und die **Königin** wurden dodurch  
 by dem **König** beschwert werden noch dantz:  
 en und grossen freiden volgt under:  
 wisen ein schreies *Got der almechtig verleihe*  
*sein gotliche gnad* ich hof noch zu got  
 es sol nit bos werden aber man mur:  
 melt **Cromwell** wird durch gon dan es sollen im

f146r.

die treflichsten von den milorden  
 alle zu widder sein wiewol

---

<sup>22</sup> auch sol im genommen sein worden der weisz cammerling stab der orden und das sigel

ich noch nit erfahren kan was  
 oder warum er gefangen seie *aber*  
*wan ich darzu Raten solt, so sehe es mich fur gut*  
 an das mein g.h. einen erfahrenen von  
 meinen g. räten<sup>23</sup> koniglich ma.t und  
 irer mat räten als ein unparteiisch:  
 en schickte ob man die sachen mocht  
 gutlich distern und hinlegen konig:  
 lich mat und deren koigreichen [sic] zu  
 gutem und also verhutet wurd das  
 ire mat anderen potentaten in diesen  
 leiffen nit in munt keme oder  
 verkleinert wurd murmelen auch als  
 wan man im uf wolt legen als ein verreter  
 des **Königs** *wie sie aber das uß schepffe* oder ob er  
 gehandelt solt habben widder die  
 acta weis ich nit *Ich hilte darfur es solt meym*  
*gnedigen hern schier nit weniger geburen können* dan das sein  
 gnaden understund alle ding gutlich hinzu:  
 legen hoft auch der **König** solt es nit  
 fur ungut ufnemmen auch wurden an:  
 zweyfel [sic, onzweyfel] irer Ma.t rāth mitler zeit  
 erkennen das sein f. g. es gethon hette  
 us gutter zuneigung hilft es dan nicht  
 so mocht man meins g.h. guten willen us  
 allen seiten spuren was aber hierin

f146v.

zuthun und zulossen ist geb ich  
 meim g.h. und deren g rāth zuberath:  
 schlagen dan ich denck die wil  
 kein langen verzug habben doctor  
 olichschleger were wol der recht  
 man ist bekant *weyß aber auch nit, dieweil die*  
*sachen also gelegen, ob es besser ein anderer were,*  
*wie das meyn g.h. in Flandern ist geritten* und  
 sein g. vom **König** rath hat begert auch  
 fur sich selbs sein person dem **König**  
 bevollen *was antwurt do gefallen habt Ir fur*  
*langest wol verstanden, als auch meyn g.h. mit dem gnaden*  
*Gottes widder anheimisch ist kommen* widder begert  
 rath vom **König** was sein g. uf das **Kaiser** artick:  
 el und postil antwurten sol auch  
 was sein g. hinfurter thun und sich hal:  
 ten sol *was mir hieruff zur antwurt habt Ir*

<sup>23</sup> in kaufmans kleidern und gestalt uf der post

*gnugsamlich In meynem letste schreiben verstanden Beger  
auch herwidderumb das man mich thu wissen In specie  
was das **Königs Botschafter** hat furgetragen und  
wie es der **König** gehat wil haben wan  
er sein rath mit sol deilen auch  
was des **Königs Botschafter** von meim g.h. zur antwort  
ist worden *her* ich weis nit wie ichs  
verston solle ich kan nit schloffen  
mein sin haben noch rast noch rug  
weis schier nit was ich dencken  
oder wuo man vertrauen sol ich be:  
sorg die **Burgunder** ston meim g.h. noch land*

f147r.

leiten gut er<sup>24</sup> leib und leben  
und uch allen *hoc mihi incidunt nescio quale  
omen sit Also her, unseren gnedigen fursten und hern zu guten  
auch aller seiner gnaden land und Leuten* wuo sich  
je die sachen nit wolten wol anlos:  
sen so sicht es mich fur gut an das  
mein g.h. einen wolerfarnen und einen  
geschicktern her schicken dan ich bin  
uf das das **Königs** fruntschaft in alle  
weg wuo muglich underhalten mocht  
werden und verbleiben auch von nöten  
das mein g.h. alle handlung hieher  
reichende wol berathschlag und man  
fur sich sehe *wie Ich aber solchs nit erhalten  
mochte, so wil ich mitler zeit meym gnedigen hern schreyben  
und sein g underthenige bitten, das sie mirs nit ungnaden  
wolle uff nehmen, und mich gnediglich widderumb  
abfordern, wu aber noch einer, neben dem ich hier bin  
will ich meynen muglichste und usseriste vleyß gern  
ankeren umb ursach wie ir merck:*  
en wil mit der nation nit allein  
handeln sither **Cromwell** gefangen  
bin ich zu der **Königin** nit kommen uf  
das ich niemants beschwer im er:  
sten rausch *Weyter her Itzt den vergangne  
dinstag fur mittag was ich bey meyner gnedigste  
frawen der koniginnen, was von den gnaden Gottes  
almechtigen Ir gnad wol zupaß, behult mich, must*

f147v.

*mit Iren gnaden obristen Edelfrawen oder Melad, die*

---

<sup>24</sup> [Ehre]

suppen essen, hat der konigin oberster  
 Cemmerlings haußfraw mich angenommen zu Irem  
 bruder, also das Ich sie schwester heyssen sol, und  
 sie mich herwidderumb bruder, solche eingegangne  
 convention uff beiden seyten zeigt sie der konigin In  
 Engelser sprachen an, die konigin lacht und  
 was unser beyder dolmetzscher, sagte sunst viel an:  
 dere zeitverdribliche wort, verstund ich nit,  
 wu die konigin mir es nit verdolmetzscht hette,  
 mocht dannet meym gnedigen hern anzeigen, das ich nit  
 klein uff nemme, In meym stand, und also ein hochede:  
 liche schwester uberkommen hab, wie dem, will ich  
 mich nit daster herlicher achten und der welt nit  
 zuviel vertruuen

ob vleicht die die unseren g.h. in  
 ein buntnis wollen bringen als  
 lang der **König** lebt graub [sic, glaub] ich es wolt  
 nit schaden aber noch seim ab:  
 sterben wie dan weis ich nit dunckt  
 mich ein wanckelmütig volck sein  
 das Ist meyns erachtens das summarie durch  
 den **König** zumteil und sein hilf mocht  
 ir gellern behalten  
 Ferrer her kumt itzt das geschrei  
 wie **Cromwell** sol einen brief habben eim  
 anderen geschriben wem weis ich  
 nit und der sol vom **Kaiser** oder eim  
 anderen heren dem **König** zugeschickt  
 sein worden und solcher brief sol **Cromwell**

f148r.

in den last habben brocht und man  
 sagt auch das der **König** sol dem admiral das  
 officium privati sigilli habben gebben wu im also ist,  
 so ist wie ichs hör kein hoffnung mhe dho, auch werden  
 wie man sagt seine diener aurch andere heren  
 auß geteilt, Weyter her hat sich hie ein kauff:  
 man lossen mercken, wie das ein gemeyner landt:  
 frid durch key.ch Mt. Im nidderlandt außgeruffen  
 sein soll worden, Ein gemyner landtfrid, gib Ich  
 kein glauben, aber zwischen Irer Mt. und den protes:  
 tierenden wol, und das glaub ich ee das ist  
 auch der Recht griff druff, umb platz und weytung  
 zumachen, uff anderen arten widder den durcken Itz  
 zuhandelen hiemit seye ewer liebden Got dem almechtigen  
 bevolhen, datum zu Lunden uff Samstag den

*xix Junii Anno 15 xl*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger  
Karl Harst*

*Ferrer her wie ich diese brieff wolte zuschliessen,  
so kompt mir ein schreiben von meynes hern Rathen  
uff heyligen Samstag wie oben gezeichnet, den zweyten  
Maii zu dinschlag ußgangen, darumb dan gemel:  
det werden die schreibungen zu Nymigen und dysseldorff  
ußgangen welche Ich entpfangen hab, und ist mir*

f148v.

*das letst schreiben von den beyden das erst word Also  
das zu dysseldorf ist uß dem xvii Maii, hab  
Ich entpfangen uß Crumfelds hauß den xxvii  
Maii Und das zu Nymigen den xii Maii  
uß ist gangen hat mir ein Jung den xxviii  
Maii bracht, und mir anzeigt, ehr bring sie uß  
Crumfels hauß, ob es vergessen seye worden oder  
wie es zu ist gangen weyß ich nit, hab michs aber  
an orten wol beklagt, uch solchs auch Im meym letste  
schreiben uff das solcher mangel remedirt wurde  
zugeschribben aber ich besorg der mangel kom  
von diesen hie hab aber alle sach:  
en dem **König** vleissig verzelt und dem  
**Cromwell** und was ir Mat geantwurt in beysin  
aller oberster rath und aber mein  
g.h. begert itzt widder um das ire  
ko. Mat den dingen etwas grunt:  
lich noch gedencken und guten  
rath mit deilen was dem **Kaiser** und  
dem **Römischen König** zuantwurten were und aber ewer liebden  
und gunsten, allein melden meyn letst schreiben an letste  
tag des monats Maii \*entpfangen\* hieruff antwurt ich meynen  
hern den Rathen, das ich ein schreiben hab gethan  
sither den xxii Maii, das ander den iii Junii, do:  
rauß Ir onzweyfel vernommen des **Königs** antwurt  
dere an meynen gnedigen hern begert ob fur mein  
g.h. frei und unverborgen handelte  
so wolt ire Mat frei din [sic, drin] raten*

f149r.

*und sagt ire Mat wolt auch solch:  
es irer Mat **Botschafter** zuschreiben auch  
der admiral fur ein gleichnis*

gab wie der kranck *dem Medico* solt  
 seinen gebrechen erofnen<sup>25</sup> was  
 auch **Cromwell** sagt mein g.h. solt *franck* handeln  
 solchs hab ich uch alles geschri:  
 ben wie es mir nit also gar ge:  
 felt habt ir us meim schreiben ver:  
 standen man mus sich auch noch nit  
 annemmen *uff das man die sup nit gar versaltze*  
 ich hab auch dem **König** seim erbie:  
 ten noch gedanckt und allen raten ge:  
 gemeinlih [sic] ob sie aber meim g.h. nit  
 vertruon oder den fuchs sunst  
 nit fohen wollen wirt man mit:  
 ler zeit wol mercken *her es sehe*  
*mich fur gut an* das man mein g.h. und  
 seiner g. schwester **Amalia** bestedigt und  
 umsehe um fruntschaft zumachen  
 ob ein frunt abging das ein ande:  
 rer in der stat were nit das ich hie gar  
 verzweifel dan der **König** und die rath hebben  
 alle gute wort gebben sagen meim  
 g.h. das sein g. der **Königin** seiner g. schwes:  
 ter zum fruntlichsten schreibe  
 uf das ire g dem **König** in eren in alle  
 weg halt und im vor gehe

f149v.

*her ich will alle die antwurt* meiner g.  
 frauen auch der lantschaften  
 itzt ubersehen und wuo muglich  
 dem **König** morgen anzeigen *hiemit*  
*wunsch Ich ewer liebden gesuntheit datum ut [...] In der*  
*eyl gschribben*  
*Auch her, das ewer liebden vermercke* durch wen  
 ich mein brief schicke uf ant:  
 dorf in der rincken factor haus  
 und der gibt sie in das gulden  
 becken heinrich danrat der dan  
 sie sol vorter verfertigen uf  
 ravenstein oder nit mocht man mich  
 lossen wissen *die brieff In hispanien*  
*und widder herauß sind besser neher gangen als*  
*die Itzigen*

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<sup>25</sup> so solt mein g.h. auch thun so kunte man seinen g helfen

**fos 119r. - 124r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 16 June 1540<sup>26</sup>**

Harst made mistakenly dated this letter to 23 June. For his correction see f134r.

**Summary:**

Recapitulates the contents of his last letter. Has received the dispatch that was sent on 2nd June from Dinslaken, including the copies of a response of the mother duchess to Heinrich Troechß, a response of the estates to Heinrich Troechß and a response of the free peasants, gentry, cities, Guelders and Zutphen. Has given an account of these to the king, who has already been well informed by his ambassador.

The king told him that he will wait with his answer until he was given disclosure of all proceedings and the duke's plans and mind. The queen has told the king that Harst worried that the Emperor will wage war on her brother, to which the king has answered that the emperor will not do this, because he would first need to ask him [the king of England].

Thinks that the arrest of Cromwell is the result of envy and discord, as is often the case. Advises that the duke may dispatch an envoy to mediate in this matter, to not lose such a good friend of the duke and the 'father' of the queen. Was told in secret by the queen that the king has told her about Cromwell's deceit, that the latter had planned to raise a sword against the king to take his kingdom, how the king has warned him about such rumours and given him the opportunity to explain himself, and how the king lamented that he has promoted him this high and given him this much. Cromwell was arrested as a traitor and accordingly will have to die. Has said to the queen that the emperor will laugh about this, but she held that he will not laugh, because if Cromwell had been scheming with the emperor, Duke Wilhelm's situation would have improved now. Received the queen's order not to do anything behind the king's back and to repeatedly tell him that the duke put his trust in the king and that he will communicate with full confidence.

Thinks that 'this nation and island grows a people of such kind and mind, in an abundance of robes, a wolf to everyone, and inclined to flattery, they are wholly Epicureans.' This and other reasons lead him to advise that, if matters get worse and a war imminent, it would be necessary to send a second envoy for supporting the duke's cause, because it needs skillful negotiating with this king. Suggests Olisleger for this. Has demanded from the queen that she will have god before her eyes, but then the king and further the cause that the duke will keep the king's lasting friendship in dire straits, and she agreed.

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<sup>26</sup> Harst made a mistake with the dates and dated this letter to 23 June. For his correction see f134r.

Has assured the king that the duke had most faith in the king just after god, but the king did not reply and only looked at him. Thinks this still better than superficial words that have no effect. Cautions that his letters need to be kept safe from unauthorised readers and that the English ambassador will not hear anything that might displease the king. Fears that otherwise he may be 'as welcome' as a former ambassador, 'Monſieur de Prata', who had made remarks on the king in his despatches that were shown to the king, and faced reprisal despite his status as ambassador.

Is amused about Frau von Loo/ Mother Lowe, who was afraid of the Tower, where she had to stay. Thinks she may have feared it the more since last Saturday the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Leonard Grey, was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. Has been to dinner with him at Cromwell's house one or three times. Has heard that Cromwell, hearing talk about England reverting to the old faith, alledgedly exclaimed in a choleric fit that if the king would do this, he himself would lead 40,000 men against him and the emperor. Thinks that saying such things would be too much to say for a wise man like Cromwell, as this was high treason. Would forgive Cromwell such words, if no other harm was done to the king, for the sake of the former faithful service. But thinks that, as Cromwell will die for these words alone, there was envy and distrust of others behind it, especially of those of the old faith. The [Catholic] priests are gaining more confidence again; the streets are full of them, whereas before none could be seen. Cromwell told him 'the other day' that the Elector of Saxony has been a good friend, thinks he referred to the religious writings that the Elector was said to have sent to the king. Was told by Cromwell that the Elector had written a very friendly letter to the king, wishing him the best of luck with the queen.

Recounts a visit with Cromwell, about five weeks ago, in which he had warned Cromwell that according to rumour, he would surrender all his offices and leave court. Had offered that he could write to the duke, who would, without a doubt, write a friendly letter to mediate and settle this matter, as Cromwell was well trusted and his friendship important for the duke and the queen. Was told by Cromwell to not believe these empty rumours and that he had only passed on one office, by his own will. Thinks that Cromwell will remember him now, in his imprisonment. Last Monday, the king had all the cash and silverware removed from Cromwells estates, and according to rumour it was enough for affording thousands of [armed] men for a year. Many say that they have known him as a faithful servant of the king for many years, but as the king and his privy council say that he is a traitor, they leave it to that. Does not know whether this is true. The king is said to have called Cromwell a heretic.

Has heard that when he was arrested, the duke of Norfolk has called him a traitor, to which Cromwell replied that he (Norfolk) was a traitor himself; he, Cromwell, has kept the king to his realm, if it had not been for him, Henry would not be king now, and if the king knew Norfolks heart as much as he did, he would know that Norfolk wants to be king himself. It is said that Cromwell is not sorrowful in his imprisonment, that he said 'the lord has given, the lord has taken away', and that he does not ask for a long life, but wanted to be with the king, which was not granted to him. Some say that he intended to pack his belongings and take his heels while the king and queen would be on their progress, others that the Cromwell was to be given the power over Ireland by the king, as his father had come from Ireland, and he would have abused this, yet other say that the king would have lost Calais and other parts of his realm. Has a lot of sympathy with the king if this is the case, but has heard people say that with his [the king's?] own signature, it is impossible to prove for anybody that they have not done anything unlawful.

As soon as Cromwell was arrested, a nobleman was sent to the emperor to report the news of his arrest, and that there has never been a traitor worse than him in England. Thinks the duke needs to beware the instability [of English policy]; as long as the king lives and holds Wilhelm in favour, the 'Burgundians' will not attack, thus it is of utmost importance to not displease the king, that the duke warns the queen to have god and then the king 'before her eyes', and that Wilhelm will send his commendations for Harst to the admiral [the new privy seal].

The postscriptum is a message for the Chamberlain Hochsteden, that Harst will ask the queen to see that his nephew will be sent to the same school as the count of Waldeck.

### **Transcript:**

f119r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietender gunstiger  
her Cantzler, das schreiben dorin gemeldet wirt, wie  
das ko.ch Mt. begert das meyn g.h. sein gmielt und  
meynung wolle clerlich anzeigen, und summarie, so will  
ir Mt. als dan auch Summarie antwurten, und Raten zum  
besten Solchs schreiben hebben ewer liebden für longest entpfangen  
dorneben hat auch ko.ch Mt. meynem gnedigen hern geschribben, Aber  
itzt ein Samstag verschinnen, ist mir ein schreiben worden  
zu dinschlag<sup>27</sup> den ii Junii außgangen mit beygelegten copeyen  
Nemlich meyner gnedigen Frawen antwurt hern Heinrichen  
Troechß, Antwort der Landtschafft hern Heinrich*

---

<sup>27</sup> Dinslaken

*Trochß gegeben Antwort der Bauer hern Ritterschaft und  
 Stede, Gelre, und Zutphen Abschidt der Landtschafften  
 Solchs \*inhalts\* hab ich Summarie ko.ch Mt. verzelt, wiewol das ir  
 Mt. als ich wol vermerckt, der handlungen und landtstag  
 gut underRichtung, von irer Mt. gesantten itzt bey meym  
 gnedigen hern wesende hott und sagt auch dieweil sein gnaden  
 wie obenngmelt [sic] geschribben, so wolt ire Mt. uff antwort warten und  
 wan ire Mt. verstendigt was ghandelt und auch  
 meyns gnedigen hern hern gemuet besser erfahren, So wolt dan ire  
 Mt. Raten, also danckt ich irer Mt. aber die **Königin**  
 sagt mir sie hette dem **König** gesagt wie  
 das ich besorgt der **Kaiser** wurd den **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** bekrie:  
 gen doruf hat der **König** der **Königin** geantwort das  
 wirt der **Kaiser** nit thun er wirt mich  
 vorhin auch drum frogen miessen  
 Weyter her, wie das ich uch geschribben hab, wie das Monßieur  
 Crumfel gefangen seye hab ich gemeint  
 es seie etwan zwitracht oder neid under  
 innen entstanden und gewesen wie  
 es dan leider viel geschieht, und durch hoch  
 verclagung einer den anderen in*

f119v.

gefencknis hette brocht und darum  
 vermeint mein g.h. solt einen uf  
 der post habben abgefertigt noch  
 gelegenheit der sachen *neutralis et  
 sine offensione alienis* helffen zuverteidigen und hinzulegen  
 uf das meim g.h. solcher frundt  
 und der **Königin** ir vatter nit underge:  
 druckt \*wurd\* *So sind die dinge leider viel anlas*  
 wie dan mir die **Königin** in geheim  
 hat verzelt und ir der **König** hat anzeigt  
 als wan **Cromwell** das schwert gegen dem **König** het:  
 te wollen furen und understanden in:  
 nen um sein lant zubringen und  
 hat der **König** gesagt wie das er in ge:  
 warnt hab es gon solche red von im  
 er sol sich verantwurten es hat auch  
 der **König** beclagt das er in also hoch hat  
 gemacht im also viel gebben \*nicht sunder sei geheis gethon\* in sum:  
 ma der **König** hat innen lossen gefenck:  
 lich inlegen als ein verreter was  
 aber er darzu sagt weis ich nit *In summa*  
 er wirt miessen sterben der almech:  
 tig trost in und seie der selen gne:

dig ich sagt der **Königin** der **Kaiser** wurde hiezu  
 lachen do antwur [sic] sie mir er wirt nit  
 darzu lachen solt **Cromwell** dan mit dem **Kaiser** hab:  
 ben angehalten were mein g.h. recht  
 ins bad kommen dan mir bevolhen

f120r.

ich solt nicht mit dem **König** under  
 sein furwissen handeln *Mich auch*  
*etlich mol mit Worten als weyt mit im eingebben*  
 wie das mein g.h. ein gantz zunei:  
 gung und gutvertröstung hette  
 zu im derenthalben wolt ich ver:  
 truter weise mit im handeln  
 des solt er hergegen mit mir  
 auch thun das nam er an  
 dieweil aber diese nation und  
 insel das volck solcher art pflantz  
 und gemiet in superfluitate vestium et ad om:  
 nem lupum et ad adulationem inclinati  
 plane Epicurei und sunst auch ur:  
 sachen die mich bewegen so wil  
 ich meim g.h. us getruer underthe:  
 niger meinung habben anzeigt und  
 seinen g. zu gutem nit verhalten wuo  
 es je nit anders wil sein und der **Kaiser**  
 und **die Burgunder** meinen g.h. bekriegen wollen als  
 ich besorg so wirt die not erheisch:  
 en das mein g.h. noch ein wolerfare:  
 ne trefflich person her verfertige  
 uf das mein g.h. sachen in den noten  
 daster me gefurdert werden dan zu  
 solchem ernst wirt viel gehoren  
 und kunstlich miessen mit diesem **König**

f120v.

handelen uf das ire mat ein stant:  
 haftig gemiet gegen meinen gnedigen hern  
 drag und sein g in noten nit verlos:  
 sen werd hiezu were doctor olich:  
 schleger gut und fast nutzlich  
 meinem g.h. *Itzt der vergangenen Sondag, wie*  
*ich beym konig was gewesen, und ich von der konigin*  
*wolt nemmen urlub, Bat ich, und ermant ire gnad under:*  
*theniglich das sie Got den almechtigen fur augen wolt halten und*  
 noch dem iren hern den **König** und dem fur

gon uf das mein g.h. auch irer Mat ste:  
 tige fruntschaft mochte behalt sein  
 g in noten nit verlossen antwurt  
 sie es solt kein not hebben sie wolt  
 es thun *Als ich bey ko.ich Mt. was, sagt ich irer Mt.*  
 das ire Mat wolt ir mei [sic] g.h. lossen be:  
 vollen sein und noch got hette  
 sein f.g. die grost vertrostung zu  
 irer Ma.t sahe mich ir Mat an ant:  
 wurt aber nicht druf *das hab ich nun lieber,*  
*und loß mirs auch besser gefallen, dan wan mir*  
*uberflissige wort wurd und nichts darauß volgte,*  
*her gebt wasserburg mein brief der*  
 wirt sie wol trulich erwarten uf das  
 sie sunst von niemants gesehen werden  
 man verhiet sich auch wol das gar  
 nichts fur das **Königs Botschafter** oder sunst furkomme  
 oder gesagt werd dan wuo der **König** etwas  
 merckte und ein unwillen fast wurd

f121r.

es meim g.h. und der **Königin** zu mercklich:  
 em grossem nochteil kommen und wurd  
 ich eben als wilkum sein wie *Monßieur de pra:*  
 ta fur zeite in diesen lande hat  
 auch hinnaus geschriben den konig hie  
 berurent und ward irer Mat zuerken:  
 nen gebben oder brief zeigt erstund  
 gros ungnaden doraus wiewol das es  
 ein **Botschafter** Was wolt es ire Mat an im erholt  
 hebben *und was dannet nit der peinen wol wert*  
*Ich muß der hoffmeysterin, der von Loo lachen die*  
 gut fraw forcht sich fur dem thurn  
 wuo sie bis itzt were plibben so wird  
 sie sich noch mer geforcht hebben  
*Itzt den vergangnen Samstag \*gegen dem abent\* hat man Mylord Le:*  
*nard wie ich hör von koniglichen geblut, ko.ch Mt. Stathalter*  
*in Irlandt in thurn gefurt, heut hat der konig alles*  
*Crumfels gelt und Silber geschir uß seim hauß*  
*lossen furen was aber der Stathalter uß Irlandt*  
*bezigen wirt, weyß ich nit, hab ein mol oder dry mit*  
*im by Monß. Crumfeld gessen wan es also ist wie*  
*man murmelt von Monß. Crumwel, so ist es kein*  
*wunder, das ich allezeit hab geschribben ich kan nichts*  
*nit verston, so hat ehr etwan ander ding miessen denck:*  
*en und trachten, und meyn furbringen nit zu hertzen gefaßt,*

*man wirt es on zweyfel in kurtzen wol vernemmen  
wie alle handlung ston, ob er schuldig seye, oder nit.  
Ich glaubs er hab ein heimlich anligen gehat, der ver:  
gangen montag hat man widder ein Mylord ge:  
fangen von Orden s[...] [...]*

f121v.

*her ich muß widder erholen, wie zum Deil die Redden  
gon, Als ich vernym, wie man etwan in der  
Religion sachen sol gehandelt habben, und vleicht  
zum teil uff die alte meynung widderumb, Je als  
Crumfel solchs vermerckt, sol er stutzig als ein  
colericus geantwurt habben, wan das der konig  
thette, sol wolt er selbs ein vierzig tausent man  
widder Innen und widder den keyser halten, wu  
er solchs gereth hat, ist es zuviel fur ein solchen  
weysen man, et est crimen lege maiestatis, aber wan  
der **König** sunst nit gefast ist diese  
wort wolt ich im verzeihen um der  
vorigen treien dienst wie menne:  
klich sagt und wuo diese wort allein  
innen um das leben \*bringen\* so mis [sic, mus] es us  
neid sein der anderen heren dan  
es sind etlich drundenr [sic] vom alten  
glauben dan die pfaffen habben  
schon widder ein mut *alle strossen lauffen*  
*vol, furhin sahe man keinen* so weis man auch  
wol wie weit sich der **König** hat gegen  
dem **Papst** gesetzt und mochten der  
**Kaiser König** und **Papst** widder eins werden *Es*  
*sagt die vergangene tag* Cromwell zu mir der **Kurfürst von Sachsen** het  
sich erzeugt wie ein getruer  
frundt *Ich hab darfur er meynt die geschrifft* die  
der **Kurfürst von Sachsen** in der religion sachen hette  
ubergeschickt dem **König** *Er sagt mir auch*  
*wie der Churfürst von Sachsen also geschicklich und**

f122r.

*fruntlich hette ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt geschribben und glucks ge:  
winst mit der koniginnen, Weyter her so sind es  
ungeferlich funff wochen do hab ich bey **Cromwell** zu:  
thun gehat von wegen mein g.h. also  
nach aller verhandlung, wie das ich von im wolt  
sagt ich her es got das ge:  
schrei under dem volck wie das  
ir euer emptter ubergebben und*

vleicht den hof verlossen *So were*  
*es nit on* mein g.h. setzt seine vertros:  
 tung zu im nehst noch dem **König** das  
 gleichen thet auch die koni:  
 gin und ein solchen frund zu:  
 verlieren wird meim g.h. beschwer:  
 lich sein dorum were etwan ein  
 zwitracht (dan ich hot [sic, hor] die bischof stil:  
 schwigent etlich etlicher mans  
 in verdacht als ich auch noch  
 besorg) so wolt ich es meim g.h. zu:  
 schreiben on zweifel sein f.g.  
 wirt sich erzeigen als ein frundt  
 und alle sachen helffen hinleg:  
 en *heyruuff her antwurt ehr mir, es were nicht,*  
 ich solt nit glauben was das volck  
 sagte er hette ein secretariat amt  
 mit seim wi[ll]en ubergebben der  
 were auch under im und by im in  
 seim haus an by ist das plibben

f122v.

er wirt anzweifel [sic, onzweifel] in seiner  
 schweren gefencknis an mich  
 dencken *So hab ichs auch umbs beste willen*  
*gethan, das ich kan wol erkennen* wuo mei:  
 terei hie im land ist und bevor:  
 ab under den heiptern das mein  
 g.h. kleinen vorteil wirt dorbey  
 hebben das hette ich gern verhut  
*das vergangen mondag, hat ko.ch Mt. als sein bar:*  
*schafft und Silber geschir, etlich karren vol, lossen*  
*uß sein Hauß furen, hett etlich tausent man jar*  
*und tag mogen dor mit erhalten wie man sagt Er muß etwan sunst*  
*ubel gehandelt hebben, dieweil man im also hefftig*  
*zusetzt* sagen etlich sie hebben in:  
 nen in das **Königs** diensten viel jar  
 bekant und treulich befunden  
 aber der **König** und irer Mat rath sagen  
 er seie ein verreter do ~~so~~ los:  
 sen sie bei pleiben *ob es also seye, das*  
*weyß ich nit es ist auch nit zusagen* der **König** sol in gnant  
 hebben ein hereticum wuoa [sic] das  
 wor were tum vererent baculum ad  
 cedendum eum *sed si sunt iustae cauße, tum*  
*miserat[...]* [.....] *Sie sagen wo man innen hat*

angriffen sol der hertzog von Norfock innen ein  
 verreter habben geheyssen, hat ehr gesagt das leugst  
 du, du bist selbs ein verreter, Ich hab den konig behalten  
 bym konigReich, und wu ich nit gewesen, so were ehr  
 uff diß stund kein konig nit, und wan der konig

f123r.

dein hertz also wol kent als ich, dan du werest selbs  
 gern konig, sagen ehr seye in der gefenckniß nit trurich  
 er sag Deu dedit Deus obstulit, frog auch nicht  
 nach langem leben, wolt gern mit dem konig gewesen,  
 wirt im aber nit vergunt werden, Etlich sagen dieweil  
 der konig mit der konigin, uff das progreß oder  
 Jegerrei hat wollen reiten, hat ehr sich wollen uff packen  
 und sich enweg machen, Etlich sagen, wie das der konig im  
 hiberniam hat wollen in sein gehorsam bringen, mit  
 der selben schiffung hat er wollen hinnein ziehen, dan  
 sein vatter seye auch doher gewesen Etlich sagen der ko:  
 nig solt umb Calis, und ander land mhe seyn kommen,  
 ist es also, so drag ich ein groß mitleid mit diesem  
 konig, so muß es ein schrede verzweyfelte art sein,  
 Sie wollen auch sagen, mit seiner eigen handt, und under:  
 zeichnung wirt man keinen beweysen das ehr nit wol  
 gehandelt habbe Als bald als Monß. Crumfel ge:  
 fangen ist worden, hat ko.ch Mt. einen Edelman zu keyßerlich  
 Mt. Botschafft geschickt, und im lossen anzeigen  
 Er hab Crumfel gefangen, grosser verRätter seye  
 in Engellant nie gewesen. was ire Mt. do:  
 mit gemeint, das sie es solchemklagt, weyß ich nit,  
 her was man sich uf dieser seit ver:  
 trosten wil unstanhaftigkeit halben gilt  
 es ufsehen dan der **König** ist sterb:  
 lich als lang er lebt und \*wan ire Mat.\* meim  
 g.h. wol wil so werden die **Burgunder** das  
 schwert meins erachtens in der  
 scheiden lossen dorum in alle

f123v.

weg verhuten das man ire Ma.t  
 nit erzirn und das des **Königs Botschaft** kein  
 unwillen vermerck \*noch auch mit worten\* dan ich besorg  
 wuo etwas wurd ubergeschriben kint  
 man leichtlich ursach gebben und  
 das mein g.h. seiner g. schwester der  
**Königin** geschriftlich und bruderlich  
 erman das sie got erstlich und

darnoch iren **König** und heren fur au:  
 gen hab und das mitler zeit sein  
 f.g. mich dem admiral wolte in  
 seiner g. sachen bevolhen lossen  
 sein *Hiemit seye ewer liebden Got dem almechtigen*  
*bevolhen datum zu Lunden den 23 Junii Anno 15 40*

*Ewer Liebden gutwilliger diener*  
*Karl Harst*

f124r.  
*Her, sagt dem hoffmeyster Hochsteden Ich will als*  
*viel mir nutzlich ist, by der konigin anhalten, uff das*  
*seiner liebden Neve mit dem Graven von Waldeck, uff ein*  
*schull zuleren gethan werde, Monß. Crumwel hat*  
*den knaben lieb, mocht in wol leiden*

### **fos 134r. - 138r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve, London, 19 June 1540**

#### **Summary:**

Corrects his mistakes in dating the last two letters, the one dated to 19th was in fact written on the 12th, and the one that reads 23rd should be 16th of June. Has received the last letter of the duke's councillors, that was written on 2nd June in Dinslaken, and reported its contents to the king on 3rd June [clearly this must be another mistake by Harst]. The king already was informed by his ambassador, and awaits an answer from Wilhelm that openly declares his stance. The English are well aware that the duke not only needs the king's advice, but also help and have signalled it clearly to him. Due the course of recent events he has no peace of mind and does not know whom to trust, thinks the inconstancy is innate to this nation. Suggests convincing the king to lend money to the duke, as this would be more reliable, in case the king dies and things change.

Has heard rumours that Melanchton or Saxony has send three articles about the sacrament of marriage, confession and communion, that Cromwell supposedly requested these behind the king's back and uttered that he intended to defend these three articles against the king and the emperor with the sword. Thinks that it is impossible to prove that he prepared to rise against the king. People are saying that, as he was sympathetic to foreigners, he may have conspired with them, and murmuring that he communicated a lot with Saxony, and that he was the reason why the king married a foreigner, or else the king would have

taken a bride from his own realm. Worries therefore that if the king had no heir, with the queen not being pregnant, she would fare like the first queen [Catherine of Aragon] and the Burgundians would rejoice and play their part. It is said that Cromwell will be judged by the current parliament, but others claim that he will be charged and will be at trial to defend himself, allegedly on the coming Monday at Westminster. Has heard that they did not find as many riches as many thought he would have, around £10,000 and 5000 in silverware, because he has lived generously. The most important of the king's council despise Cromwell, which Harst regrets, he is abandoned by all his friends and his servants deny him, many have been only flatterers. Compares them to animals that, seeing one of them weakened, do not help but rather turn against it. Regrets the turn of events for the duke's and Anne's sake.

Is glad that the office of Privy Seal will be given to the Admiral [FitzWilliam], as he was always friendlier than others. Asks for reinforcement, as in such important business and the turn of events it needs a more experienced diplomat than him.

Thinks that at the diet of Speyer or Hagenau, the Emperor will try to further his claim of Guelders, but trusts that the duke will counter this and explain the matter to the estates.

The queen is well and content. Requests that Wilhelm writes a letter to Anne to remind her to keep her eyes on the lord and further on the king, in all respects.

Suggests, regarding Gogreve's complaint about the delay of his letters, that Gogreve may inquire about the reasons among the people that pass on the letters [the Rinck merchants and a man called Heinrich] and if necessary, find other ways for dispatching their correspondence.

Cautions that the English ambassador must not notice anything that the king might disapprove of even the slightest, as he wants to be lauded and praised, and always be right, because he is raised in this manner that no-one may criticise his affairs. Otherwise, Harst would have been more frankly towards him. Admits that at the last audience he had a little argument with the king, as he wanted to talk to him alone about something concerning the duke.

Thinks that it is not necessary to immediately send commendations to the new Privy Seal and that the duke may still attempt to intervene for Cromwell. It is nothing for him to have a say, but feels pity for Cromwell, as he lost all his offices, his property, and will lose his life.

Enclosed note:

N., of whom he had borrowed money while he was in Spain, has sent a servant to enquire about his repayment. Has told him that he believed it to be done already and excused it, as it may have been

forgotten, for all the affairs. Requests that the money will be paid back to N as soon as possible to avoid the he will get even less inclined to help in the future. Also asks for the Welser merchants to be paid for past dispatches, pointing out that their service is important and cannot be jeopardised.

### Transcript:

f134r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietender gun:  
stiger her, ir solt mir es nit fur ungut uffnehmen,  
das ich also gefelt hab, in beyden datum meynen  
beyden letste schreiben, dan sich die sachen also seltsam  
verlauffen Ist es gar kein wunder, das solches in  
solcher eyll ubersehen mocht werden, das ein datum  
das do stund den 19 Junii, sol sein den 12 Junii,  
das ander statt den 23 Junii, solt sein gestanden  
den 16 Junii Und das letst schreiben von meyns  
g. hern Räthen den 2 Junii zu dienstschatz [sic] uß:  
gangen, mit sampt der furstenthumb antwurten  
und abschiedt, gleichs den anderen tag darnach, das  
ist uff Sondag den 3 Junii, das summarien dar:  
von ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt referiert, vermerckte aber wol das  
irer Mt geschickter bey meym g. hern itzunt  
wesende, solchs auch ubergeschriben hette, wie e.l.  
dan in meynen letste schreiben vernommen, und ir  
Mt uff antwort wart, wie ich dan im selben  
letste schreiben auch angezeigt hab CH mein g.h.  
begert das ire majestät den dingen  
etwas gruntlich wil noch denck:  
dem ein guten rath mitteilen was  
dem **Kaiser** zuantwurten und was sich auch  
sein f.g. hinfurter zuschicken het:  
te wil mich beduncken der **König** ist  
nit gesint zuantwurten er seie  
dan vorhin meins g.h. gemiets cler:  
lich verstendigt es sind sunst  
seiner g. geschriften und botschaften*

f134v.

*zeitlich genug ankommen derenthalben  
meins erachtens kein mangel gehabt wan in  
sunst gelegen were zuantwurten  
wie aber dem, man muß also gedult hebben  
mein g.h. bedarf des **Königs** rath nit al:  
lein sunder vielme irer hilf das*

wissen auch die hie wol *habben sich*  
*auch gnugsamlich lossen ir etlich gegen mir ver:*  
*mercken* dorum sol sich sein f.g.  
 nit verwundern dan aller deren  
 vergangen handlungen meinen g.h.  
 betreffen bis uf diese stund  
 und auch die itzige leif ver:  
 wundern mich also das ich nit  
 viel ruge noch rast hab dan ich  
 weis schier nit was der welt zu:  
 vertrauen ist und in sunderheit wuo  
 unstanthaftigkeit ist und der nation  
 vleicht angeboren *wie ich dan vorigend me*  
*hab anzeigt* mocht man den **König** dohin beweg:  
 en das ire Ma.t meim g.h. ein sum  
 gelts also bar wolt furstrecken  
 so were doruf etwas zubuen dan wuo  
 ire Mat absturbt so besorg ich es  
 wirt seltzam zugon got verhute es  
 dan sunderlich got gun irer Mat das  
 lebe der **Königin** und dem konigreich zu  
 gutem lange zeit

f135r.

*Sie wollen sagen etlich, wie das Melenchton, oder die*  
*Sächsischen, sollen hyeher geschickt habben dry puncten*  
*se? de connubio sacerdotum, confeßione, et communicacio:*  
*ne sub utraque specie und als wan Monß. Crumfel*  
*solchs begert solt habben sunder furwissen ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt von den*  
*Sächsischen geschriben das sie solchs überschicken, und sich*  
*dorneben solt habben lossen mercken, als wolt ehr die*  
*puncte gegen konig und keyser sie mit dem schwert verdeidigen*<sup>28</sup> *ich glaub*  
*kum das man es bewisen kan das*  
*er sich gerist habbe sich widder*  
*den **König** zusetzen einmol hat er den*  
*uslndern wol wollen sagt menne:*  
*klich solt im auch wol mit den*  
*schaden thun murmelen auch er*  
*hab viel mit den sachsichen com:*  
*municirt Item er seie ein ursach*  
*das sich der **König** zu den uslndern*  
*verhilicht hat*<sup>29</sup> *sunst hette ire*  
*Mat ein im konigreich genommen*  
*ich sie es wol halb darfur wan der*

<sup>28</sup> und dieweil solchs widder uffgerichte acta das keiner nit schreibe

<sup>29</sup> hec leviter audivi, quosdam in hanc opinionem submurmuraße

**König** kein erben hette und dieweil  
 die **Königin** noch nit schwanger man dorfte  
 etwas weiters drachte wie mit der  
 ersten konigin und sunder zweifel  
 die **Burgunder** solte die laut daruff stymmen und Richten  
 helffen, es wirt aber will Got auch nit dazu kom:  
 men, Got wirt es besser verordnen.  
 Sie wollen sagen das Monß. Crumfel von demselbigem

f135v.

*perlament condemnirt soll sein, Sagen auch das  
 gnant seye ein tag, welcher zu clagen hat, das er  
 erschein, und widder Innen clag, Weyter sagt man,  
 das ehr Itzt ein zukünfftigen mondag, zu west:  
 minster soll fur das recht gestelt werden. Als  
 ich auch vernym so hat man nit also viel hinder  
 Im funden, als etlich woll meynten, ungeferlich et:  
 wan 10000 lib und 5000 In silber geschir, dan  
 er hat reylich und frey hauß gehalten er hat  
 das lebberlen gessen die fur:  
 nemsten by dem **König** im rath sind im  
 zuwidder das mir leit ist<sup>30</sup> auch  
 ist er verlossen von allein sei:  
 nen frunden und seine diener ver:  
 leicknen sein deren er viel uber:  
 flissiger schmeichler hat gehabt  
 das ist des volcks art wan die geyß  
 leidt, dem nehste der oben uff dem Ratt? stett, alle  
 Im zu allso lang biß er felt, Ist keiner der In  
 uff hebt<sup>31</sup> das der val also komen  
 ist mir leidt von wegen der **Königin** und  
 meins gnedigen hern Weyter her hat ko.ch Mt. dem Am:  
 miral das offitium privati sigilli ubergebben  
 das ich dieweil es doch ubergeb:  
 ben wirt gern siehe dan er sich alzeit  
 fruntlich erbotten fur allen an:  
 deren wirt von noten sein das im mein  
 g.h. schreibe und mich im in seiner*

f136r.

f.g. sachen hie strebende wolle  
 lossen bevolhen sein Auch bit ich  
 noch underthenigklich meynen g. hern, wie vor, wuo  
 im der **Kaiser** und die **Burgunder** den rauchen

<sup>30</sup> wuo man sich drein legt so hat man die anderen zuwidder

<sup>31</sup> sie fallen ehe darzu uff In

weg ussen wollen das dan sein f.g.  
 ein trefliche und erfarne person  
 hieher verfertig uf das in solch:  
 en wichtigen handlungen und leif:  
 fen durch mich nicht verseimt  
 werden neben dem dan wil ich gern  
 ein zeit lang zum treilichsten  
 mein best thun ich besorg (*wiewol man  
 soll niemants vertriben, es seye ein verhenckniß von  
 Gott*) wie **Cromwell** scharf gemessen wirt  
 im widder gemessen *der her seye Im und uns  
 allen gnedig, Ich hab darfur, das Itzt uff der  
 versamlung zu Spier, oder Hagenaw wie man  
 sagt der Kaiser* aldo sein und der **Burgunder** sachen  
 verglimpfen *und dem ein spitz hietlin  
 uff zusetzen, darmit thun gellern belang:*  
 en *bin aber ungezweyfelt, meyn g.er her wirt*  
 aller hanlung [sic] gefast sein und den  
 gemeinen stenden alle verlauffe:  
 ne handlungen noch besser inbilden  
*Ich hor sagen es seye widder ein newer burgundisch:*  
 er bischof zu Lutig es bedunckt  
 mich der **Kaiser** hat gern do ein kint uf das

f136v.

er mag allein momber sein er  
 schleicht den von mastricht noch  
 das merck ich nit ee wirt er mein  
 g.h. angriffen bis er sie in der clam ha[t]  
*Hie wollen etlich sagen der keyser und frantzios werden  
 noch zammen, wu etwas dran ist, wird gescheen  
 nach dieser verhandlung, dobben darnoch werden  
 sich die burgundischen regulieren  
 den vergangnen dunnerstag schickt meyn gnedig:  
 ste fraw, die konigin nach mir, und was von dem  
 gnad Gottes wol zu paß und zu fridden, dem hern  
 seye lob und danck gesagt Ich bit uch her er:*  
 manent meinen g.h. das sein g. sei:  
 ner g. schwester der **Königin** zum fruntlich:  
 sten schreibe uf das ir g. got erst:  
 ich und darnoch den **König** in alle weg  
 vor augen und zufur hab  
*Wie e l mir schreibt, das etwan die brieff also  
 langsam kommen und nit wissen was behinderung  
 fur handen sein mag so hab ich das meren:*  
 teils mein brief der Rincken fac:

tor uf antdorf und also bevolhen  
 Heinrich im gulden becken zuuber:  
 antwurten und also vort uf raven:  
 stein zuschicken *wiewol ich hab gehört, er*  
*seye ein zeit lang kranck gelegen ob das die*  
*verhinderniß seye oder nit, kan ich nit wissen, were*  
*aber von noten, das e.l. dorin ein Insehen ließ*  
*haben, oder uff andere weg zu trachten wie die brieff*

f137r.

*zum fuglichsten überschickt mochten werden, uff das wu*  
*von noten, kein verhinderniß oder meym g hern kein*  
*nochteil daruß entstunde, oder einige verseumniß,*  
*Hiermit seye e.l. Got dem almechtigen bevolhen, datum*  
*zu Lunden uff Samstag, den xix Junii Anno 15 xl*

*E. L. gutwilliger*  
*Karl Harst*

*Ich hab vorhin auch ermant das des **Königs** Botschaft nicht*  
*erfar das dem **König** zuwidder im we:*  
*nigsten sein mocht und man wol acht*  
*hab dan er wil gelobt und gepri:*  
*sen sein und in allen recht und*  
*den preis haben also ist er erzog:*  
*en worden im niemant in sein sachen*  
*darf redder ich were sunst lang*  
*ein mol im balg gewesen wie:*  
*wol das ich ein kleins uffhebben oder Irgenglin*  
*mit ir Mat hab gehabt es was von noten, draff*  
*meynen g hern an, wie das ich on ein das letst*  
*mol relation doth und antwurt, erwarten*  
*word, zerging aber im end wol allein das*  
*mir dersebig abschidt nie gefal:*  
*len hat wuo der **König** hie meim g.h. wol*  
*wil So hoff ich zu Got das burgundisch*  
*kreitz wirt gemacht thun Man schreib*  
*mir doch zu was der **König** irer Mat botschaft*  
*by uch bevollen hat zuwerben oder*

f137v.

*wie er es vom meim g.h. gehabt*  
*wil haben*  
*der Ammiral, der Itzt den hern Crumfel suc:*  
*cediert In dem offitio privati sigilli, heysß mit*

*seim namen FutoWillem<sup>32</sup> halt es aber nit das  
 es von noten, das im meyn g.er her also bald  
 noch zur zeit schreibe, ich glaub noch  
 hette sich mein g.h. fur den **Cromwell** einge:  
 lossen ungebetten *tanquam Neutralis,*  
*et sine alicuius offensione, hoc est non tanquam pars, sed*  
*tanquam mediator,* es were vleicht dem  
**König** und auch mein g.h. mitler zeit  
 zu gutem kommen *es göth mir noch zu, noch ab,*  
*Ich hab aber ein mitleid mit Im, dan ehr ist seiner*  
*ämpter nit allein beraupt, sunder auch aller güter*  
*und soll darzu sterben datum in der eyll ut s.*  
 auch dem **Botschafter** zu ungefallen der  
 meinen g.h. in hispanien unver:  
 schult ubel hat tractirt und  
 das kint der cardinal in francke:  
 rich derglichen*

#### Enclosed:

f138r.

*Lieber her Es hat N der mir das gelt hat gelien  
 In Hispanien diese vergangne tag einen diener mit dem Thum:  
 probst von Costnitz hie gehat, mir anzeigt von wegen  
 seins hern, wie das es sein hern verwunderte das  
 ich gar nit schrib das was wol halb als  
 viel gesagt, Ich erman dich der schulden halben, fragt den  
 diener ob sein her entRicht were, sagt der diener  
 ehr wuste es nit ehr hilte aber es nit darfur, also  
 hab ich N geschribben und dorin anzeigt Ich were on:  
 zweyfel ehr were fur langest bezahlt worden, allein  
 durch ewer bevelh, und guten willen gegen Im, aber Ir  
 also In vielen gescheffte beladen, das solchs in vergeß were  
 kommen, darumb Innen gebette gedult zuhabben, dan  
 Ich e.l. zuschreiben wolt, Bit derenthalben noch, das e.l.  
 wolt verschaffen das N solchs gelienen gelts halben  
 entRicht wurd, Auch das N nit vermeint, man  
 spottete sein, zum schaden, So ist ehr auch underwylen  
 undleichtlich, und mochten etwan ein unwillen In Im  
 fassen, und etwan daster nachlessiger In anderen meyns  
 g. hern gescheffte werden  
 Auch hab ich etlich mol der welser halber geschribben  
 mit Irer Muh und arbeit halben die sie gern und  
 treulich habben thon, do ich auch meyne brieff nit hette*

---

<sup>32</sup> [FitzWilliam]

*kunnen überschicken, noch Jemants darff vertruhen de:  
 renthalben, Sunder das die Ires ußgegebenen gelts  
 ergetzt wurden zum teil, Ist aber her \*bißanher\* nie bedacht worden  
 dan die posten schicken Innen nicht uber, sie miessen  
 es bezalen, by dem wenigste brieff, also z sagen  
 by ein quintlin, darumb her bedencken das selbig  
 Bit Ich uch, ob man solcher leit mitler zeit vleicht me  
 bedurffte  
 Ferner her wolt Ir anzeigen dem hoffmeyster hochsteden  
 [next page missing]*

### **fos 156r. - 160r., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 26 June 1540**

#### **Summary:**

Hopes that duke Wilhelm will not resent that the letter is addressed to him in person, but was informed that the chancellors are on a secret mission to France. The English king is not displeased and sends a secret agent to France for support, but warns the duke to not trust the emperor. Talked about the Constable of France.

Has met the queen last Tuesday who kept him for one hour telling him that the king was treating her well and generously, and would do even better if Wilhelm trusted the king.

Thinks it takes a peculiar way to deal with the king who always wants to be in the right. Perceives he is well meaning but could soon lose his trust.

Believes Cromwell's fall was caused by jealousy and he may have fallen into the trap that he had prepared for the others. Worries about the future if Anne is not getting pregnant.

Early morning on the 24th the queen sent for him and told him in a very sorrowful demeanour that she was ordered away from court, to Richmond. Has comforted the queen. A bishop who is sympathetic with the queen told Harst that Anne should not show distress, but appear cheerful and comply, as the king was of an unfaithful nature. The provisions for the queen are still not settled. Has not seen the

Requests that the duke writes to his sister to give kind counsel, 'as your princely grace is well aware'.

Thinks the Habsburgs will rejoice about the and complains that this promiscuity has to be accepted while people will assume Anne was infertile.

Understands that Wotton is to be replaced, but Wilhelm may discuss this with Wotton if he wants him to stay.

Heard that the French ambassador put in a good word for Cromwell.

'Wishing a healthy life and a peaceful reign'.

### Transcript:

f156r.

*Durchlauchtiger, hochgeborner Furst, gnediger her, Mein underthenige gehorsame dienst, seyen E. f. G. allezeit zuvoran bereidt. Gnedige Furst und her ich kan wol us der verhand: lung vermercken das vleicht kei: ner von ewern f.g. **Räten** anheimisch seie do ich dan zu pfleg zuschreiben und also ewer f.g. person bemuhen und schrei: ben und mich also fur gut angesehen, bit derent: halben underthenig das mir e.g. solchs in ungemach nit wolle uffnemen, Gnediger Furst und her E. f. G. Rāth schreiben an mich den xiiii Junii zu dysseldorf außgangen hab ich Inhalts vernommen und wie ich solchs schreib den xix obgemelts monat uff den obent statt von ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt botten empfangen gleichs des andren tags darnach ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt relation gethan wie dan ewer f.g. **Kanzler** in geheim in franckreich verrei: ten etc. solchs als viel ich vermerck hab hat irer Mat. nit misvallen [sic] auch sich ire Mat. gantz gutwillig lossen vernemmen und wolgeneigt irer Mat. **Botschaft** itzt in franckreich nit allein be: vel thun sunder noch ein anderen auch in geheim hinnein schicken der dan die sach sol furderen und zum bes: ten beitetig helffe sein got geb das es eweren f. g. zu eren und den furstenthumben zu wolfart komme*

f156v.

und das solch gotlichs furnemmen zum aller furderlichsten und heim: lichsten durch getribben werd dan wuo es ewer g erbfigen die **Burgunder** solchs vernemmen werden [sic] als ich auch be: sorg so werden sie es umstos:

sen es sagt mir der **König** usdrucklich  
 wuo das euer g dem **Kaiser** vertrut so  
 wirt sich ewer g betruen finden  
 und sagt ir Mat kente den **Kaiser** wol wie  
 ich aber by dem **König** meldung dath als  
 wan der contestable mit ungnaden us  
 des **König von Frankreich** hof solte sein sagt ir Mat sie  
 wolt es wol kint es aber nit glauben  
*und fragt widder ob ich wol wuste antwort ich*  
*es were mir also geschribben Sagt ir Mt. sie hette ein*  
*schreibung were an das **König von Frankreich** hof usgangen*  
*den xii Junii Ich antwort das meyn were ußgangen*  
*den xiii Junii zu dysseldorff aber koch Mt schreiben*  
*was mehr glauben zu habben dan das ich entpfangen hatte*  
 das aber der **Kaiser** und der **französische König** uneins seind hie:  
 ruf antwort der **König** irer Mat kuntschaft  
 lautet auch also  
*Gnediger Furst und Her, Itzt den nheste diensttag*  
*vergangen hat mich e.f.g. schwester die konigin meyn*  
*gnedigste fraw schier ein gantzer stund uffgehalten und*  
*also gelobt iren heren den konig wie ire g. so wol*  
*und reichlich von irer Mt gehalten werd, und was ir*  
*gnaden dencken darff, das wirt Iren g und sagt die **Königin***

f157r.

der **König** begert nicht anders dan das  
 ewer f g irer mat vertruuen wolle so  
 wil ir Mat trulich raten und so werde  
 ire g auch daster fruntlicher under  
 halten hierin wirt sich ewer f g  
 wol wissen zuhalten sunderheit  
 wan ire Mat einer dapfferlichen hilf  
 zusamt gutem rath zuhelffen volbringen  
 es hat ein eigen art mit diesem **König**  
 zuuberkommen wil nit unrecht hab:  
 ben wil der weisest sein halt das  
 sein person gut seie aber er  
 glaubt bald das nit gut in solchem  
 hern ist und besunder in diesem  
 volck ich besorg **Cromwell** kum allein in  
 diese noth das einer den anderen be:  
 nider und den strick den er villeicht  
 den anderen hat bereit sind sie  
 im furkommen und er selber drein  
 gefallen owe dem **König** oder land do  
 uneinigkeit oder zwitracht ist ich

besorg es wirt ein gros verendirung [sic]  
 in diesem land werden wuo nit fur  
 dem doth des **Königs** so doch darnoch wuo  
 ewer f g schwester befrucht were  
 es wird es meins erachtens die noth  
 erheischen dorein ein einsehens  
 zuhabben dieweil solchs noch nit  
 von got versehen so mag man sie in

f157v.

irem wesen und wolgefallen lossen  
 pleiben wuo ein gut end wirt hab:  
 ben wil ich gern sehen der gut **König** er:  
 beit sich eweren g zu raten er dorfte  
 selbs guten raths underweilen  
*Weyter g.er furst und her, den 24 uff sanct Johans*  
*tag zu fruier tag zeit schickt meyn gnedigste fraw*  
*die konigin iren g. diener einen zu mir das ich mich uff*  
*stund zu Iren g. verfugte welchem ich also gehorm:*  
*klichen [sic] nachkommen also klagt ir g mir mit be:*  
 trubtem hertzen und mit beschwerten  
 augen wie das der **König** verordenet hett  
*das Ir g. solt uff Ritzmundt und ko.ch Mt. wird*  
*nach ungeferlich ein 14 tag hie pleiben biß volendung*  
*des perlaments solch verschickung hat ir*  
 g gantz fur ungut ufgenommen und be:  
 gert ich solt solchs eweren f g schreib:  
 ben \*in geheim\* uf solches hab ich zum ussersten  
 ire g getrost wie es zum deil sterb  
 darum ein mol den hof reinigen  
 auch weren viel heren gefangen das  
 es also irer g handlung nit were hie  
*zu sein So ist auch Ritzmundt nit uber ii deytzsch meylen von hinnen*  
 hieruf antwurt mir ire g sie wuste  
 wol wie es mit der ersten konigin:  
 en *Catharina* ergangen were zeigt ich iren g an  
 dasselbig were ein ander handel ver  
 mercken wiewol das sich ire g. bisanher

f158r.

gar nicht hat lossen mercken de:  
 renthalben gegen mir das doch lei:  
 der zuviel durch die gant stat laut:  
 bar ist und nant ein hofjunckfraw  
 dieselbe solt hiepleiben das schlug  
 ich iren g auch usser dem sin al:

so viel muglich das ir g zum deil widder erleich:  
 tert und zufridden was und sagt  
 ich wolt zu iren g hinnaus kommen  
 solchs begrt [sic] ir g auch *Wie aber g.er her*  
 ich von iren g urlub name so kum ich  
 unversehenlich zu eim treflichen  
 bischof der nun der **Königin** gantz als ich  
 vermerckt geneigt were \*und sagt\* es solt sich  
 ire g nicht lossen bekimmern noch ver:  
 vermercken sunder alzeit frolich sein  
 sich gar nicht annemmen sunde [sic] den  
**König** in allen dingen zuvor hebben so  
 werden alle sachen gut sein ich glaub  
 er wolt domit anzeigen der **König** were  
 der natur das er in dem stand solchs  
 nit erles sunder die ungetruigkeit  
 bewise es hatte auch der **König** zu der  
**Königin** geschickt die treflichsten **Räte/Höflinge** das  
 ire g wolt zufridden und dohin ver:  
 reiten *Gnediger h. ich hab darfur das nach endung  
 des perlaments der konig und konigin werden uff das  
 progreß reisen, das ist gesagt uff das weydweck reiten*

f158v.

*ins landt, etwan ein par monat uß verleiben*  
*Auch will mich beduncken man ist noch noch nit gäntzlichen*  
*verglichen wuohin meyn gnedigste fraw die konigin solle ver:*  
*wiesen werden Irer g. pension belangen sollicir itzund aber do:*  
*rin und mitler zeit die pension belangen weytern*  
*bericht e.f.g. z thun<sup>33</sup> Instrumentum dotale hab ich nit ge:*  
*sehen, das villeicht Itzt wol von nothen were gewesen*  
 und wil also ewer f g us underthenig:  
 er und gtreuer [sic] meinung gebetten  
 hebben das ewer g meiner gnedigsten  
 frauen ewer g schwester der **Königin** zu  
 dem aller fruntlichsten und be:  
 weglichsten schreiben und underwei:  
 se etc. wie dan ewern f g bewust etc. *dan*  
*wie mich bedunckt und auch hör* das die bur:  
 gundischen oder fleming ein uf:  
 mercken und es ein freid hebben<sup>34</sup>  
 wan man dorfte die worheit sagen

<sup>33</sup> wil mich schier beduncken der Cantzler augmentationem das ist der gennich der die geystlichen güter [...] sol  
 auch ein teil darin mit bevolhen habbe, welchs mir nit gefelt, solte viel billicher uff die kron sein gewiesen, werde es  
 underthalben verhoff ich zween tagen verston

<sup>34</sup> das zwitracht under dem **König** und **der Königin** sollen entston

so hette mein gnedigste frau in et:  
lichem nit also gar unglich [unrecht] man  
mus aber noch gelegenheit der zeit  
gedult habben und dem ubel leider  
stat gebben und noch wol gefallen  
[(] o was ein guettiger Got) und zeitlichen  
lust lossen ungemerckt hin  
gon und nit dast weniger ruft man heit  
oder morgen was habben wir von die:  
ser uslendischen koniginnen ist nit  
fruchtbar ich hof got sol sein gnad ver:  
leihen

f159r.

*Bitt auch g. er furst und her ewer f. g. underthenigklich*  
das es durch ewer f g verhut werde  
das ewer g fraw mutter mein g f die:  
ser verlaufnen handlung halben mit  
irer g dochter gar nicht erfart und  
were gut das ewer f g täth derenthal:  
ben auch underthenigcklich und zum  
beweglichsten an die **Königin** schribben  
wuo er gnad mir gehor wil gebben wil  
ich auch zum treilichsten meinen  
vleis ankeren und einigkeit zuunderhalten  
*Auch gnediger furst und her* so schreib ich  
auch in fanckerich [sic] eweren f g **Rat** wie  
mir dan bevollen des **Königs** antwurt und  
meinung betref die handlung und  
heimlich gesprech zwischen eweren  
g und dem **französischen König** auch das der **König** einen do:  
hin schicken wil *wie oben angezeigt.*  
*Weyter g. h. wie ichs Recht hab verstanden so will*  
*mich beduncken* das der **König** ein anderen in  
Wottonus stat zu ewern g. wil schick:  
en welcher ewer g sachen zum bes:  
ten kert der were gut wuo aber ew:  
er g Wottonum nit gern verlies  
so mocht ewer g derenthalben mit  
im lossen redder.  
Ich wolt um vieler ursach willen  
das ewer f g einen bestendigen guten  
verstant mit dem **französischen König** hette in terro:  
tem **Burgunder** noch ein guter rucken wirt von  
noten sein

f159v.

wuo ewer f g hinfurter lost schrei:  
ben uf engellan [sic] wirt von [nothen] sein das  
die brief zum heimlichsten wer:  
den überschickt der flandrischen  
grentzen halben dan sie wurden die  
brief al uf brussel gon hof schick:  
en

*Ich vernem wie das ko.ch Mt. hier sol key.ch Mt.  
habben geschribben und ermant, der vereinigung halben  
etliche hern betreffen die auß Irlandt In key.ch  
Mt. land geflohen begert \*zu iren ko.ch Mt. hand\* hat key.ch Mt. dieselbige  
nit wollen lassen volgen sunder wie iemants an sie  
zu sprechen hab das man sie dan in iren Mt landen  
mit Recht fur nemme. Monsieur Crumfel lebt noch,  
was druß will werden weyß ich nit got geb das alle  
sachen zu gutem end kommen Ich verneym wie die franze:  
sich botschafft sol fur innen gebetten habben wolt das  
e.f.g. und andre ein mit einsehens hetten uff das dieses  
konig Reich zu daster einer bestetigen rug keme  
ich bit ewer f g widder underthenig:  
klich das ewer g schwester geschrib:  
ben wurd zum fruntlichsten durch  
ewer g und das ir gnad got fur augen  
hab und sich nit beschwer sunde ir g  
hertz zufridden stellen got wirt al:  
le ding noch seim gotlichen willen  
recht verordnenen wirt auch mitler:  
zeit ein mittel miessen erfunden  
werden wan man ein zeit lang den  
konig kunte underhalten die from  
furstinne ist under den fromden*

f160r.

das das **Königs Botschaft** oder iemants sunst un:  
verschwigner nit gewar werde was  
ich schreibe es wird es sunst die  
**Königin** miessen engelten und ewer f g  
auch wuo muglich das ewer f g fur:  
witzig handele und ist gros von no:  
ten den bischof den ko Mat zum **französischen König**  
schickt est episcopus badensis quon:  
dam dictus ioannes clericus  
was farben weis ich ko mat hat mir  
in als ein w[elt]erfrnen [sic] fast gelobt  
*Wunsch hiemit e. [f.g.] ein gesunt leben und fridsam*

*Regierung datum zu Lunden den xxvi Junii Anno 15  
xl Bi[t e. f.]g. das sie mir meyn uberflissig  
schreiben in ungna[d nit] uffnemme  
E.F.G.*

*undertheniger getruer diener  
Karl Harst*

**fos 166r. - 167r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 3 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Has received the letters that the councillors have dispatched on 23 June, was given them on 27 June. As per instruction, he sought an audience with the king the following day. Has told him about the dispatch of the Duke's ambassador to France and that any letters that this ambassadors would send to the king may be regarded as if they were written by Wilhelm himself. The King has sent the bishop of Bath to France the same day, as this was urgent business and to avoid any negotiations that displease him and harm the alliance.

The king is preparing for a campaign in Ireland, but others say that his plan was to take Andara, which the French king is building up at the moment. If this is true, then Francis and Henry will not stay friends for long. Has been visiting the queen at Richmond on 29 June and stayed for two days. She has gifted him a stag after a hunt at the palace's hunting grounds and the courtiers have done everything they could think of for the entertainment and delight of the queen. No day goes by without the king sending Anne a golden ring or her sending it to him, as a token of their amity and bond. She has someone who secretly retrieves and carries things over for her.

For one full hour, the queen has complained to him about a woman, but told him not to report this, because her mother did not want this [her marriage] and she had gotten herself into this situation which her mother told her would happen. Has comforted her by telling her that she should not believe everybody's gossip, but be patient, and when the King will notice her noble countenance, everything will come to a good end. Has beseeched Anne to follow his advice therein and thinks that a supportive letter of the duke to his sister would help a lot. 'The virtuous princess is in a strange nation in my opinion, [I] hope God will still turn everything to good account.' Requests a report of the diet of Speyer. Has talked to the Chancellor of

Augmentations [Richard Rich] regarding the Queen's provisions. Has received answer that the king has designated two manors with a royal hunting privilege that have never before been given to a queen. He [Rich] was ordered to find two or three other properties, and thereafter his majesty and the parliament will sign it [the documents regarding the provisions]. 'He did not like to leave or neglect it, he says, but I will eventually learn what will follow from this'.

### Transcript:

f166r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepiettede [sic] gun:  
stige hern. Etlicher meyns g.n hern Rath schreiben den  
xxiii Junii des datums mir durch hern wottonus  
diener uberantwort den xxvii obgemelts monats  
also gleichs des anderen tags den xxviii dem konig  
relation gethan nemlich wie meins  
g. h. **Rat** zum **französischen König** abgefertigt auch wuo  
seiner g **Rat** ichtwas an den **König** schrei:  
ben oder gelangen liessen das dan  
der **König** demselbigen solchen vasten  
glauben wol gebben als ob mein g.  
h. selbs geschriben hette oder schrib  
und dieweil diese sachen keinen  
lengern verzug kinnen erleiden und  
auch nit gern handeln das irer  
mat zu~~wider~~ nachteil oder der ver:  
einigung zuwider sein mocht  
so hat also der **König** uf den selbigen  
obbestimten *den 28 Junii* episopum [sic]  
badoniensem in franckerich abge:  
fertigt sagen mir er seie wol  
erfahren der **König** rust sich in irlant  
zu ziehen die anderen sagen ir  
mat wil andara das der **französische König** itzt baut  
widder innemmen wuo im also  
were so wurden der **französische König** und **König von England** nit  
lang frund pleiben das mir leit*

f166v.

*were Newer zeitung weyß ich gar nichts dan das  
die konigin meyn gnedigste fraw von den gnad  
Gottes gesunt ist bin den xxix Junii zu Iren g.  
gen Ritzmunt geritten also verplibben zween tag, hat Ire  
g. im diergarten hart am schloß lossen jagen mir einen  
bock geschenckt haben aber die Engellender, die hoffdie:*

*ner alle kurtzweil was sie habben kinnen erdencken under  
 dem nachtmol exeritirt [sic] und honesta ludrica geubt  
 Iren g. freud und kurtzweil zumachen göt kein dag  
 nit hien der konig schickt Iren g. ein gulden Ringlin oder  
 Ire g. ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt widder hergeggen einen zum Zeichen der frunt:  
 schafft und vereinigung sie hat etwan einen  
 in geheim der alle ding iren g schetzt  
 und uberdreit ire g klagt mir allein  
 schier in ein gantze stund uber ein  
 frauen person sagt mir aber ich solt  
 es nit überschreiben ~~dan sie hette~~  
~~ir es selbs angethon~~ dan es were irer  
 frau mutter wil nit gewesen sie hette  
 ire es selbs gethon und ire fraumut:  
 ter hette es ir vorhin gesagt ich  
 trost ire g und sagt es sol ire g nit eim  
 ietlichen glauben und solt sich  
 nicht lossen bekommen sunder gedult dragen  
 und wan der **König** solch hochedelich und  
 furstlich gemut wurd in ir spuren  
 wurd ire g sehen das dis ein gut  
 end wurd nemmen und widdedeil  
 wurd mit schanden beston bat also ire*

f167r.

*g. underthenigklich gebetten das ir g mir wol  
 hierin gnediglich gehor gebben  
 und volgen ich zweifel auch nit  
 wan mein g h zum beweglichsten und  
 fruntlichsten schreibt wirt viel  
 helffen die frum furstin ist in  
 einer seltzammen nacion meins erach:  
 tens hof got wirt noch alle ding  
 zum besten fugen *Kinte nit schaden daß man  
 mir schrib was gehandelt were in der versamlung zu  
 Speyer, und ein copey des abschids überschickte.*  
*Auch gunstige hern als wil belangen meyner g. fraw:  
 en pension, hab ich durch anweysung ko<sup>er</sup> Mt Rath an:  
 gesprochen den Cantzler us der Augmentatz, hat  
 ehr mir zu antwurt gebben Er hab bevelh von ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt  
 dan zwuo manoria die uff wiltban sind gestellt, nie  
 kein konigin daruff verwisen worden, sol aber zwei andere  
 oder dry gewisse pletz darfur ernennen, und als dan  
 will es ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt und etlich vom parlament underzeichnen,  
 Er wolt es auch nit gern underlossen und verseymen  
 sagt ehr, was aber daruß volgen wirt mag ich mit der zeit**

*vernemmen, hiemit seyen ewer l. Got dem almechtigen  
bevolhen, datum zu Lunden den 3 Julii Anno xxxx*

*E. L. und gunstigen  
gutwilliger alzeit Karl  
Harst*

### **fos 175r. - 179v., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 7-8 July 1540**

#### **Summary:**

On 6th July around 2 p.m. Norfolk and other privy councillors have sent for Harst to come to court, which he did. They apologised, as they had meant to invite him for lunch but the messenger had failed to pass it to Harst. The French and Imperial ambassadors had been present. Tunstall began to speak, saying that among the commoners but also the nobility there had been talk and concern whether potential heirs of the queen would not be the cause of bloodshed and insecurity for the realm, and that they deliberated whether the king's and queen's matrimony was lawful. To which Harst had answered that he was suddenly hard of hearing, and requested a written copy of the matter. Tunstall declined his wish, stating that it could not be put down in writing as it has not been deliberated in parliament and by the bishops. Duke Wilhelm may imagine how much the king's, queen's and also his own reputation will suffer, but recommends that this must be dealt with discreetly. Suspects that the English will hurry, thus it is necessary to send experienced and adept envoys, also from Saxony. Does not know whether they will target the contract with Lorraine or, as Anne has not conceived yet, will dismiss her as infertile, and the king thereafter may hope to get the duchess of Milan and the crown of Denmark through her. The king is arming himself with warships. After the meeting with the privy councillors Harst tried to talk to Tunstall, but was told to address Norfolk, Suffolk or the Lord Privy Seal, as he (Tunstall) would not answer anything. Harst said to him that he trusted that the bishops would proceed as honest men and that they will not find fault. To which Tunstall replied that he was sure that the king is well-meaning towards the duke, and that he will treat her grace well, whatever the result. Harst thinks that Winchester has been working on this, who has someone from Germany who has translated several documents from German into Latin. Suspects that amongst them was the contract between Anne and Francis of Lorraine, as Norfolk had asked [a German] about the meaning of the word 'hilich' (marriage), whether it is meant as future consent or present. The other had answered that

he would need to read the context. \*folio missing\* Harst doubts that his dispatches are intercepted in the Low Countries and copies sent over to the English. Does not know what to think of it, but has commissioned his lawyer's seal to be crafted. Advises to be alert to missing dispatches and sends over copies of all his former letters with this courier. Has sent most of them via the Rinck factor to Heinrich at the Gulden Becken in Antwerp. Has heard that the Imperial ambassador has left the Privy Council with a happy countenance, and the prince of Salerno, another ambassador of the Emperor, has arrived as well. Thinks that one should not trust the king, who disliked the duke's visit to Flanders. Reports a former incident that he had kept secret: at an audience with the king, Harst apologised for the duke's move, stating that he (the duke) is reaching out for all means to achieve amity and peace, whether by marriage or otherwise. The king had answered with a temper and asked Harst what he had got to do with the duke's marriage. Worries that the French king may be reconciled with the emperor and the duke's councillors caught in a trap. A German has come to him and reported that Norfolk's niece has also granted the governess and Diennagel permission to leave. Reckons that the king is acting boldly as he knows that the duke is under pressure because of Guelders. Before Cromwell was arrested, he said to Harst 'if only she was pregnant', thinks that it is obvious how this was meant. Dispatches his own servant to the duke.

### Transcript:

f175r.

*Durchlauchtiger, Hochgeporner Furst, gnediger Her,  
Meyn underthenige getrue dienst, seyen e.f.g. alzeit zu:  
voran bereit. Gnediger furst ich kan e.f.g. uß un:  
dertheniger, getruer meynung nit verhalten, wie das mich  
uff diensttag ungeferlich nach zwey uweren ~~der hertz~~ den 6. Julii  
der hertzog von Norfock und andere des konigs Ræth nach  
mir zu hoff zu kommen geschickt, welchem ich also uff stund  
nachkommen, habben sie erstlich ir entschuldigung gethon ich  
were zu mittetage ~~Ich were~~ zu hoff geladen worden aber der  
ghenne der bevelh hette gehat, hette die botschafft nit  
Recht uß gericht, und were vergessen worden. Es hat auch  
dasselbigmol do gessen key.ch und ko.ch Mt Botschafften, uß  
Franckerich. hab ich mich zum fruntlichsten gegen des konigs  
Ræthen bedanckt, und anzeigt, es were nicht daran gelegen etc.  
dorbey ist gewesen mit nammen der herzog von Norfock, der  
letste abgestorbenen koniginnen bruder, her Antoni Brun,  
der Ertzbischoff von Cantelberg, Tunstallus, andere  
hern mehr, deren nammen ich nit weyß, auch von den geheimisch:  
ste Secretarien, habben sie mich heyssen sitzen, und sie alle zu  
mir \*gesessen\* also in solcher gestalt ungeferlich*

anfangen tonstallus zu dedden [sic, redder] uf die:  
 se meinung es mochten sich etwan seltz:  
 amme redder verlauffen under dem  
 gemeinen man aber auch dargegen gros:  
 sen hern und konigen die seltzam handlung zu:  
 fallen darum wuo sich etwas zutrüge  
 oder von dem volck geret wurd solt  
 man sich derenthalben nicht lossen be:  
 kimmern und weren als gestert die he:  
 ren vom land bischoffen und procu:  
 ratoren aller stet an den **König** kommen  
 und begert dieweil ire Mat ein erben

f175v.

hette und auch vleicht von dieser er:  
 warten mocht \*werden\* uf das dan in zukunfftiger  
 zeit kein gros blutvergiessen oder  
 entberung entstundde wie dan fur zei:  
 ten viel gescheen solchem furzukom:  
 men ein insehens furter zuhaben  
 und ferrer so habbe man deliberirt und  
 bevel gethan den bischoffen das sie  
 es bewegen und beratschlagen ob das  
 zwischen ewerer g schweste [sic] und dem **König**  
 ein matrimonium seie oder nit doch  
 aber wie dem so sol mein gnedigste  
 frau alzeit wei [sic] ein edle fursten un:  
 derhalten werden<sup>35</sup> und dieweil ich ew:  
 er f g **Botschafter** und orator were hetten sie es  
 mir solches us des **Königs** bevel anzeigt  
 solches anbringen kan ewer g wol er:  
 kennen das ich in meinen gedencken  
 mich nit klein verwundert und antwurt ich  
 hieruf innen gemeinlich also ich were unge:  
 zweifelt als viel als belanget koniglich  
 Mat erben wurd es mein g h ein freid  
 haben was dem konigreich mocht zu  
 fridden und gutem bekommen das marti:  
 monium betreffen were bey mir einmol  
 seltzam fast schwer hores begert de:  
 renthalben dieses furbringen ein copei

f176r.

antwurt mir widderum tunstallus die:  
 wil [sic] es noch durch das parlament gentz:

---

<sup>35</sup> als wan ir g nit doheim zessen hett

lich underredt nit were und auch noch  
 nit durch die bischof beratschlagt  
 dorum dorft es keiner copeie was  
 nun fur ein reputacion dem **König** und der **Königin**  
 hieran leit hat ewer f g gut zuer:  
 messen und auch ewere f g selbs  
 aber g h und furst hierin mus senftmutig  
 gehandelt sein wiewol als wil mich  
 beduncken die hie eilen wird wol  
 die not erheisch das ewer g iemants  
 treflich mit samt **Kursächsische** herschicken die  
 auch wol gelert und erfaten [sic] weren  
 doch in geheim<sup>36</sup> uf das in von den **Burgundern**  
 kein schmach widderfure wie sie  
 das libel stellen werden kan ich nit  
 wissen ob sie uf die verschreibung  
 zwischen meiner g frauen und **Franz von Lothringen** gon  
 do suchen weis ich nit aut quia non:  
 dum conceperit et inde inducere  
 volunt eam esse sterilem vel quia  
 fuit excommunicatus und wan ire  
 Mat deren entledigt were vleicht  
 vermein zuuberkommen die von **Mailand**<sup>37</sup>  
 und dardurch denmarck erhalten dan ir Mat rust  
 sich heftig mit schiffung und ferrer  
 g.h. wie das ich von das **Königs** räten kame

f176v.

verfügte ich mich widde [sic] zum tonstal:  
 lo bat er mich was ich fur hette zutrag:  
 en solt ich bey norffock suffock und der  
 itzunt privati sigelli und er wurd mir  
 doch nicht antwurten sagt ich ich kom  
 nit das ich innen beschweren wolt ich  
 verwundert mich allein und dauret  
 mich das unschuldig blut ich verhoft  
 die bischof wurden handeln als erlich  
 menner dan ich ungezweifelt sie wurden  
 kein ursach finden antwurt mir tonstal:  
 lus er wuste wol das sein **König** eweren f.g.  
 also geneigt were das er mein g frau  
 es keme auch wie es wolt wol wurde  
 \*halten\* bat mich das ich nit weiter mit im

<sup>36</sup> wiewol **Kursachsen** hie nit liebzelig dan die bischof kommen widder uf wan **Cromwell** nit gefangen es were dozu nit kommen

<sup>37</sup> *solum hec [sic] suspicor*

von den dingen wolt redder der bisch:  
 of von wincester merck ich wol bear:  
 beit sich hierin und einer bey im us  
 distzsch land hat dem **König** etlich bloch:  
 heiser an den sekanten angebben der  
 setzt etlich geschriften aus dem  
 deitzschen in das latin kan sunder:  
 lich nicht ob das nun die verschreibung  
 sind zwischen der **Königin** und **Franz von Lothringen** dan ich  
 fas das doraus dan norffock sol einen  
 gefrogt habben was das wort hilich heis ob  
 es de futuro de presenti oder de  
 preterito sol verston werden hat der  
 ander geantwurt er mies die preterita  
 oder das nochvolgent sehen zum ande:

[missing folio]

f177r.

[inconsistent with previous folio]

g.h. so zweifel ich ob etwan meine  
 frief [sic] die ich ewern g. und deren  
 rath weren ufgebrochen in **Burgund** werden  
 und die **Burgunder** solche copeien widder  
 herruber schickten und die verdol:  
 metzsten ich weis g h nit was ich denck:  
 en sol ich hab uf stund mein recht  
 sigel lossen grabben uf das man hin:  
 furter besser acht druf hab ob etwas  
 cancellirt sei und schick ewer f g  
 ein copei aller meiner ubergescick: [sic]  
 ten brief in dieser legation hab sie  
 das merenteil geschickt der rincken  
 factor zu und an heinrich im  
 gulden becken zu antdorf ob do ein  
 betrug sei ~~oder mangel~~ durch die **Burgunder**  
 mocht wasserburg bald vermerckt  
 habben die sagen mir wie das **Kaisers Botschafter**  
 also mit eim frolichen angesicht  
 us der ratscammern sei kommen  
*Und ist itz kommen, der printz von Salernen, auch*  
*noch ein Hispanier uß des keyzers Cammer, habben vleicht*  
*auch zuwerben etc.* und fog zum teil diesen **König**  
 in arckwon zuhabben hat nit gern gese:  
 hen das ewer f. g. bey dem **Kaiser** in vlandern  
 was wie ich auch uf ein zeit (wiewol

bisanher verschwigen um das besten  
wille) ich ewer g. fur dem **König** und räten  
entschuldigt wie das ewer f. g. alle  
mittel sucht um fruntschaft zuhaben

f177v.

und fridden durch hilich oder ander  
weg antwurt mir der **König** meins erachtens  
etwan beweglich was  
ire Mat mit ewern g. hilungen zuthun  
hette hieruf antwurt ich es dref ewer  
g. aber an darum zweifel ich uf die  
von **Mailand** dan ich kan nit glauben das ire  
\*Mat\* sich sunst wurd bestetigen und besorg  
g. h. us dieser geschwinden hanlung [sic] das  
der **französische König** mit dem **Kaiser** vertragen sei und ewern  
g. räten mit geschwindigkeit hinnein ge:  
lockt got geb das sie widder frei  
anheimlich kommen zu ewern g ich be:  
sorg die glock sei gossen gegen ewern  
f. g. ich schreib g. h. solchs allein us  
einer fursorg und fur forcht *was das nit wol g.er*  
*f. und h. der arbeit wert, mich zuladen zuvermeynen, und*  
*noch enderung mit laub fur ewer g der volle und fresserei*  
*zuvermeynen mir solches fur zuhalten und anzutragen und*  
*glaub sie habbens gestert des keysers und konigs von franck:*  
*erich botschafften anzeigt so komt g. h itzt uf*  
stund ein frommer deitzscher zu mit [sic, mir]  
und sagt wie es sol sein das hertzog:  
en von norfok nicht<sup>38</sup> die hofmeiste:  
rin und auch diennagel mit urlub  
fur eweren g. kennen die fur wol  
bin glich fro das es die von meilant  
nit ist ich darf dem **König** noch des **Königs**  
räten sunder ewer g bevel nicht

f178r.

sagen uf das ich ewer g schwester  
nit me in verdruckung bring ich  
vernim es ist ein schoner rock  
fur handen wirt dem sack<sup>39</sup> bereit er  
weis das ewer g mit gellern bemugt  
ist darum ist er kun ich vernim et:  
lich habben es der **Königin** gestert anzeigt

---

<sup>38</sup> Nichte

<sup>39</sup> [sack= Buhlerin, Hure]

hat mir ire g noch nicht enbotten mor:  
 gen wil ich mit den gottes gnaden zu iren  
 g reiten das euer g frau mutter  
 nicht erfr [sic] es sag **Cromwell** fur seiner ge:  
 fencknis zu mir schlug fur sei  
 brus [sic, brust?] utinam esset gravida es ist  
 gut zu verston was **Cromwell** domit be:  
 sorgt die **Botschaft des Französischen Königs** sagt mir der **König** het  
 im gesagt wie das ewer g rāth in  
 franckerich weren *Ich schick e.f.g.*  
*hie in der eyll meynen eigen diener zu, den ich*  
*e g underthenigklich will bevolhen habben, datum*  
*In der eyll zu Lunden den vii Julii Anno xxxx*  
*E F G*

*undertheniger diener*  
*Karl Harst*

*Gnediger h. omnia cum maturo consilio*

f179r.  
*Durchlauchtiger hochgeporner furst, Gnediger h.*  
*wie das ich diese beyligende schriffen habbe beschlossen*  
*hab ich ein schreiben von ewern furstlichen gnaden entpfangen, den xxviii*  
*Junii zu dysseldorff ußgangen Inhalts wie*  
 ich ewer g. schwester ermanen sol  
 so ist aber vorgester wie ich  
 vernim privati sigelli der cantz:  
 ler und der bischof von win:  
 cestern bey iren g. gewesen iren g.  
 solchs anzeigt darum sie sich  
 ubel gehebt gestert spot hat ire  
 g. ein teiteten [sic] diener zu mir ge:  
 schickt itzt zu fruer tagzeit  
 reit ich zu iren g. got der almech:  
 tig verleihe an allen orten gnad  
 ich besorg diese verhandlung  
 ieie [sic] nit uf einen tag gesponnen  
 itzt sagen die flemming das der  
**Kaiser** in der rustung seie ewern g.  
 zuuberziehen in der eil das der  
**König** nu hiemit eben herfur komt  
 gnediger furst und her ob ewer  
 f. g. ein fruntlich schreiben an  
 koniglich Mat thun wolt ob das helffen  
 wolt hat mir die sachen nie recht

gefallen es sol aber g. h. noch  
 meinem vermugen kein vleis  
 nit erhalten *Got der almechtige verleyhe*

f179v.

*ewer furstliche gnaden gnad und seligkeit datum zu Lunden den achste  
 Julii Anno xxxx*  
 diese letst brief wil ich uf stund  
 ins feuer werffen wie bevolhen

*undertheniger und  
 getruer diener alzeit*

*Karl Harst*

g. h. ich weis noch nit was der **König**  
 fur ein action wil gegen meiner  
 gnedigten [sic] frauen wil pretendie:  
 ren doruf dan die bischof be:  
 ratschlagen sollen

### **fos 184r. - 186v., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London 10 July 1540**

#### **Summary:**

The duke may see, regarding the enclosed copy, how badly this people has deceived Anne. At the same day and time as he was at court to be informed by some councillors, other members of the council have gone to her grace with some interpreters. When he found such documents as this copy at her place, he noticed that Anne had no idea of the contents. He took the copies with him to study them and went to court on 9th July in order to speak to the councillors and some bishops that were at court, but the latter were not present at this meeting. Has complained about this unfair move and rapid proceeding in order to hoodwink her grace, an honourable woman. Furthermore told them that he was stunned how the bishops could judge as the kings demands, as this was a matter that only god could decide, but the seem to have been forced to nod it off. Asked them whether anyone thinks that the duke had sent over his sister for prostitution or whether this was the custom of this country to seek a foreign bride and cast her aside after six months, thereby insulting her grace and all of her kin. They had translated the contract with Lorraine etc. and the bishops decreed that the king was rid of Anne. The king has let her know that if she complied he would be

pleased, but if she did not, she would have to accept it anyway. As Henry demanded her answer, she replied that for all she knew, he was given her as a husband, and this was what she saw in him, and nothing could separate them but death. She cries so bitterly that it would move a heart of stone and keeps sending for him. Thinks that the Burgundians have helped in 'making this fire, at least have brought the wood for it.' The privy councillors have asserted that, although the marriage is annulled, the friendship between England and Cleves would still continue. Hopes that Anne will be brought home and suggests that some envoys from Cleves and Saxony should be dispatched to England.

Enclosed note:

The principal argument (against the marriage with Henry) was the contract with Lorraine, which they declared to be binding.

### Transcript:

f184r.

*Durchlauchtiger hochgeborner Furst, Genediger her  
wie das e.f.g. uß der hiebeiligenden copey sehen mag wie  
finantzisch das volck e.g. schwester, meyn gnedigste  
fraw hindergon, zuvermeynen zuvertreiben und unbilliger weyse tractie:  
ren, mag es Gott erbarmen, uff den selbigen tag und stund,  
wie man mich gen hoff hat bescheiden hebben etlich Ræth mir  
wie vorigend anzeigt anpracht und das ander teil  
von Ræthen zu ko<sup>er</sup> wurd sich verfugt, als in einer zeit, und  
sind zur selben zeit gewesen bey irer ko<sup>er</sup> wurd Suffoc,  
Privati Sigilli, Cancellarius regni, Cancellarius Augmen:  
tationem, Bischoff von Winchester, und darnach ein par  
dolmetzscher, wie ich solche oder copey geschriff bey iren g. befunden  
wol vermerckt, das Ir g. gar wenig gewust, was in:  
halts solchs schreiben hat gehat, die ubersehen und zu mir  
genommen und mich den 9 Juli zu hoff verfugt, und  
mich anzeigt, begert fur die Ræth doch in Beysen etl:  
licher bischoffen wiewol etlich bischoff zu hoff gewesen,  
\*und beruffen\* derenthalben auch nocheinmol sie ersucht, aber die Bischoff  
nit zugelassen, und also gesagt zu innen, die tru:  
riche neue Zeitung, befremt mich nit klein solchs un:  
billichs furnehmen, auch das sie also geschwind handelten  
zu hindergon ire ko<sup>e</sup> wurd, ein emzige zuchtige furstin  
und frawen, solte Ie billich in stat meyns g hern, mich  
auch dohin beruffen hebben, umb anzuhoren und sagt  
vort Es wurde gemelt in dieser geschriff als*

solt solcher hylich durch die gelerte geclert und deter:  
minert werden, welchs mich nit klein verwundert, das  
die Bischoff und gelerte dem konig mit pfligten ~~und~~  
vereydet vermeynen in solchen wichtigen sachen zutermi:  
nieren, do den hern die sach selbs an göth, et deinde metus  
caußa coguntur annuere und ob yemants vermeint, das

f184v.

meyn g her seiner g liebe schwester, derenthalben hette  
her gschickt zu prostituirn oder ob das der brauch  
were in disem konig Reich wan ein hylich tene coniugali, in  
die sechs monat gewert, eines trefflichen fursten dochter  
in deitzsch land suchen und wan es im gelegen solcher Eren:  
Reichen furstin sich widder entschlagen, und ire ko.e wurd  
und alle iren g verwante also schmeen, und uff das  
fruntschafft und einigkeit verleiben, die einmol durch diesen  
hylich angefangen, bette ich sie in statt meyns g hern, das  
sye bey ko.ch Mt wolte handeln, uff das ir Mt Reputa:  
tion verleb, und auch also meyn g.ste fraw nit also ge:  
schmecht und verkleinert an iren eren wurde, verliffen  
sich auch sunst viel me wort umb kurzheit der Zeit  
solchs underwegen glossen Antwurten sie mir uberflissigen  
erbietten etc. Aber dieweil were dubiu., an hoc matrimo:  
nium eßet validu. aut non ob id commissu. est id episco. et litte:  
ratis quod si eßet valid. et legitimu. ad habendum  
legittim[...] preles, quod si [...] ut [...] dua Regina haberet  
[...] hebben auch lossen verdolmetzschen die underhandlungen  
zwischen Luttringen etc. in summa CH die bischof  
haben beschlossen und underzeichnet  
das es keinn hilich seie und den **König**  
von der **Königin** ledig erkant hat mir itzt uf  
stun [sic] einer in ein or geraumt weis  
kein \*bebser\* [sic, besser] rat dan man ir gnad widder mit  
liebten us dem land brecht Gnediger  
furst und her, itzt uff stund wirt mir anzeigt  
wie das pryeff und Sigel und andere von hern, zu der ko:  
nigin faren, ich hab aber iren g. heit zeit:  
lichen geschriben wes sich ir g. halten  
sol wan man zu iren g. komt bin ~~gestert~~ by Irn

f186r.

g gewesen gestert, hette der könig ir gebotten sie solt  
gedult hebben es were das konigReich willen, wu sie  
fur sie sprechen, wolt ers gern hebben, wu aber widder ire  
g miest sie es auch annemmen, und begert der konig, das  
ein antwurt, hieruff antwurt die konigin sie hette

davon kein wissen sunder das wol, das sein ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt  
 were iren g gebben zu eim man, und do hilt sie in fur  
 Iren eelich hern und man, und kint sie niemants scheiden  
 dan der biter doth. Gnediger h. solches weynes und  
 bittern schreys thut sie, das es ein steinen hertz mochte  
 erbarmen, schickt underweylen nach mir, ire gnad, das  
 ir gnad nit rugen kan, und auch ursach hatte, also das  
 ich underweyl umb die mitternacht zu iren g verreiten  
 muß. die frum furstin dauert eins yetlichen erbaren  
 gemiets Itz g her, als bald dieser brieff beschlossen,  
 will ich zu iren g Reyten, zu vernemmen, was man  
 mit ir g gehandelt hat, nichts gut, weyß ich vorhin wol,  
 ich besorg die **Burgunder** haben mit das feu:  
 er gemacht der zum wenigsten das  
 holtzt [sic] darzu getragen es habbe mir auch  
 ko.ch Mt Rät h. zeigt, wan schon der heylich entschlagen  
 \*mir Erkanniß\* wird, wirt nit dester weniger ko.ch Mt geneigt die  
 vorige buntniß zuhalten und noch weytere von nothen  
 zu machen, umb fruntschafft zu erhalten<sup>40</sup> was men:  
 liche wolgezirte Redde, fund ich, ein bawer uberkheme  
 den pfützen darvon. Ich hoff noch got der her soll sein  
 gnad beweysen, uff das alle trubseligkeit in die:  
 ser betrubten welt zehenfach were gedult kan  
 hebben widder ergetzt werden, de meo periculo  
 agitut sed Deus erit protector das ewer g frau  
 mutter gedult drage und menneklich

f186v.

stil seie uf das solch unsculdige  
 frmme [sic] furstin widder us dem land  
 kom zu ire g. blutsverwanten schick  
 man ilngs [sic] hieren ein treffliche  
 botschaft mit samt sachsen  
 in geheim und ilngs ob geleit  
 vnon [sic] noten weis ich nit mich also  
 e f g underthenigklich bevolhen hebben datum zu Lunden  
 den x Julii Anno xxxx

E F G

undertheniger getrewer  
 diener alzeit

Karl Harst

---

<sup>40</sup> auch ire ko.ch wurd erlich, als ko.ch Mt schwester zu underhalten

Ich hab meyner diener eyner zu e f g abgefertigt,  
den achste Julii

**Enclosed note:**

f185r.

der principal punct das sie  
sich uf die luttringisch  
underreddung beschwerung als  
wan der selb hilich *als sie in nen:*  
*nen krefftig were* und darum *denck ich* hat  
der **König** ein mitleiden mit iren  
g gehabt wie mit eim verlosse:  
nen freulin sunder frund *der her*  
*lont yetlichem nach seiner verdiensten*

**fos 190r. - 193r., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 12 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Thinks that the mother Duchess will take the news to heart, but hopes that the duke will comfort her. Recounts the letter that he wrote on 8 July and the events of the annulment. The document that proved the revocation of the betrothal between Anne and Francis of Lorraine was declared not to be authentic. Anne had given her agreement, thinks it was for fear of worse to happen. Was warned by her that he should not dispatch any letters, as all are intercepted at Dover. Suffolk and Privy Seal requested that he communicated with the duke in favour of the annulment. Pretended placidity. They desired Anne's confirmation that the king never touched her, but she objected. Told Harst that the king 'has lived with her like husband and wife ought to live together' and that she would 'rather have her head struck off and that she recognised no other husband in the world than him'. The king promised her a pension and that the alliance with the duke would continue, but suspects scheming with the 'Burgundians' behind the events and perceives the king as not trustworthy. Cautions the duke to talk the mother duchess out of any impulsive reactions, as this would put her daughter in danger. Thinks Anne needs to be brought out of the country, as he fears poison or that the king might dishonour her grace further by changing his mind and impregnating her. Was warned that he will get arrested soon. Is not sure whether the King of France will believe Henry, but reckons that he may

be scheming with the Emperor anyway. Suggests to warn Saxony to not send any dispatches and cautions that all dispatches need to carefully avoid any discontent .

Five enclosed short messages, one in a different cipher and by a different hand:

f190a: Many say that the bishop who was sent to Wilhelm is a rogue

f190b: Many hope that 'the whore, the new bride' will fall again soon. Suffolk is with the Queen, they are going hunting.

f190c: Touching the correspondence between the duke's envoys in France and England. Warns against the Burgundians and Lorraine when travelling, thinks it is safer to travel via Switzerland.

f190d is in a different cipher, therefore not transcribed

f193r: To the duke's chamberlain Hochsteden, regarding his nephew, 'the Young von Gymnich'. The King has appointed him to an 'honest milord' and the count of Waldeck to Greenwich. Would have preferred them to be sent to the same place together, but the Queen says that, as the king has given this order, it is best to leave it as it is.

### **Transcript:**

f190r.

*Durchlauchtiger, hochgeporner furst, Gnediger her  
Meyn underthenige und getrewe dienst sein E. f. G.d  
alzeit zuvoran bereit. Gnediger furst und her, ich besorg  
das diese Zeitung leider e. g. fraw Mutter und auch e.f.g.  
nit wenig beschweren wurt, wie dem sol Ir g uß mütter:  
licher lieb solchs etwas mhe zuhertzen fassen, besorg Ich  
dan man meint derenthalben verhoff Ich das ewer  
f.g. auch In widderwertigkeit sich daster furstlicher  
als ein hochädelich gemiett gegen e.f.g. fraw Mutter  
also halte, und Ire gd. also tröste, das ire g. es als ein  
christliche furstin solchs Gott dem almechtigen heim:  
stellen werd etc. Gnediger h. Ich hab ewern f.g. geschriben  
durch meynen diener wu Recht behalten den 8. Julii, wu  
Ich anzeigt hab e f g wye das Tonstallus under ande:  
rem mir furgehalten in beysen anderer Räten, das die  
hern vom perlament begert habben an den konig, das  
bevelh geschee den Bischoff an matrimonium inter rege  
et regina sit legitimum, auch solchs der konigin furgehalten  
wie dan solchs gescheen den 6. Julii und das freytags  
darnach wie auch geschribben widder bey den Räten ware. Im  
verhofft das widder hinderstellig zumachen uff das ko.ch*

*Mt. bey der reputation in anderen nationen plibbe, und die konigin meyn g.ste fraw, in iren eelichen standt, frid: samlich, uff das fruntschafft und bestandige einigkeit zwischen ko.ch Mt. und meynem g hern verplibbe, dorubber hat man des anderen tags darnach im perlament wie ich vernommen publicirt wie meyns gnedigste fraw seye verlobt dem Margraff von Luttringen derenthalben seye ko.ch Mt. von iren ko.chen wurden ledig erkant, das hat sich alles in funff tagen verlaufen, und auch gesagt, das in: strument revocationis were nit auctentisch sunder allein*

f190v.

*durch Notarien subsignirt etc. Auch uf den selbigen samstag zu der **Königin** suffock pri: vati sigelli und hat sie miessen willen darzu gebben dan ich hab den selbigen tag iren g. geschriben hat aber nit geholffen das miessen sagen oder vleicht borsers erwarten und mir in der eil ein post geschickt das ich bei meinem leib nit schreib dan der post hat sollen uf dovern reiten die brief widder zuholen ich sagt nein ich het: te nit geschriben aber die brief wassen schon bestalt ewern g. zuzuschicken und rit also der post mit mir widder: um zu der **Königin** begegnet mir uf dem weg suffock und privati sigelli und batten mich ich solt [au]ch das best by ewern g. darzu redd[en] koniglich Mat wurde alle zeit ein gut zunei: gung zu eweren g. habben hieruf sagt ich es were mir leit das sich die sachen also begeben hetten und sunst ander senfmutige wort kom also zu der **Königin** hat alle sachen got ergeben und was wol zufridden wol in die zwuo ganten stunden by iren gnaden dan der **König** hat sich lossen mercken er has ir gnaden nie*

f191r.

*berurt hetten die selben räth auch gern gehat das ire g. solchs gestanden hett hieruf sagt sie er hette ge:*

lebt mir [sic, mit] ir wie man und weib mit ein:  
 ander leben sol doruf hat ire konig:  
 lich wird auch gesagt wolt sie los:  
 sen ee ir haubt abschlagen und sie  
 bekente auch kein anderen man uf  
 ertrich dan innen<sup>41</sup> nu vermerck ewer f.  
 g. was das unredlich volck sich erbeite  
*und vernym von eim der konig will viel thun hab es auch*  
*zum teil von der konigin gehort, er wil iren königlichen*  
*wurden gebben ein erliche pension in oder uß dem landt,*  
*pleibt sie im land, will ehr sie halten wie sein liebe*  
*schwester, auch die einigung mit meym g hern halten,*  
*und weyter alleance zu machen, wie von nothen seye meynne:*  
*klich und wie yemants gegen eweren g wolt widder denen*  
*wil ir Mt. auch sein ich besorg er seie*  
 mit de[.....] im geheimen verstant  
 und die **Burgunder** schalten an diesem red:  
 [li]n ich glaub er vertrust sich uf  
 den **Kaiser** dieweil das ewer g. gellern halben  
 also stot dieser arckwon halben der **König**  
 hat nie mogen leiden das ewer g.  
 sich mit dem **Kaiser** vereinige oder dorin  
 in handlung sto vleicht besorg wuo  
 es mit ewer g. und deren **Herzogin von Mailand** fursich  
 ging hette er das nit dorffen denck:  
 en das er itzt understot hat auc [sic]  
 alle zeit geclagt man vertraue  
 im nit hette gern alle heimlich:  
 keit gewust wie leider nu durch  
 sein botschaf [sic] bey eweren g. in frankerich  
 bey ewer g. cantzler und dem von  
 wachtung wesende ich hab in franke:  
 rich noch nie kinnen schreiben

f191v.

weiter g.f. und her wil ich ewern gn.  
 underthenigklich us getreier meinung  
 ermant habben das ewer g. ewer g. fraw  
 in das geheimst uf ein seit nem:  
 me und iren g. sagen als lieb iren g.  
 ir liebes kint **die Königin** mein gnedigst frau  
 ist das sie solches ding nit los an

---

<sup>41</sup> und g.h. wie ich von der **Königin** urlub hot genommen CH END *in die elff ewer umb mitternacht ging ich mit*  
*ein gute frundt wandelen* CH hort ich viel pferd kommen was suffock und privati sigilli widder zu der **Königin** ob  
 der puncten was zu geston das er sie nie berurt weis ich nit dan ich rit morgens enweg diese brie [sic, brief] zu:  
 schreiben

gon als wan ire g. nicht sunderlich  
 darvon wuste wuo man echters die  
 from furstin us dem land verhoft  
 so besorg ich sie wirt ellendeklich  
 in disem land miessen ersterben  
 das ewer g. die **Räte** bei iren eiden  
 erman das sie solchs in geheim ver:  
 halten uf das ir konigliche wurd das:  
 ter sicher us dem konigreich mocht  
 kommen und je ee je besser dan gift  
 zubesorgen und nit in geheim vergeb:  
 ben werd auch g.h. zubesorgen wuo die  
 lieb dem **König** widder keme und er mit  
 zuchten fur ewern g. seiner huren  
 die er hat schwanger gemacht wirt  
 sie nemmen wil secundum genitum  
 habben also \*ir widder\* figet wurd darnoch wid:  
 der zu ewer g. schwester lauffen und also  
 noch dieser getoner publicacion  
 schwanger machen und also die from  
 und dugentsam furstin enteren<sup>42</sup> \* dan er

f192r.

ist der gnaden gottes beraubet sie  
 sagen uf den strossen hie es seie  
 ein jemerlich sach das man den  
**König** mit eins anderen mans weib also  
 bedrogen hat als man der **Königin** und mir  
 hat die hanlung [sic] furgehalten ist  
 der sehe und alle heuen zwen  
 das beschlossen gewesen glaub ent:  
 lich noch meint halben g.h. ich be:  
 sorg ich werd in kurtzen dagen ge:  
 fangen werden dan ich bin heftig  
 gewarnt ich weis nit ob der **französische König** glauben  
 hilt aber dieser ist mit dem **Kaiser**  
 meins erachtens in eim heimlichen  
 verstant und das man den **Kursächsischen** in geheim  
 solchs anzeige und das lauter noch  
 niemants nit schreibe dan es were  
 um die **Königin** gethon auch wen man hie:  
 rein schickt nit sunder geleit rath  
 ich, ich ee noch nie kein schreiben  
 us franckrich von ewer g. raten uber  
 kommen gf. und h. wuo die sachen

<sup>42</sup> wuo ir gnaden us dem land kan kommen das sie in keinen weg verleib ic [sic] besorg es wirt so gut nit kommen

und alle handlung besser ston  
 dan ich nu ewern g überschreibe  
 ist mir lies [sic] *Got der almechtig seye mit ewern*  
*f. g. alzeit datum zu Lunden den 12 Julii Anno 40*  
*E F G*

*undertheniger und getruer*  
*diener alzeit*

*Karl Harst*

gnediger f und her wach ewere f. g. uf  
 dan es ist von noten ich besorg ewer  
 g. seie verrotten

f190a  
 sagen etlich die **Botschaft** der bischof  
 by ewern g. wesende seie ein  
 grosser schalck

f190b  
 und verhoffen etlich das die hur die neu  
 braut sol bald widder fallen suffock ist bey  
 der konigin ist viel jagens dar und widder wil  
 heit zum tei [sic, teil] erfahren

f190c  
 g. h. schrib ewer g. alle ding in franckerich dem  
 cantzler hie habben nie geschriben und sie  
 mir auch nit auch im rats reiten das sie uf  
 die **Burgunder** und luttringer wol acht habben solten  
 schier zum sichristen durch schweitz rei:  
 ten

190d A note of seven lines, written in a different, unknown code

f193r.  
*Lieber her hoff meyster Ich verneym das ewer Neve der Jung van*  
*Gymenich bey eim erlichen Milord sye. Koniglich Majestät hat In dahin verschafft*  
*und der von Waldeck gen Grunwitz, hette lieber gesehen, das sie uff ein um:*  
*ver[...] geschickt wären worden, sagt aber wegen gnadigste fraw dieweil*  
*es koniglich majestät also verordnet hette, so solt man es darbey lassen pleiben*

**fos 199r. - 200v. and 218r., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 13 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Distrusts the king and suspects that the proceedings regarding Anne were aimed at an alliance between the English king and the Emperor, or at least the Burgundians have stirred the fire. Thinks that if Anne was married to Lorraine, the councillors would have let her know and it would not have come to this sad situation. Has heard that the tyrannic king has sworn an oath on the bible that he has not been intimate with her grace, god will punish him for this disgrace. Harst has been quite rude to the [privy] councillors, but is afraid that if he would do more, he may put Anne in trouble, or he may be put into the tower, which would dishonour the Duke even further. Anne told him to stay quiet by all means. Harst thinks that Cromwell may be in the tower mostly for this marriage. Some say that the cardinal of Lorraine has worked on that, but thinks that Winchester has taken revenge at Cromwell and the Saxons, to the damage of the innocent princess. Is concerned that the chancellor [Gogreve], being unaware of these proceedings, will trust the English ambassador, which is dangerous. Considers that maybe the king is not acting in accordance with the Emperor, but has done this all at his own will. Anne told him that 'the [privy] councillors are weeping bitterly with her grace, and everybody is fearing for their heads, nobody is allowed to speak up.' Has heard that she had to sign a declaration that the king has never touched her and that she was betrothed to Francis of Lorraine. Has forbidden her to do so, neither orally nor in writing, but thinks that she may have had to do it to save her life. Thinks that the king is possessed by an evil spirit, as he has spent 20'000 gulden for jewelry and commissioned an expensive dress for her; it is rumoured that he will get married within 8 days. Recommends to put up a friendly face towards the English ambassador for the sake of Anne. Harst is writing this letter 'with weeping eyes and sorrowful heart' for these disgraceful proceedings. Will afterwards pay her grace a visit. Has heard that, when Cromwell was imprisoned, the king has asked him whether he would help him in this matter, which Cromwell declined. Thinks that he meant the new bride. Has also heard that Cromwell, upon receiving news of the annulment, supposedly complained that the admiral was a traitor, he [Cromwell] has made an effort to obtain a friendship between the king and the German princes, but the admiral takes down all these achievements, now he [Cromwell] wanted to die and had no desire to live anymore. The admiral is not allowed to talk to Harst, neither the others. When he was visiting Anne two days ago, there was a meeting of nine bishops, and he was called to them twice, but he doesn't know why. Cromwell is accused to have lured the king into the marriage and to have claimed there

were no obstacles, but now there were hundreds of them. Anne does not desire anything more than to still meet the king every now and then, she would do anything for him.

Enclosed note:

The letters are being opened by the English, so Harst gave order to his servant to hand over his letters to the duke of Cleves in person. Asks for the servant's costs to be reimbursed.

Anne made him swear that he will not write to her. Demands caution in all measures, so that Anne can be brought out of the country safe and sound. Thinks that the king will make her a promise of a good pension, but not keep it, as he did with the old queen Catherine. Suggests that an embassy to be sent over, but worries that the king must not realise the intentions, as he would not let her go.

### Transcript:

199r.

*Gnediger furst und her wie ewer f. g. us die:*  
sem hie byligeden schreibe vernimt wie  
das ich den **König** gantz arckwonig hab dieweil  
sich die handlung mit ewer g schwester  
meiner gnedigsten frauen also be:  
drubt find als wan ir ma.t ein buntnis  
mit den keiserischen begert zuhaben  
oder die **Burgunder** miessen das feuer angeblo:  
sen haben wuo aber mein g frau also ver:  
bunden mit dem von **Lothringen** so bin ich unge:  
zwifel das ire konigliche wurd were  
durch ewer g. rāth wol sovil insehen  
gescheen das es zu diesem bedribten  
fal nit were kommen ich hor sagen der  
tirannisch **König** sol uf das evangelium hab:  
ben geschworen das er nicht mit iren  
g. hat zuthun gehat das frum [sic] edel blut  
\*hat\* dem **König** solche er bewiesen got wirt in  
in seinen uneren straffen hette  
\*man\* sorg luttringen halben gehat solt  
ichs ie billich gewust haben bin wol  
hert an den rāthen gewesen besorg aber  
wuo ich zuviel mach das ich die  
from **Königin** beschwer ich mer dan wan ich ir g.  
\*vermein zu\* furdern ~~und~~ besorgen etlich das ich  
darzu in ein gefencknis mocht ge:  
worffen werden und were eweren g. noch mer

spot und verkleinerung und hab auch  
keinen bevel begert auch sagt die **Königin** ich

199v.

solt beleib schweigen denck das **Cromwell** des  
merenteil derenthalb in thurn seie  
kommen diesen hilich belangen der  
bischof von wincestern und etlich  
meinen der cardinal von luttring:  
en sollen sich hierin geiebt habben  
und das sich wincestern hat mogen  
rechen an sachsen krumfel zu:  
bringen das bringt die unschuldig fur:  
stin in die noth ich besorg ewer f.  
g. cantzler itzt dieser handlung un:  
wissen wirt des **Königs Botschafter** zuviel vertrau:  
en ich gib in keinen glauben und  
wuo in ewer g. vertraut so werden sie  
ewer g in geferlichkeit stellen do ist  
noch trau noch glaub es ist auch her:  
widerum muglich das der **Kaiser** gar kein  
buntnis oder einichen verstant mit im  
hab das der **König** alle ding von im selbs  
thut und der **Kaiser** hab nicht dormit zuthun  
dan die **Königin** sagt mir die räth weinen  
bitterlich mit iren g besorgt ein iet:  
licher seins kopfs darf keiner  
nit redder sagt mir gestert einer er  
hett das frauenzimmer lossen enweg  
furen weiter sagt einer die **Königin** hette  
miessen ein hantgeschrift dem **König** gebben  
das er sie nie berurt hette und das  
ire g dem **Franz von Lothringen** verlobt were das hab ich

200r.

iren g verboten muntlich schrift:  
lich aber ich denck sie hat miessen  
zu entrettung ires lebens ich besorg  
er seie mit dem bösen geist bessessen  
hat gestert kauft kleineter in die  
zwentzig tausent gulden vermeinen  
ob acht tag ein gon so wirt er trauen  
lost der braut ein costlich kleit mach:  
en geb ewer g den **Botschafter** gutte wort und allein  
zutrachten wie das from edel un:  
schuldig blut entretten g.f. und her ich

schrib die brief mit weineden  
 augen und bedrubtem hertzen und sag  
 ich bei meinen pflichten was schmec:  
 licher trulicher handel ist das und nit  
 zu remedieren dan senftmutigkeit itzt  
 uf stund reit ich zu meiner gnedig:  
 sten frauen got der almech:  
 tig verleihe iren g. gedult ich ver:  
 nim unglanges darfur ob **Cromwell** gefangen  
 ist worden sol der **König** zu im gesagt hab:  
 ben ob er im nit dozu helffen kind  
 hat **Cromwell** dem **König** geantwort nein es were  
 im nit muglich vermeinen er hab die  
 new braut gemeint ich hor sagen wie  
**Cromwell** die verenderung in der gefenck:  
 nis hab vernommen sol er gesagt  
 habben wie ist der ammiral ein ver:  
 reter an dem **König** und hat gesagt ich  
 hab meim hern dem **König** ein fruntschaft

200v.

gemacht bei den deitzschen  
 fursten das stost der nunn als um und  
 gesagt er wil gern sterben beger nit  
 me zu leben es wil der ammiral  
 noch keiner allein mit mir redder  
 sagen auch sie dorffen es nit  
 thun wie ich fur zwen dagen by der  
**Königin** ware sind uf eim ort neun bisch:  
 of versamlet gewesen onzweifel  
 us zulassung des **Königs** zweimol zu mir ge:  
 schickt warum weis ich nit ich hab  
 wol fur sie begert ante conclusionem  
 weis nun nicht me zuerhalten ich  
 denck der **König** hat seine kuntschafter  
 us geschickt was man in landen sagt  
 ich glaub auch die **Botschafter** by eweren  
 f.g. werden sich mit fug abdregen  
 man legt dem **Cromwell** uf er hab den **König** ver:  
 furt und in vertroost es seie kein  
 mangel in dem hilich und sind ir  
 nun zweihundert das es nit kan sein  
 die from furstin begert nit me dan  
 das sie in alle dag ein mol mocht  
 und teth im alles guts noch ach  
 got were die von im *Bevilh mich e f g mit*

*aller underthenigkeit. datum zu Lunden den 13 Julii*  
*Anno 40*  
*E F G*  
*undertheniger und*  
*getruer diener*  
*Karl Harrst [sic]*

CH g.h. fas ewer f. g. als viel muglich us die:  
 meim unordenlichen schreiben

f218r.  
*Meynen willigen dienst und alles guts die brief*  
*werden ufgebrochen hab derenthal:*  
*ben gebetten das er sich also viel*  
*bemuen wol und die brief meim*  
*g.h. zuuberantworten wollen drum dran sein*  
*das Im sein ußgelegt zergelt widder werd hiemit*  
*seyt Got bevolhen datum zu Lunden den 13 Julii*  
*Anno 40*

*E.L. gutwilliger*  
*Karel Harst*

CH die **Königin** hat mir lossen bey meim leib  
 ansagen das ich nit ir schreib und das **Königs**  
**Botschafter** habben auch  
 begert vermeinen  
 es sol durch leidlich  
 condicion hingelegt werden dorum  
 seit in allen handlungen fursichtig  
 uf das man mit glimpf und fug die  
**Königin** us dem land kunde bringen der **König**  
 wirt ir gros pension zusagen und nit  
 halten wie er mit der alten ko:  
 nigin \*catharina\* auch hat thon ist zube:  
 sorgen er wirt ir noch alle ire  
 kleinet nemmen je ee us dem  
 land je besser nit me dan flucks  
 us seinen augen wie mag der guten  
**Königin** so angst sein got bessers were  
 wol von noten ein treflich botschaft  
 her zuschicken und von der **Königin** werwan:  
 ten [sic] wegen auch wuo er aber solch:  
 en erns merck so wirt er sie kaum

us dem land lossen

### **f218r, 13 July 1540, Harst to the councillors**

This is a note sent with a servant.

#### **Summary:**

The letters are being opened by the English, so Harst gave order to his servant to hand over his letters to the duke of Cleves in person. Asks for the servant's costs to be reimbursed.

Anne made him swear that he will not write to her. Demands caution in all measures, so that Anne can be brought out of the country safe and sound. Thinks that the king will make her a promise of a good pension, but not keep it, as he did with the old queen Catherine. Suggests that an embassy to be sent over, but worries that the king must not realise the intentions, as he would not let her go.

#### **Transcript:**

f218r

Meynen willigen dienst und alles guts die brief  
werden ufgebrochen hab derenthal:  
ben gebetten das er sich also viel  
bemuen wol und die brief meim  
g.h. zuuberantworten wollen drum dran sein  
das Im sein ußgelegt zergelt<sup>43</sup> widder werd hiemit  
seyt Got bevolhen dat) zu Lund) den 13 Julii  
Anno 40

E.L. gutwilliger

Karel Harst

die **Königin** hat mir lossen bey meim leib  
ansagen das ich nit ir schreib und das **Königs**  
**Botschafter** habben auch  
begert vermeinen  
es sol durch leidlich  
condicion hingelegt werden dorum  
seit in allen handlungen fursichtig  
uf das man mit glimpf und fug die

---

<sup>43</sup> Zehrgeld

**Königin** us dem land kunde bringen der **König**  
 wirt ir gros pension zusagen und nit  
 halten wie er mit der alten ko:  
 nigin +catharina+ auch hat thon ist zube:  
 sorgen er wirt ir noch alle ire  
 kleinet nemmen je ee us dem  
 land je besser nit me dan flucks  
 us seinen augen wie mag der guten  
**Königin** so angst sein got bessers were  
 wol von noten ein treflich botschaft  
 her zuschicken und von der **Königin** werwan:  
 ten [sic] wegen auch wuo er aber solch:  
 en erns merck so wirt er sie kaum  
 us dem land lossen

**fos 205r. - 212r., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 18 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Explains that, if his despatches may be repetitive and superfluous, he is writing with high frequency so as to get Wilhelm and his councillors as well informed as possible in case it was needed. Has visited Anne just before dinner, was told that she has surrendered all doings into the King's hands. Has voiced that King and councillors would deceive her, but she said that there was nothing else she could do, being 'among a pack of wolves'. Harst told her that it had come to his ears that she had signed even things that abhorred her, but she replied that she had to if she did not want to risk her head. Demanded that she granted him full power to revoke her compliance, but she refused. To his reproof of her confirmation that the king had never touched her and that she would be bound to Francis of Lorraine she replied that if she did not do this, they would immediately lose their heads. Told her that if she complied and confirmed these things, she would have to live her life practically like a widow for as long as the King and Francis of Lorraine lived. Suggested to her that she could secretly declare in writing that she had done this under threat and left on her own, as a woman and send this writ to her brother, but she refused. When he was about to leave, her chamberlain forwarded an invitation of the Privy Councillors to dine with them, but Harst declined and declared that he was not feeling well, thus they sent some bottles of wine to his lodgings. He sent a message to Anne saying that (their discussion) had been too heated, he wished that everything happened according to the best for her and his majesty's best, and also for their souls. But as everyone knows, her

grace and his majesty had a public wedding and intercourse had followed, so she would not only have to be aware of her reputation in England and the whole Christendom in this life, but also that she will be judged in eternity. In response to this, she immediately sent for him and they conferred well into the night. She declared to him again that she was constantly afraid of receiving the news that he was put into the Tower and that he must not write anything that might displease the King and put her in danger, too. Cautions that the English ambassador at Cleves must not get any notice of the contents of his dispatches. Anne says that if she would stand up to this, nothing would result from it except that the King would get opposed to his grace [Wilhelm] and be driven towards the Emperor, which is why she has complied patiently. Thinks that the English have given her some hope in order to make her the more trusting and compliant, but that after all her compliance to the agreements, they will not keep to it. On Friday 16<sup>th</sup> Anne's ladies have left her with weeping eyes, Cromwell's former servants will now serve her, she will be called Milady or Madam of Cleves. It is rumoured that the king will be on progress for a while with the new bride. The Chancellor of Augmentations has given a speech in parliament, saying that by a special grace of god the king has never touched this beautiful human [Anne], the king has sworn an oath on this and Anne has confirmed it. But many claim that the king was displeased with the duke, because he had given him another man's wife. The English also say that it was great luck that three souls were saved by Anne's confession, the King's, Francis of Lorraine's and her own. Has heard that two German maids are said to have confessed a marriage between Anne and Francis of Lorraine, thinks that these two maids have been milking the cash cow on this occasion. Allegedly Anne has gifted a belt that bears an embroidered motto and which she had once received from Francis to an English maid. In the end, king and queen were divorced by the bishops, the Burgundians have instigated and the bishops have taken revenge on Saxony. Thinks that parliament will continue for a while and the king will go on progress, so it may be worthwhile sending an envoy to address parliament, although Henry would not allow this. Not everybody is happy with the change, as Anne is loved by many for her personality. According to rumour from Antwerp Henry has threatened the Saxon Chancellor. Harst regards his embassy as hopeless and futile and requests his withdrawal from England, as he does not believe there will be any more gain from his stay and, for his part, he does not want to deal 'with this people' any more. He was informed that they intend to dispatch a bishop as an envoy to give council to the duke [on the question of Guelders], but they have demoted the queen like a priest whom they strip of his ordination. When he recently visited her grace, she told him that they have demanded delivery of her wedding ring, which she refused unless the king would receive it from her in person. Henry has sent a golden cross to Anne and has provided her with a pension of 4000 marks and two manorial properties,

but Harst reckons that [the English] will not pay the pension for long. The French ambassador has told him that he and the imperial ambassador have also received order [by the English] not to write anything that would damage the king's reputation. According to rumours, the emperor is gathering money from all his dominions. Harst suspects that it is Karl's intention to entrap Wilhelm into recruiting a lot of mercenaries in order to financially bleed him out in the first year, it is said that this would weaken Cleves by ten thousand men. Thus Harst recommends to make do with the own recruitments and to focus on the strongholds. Encloses a letter that Anne has written to him that will prove to Wilhelm that her grace has to agree when the king declares white to be black, like all those who are around him. Wonders if the king has been betrothed to the new bride for a long time.

Postscriptum: Harst has not written to chancellor Ghogreve for he does not know whether he is still in [France], but the duke doubtlessly has warned him already not to trust the English ambassador [to France].

Enclosed note:

Requests that the mother duchess may be informed on her daughter being very patient, and that her grace has given in to the situation and put her fate in the king's hands.

### Transcript:

f205r.

*Durchlauchtiger, Hochgeporner furst, gnediger her,  
 Mein underthenige getrewe dienst seyen ewern f.g.  
 alzeit zuvoran bereit. Gnediger furst und her, Wie  
 Ich e.f.g. zwey schreibung zuhab geschickt, das ein den  
 12. das ander den 13. Julii, und mich deß selben tags zu  
 meynen g.ste frawen verfugt zu Iren g. kommen, gleichs  
 fur dem nachmol und als ich g. her mit meyns schreiben  
 langweylich und uberflissig were, so geschieht das do:  
 rumb CH uf das ewer g. und deren **Räte** aller handlung  
 und das factum daster besser under  
 richt wuo von nöten were wie ich aber  
 zu irn g. in sal kom frogt ich ir g wie al:  
 le sachen stunden sagt ir g sie hette  
 dem **König** alle ding heim gestelt ant:  
 wurt ich der **König** und die rath hinder:  
 gingen sie antwurt ir g was sie  
 thun solt sie were under eim  
 hauffen wolffen sagt ich herwide:  
 rum ich vernem sie beken und under:  
 zeichnet etliche dingen die irn g*

gar zuwider sagt ir g was sie thun  
 solt ob sie solt ir haubt wogen be:  
 gert ich sie solt mir allein muntlich:  
 en gewalt gebben so wolt ich alle  
 widderruffen als nichtig mit iren  
 g gehandel sag ir g nein das solt ich  
 nit thun ob sie bey eim solt sein  
 der sie nit habben wolts sagt ich  
 irn g es were nit allein dorum ich

f205v.

verneme wie das sich ir g zum  
 rechten bewilligt weiter bekant sol  
 habben ir g das er ire f.g. nie berurt hette  
 und veriehen (sic) solle habben  
 ir g als wan die dem **Franz von Lothringen** verhilicht und  
 verbunden were doruf antwurt ir  
 g wan sie das nit thet so wurden die  
 dan uf dasselbigmol ir heip:  
 ter verlieren sagt als ir g einmol  
 nit hette wollen verwilligen hette  
 der privati sigilli sein paret us  
 erschrockenem hertzen uf die erd  
 geworffen sagt ich hiemit were irn  
 g nit geholffen wan sie mit **Franz von Lothringen**  
 solchs gestanden so wurd ir g  
 von rechts wegen miessen in  
 witwan stant pleiben als lang der  
**König** und **Franz von Lothringen** lebte wust aber noch ein  
 rath wuo ir g volgen wolt das ir g  
 in geheim ein geschrift ufrichte  
 das solches alles gescheen us forcht und  
 allein als ein weipsbild ge:  
 standen solch dan irn g geschrift  
 und bekantnis ewer g heimlich zuschicken wolt es  
 nit eingon ich vermerckt auch das die  
 engelische junckfrauen gar entsetzt  
 und nit gern sahen das ich also

f206r.

lang mit ir g gesprech hette dan  
 sie besorgten ich solt alle ding wid:  
 der hinderstellig machen und wie  
 ich noch vielen redder von irn g  
 schid erwartet mein vor irn g gemach  
 milord kmmerlin [sic] und sagt mir wie

das die rath begerten an mich ich  
 solt mit innen essen des danckt ich  
 innen zeicht an ich weren nit wol zu:  
 pas also verordneten sie mir etlich  
 vleschen mit wein in mein herberg also g.h. schrib ich  
 uf stund meiner gnedigsten frauen  
 in solcher gestalt ungeferlich <sup>44</sup>  
 gnedigste fraw diese leider schwere  
 handlung wurd zugehitzig an wolt  
 das hierin geschee was ewer konig:  
 lichen wurden nit allein sunder auch  
 koniglich Mat unserem aller gnedig:  
 sten hern eweren beiden maiestaten  
 zu ern und auch heil der selen  
 mocht bekommen einmol weis menne:  
 klich das ewer g mit koniglich Mat  
 offentlich vermehelet daruf der  
 beischlof erfolgt daruf ewer g habben  
 wol zubedrachten uf das ewer g zu:  
 kunftiglich nit allein gegen den mensch:  
 en sunder auch noch diesem leben in  
 gi [?] welt gegen got mocht beston und  
 von nöten dies wol zuerortern und nit

f206v.

sich also blindlich hinnein gebben  
 sunder bedrachten koniglicher und  
 eweren maiestaten reputacion nit al:  
 lein in engellant sunder durch die  
 gantze christenheit und in zukunftig:  
 er zeit noch diesem kurtzen leben in  
 kwigkeit [sic- Ewigkeit] gegen got beston mogen  
 solchs gnedigste fraw wil ich  
 ewern ko. wurden als ein  
 getreuer undertheniger auch von amts  
 wegen als ewer g bruder meins  
 g.h. gesantter gutter meinung anzeigt  
 habben und mich also irn g under:  
 theniglich bevolhen uf solchs hat  
 ir g uf stund noch mir geschickt  
 und also bey irn g in die nacht  
 allen gesprechen und sagt ir g widder  
 wie sie die sachen dem **König** alle hette  
 heim gestelt sagt auch sie forcht  
 alle stund das ir g botschaft kommen

<sup>44</sup> dan die rath wolten noch dem nachtmol widder kommen als auch geschae

das ich im thurn seie ich sol auch  
 in alle weg verhieten das ich nicht  
 schreib bei meinem leib und leben  
 das dem **König** zuwiderd mocht sein und  
 meine brief und schreiben nit er:  
 funden werden wird ir g auch in  
 drubseligkeit kommen hat auch begert  
 ich sol irn g nit schreiben darum g.

208r.

h. das es vleissig verhut werd das  
 mein schreiben das wenigst wort des  
**Königs Botschafter** bey eweren g wesende nicht vernem:  
 men sunder innen alle ere be:  
 wissen werden wuo sie die **Königin** nit for:  
 deren das sie auch nit schaden und  
 mir nit allein schmochheit widderfa:  
 ren sunder auch ewer g schwester der  
**Königin** widderwertigkeit und irn g verder:  
 ben dorus mocht entston und also us  
 meim schreiben zwischen ewern g und  
 dem **König** grosser zwitracht erwachsen  
 und besser wuo muglich alle ding  
 mit senfmutigkeit und gutigkeit zuuber:  
 winden auch besser etwas geduldet  
 dan onzweifel die **Burgunder** ite [sic- ire] oren ufstreck:  
 en und die from furstin sagt selbs  
 warum sich ir g widdern sol  
 wir doch nicht doraus erfolgen dan  
 das sie den **König** ewern g zuwiderd wird  
 machen und er sich dan dem **Kaiser** an:  
 hengig wird machen darum hab  
 sich ir g gedultig drein ergeben  
g.h<sup>45</sup>. es hat mir die **Königin** in geheim ge:  
sagt doch by mir es lossen pleiben  
keim menschen uf ertrich darvon zu:  
sagen es wirt sich alle ding wid:  
der verenderen und widder besser  
 werden<sup>46</sup> wie mir die **Königin** bevollen das

f208v.

zuverschweigen wil ich gern thun  
 gegen mennecklich aber solchs der **Königin** gut  
 hofnung behoren eweren g mit zuwissen wuo

<sup>45</sup> [A manicule is drawn in the margin that points to this line.]

<sup>46</sup> ich denck sie hebben irn g gut hofnung gebben irn g consent dastter gutwilliger zuerhalten

ir g solch vertrost her hat hab ich nit  
 gefrogt oder ob einiche practica dorhin:  
 der stecken sagt mir ir g auch ich solt  
 ewer f.g. vom mir selbs schreiben aber von  
 iren g nicht sagen wan ewer f.g. irn g  
 schreib das ewer g alzeit das genne  
 schrib das der **König** frei mit mag lesen und  
 auch gern hortte ich besorg ir g hat  
 zuviel allenhalben vertraut und noch  
 thut dofur ich ir g treilich gewarnt  
 hadde sie werden ire g viel dings  
 uberredde und zusagen bis sie allen  
 willen von ir habben darnoch eins noch  
 das ander halten noch ewern g auch nit ein  
 fritag den sezehenden dis monats ist das  
 frauenzimmer von der konigin mit wei:  
 neden augen gar gescheiden **Cromwells** diener  
 sollen sein der **Königin** diener mein  
 gnedigste frau sol genent werden  
 hinfurter melede oder madamma de  
 cleves sagen der **König** wil noch ein zeit  
 lang mit der neuen braut verzie:  
 hen \*doch hab ichs von hor sagen\* sie sagen wie der cantzler von  
 der augmentatz [sic] gar ein schone red hat  
 gehat fur dem perlament wie das es  
 ein sunderlich gnad got irem **König** hat  
 verluhen [sic] das schon mensch nie berurt

f209r.

und er doruf geschworen zu got die  
**Königin** es underzeichnet wiewol der **König** etwas  
 zornig uber ewer g solt sein wie etlich sagen  
 dieweil ewer g im ein weip hat gebben  
 die vorhin ein gemahel hat sagen auch  
 die engellender es seie ein gros ge:  
 nad das dri selen sind behalten wor:  
 den us der **Königin** cofession [sic] des **Königs** sel **Franz von Lothringen** und  
 der **Königin** ich vernim auch das sie kunt:  
 schaft habben gefast von den zwuo  
 deitzschen cammerjunckfrauen die  
 auch gestanden sollen habben den  
 hilich zwischen der **Königin** und **Franz von Lothringen** ich glaub  
 die selben zwuo cammerjunckfrauen  
 habben dasselbigmol kue gemolcken  
 ich vernim auch die **Königin** sol einen gur:  
 tel habben gehat von dem von **Lothringen** hat ir

g einer engelischen junckfrau ge:  
 schenckt habben mit eim ufgestickten  
 reimen sol dem **König** auch zeigt sein wor:  
 den in summa der **König** und die **Königin** sind durch  
 die bischof gescheiden<sup>47</sup> ich glaub das  
 perlament wirt ein zeitlang der **König** wirt  
 uf das progres reiten jagen hette  
 vleicht nit kinnen schaden das mein  
 g.h. ein dreflich **Botschafter** hette hie gehat  
 und das gantz perlament underricht der  
**König** hat vleicht solchs geforcht hette  
 es auch nit gestattet es ist nit je:

f.209v.

derman zufridden mit solcher veren:  
 derung dan die **Königin** fur ir person ist von  
 mennecklich geliebet ob der **Kurfürst von Sachsen** neben  
 ewern g. rächen jemants wurd schick:  
 en nit sunder geleit dan ich vermerckt  
 vom eim zu antdorf als wan der **König** solt  
 gesagt habben zu dem sechsischen cantz:  
 ler er sagt im viel und der **Königin** er solt  
 lügen das es also were oder er wolt  
 es an im erholen g.f. und h. ich hab nicht  
 mer hie zuverhofnen noch zuschaffen von  
 ewern g. wegen wolt derenthalben ewer g  
 underthenig gebetten habben das sie  
 dem **König** schrib und ewer g mich widder ab:  
 heischen dieweil des **Königs Botschafter** bey ewern g.  
 sind dan ich besorg sunst es wirt  
 mir zuschwer fallen were auch hin:  
 furter nitzer ledig daus dan hie  
 verstrickt wan schon alle ding gut  
 wurden so hab ich keinen lust mit  
 diese volck me zuhandelen zeigen mir  
 an wie er ein feinen bischof wil  
 dohin schicken in ewern f.g. sachen hilffig  
 sein zuratschlagen kumt mit solch:  
 em draum herfur sie degradieren die  
 from **Königin** nit anders wie eim pfaffen  
 dem man die weihe wil abnehmen  
 man mus aber noch nit sagen itzt als ich bey iren g. ware sagt ir g.  
 mir sie hetten den truring von ir be:  
 gert sagt ich ir g. solt in nit gebben

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<sup>47</sup> die **Burgunder** habben practicirt und die bischof habben sich an sachsen gerochen [gerächt]

f210r.

hette ir g auch geantwurt sie wolt  
 nit gebben aber wolt es uber ein der  
**König** habben so wolt sie den ring dem **König**  
 selbs uberantwurten g.h. ir g. warnt mich  
 sunderablossen stetigklich us gnediglicher zunei:  
 gung das ich bei meim leib nit schreib  
 dorum dis mein schreiben underge:  
 druckt und verdruter weise dem was:  
 serburg zugestellt werd uf das der  
**Königin** noch mir kein bedrubnis noch schaden  
 oder schand drus entsto und dieweil ich als ein  
**Botschafter** ewern f.g. hie bin und frei nit schrei:  
 ben \*alle notdurft\* darf so weis ich auch nit  
 was ich hie zuthun habbe es hat wol  
 nit gar lang ein nidderlender gesagt als gros  
 frund ewer g. und der **König** sind also gros  
 figent sollen sie werden es schickt  
 sich leider wol darzu got erbarme es  
 der **König** hat der **Königin** geschickt ein gulden  
 kreitz \*fur acht dagen\* irn g. verordenet viertausent  
 marck zwei heise [sic, heiser/Häuser] sol sein schwes:  
 ter sein und schreibt irn g. seiner  
 lieben schwester werden die pension  
 nit lang bezalen hierin glauben  
 halten wie in anderen dingen auch  
 auch das es verbotten am hof und sunst  
 wer das man dem **König** nicht ubels noch  
 redde dan es bringt nicht guts und  
 des **Königs Botschafter** by eweren g. wesende schreiben

f210v.

alle ding uber und ist ewer f.g. schwes:  
 ter domit nit geholffen es ist auch  
 den anderen botschaften bevolhen dem  
**des Kaisers und französischen Königs** als wol als mir das keiner nicht  
 schreib und wol zu lug das irem hern  
 dem **König** zuverkleinerung sein mocht hat  
 mir des **französischen Königs Botschafter** des und anders mir in ver:  
 druter weise verzelt genediger her  
 us diesen handlungen und leiffen hab:  
 ben ewer g gut zuvermercken das der  
**Kaiser** sich lost duncken lossen ewer g und deren  
 schwester bestedigen so mus  
 man im dum frogen oder underston hilft zu hinderen  
 oder umstossen habben sich auch etlich

in **Burgund** lossen mercken ewer g seie verbun:  
 den deren von **Mailand** es göth g.h. die red  
 der **Kaiser** sammel gelt in allen seinen  
 erblanden \*in der eil\* kan wol vermercken was sein  
 gemiet ist g.h. ob ich stirb oder mir  
 sunst widderwertigkeit widderfur  
 und also in noten by ewer g nit were  
 so sehe es mich fur gut das sich  
 ewer g allein ruste und die starcken  
 vleckten besetz und sich ewer g mit  
 uberflissigem kriegsvolck nit uber:  
 lade dan er vermeint ewer g in costen  
 zujagen und das erst jar arm zumachen  
 sie sagen an das **Kaisers** hof ewer g. seie mit  
 dieser handlung zehen tausent man

f212r.

schwecher dan vorhin verhoffen nun  
 irn willen zuerlangen es vertrost sich  
 ewer g uf diesen **König** dieweil so unbestendig  
 gar nit gestert hat mir mein gnedigste  
 frau dis hierin gelegt brieflin zuge:  
 schickt us diesem irn g. schreiben mag  
 ewer f.g. vernemmen wan der **König** sagt es seie  
 schwartz und es ist weis so mus ir g sagen  
 es seie schwartz also miessen al die  
 gennen thun die um in sind ich hab g.h.  
 seltzam infel wie ob der **König** fur langer  
 zeit were gelobt gewesen der neuen  
 braut oder wie man sie nennen sol mei:  
 nen etlich er wirt sie in kurzem von  
 im jagen *Wil mich also g.er Furst und her ewern furst:*  
*lichen g. undertheniglich bevolhen hebben datum zu Lunden*  
*uff Sondag den xviii Julii Anno xxxx*

*E.F.G.*

*undertheniger und*  
*getruer diener*

*Karl Harst*

g.f. und her ich hab ewern f.g. cantzler Gho:  
 gref von dieser hanlung [sic] nit geschriben  
 dan ich nit weis ob er noch din seie  
 bin aber ungezweifelt ewer f.g. hab im  
 alle ding mit der post wissen gethon uf

das er des **Königs Botschafter** nicht vertraue

**Enclosed:**

f207r.

g.h. es mag ewer g ewer g fraumutter  
 anzeigen das irn g dochter mein  
 gnedigste frau von den gnaden des  
 almechtigen gantz gedultig ist  
 sagt ir g es kan nit anders sei [sic] und  
 mus also sein sunder einich wid:  
 dersagen hat sich ir g derenthal:  
 ben gar in das **Königs** hant gestelt und  
 mocht man mit des **Königs Botschafter** dem bischof  
 handeln das er alle ding zum  
 besten kerte

**fo 221r., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 20 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Sunday last, the king had all silver plate taken from the queen. Understands it has already been brought to the goldsmiths. Is afraid that her grace signs everything what they demand from her. Wanted to visit her this day, but the king's privy councillors with interpreters are at her place. Does not know whether they are taking her jewels or something else. Plans his visit for tomorrow instead.

**Transcript:**

f221r.

*Gnediger furst und her Itzt den vergangnen Sondag  
 hat der konig alles silbergeschir von der konigin lassen  
 holen, Ich versto auch es seye schon vergont und umb  
 gesetzt bey den Goldtschmidt, ich besorg ir  
 g underzeichnen alle ding was sie  
 ir anmutten heit hab ich zu iren  
 g wollen aber des **Königs** rath mit den  
 dolmetzschen sind widder zu iren  
 g ob sie die edlen stein von ir  
 nemmen oder was sie dien weis  
 ich nit morgen wil ich zu*

iren g reiten wil got *Bevilh e f g*  
*Got dem almechtigen sie sagen der bisch:*  
 of seie ein gros stuck bub geste..  
 ist ein post vom bischof kommen  
*datum zu Lunden den xx Julii Anno xxxx*  
*E F G*

*undertheniger diener*  
*Karl Harst*

### **fos 225r. - 227v., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 29 July 1540**

#### **Summary:**

Understands that the duke and the mother duchess have taken the news very heavily. Suffolk, Wriothesley and the Lord Privy Seal (Fitzwilliam) have visited Anne in Richmond. The king has sent back to her some of the jewelry that was confiscated from her earlier, but her wedding ring was now taken. The visitors have informed Anne about the contents of the letter that Wilhelm had written to Henry and argued that, now that the duke had accepted the situation and has sent a letter, she should write to her brother about her acceptance as well. Harst worries that her situation might worsen like that of Catherine of Aragon did, so it would be best to get Anne out of the country. Has warned her not to take an oath, and she assured him that it was not her intention but that she will have to do whatever the king's demand may be. Has tried to convince her to recant all concessions that she had made in these rapid procedures, but she made him swear that he would not take any steps in this matter. Has heard that before the annulment process began, a law was passed that any marriage was only valid if concluded by intercourse. Anne still has left some hope, but Harst thinks that this is futile. Suggests that maybe she does not want to return to Cleves also because she was ashamed, especially in regard to her mother, as she once confessed to him. Anne is expected 'to dance' (to show a happy and content demeanour) despite all this and must not even let a sigh. Harst is worried that the English may find any little fault as an opportunity to take action against her. Suggests that, as long as Anne is in the country, the duke cannot voice any protest against how the king has acted, but that he should do so once she is back home, for it was a question of honour. Thinks he is in danger, because the English know that he tries to convince Anne to recant.

**Transcript:**

f225r.

*Durchleuchtiger [sic] hochgeborner Furst Gnediger  
her, meynen willigen getruen underthenigen dienst  
seyen eweren f. g. allezeit zuvoran bereit ich  
kan g. h. wol erkennen das des bischs:  
ofs [sic] anbringen ewern g. seltzam und  
ein besweres [sic] hertzleit seie  
got verleihe ewern g. und ewern g. fraw  
mutter gedult und g. h. wie das ich  
in meim letsten schreiben hab  
anzeigt wie das suffock und privati  
sigilli auch der secretari frieslin  
widder bei meiner gnedigsten f. zu  
tutzmon [sic] sind und um zuerfaren was  
do ir furnemmen handlung oder be:  
drib seie gewesen *bin ich ipsa die Marie  
Madalene* zu irn g kommen sagt mir ir  
g wie das der **König** hette vorigmol al:  
les edel geschmeid und gesteins  
von irn g. lossen holen irn g. ein deil  
nun widder geschickt doch das best be:  
halten item den treuring lossen  
von irn g. holen auch habben sie irn g.  
anzeigt das schreiben mit ewer g. hant  
underzeichnet das ewer g. an den **König** hat  
thon *\*den 13 Julii\** mit der antwurt uf das bischofs  
furbringen und ir g. auch ver:  
stendigt wan ewer g. zum teil  
sich schon dorein ergebben und zu:*

225v.

fridden were und auch so hette ewer  
g. den bischof zu gast gehabt und be:  
gerten derenthalben das ir g. ewern f.  
g. schreiben wolt wiewol ire g. nit gern  
dran wolt doch irn willen wie in  
allen anderen zuvolthun geschribben  
welchs ir g. schreiben onzweifel ewer  
g. nume empfangen hat<sup>48</sup> die verende:  
rung sicht mich in irn g. hof nit an:  
ders an als es bald böser werden solt  
und schickt sich eben an wie mit  
der konigin Catarin dan ich forcht

---

<sup>48</sup> durch ein jungen genant Florencius von antdorf

allein ire g. werde noch in  
 das landt hinein gefurt werden dan wie  
 man ir g. mit geschicklichkeit [sic] us dem  
 lan [sic] kunde bringen je ee je besser  
 und g. h. als der schalck wie sie al  
 hie im land sind der bischof sich  
 sol habben lossen mercken als wan  
 der **König** und die **Königin** beide einen leiplich:  
 en eid thun werden solchs  
 g. h. hab ich irn g. in geheim furge:  
 halten sagt ir g. sie hab nie ge:  
 schworen wil noch nun nit schwe:  
 ren aber wie dem sie mus einmol  
 thun was der **König** wil ich hab mich gegen irn g.  
 underthenicklich erbotten wolt auch  
 wan es fug mocht habben alles widder:

f226r.

ruffen was man diese zeit mit irn g.  
 geschwindeklich gehandelt hat wil aber nit sein auch  
 sagt ir g. das ich solchs by meim leib  
 nit thet und brocht ire g. in grosse noth  
 so vernim ich auch g. h. wie sie im  
 perlament etwan acht dag darfur ob  
 sich die handlung habben angefang:  
 en ein act gemacht das kein matrimo:  
 nium sol kreftig sein in was form  
 auch gescheen es seie dan copulus  
 carnalis erfolgt ich glaub g. h. das  
 sich ewer g. an diesem **König** nit kan mit bes:  
 ser fugen decken dan wan ewer g.  
 schwester aus dem land were wie  
 dan mich ewer g. mitler zeit ver  
 nemmen werden aber als viel ich  
 von ewer g. schwester noch vernemmen  
 kan so ist ir g. noch nit gesint aus dem  
 land zuziehen ob ir g. noch uf hof:  
 nung lebt das weis ich nit by dem **König** ist  
 nicht me zu hoffen meins erachtens  
 zum anderen hat sich ir g. im dan ein:  
 mol lossen vermercken das sich ir g.  
 schemt zu irn g. fraumutter zukommen  
 dem were wol zuthun were ir g. sunst  
 us dem land weiter g. h. kan ich ewern  
 f. g. us undertheniger getreuer mei:  
 nung nit verhalten wie das der **König** nit allein al:

le ding noch seim willen sp[....]

f226v.

sunder auch ir g. wan sie schon nit  
 wil mus ir g. in solcher bedrubselig:  
 keit frolich sein uf das das volck  
 von der gmein daster weniger uber den **König** oder die  
 handlung meinserachtens ruffen so hat aber ir g. *in*  
*professo Mariem Magdalenem* miessen dantzen hab  
 ich ir g. gewarnt und gebetten das ir g.  
 solchs underlos dieweil gantz Lunden  
 den handel beclag und beschreie hie:  
 ruf hat mir ir g. gedanckt und solch:  
 e warnung in g. angenommen aber  
 wie g. h. ich gon Lunden kommen irn g.  
 zum treilichsten widder geschriben  
 und aber zum trilichsten gemant  
 dan ich besorg wuo sie ir in ein:  
 nige suspicion allein mochten bring:  
 en sie wurden ein action gegen  
 der frommen furstin erdencken dan  
 ir g. noch erschmechlicher zerwerffen  
 und zeigt mir an ir g wie des hertz:  
 ogen von Suffock sein husfrau  
 mit seinen schalmeien auch pri:  
 vati sigilli weren do gewesen  
 und hetten wollen habben von irn g.  
 das sie dantzen solt und frolich  
 sein auch dorft ir g. nit ein  
 sufszen lossen und gab mir ir g.  
 uf mein schreiben ein antwurt wie

f227r.

ewer g hie bei ligen mag sehen<sup>49</sup>  
 dorus ewer g. kan mercken das ich in sor:  
 gen sto meins leibs wuo ich lenger  
 hie pleibe es hat auch unlangest  
 der secretalien frieslin<sup>50</sup> zu eim ge:  
 sagt wiewol es mir etlich dag ver:  
 schwigen ist worden wie das ich der  
**Königin** rath durum enim esse calcetrare  
 contra stimulum und hat auch  
 gesagt wir machen was wir wollen

<sup>49</sup> wird von nothen das ewer g einen treflichen oder zwen allein zu irn g her schickt uf das ir g nit allein under / der  
 ungetruen falschen art seie

<sup>50</sup> [Wriothesley]

so mus es doch den weg ussen do:  
 rus kan ewer f. g. vermercken das sich  
 die sach nit wil lossen disputieren  
 als lang ewer f. g. schwester im land  
 ist aber zu gelegner zeit auch nit  
 gezimmen wil also gar darzu zu:  
 swigen [sic] wil mich auch beduncken  
 das er nit genug hat ewer g. schwester  
 zu beschimpff und verstossen ewer g.  
 zuverkleinern sunder noch underston  
 ewer g. **Räte** in ungnad by ewer g. zubringen  
 und dodurch zubedecken sein un:  
 billichs furnemmen got erbarm es  
 welchem ewer f. g. uf dis zeit alles ge:  
 dultigklich bevel den **Burgundern** dester statlicher  
 widderstant zuthun die artickel wie der  
**König** ewer f. g. schwester halten wil m[....]

f227v.

sion und anders auch auch mit buntnis gegen  
 ewern g. besorg es seie kein glaub dor:  
 hinder aber das er ein sum gelts  
 fur die pension ewer g. schwester geb  
 oder das der engelischen haus und ge:  
 selschaft zu antdorf gut darfur wur:  
 den sunst geb ich den underhandlung  
 kein glauben dan der italianer sagt  
*qui me fallit semel dii faqint* [sic, faxint?] male  
*faxintque bene si me iterum fallit cave:*  
 to ab huiusmodi amico deconciliato  
 g. h. were ich us dem land dan einmol ist  
 es dem **König** gutwissen und offenbor by men:  
 necklich das mir das **Königs** mit der **Königin** furnemmen  
 nit gefelt und ich es offentlich wid:  
 derredt habbe itzt ein mondag vergangen  
 hab ich relation gethon dem konig wie  
 mit [sic, mir] ewer g. bevolhen<sup>51</sup> mag ewer g. wol  
 dencken wie einer dem anderen hat als  
 fruntlich gesicht erzeigt dieweil  
 der bischof by ewer g. noch fur des  
 ankomst wolt ich gern von hinnen wil  
 mich ewern f. g. underthenigklich bevol:  
 habben *Got verleyhe e. g. gesuntheit dat)um zu*  
*Lunden den 29 Julii Anno 40*  
*E F G*

<sup>51</sup> des **Königs** antwort schreib ich ewer f. g. **Räte**

*undertheniger und ge:  
treuer diener  
Karl Harst*

**fos 234r. - 238v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 31 July 1540**

**Summary:**

Harst's servant has returned to him on 23rd July, and would have arrived four days earlier if it had not been for the winds that had driven the ships back to Flanders. Has been at court on 24th July and requested to meet the Lord Privy Seal. Was informed that he may see him only in the presence of all other councillors. To this, Harst replied by requesting to meet the king, and the Lord Privy Seal announced him. Was told to wait, as the king was not ready yet, but shortly afterwards was instructed to come back next day. The following day, the Lord Privy Seal asked for his patience, but as several Imperial envoys and the brother of the duke of Farnese had arrived, the king was holding a banquet for them. Harst was requested to return on 26<sup>th</sup> July at nine o'clock, but had to wait until noon, the king would depart for Hampton Court straight after lunch and stay there for several days going hunting. Has declared to Henry the duke's answer, that the previous arrangement [of Anne and Francis of Lorraine] had been agreed on only by the parents of both parties, the king was informed on these facts from the start and Anne had publicly denounced the contract in the presence of notaries. Henry tried to interrupt, but Harst demanded of the king to listen to him first, and thereafter he would do the same. Continued to explain that Francis of Lorraine had arranged other marriages afterwards. The one which the late duke of Guelders had conveyed as an agent was cancelled and copies of the arrangements delivered to his majesty by Harst himself, and the king has taken all measures and great care to ensure that this marriage [to Anne] was confirmed as much as possible and could not be refuted. Afterwards the marriage vows were celebrated in the presence of the most notable individuals and the church, consummated, and continued with the praise of the whole realm. Then Harst appealed to the king's mercy on behalf of the duke, assuring that whatever fault, whether Anne had not shown her duly marital obedience or the duke may have done any wrong, the latter would do all that was in his power for remedy. To this, Harst threw himself at the king's feet and asked him if he could move his majesty's heart, or at least Henry may be aware of the urgency of the duke's appeal. The king answered that

the arrangements between Anne and Francis of Lorraine have been of future and of present consent, and when the councillors came to this country together with her, they did not bring definite proof. Therefore, the wedding was postponed, and the councillors fell to their knees with weeping eyes, saying that if the wedding did not proceed, the duke would be doomed. They have promised again to send all proof, but the document that was delivered eventually was a weak one. Furthermore, the king said that it was only for [the succession of] Guelders that prevented the marriage [between Anne and Francis], but when Anne was seventeen years old, she had been vested for sending her to Lorraine, and at the time there had been consent. The king promised that he would do no less favours to the duke than if the marriage [between him and Anne] was still valid, and that he would support Anne even better than her brother would do. On Wednesday, 28<sup>th</sup> July Cromwell was beheaded and his head put on a stalk at the bridge, while the king is reported to have been merry that day. Cromwell was said to have died 'manly and like a Christian' and to have declared that he has never had any treasonous thought against the king, that he has always believed in the sacrament, and that people should pray for the king. Some rumour that he died because of the marriage, others that it was for the last letter of the Elector of Saxony, yet others think that he [Cromwell] has betrayed the king with this marriage. Harst suspects that the emperor is behind all this and worries that [the diplomacy] with France will not advance, as the French ambassador has not yet received any note of the marriage of the duke. On Friday, 30<sup>th</sup> July Dr Barnes, three Protestants have been burned and three papists hung, drawn and quartered. Barnes is supposed to have said that, when the king dissolved the monasteries, he [Barnes] was useful to him, but now that Henry has filled his chests, does not give anything to the poor and got his way, Barnes would be burned, and he supposedly accused Winchester. When he was already tied to the stakes he said that it seemed to him like many would push away their wives for another one only to indulge in their voluptuousness. Harst cautions not to trust the king's heralds or any other Englishman. Points out that he is incurring debts and requests a note to be sent to either a merchant or to Anne regarding this. Also demands a copy of the marriage contract between the king and Anne. The English have convinced her of 'white being black', and now she believes that impediments to her marriage have been ignored. The whore has travelled 60 miles into the country where the king will go hunting, but Harst has heard that she is not pregnant yet. Anne is still hoping, but he does not trust nor hope. Her grace is not well-disposed towards Winchester and would remember [what he did] if things should get better.

**Transcript:**

f234r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor Ernnestlich, hochgelerte, gepiettede gunstige hern mein diener ist den treiundzwentzigsten julii kommen zu mir gon rutzmund eben als ich von mei: ner gnedigsten frauen hot urlub uf lun: den zuverreiten und sagt auch mein die: ner wuo er nit von den winden were widder in flandern geschlagen worden wolt er fur vier dag ee sein kommen wie dem Ich hab mich den 24 Julii zu hoff, bey dem privati sigili lossen anzeigen. hat er mir entbotten, ehr hore mich nit allein, sunder will ich etwas furbringen mag ich In beysein aller ander Rath, die Itzt versamlet thun, hieruff ließ Ich Im widder ansagen, Ich begerte fur ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt person, als kam ehr zu mir und zeigt mich, die weil ich bevelh hette von meym g. hern, ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt an, also ward mir ein antwurt, Ich solt ein wenig verziehen, ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt were noch nit fertig, gleichs daruff kam ehr widder, und sagt Ich solt des anderen tags widder kommen, welch: em Ich also gehorsamlich nachkam, und was uff ein Sondag, also zeigt mir privati sigilli widder an, ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt begere, das Ich gedult wolt hebben, uff dißmol, dan do weren etliche keyserischen kommen, und des hertzen von farnes bruder, den nun der konig ein kostlich bancket hulte, und ward also bescheid uff Montag den 26 Julii zu der neunte stund, und also widder verhalten zu mittag bey privati sigilli, und nach dem molzeit dan ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt uff hantuncurt verreiten wolt, furgenommen etlich tag zu Jagen zeigt ich irer ma<sup>t</sup> an wie das mein g. h. von irer ma<sup>t</sup> bischof die truriche zeitung und furnemmen hette verstanden und als sein f. g. solch hochbeschwer:*

f234v.

liche botschaft mit bedrubtem hertzen hette vernommen und zeigt ir ma<sup>t</sup> an wie das mein g.h. der **Botschaft** hette geantwurt dieweil der vorig tractat allein durch beider seits elter ufgericht auch irer ma<sup>t</sup> im anfang des heirats were an: zeigt auch in darbringun [sic] der **Königin** durch ir offentliche protestacion und denun: ciacion fur fielen heren notarie und

gezeigen scheint der **König** solchs nit  
 zuwiddersprechen wolt mir aber in  
 die red fallen bat ich ir ma<sup>t</sup> das  
 sie mich wolt gnedigstlich verho:  
 ten [sic, verhoren] und als dan undertheniglich anhoren  
 irer ma<sup>t</sup> antwurt also hus mich ir ma<sup>t</sup> vort  
 dedden [sic, redder] radt ich vort und sagt wie  
 der **von Lothringen** auch mitler zeil [sic, zeit] noch anderen  
 hilichen gestanden und wie auch der  
 hilich durch den von gellern selig  
 als das mitler geschickten abgekun:  
 digt und derhalben volgents glaub:  
 haftige copei der voriger eebered:  
 dung überschickt und ich us bevel  
 die uberantwurt es het auch ir ma<sup>t</sup>  
 selbs die hochste fursorg gedragen  
 wie das matrimonium am bestendigsten  
 befestigt und nit widerlegt werden  
 mocht und doruf die ebewilligung mit  
 den höchsten solleniteten in ansicht  
 der kirchen celebrirt das elich bei:  
 leger gefolgt und darnoch mit loben

f235r.

des gantzen konigreichs continuirt  
 so verhoft mein g.h. an die gnad und  
 barmhertzigkeit des almechtigen in  
 des gewalt alle hertzen ston ir ko:  
 niglich ma<sup>t</sup> werd in ansehung ires  
 loblichen namens und gutigkeit und  
 in bedrachtung wie sich diese sach:  
 en zgedragen und bescheen und al:  
 so des furhabens mit dem werck nit  
 zuverholffen und ob sich zwischen  
 koniglicher ma<sup>t</sup> meins g.h. schwester  
 scht [sic] unverstant mocht haben zuge:  
 dragen und irer koniglicher ma<sup>t</sup> solchen  
 underthenigen elichen gehorsam nit  
 geleist wie irer ma<sup>t</sup> gefellig oder  
 ob sein f.g. ichts underlossen das ire  
 ma<sup>t</sup> gethon haben wolt were mein g.h.  
 nit allein urbittig zuthun alles  
 was zurwidderbringung voriges friddes  
 sunder auch was zuerhaltung dessel:  
 bigen dienlich sein mocht und sein  
 f.g. mit ehren thun kunte

und ful also iren maiestaten zu  
 fus ob ich des **Königs** hertz hette kinnen  
 bewegen und zeigt an wuo je solch:  
 es nit mocht sein wie doch mein g.h.  
 an got und ire ma<sup>t</sup> nit verhoften das  
 ire ma<sup>t</sup> doch die wichtigkeit und ge:  
 stalt des handels wolbedencke und die:  
 weil mein g.h. den hilich on rath sei:  
 ner f.g. heren und frunden und der

f235v.

landtschaft nit angefangen das auch  
 sein furstlich g. mit derselbigen rath  
 sich mit geburlicher gefuglicher und  
 notturftiger antwurt mag vernemmen los:  
 sen und das ir ma<sup>t</sup> keinen proces anfang  
 oder diese den seinen bevelhe auch  
 die **Königin** by irer geburlicher ehren ver:  
 bliben los dan was sich befinden wirt  
 das recht und redlich gotselig und  
 billich ist wil sein f.g. nit widderston  
 hieruf gepietteden hern antwurt mir  
 der **König** ungeferlich also es weren zwisch:  
 en ir ma<sup>t</sup> schwester und dem **Francis von Lothringen** sponsalia  
 oder tractat de presenti et futuro uf:  
 gericht durch beider partei vorfarn  
 und als meins g.h. rāth erstlich weren  
 kommen gon winsern het er innen solchs  
 furgehalten uf das alles derenthalben  
 wird clar gemacht solch hetten sie im  
 zugesagt zubringen do aber die **Räte** mit  
 meiner g.f. der **Königin** kommen weren es were  
 nit on es were ein protestacion und re:  
 nunciacion gescheen er hette aber wid:  
 der begert ob ir solchen claten [sic, claren]  
 schein hetten mit bracht und were  
 auch der hochzeitlich tag etlich dag  
 dardurch verstreckt worden do weren  
 ir beide mit weinenden augen uf  
 die knie gefallen und ir ma<sup>t</sup> gebet:  
 ten wuo das nit fursich ging so wurd

f236r.

es unsers g.h. verderbnis sein als des  
**Kaisers** halben und habben doruf beide wol:  
 len in gefencknis gon als ist widder

dobei plibben alle ding uberzuschick:  
 en clarlich und sagt es were zum  
 letsten ubergeschicht worden ein  
 solcher spetlicher schein und im  
 ein sunderlichen nammen vermerckt ich das sie  
 im perlament gebben dem selbigen insrument [sic]  
 das der hilich ab sol sein auch sagt  
 der **König** es hette den hilich allein das  
 lant gellern gehindert weiter so  
 hetten sie auch zammen geschickt  
 die gunterfehung [?] der angesicht auch  
 sonst kleineter überschickt<sup>52</sup> auch sagt  
 der **König** mein gnedigste frau die **Königin** als  
 ir g. ungeferlich sibbenzehen jar alt  
 was gekleit worden zuuberschicken dem  
 von **Lothringen** heim do was der verstant und  
 consensus und sagt er wolt meim g.h.  
 nit weniger guts thun als wan der  
 elich stant in seinen kreften blip:  
 ben [sic] und wuo mein g.h. fur sein schwes:  
 ter halten sie auch besser halten dan  
 vleicht ir bruder thun wirt das aber  
 ire ma<sup>t</sup> wie ich begerte nit pro:  
 cedieren solt an wen solt er es lossen  
 an den **Kaiser** und **französischen König** meint nein und zeigt also viel  
 an *quod* ivisset in rem iudicatam und  
 sie zwei weren eins gescheiden was

f236v.

mein g.h. domit zuthun hette weiter<sup>53</sup>  
 ob aber seiner g.f. mutter oder andere  
 hern sein g. reitzen wurden were bes:  
 ser nit dan er wolt im ein gutter  
 bruder sein hette gern gehabt das ich  
 hieruf geantwurt hette ich sagt ich  
 wolt es meim g.h. überschreiben  
 wuo ich etwas hette zuviel geret so  
 hette ich die from **Königin** in not brocht und  
 leiden ich wil uch treilich gemant  
 habben das ewer keiner hier kom be:  
 vorab sunder geleit uf mitwoch den acht:  
 undzwentzigsten julii hat man monsur [sic] **Cromwell**  
 mit eim beiel sein haubt abgeschlagen<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> hette auch noch andere document vermeint vleicht testimonia famulorum die do habben testirt allein von hor sagen

<sup>53</sup> sie zwei weren zufridden ir g. were auch zufridden hie zupleiben

noch ein milord mit im **Cromwell** sol menlich  
 und christlich gestorben ~~sein~~ und sol  
 gesagt hebben er hab nie einiche ver:  
 reterei gegen seim **König** gedocht so hab  
 er auch alle zeit glaubt in das hei  
 lig sacrament begert das sie fur  
 den **König** wollen bitten und jederman ver:  
 zigen und wuo innen der **König** abstirbt so  
 wirt es seltzam zugon etlich meinen  
 und murmeln er sterb das hilichs halben  
 dan anderen vermutten er sterb das  
 letsten schreiben halben das der **Kurfürst von Sachsen** her  
 hat thon die dritten sagen er hab den  
**König** mit dem hilich verrotten<sup>55</sup> lieben hern  
 was trurich wesen der **Königin** handel lost sich nit desputieren  
 oder viel dorin zuberatschlagen helfft  
 allein und raten wie die arm furstin

f237r.

us dem land komme<sup>56</sup> gellern zubehal:  
 ten mus man dis got bevellen noch  
 besorg ich der **Kaiser** lig in der practica  
 got verleihe sein gnad ich besorg es  
 wirt bey dem **französischen König** auch kein furgang hebben  
 sunder auch seine flemmischen dick  
 erzeugen dan das **französischen Königs Botschafter** hie mir wol bekant  
 hat noch kein geschrift den hilich  
 belangen mit unserem g.h.  
 weiter uf fritag den treisigsten julii  
 hat man ein gnant doctor bernhart salb  
 drit und noch papistise dri predican: [sic]  
 ie zwen nebeneinander uf drien  
 schlitten uf ein platz gefurt doctor  
 bernhart mit seinen gesellen verbrent  
 und die dri papistischen gehenckt und  
 geferteilt durch gantz perlament  
 dohin verurteilt doctor bernhrt [sic]  
 sol hebben gesagt do der **König** die closter  
 rum ruckt do was er wert aber als der  
**König** sein kisten vol hat und gibt den ar:  
 men nicht darvon und allen seinen  
 willen hat so kom er zu dem feier

---

<sup>54</sup> und das haubt uf die bruck gesteckt sagen mir der **König** seie den selben tag gar frolich gewest man findt sie wol  
 ich sag vom **König** aber nit die eben als viel gebben umb ein kraut kopf als ein bauer bi mir um ein kraut kopf

<sup>55</sup> in summa er sagt ich bin noch verreter gegen dem **König** noch ketzer gegen got

<sup>56</sup> wiewol mein g.h. kan es nit also lossen hingon aber

das geschee im allein us neid und  
 hat den von wincestern den bischof  
 gnant und vergebben auch als er ge:  
 bunden ist gewesen gesagt es kom im fur  
 wie etlich wan sie irn wollust haben  
 volbrocht so stossen sie ire weiber  
 von in und nemmen andere weiber und

f237v.

suchen also irn wollust sol nit sein<sup>57</sup>  
 sagt man hette viel in der geschrift  
 von dem matrimonio und sol fein us  
 gelegt haben zum dritten mant er  
 das volck das sie got wolten lieben  
 und erlich leben uf das sien [sic] nit  
 got erzurnen und hat darnoch den  
 geist ufgebben item das man sich  
 fur des **Königs** herolten verhut dan es sol  
 ein beser schalck sein uf das sich meins  
 g.h. diener nit verschwetzen auch ob  
 der thomas der fur zeiten zu rurmund  
 ist von eim burger ubel empfangen  
 worden und darnoch mit dem hofmei:  
 ster kuntschaft zu gladbach gemacht  
 ob er widderum hab etlich dag das man  
 im oder keim engellender noch sei:  
 nen worten vertrue ~~do man mit der Königin~~  
~~in ir trubselikeit hat gehandel und~~  
~~von dan zu tag deridirt und miessen~~  
~~noch der anderen geheis und begerd~~  
~~alles consentieren so haben die sel:~~  
~~bigen den tacten wie ich vernim t[...]:~~  
~~ti[...].e. schreiber sein st.endlum~~  
~~d[...].rt wie ich d[...]. verston sol oder.~~  
~~wem zuvertrauen w[...]. mich schier~~  
~~nit<sup>58</sup> [...].de bevel eingot etlich silber:~~  
 geschir des **Königs** hat man der **Königin** zur not:  
 durft gelossen lieben hern wan mich

f238r.

mein g.h. heim beschreibt so weis ich  
 noch nit wuo ussen dan als ich us  
 guter warnung vermerck so sto ich  
 auch zu brussel im blutbuch von der

<sup>57</sup> vos deus coniugit

<sup>58</sup> ~~d[...]. der [...].dd us[...]. wen e[...].seie [...]. weis vleich nit besser~~

zeit her als ich in hispanien bin  
 gewesen *ich bin fast wol dran* auch gunstigen hern als ir  
 us meim vorigen schreiben ver:  
 nommen onzweifel das mich **Cromwell** hat  
 in lunden heissen ziehen der ist  
 nun doth die fruntschaft ab ich  
 bin in eim erlichen haus gelegen  
 mit zwen knechten alweg ein pferdt  
 gehalten itzt heist es die not zwei  
 zuhalten also in der herbergen schuldig das  
 ir dan verschaffen wolten bey meim  
 g.h. uf das eim kaufman bevel geschee  
 oder sein f.g. der **Königin** schreib ein zedel  
 in geheim uf das ich kein nochred:  
 den nit hie hab und meim g.h. kein  
 weitere verkleinerung doraus entstoe  
 auch lieben hern ich wolt gern  
 habben gesehen instrumentum dotale  
 zwischen dem **König** und der **Königin** sagt mir  
 die **Königin** vor etlichen dagen sie hette  
 kein copei oder nicht auch gepiet:  
 teden hern ob vleicht die ritterschaft  
 und lantschaft sich etwan schwerlich  
 gegen ewern libten oder unwillig sich  
 wurden erzeigen als die ginnen die

f238v.

in der handlung hin sind gewesen  
 so lost uch nich bekimmen noch anfech:  
 ten man kent das **Königs** dencken wol wol  
 alle ding wuo mich got leben lost  
 fur menneklich und der gantzen  
 lantschaft mit der worheit wol  
 anzeigen sie habben die **Königin** uberret  
 weis seie schwartz und lost sich  
 die gut furstin selbs duncken es seie  
 ubersehen worden als wan es kein  
 hilich solte sein wol halb do doch  
 ir g. kein man nimmer kan habben dan  
 den **König** got wirt es nit kinnen langer  
 verhängen mein kuntschaft laut also  
 das einer gnant benthem is ge:  
 wesen meiner g.f. undercemmerling seie  
 mit seiner hausfrauen der cuplerin  
 geritten mir [sic, mit] der junckfrauen dem sack  
 etwan sechzig engelsch milen ins lant

do wirt der **König** noch jagen vernim aber  
 sie seie noch nit schwanger das gut  
 were mein gnedigste frau hof noch al  
 les guts ich vertr [sic, vertru] noch hof an das volck  
 ir g. ist im bischof von wincestern nit  
 gunstig meint je wuo es besser wurd  
 ir g. wolt es ingedenck sein hat in auch  
 nit wollen bey der handlung habben *und*  
*will ich also hiemit Got dem almechtigen bevolhen habben datum*  
*zu Lunden ultima Julii Anno xxxx*

*Euern liebten*  
*gutwilliger diener*  
*K. harrst*

**fo 239r.+v., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 31 July 1540 enclosed  
 fos 240r. + 242r. Anne of Cleves to Karl Harst**

**Summary:**

Reports that the king has visited Anne on Thursday, 29th July and dined with her. Although some courtiers claimed that the king had been alone with Anne for hours, she had written a different report to Harst, who believes her account. Has also learned that the Lord Privy Seal had visited her as well, in the matter of the divorce. Harst had secretly sent legal advice and instructions to Anne on how to react to the visits, but she did not conform to this, as becomes evident in her letter to him that he has attached. The king has rejected Count Palatinate Philip's courtship of his daughter [Mary], Duke Ludwig of Bavaria has courted her as well but apparently it has come to nothing. Whether this courtship had been stipulated by the emperor, Harst does not know; Duke Ludwig and his envoy have claimed that it happened without the emperor's knowledge. Thinks that his grace's sister still bears hope and trust in the king, but Harst does not.

**Transcript:**

f239r.

*Durchlauchtigster, Hochgeborner furst, Gnediger*  
*Her, Ewern furstlichen gnaden seyen meyne underthenige, getrue*  
*dienst, allezeit zuvoran bereit, Gnediger furst*

und her, *Es ist koniglich mt. bey meyners<sup>59</sup> gnadigste frawen*  
*gewesen, und mit Irer gnaden gessen, uff dunnerstag*  
*xxix Julii* sagt das hofvolck ein deils  
 das der **König** mir iren gnaden etlich stunden al:  
 lein geret aber ir gnaden schreibt anders  
 und ich glaub das ir gnaden schreib es seie also  
 ich hot erfahren wie privati sigilli  
 widder zu iren gnaden were kommen als auch ge:  
 scheen dorneben was mein kuntschaft  
 das sie etlich deitzsche concepten  
 by des **Königs** dolmetzchen suchten ver:  
 meint sie hetten etwas anders im  
 sin gehat des divortium belangen  
 ich derenthalben schrib irn gnaden in  
 geheim wie sich ir gnaden halten solde  
 uf das sich ir gnaden nit verdieft ist aber  
 derenthalben nicht gehandelt worden  
 wie dan ewer gnaden us iren gnaden geschriften  
 an mich sehen mag auch g.h. der **König**  
 hat pfaltzgraf philipsen  
 den hilich mit der dochter abgeschlag:  
 en und sol pfaltzgraf pfingsten  
 widder hie sein und dieweil der  
 pfaltzgraf nit noch ist kommen so  
 wil im der **König** weiters auch nit halten <sup>60</sup>  
 hertzog ludwig von beiern hat um die

p239v.  
 dochter auch geworben wie mich dan  
 ewer furstliche gnaden in meinem schreiben ver:  
 standen denck es seie auch um nichts  
 und gar verloschen ob es aber durch  
 anrichtung des **Kaisers** seie gescheen weis  
 ich nit hertzog Ludwigs gesantter gab  
 mir es fur der **Kaiser** und der **Römische König** sollen kein wis:  
 sen haben *Es schreibt mir hertzog Ludwig wie uß*  
*einer [...] ewer furstliche gnaden hiebei sehen mag, man denckt aber seiner gnaden als Ich*  
*darfur habbe nit me, Wil mich ewern furstlichen gnaden underthenigklich*  
*bevolhen haben, datum zu Lunden den letste Julii*  
*Anno 15 xxxx*

CH es bedunckt mich ewer furstliche gnaden schwester  
 mein gnedigste frau hab noch als gut

<sup>59</sup> Ich glaube das ist neue Info, laut Warnicke hat er sie bis ?? August nicht gesehen.

<sup>60</sup> haben des pfaltzgrafen diener ersucht ob er auch brief by im hab innen zu greuesen wieder umgejagt das er ein  
 passport hole wan **Cromwell** noch lebte es were nit gescheen

hofnung zum konig ich vertru im  
 aber gar nicht got geb das solch hof:  
 fen irn gnaden zu gutem kom *Ewer gnad seye dem*  
*almechtigen Got bevolhen*  
*Ewer Furstliche Gnaden*  
*undertheniger und ge:*  
*truer diener*  
*Karl Harst*

**Enclosed:**

**Folio 240r Anne of Cleves to Karl Harst**

f240r

bessond. gode ffrunt ur schreyfft han ich unfangen und  
 alls yr myer schreyfft dat der k m bye ys gewest dat  
 ys wayr syn genayt quam [kam] den moergen tzo xii myr en  
 her und syn ret und junckeren und was mechtych  
 froellich und as hye [...] und myn nam was suster  
 dan alle wan dyessen handel wart ne wort gesprochen  
 dan dye ret hoetten den konnyck so nun dat er neyt  
 en wort en sprach. yrer was ii off iii dar bey dan syn g was  
 meyr mechtych tzo und dem anderen morgen sant syn  
 genayt den breivelseyll [Privy Seal] her und den seyckertary [Secretary] op  
 dat sy sollen myr oeffen leweren etliche kleyder  
 und wat yn dat houys van noeden was dan dat  
 yr bey dem k m wart gewest das was seyn  
 genach neyt eyn wort hemyt syt got beffolhen  
 und komt nyt her  
 ich kan uch neyt  
 geschreywen war:  
 um

Anna

242r Anna an Harst

besund. gode ffrunt ur schreyfft han ich und pfangen  
 und verstanden alls myt danssen und speyllen und froellich  
 tzo syn dat ich mych des meyden soll dayn ich  
 uch gans fl danck weys dan der konnyck hayt myr  
 gesster gesant funf spylluyt dye op mych warden  
 sollen und hayt den befolhen dye hye bey myr synt  
 dat sy all maylitzyt morgens und aeffens ffoyr  
 myr spellen sollen so en wyllen dye nyt doyn dan dat

yn E g. konnyck befallen hayt hayt dayr moys ich myt  
 tzo ffreden syn alls yr woll sellwer kont dencken,  
 sunder gode frunt kompt neyt weder her und wat  
 yr meyr hat tzo doyn dat schreyfft myr und  
 nempt urer breyff acht, hemyt got befallen  
 op sondach Anna H c

**Folios 251r. -252v., Karl Harst to Duke Wilhelm of Cleves, London, 11 August 1540**

**Summary:**

On 4th August Anne had sent for Harst to come over, to which he complied immediately. She told him that the king had ordered her to move to another house, Hever, that is twenty miles away from London. They have also taken away the best of her dresses. Harst deems it a disgrace to take what she had worn on her body and is surprised that these people have not taken her undergowns as well. As he understood from her grace, the honest people are well-disposed towards her having another husband. Many think that he [the king] will soon abandon the whore and take another, maybe he would like to have two wives. Her grace still has trust in the king, but there is nothing but unreliability in him. Recently, the king has had seven hung, drawn and quartered, one of them the son in law of Thomas More and the other a Carthusian monk who refused to confess that the king of England is the next in rank after Jesus. Thinks that Anne should be brought out of the country into safety, as it is no use discussing the annulment, the king is slave to his voluptuousness. On 7<sup>th</sup> August Anne has informed him that she was to move to another property, to which she complained about the English inconsistency as well. Harst worries that she may be sent to a chicken coop and kept like the first queen, Catherine. The emperor and the Habsburgs would like to see that. On 8<sup>th</sup> of August, Henry has presented his new bride officially as new Queen of England. Rumour among the servants claims that the Duke of Cleves was pleased with the annulment. If Anne had followed Harst's advice, he would have made it bitter for the king, his bride and the Privy Councillors. But she has trusted them and had also been in fear. Has heard that Catherine has been seen at court with loose hair and bare head, so maybe the verba de presenti have not been spoken in public, but Harst does not know about what may have happened in private.

The Emperor has sent a new ambassador, who had been here eight years ago when the incident with Queen Catherine [of Aragon] happened. Warns the duke not to leave his dominions. Anne will move to a house that belonged to the father of the beheaded Queen Anne [Boleyn]. Harst does not understand this people, but the King and his councillors unfortunately he knows all too well by now.

### Transcript:

f251r.

*Durchlauchtigster hochgeborner furst, Gnediger Her  
Meyn underthenige getrewe dienst, seyen ewer f.G.  
allezeit zuvoran bereit. Gnediger furst und her, den 4  
vierden augusti schickt ewer g. schwester  
mein g. h. zumir das ich zu irn g gon  
rutzmundt keme welchem ich also uf  
stund nochkam zeigt mir ir g an wie  
der **König** verordenet hette das ir g verhausen  
miest in ein ander heiselin gnant eve:  
ren zwentig milen ungeferlich von Lunden  
man hat auch irn g die besten kleider enweg  
genommen das meins erachtens ein verechlich  
ding ist nemmen das genne das an irn g leip  
gedragen ist worden nemt mich wunder das solchs  
volck irn g nit auch die hemder nemmen hab ichs  
recht von irn g verstanden so weren die er:  
lichen leit wol gesint irn g ein anderen  
man zugebben sie miessen nit glauben das  
ein got seie  
etlich meinen er wirt den selben sack bald von  
im stossen und ein anderen sack uberkommen  
wolt vleicht gern zwuo frauen \*haben\* mein g h und:  
traut im noch wol in dem kein glaub nicht  
dan unstanhaftigkeit ist hat diese vergang:  
en dag widder siben hangen und virteiln  
zehen dorunder was morus dochterman und  
ein cartuser munch der do vorigmol  
nit hat wollen glauben noch schweren das  
der **König** der nehst noch christ seie<sup>61</sup>  
dreit also uf beiden [...]chselen ich h[...]*

f251v.

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<sup>61</sup> der oberst der k[ir]chen [...]

es noch darfur es seie das best mocht  
 man ire g mit geschicklichkeit us dem land  
 bringen dan ich besorg wan man sich schon  
 viel mit dem **König** in disputation einlost und  
 auch ein schein und document brecht von  
 das solch hilich underreddung unkreftig  
 were wird es doch alles nicht helffen  
 dan er ist verstart in dem leben des leibs  
 wollust uf samstag den vii augusti lost mir  
 mein g f in geheim ansagen wie das der  
**König** einen hern us seinen geheimen  
 zu irn g geschickt und ire g anzeigen wes  
 sie sich halten sol und also gesagt der  
**König** begert das ir g das haus verlossen wolle  
 und ziehen noch dem anderen haus solch  
 hat ir g begert mir zurkennen geb:  
 ben und ist ir g auch den selben ob:  
 genanten dag verrittenes hat sich ir  
 g beclagt das volvk were nit stanthaftig  
 das ich irn g dickmol treilich gewarmt  
 hab und wirt ir g nun in ein hunerstal  
 gejagt ich besorg es wirt eben ein end  
 hebben wie mit der erste konigin  
 catharina und das selbig regement sahe  
 der r gern dis lacht und sicht der **Kaiser** und  
 die **Burgunder** gern den viii augusti hat der **König** zu  
 Hantencurt ein grossen stat gehalten  
 ein ander weip an der hant gefurt sie  
 fur ein [K]onigin von engellant anzeigt<sup>62</sup>  
 die bischof dem sack die handt kust  
 die junckfrauen sie umfangen es wirt auch

f252r.

gemurmelt im hof under koch und kel:  
 ler das ewer g consentirt hab und wol  
 der scheidung halben zu fridden seie  
 und wollen die engellischen us solch:  
 em rumor schepffen als wan irem **König** were  
 gar unglich und zukurtz gescheen hette  
 mir mein g f gefolget es solt noch also  
 weit nit sein kommen wolt es dem **König** mit  
 samt der vermeinten neuen braut sauer  
 hebben gemacht und auch den räten ir  
 g hat den schelcken und guten worten  
 verdraut und ist auch die from furstin

<sup>62</sup> [..]eben dem **König** [...]essen und [....]gedient worden wie einer koniginnen

in forcht gewesen<sup>63</sup> auch ir g meiner besorgt  
 wie ich vernim so sol auch mit zuchten fur  
 ewern g der sack mit hangedem hor und blos:  
 sem haubt gangen sein und ist selbs wol ge:  
 fallen und gejagt hebben hat ir g an den  
 koniglichen disch gefurt aber verba de  
 presenti sind offentlich nit celebrirt wor:  
 den was geheim ist geschehn ist mir nit  
 wissen ein mondag vergangen ist er ge:  
 ritten in grin gekleit<sup>64</sup> jagen und der  
 sack auch in grien gewest Norfock  
 der blutdurstig bub hat gros freid  
 uf der newen braut dag gehat  
 weiter g.f. und her hat der **Kaiser** ein  
 neue botschaft her geschickt ist  
 vorhin in acht jar hie im land ge  
 legen als die handlung mit der ko  
 nigin catharin gewesen und sagen es[..  
 erfarener hat mir anzeigen lossen  
 wolt gern mit mir e[..  
 en auch [...]

f252v.

er anzeigt wie im frund aber nit der  
**Kaiser** geschriben als wan ewer f.g. zum **Kaiser** gon  
 utricht solt kommen g.f. und her vertru  
 ewer g den burgundischen nit zuviel  
 blib ewer g. in den eigenen landen und  
 geb sich ewer g. in kein geferlich:  
 keit nit<sup>65</sup> doch ewer f.g. rath werden alle  
 ding treilich onzweifel erorteren  
 es ist gar gut im weiten deidigen  
 ewer g. schwester leit uf eim heiselin  
 hat der anna vatter die kopft ist wor:  
 den zugehort uf ein weiten weg um kein  
 dorf nit wirt zum letsten gar nicht ge=  
 halten werden ich hab geschribben ob  
 sich diese handlung hat erhaben zum  
 dickermol geschribben wie kan mich dis  
 volcks nit verston aber g.f. und hor [sic] nun  
 ken sch [sic, ich] den **König** und sein rath leider viel  
 zuwol got der almechtig verleie ewern g.

<sup>63</sup> und nit unbillich auch vleicht besser

<sup>64</sup> auch griene stifeln und zu ros das alt kint im reiten einander bei der hant gefurt

<sup>65</sup> dan ich vertru diesem **König** nit solt vleicht darzu raten uf das ewer g. von den burgundischen behalten und er daster sicherer sein bieberei (sic, dieberei) macht volbringen sunder menschen noch got forcht dreibt er seinen wollust

gedult *Und thue mich ewern f g allezeit underthenig klein*  
*bevelhen don zu Lunden den Elften Augusti Anno*  
 40  
*EFG*

*undertheniger und getreuer diener*  
*K. Harst*

**Folios 258r. - 261r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 15 August 1540**

**Summary:**

Has received the councillors' letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> July on 12<sup>th</sup> August, and understands that the Duke is very aggrieved regarding the outrageous proceedings against his sister. Even those who are not compromised by this and even do not know her grace are sympathising with Anne. Harst has not had a good sleep in all this time, and had fallen severely ill. Thanks to the advice of the apothecaries and the grace of god he has recovered. After the bishops and scholars have declared the marriage void, the bishop of Bath has travelled to the imperial court and only thereafter to the Duke's court. Has heard that eight of the scholars have sworn on behalf of the King that he has not touched the Queen, and behind the envoy's back they have obtained her confirmation which she has given under threat. The bishops have decided that both are free to remarry, but not as a matter of conscience but to avoid the executioner's axe on their own necks. The King will have another bride, so no documents or envoys could be of any help. Would not want the Duke to come over to negotiate, as Harst would feel less worried about his grace if he were to travel to Constantinople as to this country. The foremost thing to do would be to get her grace out of this country. Has told Anne not to get into a new marriage, as the English would like, and she replied that there was no reason for him to worry. It might not be decent for the Duke to demand that his sister, the King's wife, be sent home, so Harst will try to convince the councillors and the Lord Privy Seal that she may be sent away honourably. Anne intends to stay in England over winter, but Harst worries that by the time she may agree to leave, they would not let her. Thinks that the King may also be unwilling to let

her go, as to force Wilhelm to keep a low profile in this matter and not take revenge, but is also concerned that the new bride will be a threat to Anne's honour, life and limb to get her out of the way. The red liveries of Anne's household have been changed to blue ones. All foreigners who have not acquired citizenship, about 8000 people, have to leave the country. Anne's servants, however, intend to stay, but Harst thinks they do so for the want of financial gain.

## Transcript

f258r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepittede gunstige hern  
 Meins hern Rāth schreiben den xxvii Julii zu Arnhem  
 ußgangen hab ich durch der rincken factor ent:  
 pfangen den xii Augusti das mein g.h. der uner:  
 horter geubter handlung und abdrenung  
 seiner f.g. schwester fast bedruht ist bey  
 mir kein zweifel auch die gennen die  
 solchs nit an get auch die **Königin** nie gese:  
 hen dragen ein mitleiden ich allein als  
 ein diener hab in der zeit her keinen  
 naturlichen schlaf nit hehat [sic] also us me:  
 lencoli ein schwere kranckheit und traubung meyn leips fur ge:  
 hat, aber der Medecin und Appetecker Rath, und erstlich  
 Gottes gnad und hilff, hat mich dem lob seye, widder zimlich  
 restituirt aber im schreiben meldung  
 geschicht wie der bischof von bathoni:  
 en uff sondag den 18 Julii meim g.h. anzeigt hab  
 der bischof und der gelerten erkant:  
 nis das solche ee nit bundich ist bey  
 mir kein \*wunder dan ich glaub\* ob der bischof von hinnen ge:  
 ritten hat er selbs alle ding vorhin  
 helffen beschliessen und also von hin:  
 nen an das **Kaisers** hof geritten aldo sich  
 etlich dag verhalten ob mitler zeit et:  
 was practicirt weis ich nit besorg der unge:  
 rugiger **Burgunder** falschheit und als dan ererst [sic]  
 zu meim g.h. geritten vernim das acht von  
 den gelerten sollen geschworen habben  
 in verba regis quod **rex reginam** nunquam attige:  
 rit mitlerzeit habben sie hinder meim  
 rucken consensum metabunde matrone noch  
 des **Königs** vorteil und gefallen zuwegen*

f258v.

brocht das ich ir g wol treilich mant ir g  
 sie solt sich nit verdieffen mit worten  
 sunder sich uf mich referieren aber ir  
 g als ein weibs person zu entdrinnen an:  
 derer geferlichkeit nit wol anders kin:  
 nen thun das aber die bischof erkant haben  
 das ein jetlichs widder frei zu der  
 ee greiffen mag haben sie nit geurtelt  
 secundum conscienciam fors sunder me  
 zuvolbringung dem **König** seinen wollust und  
 uf das innen auch nit das vleisch bei:  
 el uf den hals gelegt werd immo ma:  
 gis metus causa sentenciatum das ich in:  
 nen auch offentlich im rath hab gesagt  
*Es kinnen e.l. auch wol ermessen, wie auch alle ding*  
*durch uch wol bedacht* in sunderheit dieweil wir[d]  
 der **König** ein neue braut haben darum werden  
 nit helffen mein g.h. verwanten oder frund[en]  
 es seie mit schriften noch botschaften  
 aber sein g. in eigner person zuhandlen  
 do wolt ich mein g.h. nit heissen ein  
 furstenthum nemmen das sein g. bey mi [sic, mir]  
 in diesem reich were wolt mit we:  
 niger \*sorg\* mit seiner g. zu constantinopel  
 sein dan das wenigst das seinen g hie  
 begegnen wurd wurd sein g. den burgun:  
 dischen uberantwurt werden ich hab vor:  
 hin dickmol geschribben ich ken sie nit  
 ich wil nit allein mit in handlen ic[h]  
 ken aber nun die unstanthaftigen  
 falschen hertzen wol es mag mein g.h.  
 wol billich beschwert sein aber das man

f259r.

allein drachte wie man seiner g. schwes:  
 ter heraus broch uf das ir g nit in ferrer  
 leit keme ich hab ir g. trulich gemant das  
 sich ir g. wol verhiet und sich in kei:  
 nen neuen hilich nit begeb dan die  
 englischen dorften solchs wol underston  
 hat ir g. mir geantwurt ich darf nit sor:  
 gen es sol nimmer gescheen und ich sagt  
 irn g wuo solches der **König** practicirn mocht  
 so were schon die glock gossen were  
 ir g. allein daus [sic, raus] man kan im wol schneitz:

en mitler<sup>66</sup> aber nunzemol nicht besser dan  
gedult den eigennutzigern **Burgundern** daster stat:  
licher urem mutwil widderstant zuthun  
und ist nit on es wil meim g.hern nit wol  
gezimmen das sein g seiner schwester  
des **Königs** weip heraus furderen oder holen  
sol lossen und sich sein g. der unerba:  
rer handlung mit deilhaftig zumachen  
oder doinnen zuconsentieren das nun von  
seinen f.g. und der rāth wol bedocht dan  
der konig doruf us ist meins g.h. con:  
sent zuerhalten doruf sich fundieren  
hab ich wol us den articklen vermerckt  
die camil hat uber gefurt und auch us  
des **Königs** rāthen sunst vermerckt<sup>67</sup> als iren  
g. pension ewer g. usverlegten costen  
zuerstatten buntnis zumachen ja lieber  
buntsgenos do in noch treu noch glauben  
ist vermeinen diese unerbare handlung  
mit gelt ab zukauffen diweil aber  
ewer leibten besorgen als ich leider

f259v.

auch besorg dan die dath es bewist  
das noch reconsiliation zu vermuten und  
ich daruf mit privisel und anderen ret:  
te sprech das meins g.h. schwester erlich hin:  
naus geschickt werden mocht mit privisel  
und den andern wolt ich gern ~~uf stund~~  
wiewol ich nit so gar zu pas ~~gern~~ uf  
stund mit handeln aber als viel als  
ich verstanden bisher von meiner  
g.f. so wil ir g. diesen winter im land  
hie pleiben wiewol das ich besorg  
wan ire g. es verzeigt und einnander  
mol gern hinnaus wolt wolt so wirt iren g.  
zubesorgen der weg nit offen sein  
dan ir g. weis vleicht noch nit das die  
braut *den winckauff*<sup>68</sup> *hat gedruncken. Itzt diweil ich*  
*schreib, so schick Ire ko<sup>e</sup> wird ein dyener zu mir, wie Ir g.*  
*vernommen, das ich nit wol zu pas solt sein, zuvernem:*  
*men, wie es mit mir stunde also heit mir lossen ein ader*<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> zeit wiewol der guten **Königin** domit nicht geholffen

<sup>67</sup> und erbeit sich auch

<sup>68</sup> [Winkauf/Weinkauf: a drink or meal for closing a bargain]

<sup>69</sup> *uß doctors Rath*

*schlagen, und morgen zu Iren g verreiten mich zuerkun:*

digen ob ir g. gesint seie hinnaus zuziehen  
 dan wan ich handelt vom hinnaus ziehen  
 und ir g. were nit der meinug [sic] so wird  
 es die sach suspect machen und fur des  
**Königs** räthen unformlich sehen auch mocht  
 ir g. in zukunftiger zeit sagen es  
 were hofnung der reconciliation gewe:  
 sen also wird ich uf allen orten ungnad  
 erlangen derenthalben mus ich mich erst:  
 lich mit irn g. underredde und irer g. ge:  
 miet bedencken und meinung erkundigen

f260r.

ich besorg auch der **König** wirt ir g. nit hin:  
 naus lossen wirt vorhin ein ver:  
 sicherung von meim g.h. wollen hebben  
 dan er wirt es wol erkennen das mein g.h.  
 wirt ein grollen gegen im dragen \*hat auch/ allenthalben/ usspeier\* detent:(sic)  
 halb wolt er gern consensum principus  
 hebben<sup>70</sup> und also seinen unerbaren unerlich:  
 en mutwil ungotlichen handel clar machen  
 durch mein g.h. verwilligung das meim  
 g.h. kan ich bey mir auch erachten gar nit  
 zuthun ist ich vermerck also viel man wirt  
 sich an dem **König** nit besser kinnen rechnen  
 das man gut wort geb uf das man die  
 furstin hinnaus bringe dan es kinnen *e.l.*  
 wol erachten das die braut der sack irn  
 g. noch eren wolfart und leben wirt  
 drachten und ~~son~~ ston also lang bis sie  
 ire g. hat underdruckt und zu nicht ge:  
 macht ob aber mein g.f. nit hinnaus noch  
 wolt so hab ich nicht weiters me hie  
 zuthun ~~und~~ dan do ist noch treu noch  
 glaub hiet sich ein ietlicher von der  
 unstanthaftigen art uf das meim g. h. [...]  
 durch mich nit viel unnutziger uverflus:  
 siger kost uf lauf der wol zuersparen  
 were *solchs zubedencken wil Ich e.l. auch uß guter meynung*  
*haben angezeigt etc. Meyner gnedigsten frawen Rotte kleidung*  
*Ist gar ab, und lößt der konig Irer g diener kleiden In blaw,*  
*hie miessen die ußlender al enweg sunder die burgerschafft*

<sup>70</sup> und ist doch vielen ingebildet als wan mei [sic] g.g. den **König** solt mit seiner g. schwester sol sedrogen [sic, bedrogen] hebben und wirt zu seiner zeit von noten sein das sich sein f.g. wirt im druck entschuldigen miessen

haben kaufft, ~~worden~~ vermeynen etlich In die achttausend perso:

f260 v

sonen enweg miessen, aber etlichen uß unseren landen itzt  
hie bey meyner g.sten frawen dienende, sind nit der mey:  
nung, wie ich vermeyn, das sie noch enweg wollen, also  
haben sie ein wollust, und gefallen, In diesem land, dan  
sie trachten und practicirn, das Ire stipendia werden duplirt,  
confirmirt, mit dem grossen Sigel etc. Ich glaub sie ver:  
meynen ein tabernackl hiezubauen und zu pleiben. Es wirt  
mit der Zeit besser werden, was volgt anders hie:

raus dan das sie confirmieren hunc  
tristem casum et factum indurati cor  
pharonis Und wil also hiemit uch Got dem almechtigen  
bevolhen haben, datum zu Lunden den XV Augusti Anno

xxxx

E.L. und gunst.

frundt und diener

K. Harst

CH es hat sich ein engellender lossen zu  
andorf mercken es werden brief us eng:  
ellant ubergeschickt mein g.h. zu<sup>71</sup> er ver:  
mutet aber es schreib die **Königin** sie suchen  
ursach der konig ist uff winsern geritten, wirt noch  
ferrer etlich meyen Ins landt Jagen Reitten.  
Lieber her Cantzler Ich vernym, das e.l. sampt dem von wachen:  
dung sind gesunt widder an kommen, der her hab lob, hette  
uch gern geschribben gehat, alle verlieffene handlung, durch  
die frantzesisch botschafft hie wesende mir fast wol bekant,  
was auch gutwillig zuuberschicken, zweyfelt aber alweg, ob  
Ir widder uff dem weg weren herauß zureiten, derenthalben  
underlossen worden

f261r.

Ich vernym das meyn gnedigste <sup>alte</sup> frawe sich Iren gnaden dochter  
halb fast ubel gehebbe, und auch ungewillig sol sein  
uber alle die genne die dazu Rath haben gebben  
das ist der **Kaiser** schult nit sunder des unstanthaf:  
tigen **König** schult und des von norfock und  
bischofs von wincestern neit darumb  
stell Ire g. solches zu Got, und hab allein gedult, den  
lossen alle ding nach seinem Gotlichen willen verordenen  
denen lieben und vor augen haben, wirt onzweyfel Ir g. [...] ein  
anderen widder erfrawen, verleihe uch Got hiemit gsuntheit

<sup>71</sup> wan [sic, man] weis nit von wem

**Folios 266r. - 269v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 23 August 1540**

**Transcript**

f266r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gespietende gunstige hern,  
ich hab mich zu meiner gnedigsten **Königin** \*gon eueren<sup>72</sup> verfügt\*  
irn g. erstlich anzeigt was der **König** an mein  
g.h. hat lossen langen auch was sein f.g.  
doruf geantwurt auch hab ich irn g. done:  
ben anzeigt wie das mein g.h. hoch be:  
schwert seie und wolt das ir g. heraus  
were uf das irer koniglicher wurd kein  
ferner leidt fur stund und bedecht sein  
g. nit \*wenig\* seiner g. liebe schwester aber  
einmol das **Königs** weip heraus zufurderen  
oder holen lossen und sich also der  
unerbarer handlung deilhaftig zumachen  
oder doinnen consentieren und wuo  
einiche hofnung der reconsiliation  
oder besserung \*nit\* were das dan us mir  
selbs bey privisel und anderen uf das  
ir g vom **König** erlich hinnaus mit irn g. queme [sic]  
END Auch In dem selbigen, wie Ich bey Irn g was ward Iren g  
ein brieff<sup>73</sup> von meym g hern, als Ir g uff das  
geJegt wolt reytten, den Ir g. mich sehen ließ, hett der ko:  
nig Ir g zu geschickt was irn g bedunckens und  
auch meiner ufgebrochen worden  
was nicht dran gelegen, hult ungeferlich, das  
meyn g h Irer l. schrifft verlesen und verstanden  
auch was sich zugetragen In den sachen, und hab uß grossem  
hertz leidt und mitleid nit gewist, was sein g hierIn  
thun sol, oder halten, wiewol es an bruderlicher tru und guten  
willen nit gefelt, wie sein g. auch mit den g gottes nit*

f266v.

*zuunderlossen, was Irer l. und der sachen zu guten Reichen  
mocht etc. Mit fruntlicher bit das Ire l. wolle sein g  
vertraulich wissen lossen, wes sein g zuthun oder furzu:  
nemmen hette, das Irer l. gefellich und der sachen zu guten  
kommen mocht, und also Got den almechtigen, seine g. zuver:*

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<sup>72</sup> [Hever]

<sup>73</sup> den ix Augusti zu/ Cleff geschribben

leihen, das kein weyter beschwerniß, oder uff sprach uß  
 diesen sachen erfolge, sunder durch sein gotlich g. ge:  
 bessert werden mocht. Hieruff lieben hern, meyns g  
 hern schreiben, wie hie anzeigt und auch mein  
 furbringen hat mir seiner f.g. scwester [sic]  
 geantwurt sie hab alle ding in das **Königs** wil:  
 len einmol gestelt zum anderen wil ir  
 g. bis ostern in dem land pleiben und  
 darfur nit draus begert auch zum  
 zweiten mol an mich ich solt also lang  
 pleiben solt ich dan mit privisigel  
 und den anderen redder und ir g. mitler zeit mir fur:  
 halten mocht es were zwischen irn  
 g. und dem **König** reconsiliation und besse:  
 rung zuvermuten gewest aber ich hette  
 es gedribben das ein unerho  
 liche fruntschaft were verfolg das  
 mir dan zuverweis kommen mocht  
 und hab derenthalben underlossen und  
 mit privisel nicht geret ich zeigt irn  
 g. auch andere ursachen an und erclert  
 irn g. des **Königs** sin und gemuet auch sein  
 schmeichlerei und unstanhaftigkeit  
 half als nit in summa ir g. wil plei:  
 ben bis ostern frogt und bat ir g. in  
 geheim ob ir g. auch einige hofnung

f267r.

hette antwurt ir g. ja ich sagt irn g. als auch  
 wor ist solch hofnung und des **Königs** gute wort  
 werden ire g. noch me bedriegen wan ich  
 uber den **König** ungewillig bin seiner uner:  
 barer handlung halben so schweigt ir g.  
 sagt nicht sunderlichs hab innen mit ufsatz  
 ein mol fur iren g. gelobt wolt mich be:  
 duncken us irn g. geberen und wese das  
 sich ir g. solchs lobgesangs erfraute un:  
 angesehen aller verlaufner unerbarer  
 geubter handlung widder ir g.  
 do doch bY mir kein hof:  
 nung ist einiger reconsiliation sunder ee  
 darfur hab wuo der sack nit schwanger  
 das er in kurtzem noch ein andere wirt  
 suchen der kurtzweilich buler reit itzt  
 mit der neuen braut hinder winsern  
 jagen mein gnedigste

frau leit itzt an eim ort summerzeit  
 leidlich aber winterzeit wasserechtig  
 und wild genug nicht wert hat ir g.  
 mit mir auch darvon geret wil schlecht  
 lich nit do pleiben wolt es auch  
 irn g. nit raten ist fer vom volck auch ver  
 meint ir g. wan sie schon hinnaus wolt uf  
 dismol der **König** wird ir g. nit hinnaus lassen  
 das ich auch besorg ich halt das es zwuo  
 ursachen sind das mein gnedigste frau nit  
 gern hinnaus komme westlich scham  
 und unfreddens der flemming **Burgunder** und des

f267v.

volcks auch forcht zum teil iren g. f. mut:  
 ter ufsprechens deren an anfenclich  
 dieser hilich nie gefallen sol hab:  
 ben were derenthalben wol ein mei:  
 nun [sic] mutterlichen fruntlichen und drost:  
 lichen brief hette geschribben zum  
 anderen komt ir g. vleicht nit gern  
 hinnaus hie hoch und reichlich  
 als ein koniginnen gehalten worden  
 und sich nun widderum verkleinern  
 wie dan vieler weiber art ist nit  
 das ich ir g. hierin stroffen wil  
 wiewol wan ir g. mir glauben und vol:  
 gen wolt wolt ich irn g. ee raten das  
 ir g. bei iren g. bruder were mit  
 einer junckfrauen dan hie in die:  
 ser art und solcher gestalt mit  
 vierzehen wiewol das ir g. meins be:  
 dunckens feine erbare frauen und  
 junckfrauen bey irn g. hat auch ge:  
 fallen mir dieser junckfrauen  
 wesen sitten und stillickeit besser  
 dan der vorigen die etwas freier  
 und frecher waren so hat ir g.  
 ein guten erlichen  
 kemmerling der ir g. sunderlich  
 er und gutwillige underthenig dienst  
 erzeugt die uberige aber kan ich  
 also nit erkennen dan es ist ein eng:

f268r.

lische art *Es hat meyn g h In meynen brieffe*

*uberschickt, ein schreiben den 13 Julii zu Cleffußgangen, an  
 seiner g schwester, ungeferlich also laudent, wie das sein  
 f.g. verstand, Irer l wemut und betrubniß, und also  
 Got die sachen bevolhen und heim stellen, der alle ding  
 kan keren und wenden, wu ehr hin will, und alle zeit dem  
 konig under augen gon, wu sie kinte und mocht, und das  
 sie sich trost mit dem hern aller heren umb gnad bitte,  
 den konig und Irer l. In dem angefangnen eestandt, alzeit  
 bewaren und wie sein g. Irer l. einige bruderliche dienst  
 kan erzeigen will sein g als der trew bruder von gantzem  
 hertzen gern thun etc. CH solchs schreiben sind et:  
 lich vorige englische junckfrau gewar  
 worden und eine von den furnemsten als ir g  
 geschloffen uber iren g. seckel gangen  
 den obgemelten brief heimlich he:  
 raus genommen und dem **König** zugeschickt  
 wiewol es sol der **König** solchs schreiben \*under geschwis:/tern\*  
 gelobt haben ich vernim auch das ir g.  
 ingangen ist und gelobt was irn g. von  
 dem **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** fur frief [sic, brief] kommen sol ir g. den **König**  
 lossen sehen dorum sich zuverhieten  
 was man schreibt es hat mir ire g. auch  
 bevolhen meim g.h. zuschreiben und anzeigen ob es  
 sich begeb ob einige geschrift von  
 irn g. underzeichnet meim g.h. zugeschickt  
 wurd sol sein f.g. solchem underzeichne:  
 ten brief sunderlich keinen glauben  
 gebben es were dan sach das solchs schreib:*

f268v.

ben von anfang bis zu dem end  
 durch ire g. hant alles geschribben  
 were alsdan hab sein f.g. zuglauben  
 ich glaub noch nit wol das solchs  
 leben mit det [sic] newen braut lang we:  
 ren wird ob aber als dan mein g.f. re:  
 consiliert werd ist bey mir ein gros:  
 ser zweifel auch kleine hofnung  
 es hat ir g. vermerckt das norfok und  
 der bischof zu wintcestern [sic] der un:  
 erbarer handlung ein ursach sind da:  
 rum ir g. ein unwillen gegen denen  
 gefast wirt ir g. reconsiliirt ist zube:  
 sorgen ir g. wurde es innen ungerech:  
 tig sein es hat mir ein deitzsch  
 junckfrau gesagt es hab ir g. den

engelischen junckfrauen zuviel  
 vorigmol verdraut me von dem **von Lothringen** geret dan  
 gut ist gewesen aber ich glaub  
 der **König** hat solchs im sin gehabt den  
 ersten dag als sie zammen sind  
 kommen es hab ichs recht behal:  
 ten wie mir mein gnedigste frau solchs  
 anzeigt des von norfocks dochter hat  
 irn g. fur gehalten und gefrogt ob sich ir  
 g. widder verhilichen wil hab ich ir g.  
 widder gewarnet das sich ir g. verhiet  
 hieruf antwurt ir g. man dorft nit sorgen  
 ich antwurt dan wan solchs geschee so were dem **König** in  
 seiner bosheit geholffen aber ich sorg

269r.

nit dofur von den gnaden gottes *Ich hab nicht  
 mhe hie zuthun, noch zu handeln, halt zwey pferd, zwen  
 knecht, laufft ein costen uff, den man meym gnedigen hern woll  
 ersparte, aber dieweil ich hie bin, nach gelegenheit der  
 sachen und zu reiten, kan ichs nit entberen, auch von eren  
 wegen, dan mich mentliklich kent, von des wegen Ich hie  
 bin, es ist mir sunst nit also wol mit viel knechten  
 um grossen costen ~~der personen halben~~  
 zuvermeide wolt ich lieber bey meiner  
 gnedigsten frauen sein wil sich aber gar  
 nit schicken dan ir g. durch mich nit wenig  
 mocht beschwert werden dan dem **König** und den  
 räten wol wissen und bekant das mir des  
**Königs** unbillich handlung gar nit gefelt noch  
 je gefallen hat noch wirt auch das ir g. be:  
 gegnen mocht habben daster me entse:  
 hung die englischen dieweil ich als ein  
 gesanter bin ich kom nimmer zu irn g. bin  
 ungezweifelt es wirt dem **König** uf stund zuge:  
 schribben *Weyter auch gunstige hern, Es ist itzt ein  
 act Im perlament ußgangen, das alle ußlender, Es sind  
 deutzschen, Italianer, Franzosen, oder Flemming, auch  
 was nacion, welch nit thenis<sup>74</sup> sind, miessen alle uß  
 dem land, darunder Ist ein grosse zal von meyns g hern  
 underthanen \*hantwertzslaut\* von Clevischen und Geldrischen, die alle  
 enweg miessen, were dannet gut das mein  
 g.h. derenthalben ein insehens hette  
 ob der **König** nit handelte widder die verei:  
 negung des **französische Königs Botschafter** sagt mir wie der der (sic)**

<sup>74</sup> [denizens]

act halben als viel die frantzosen belangen  
beym **König** gewese und<sup>75</sup> vermerckt das er nit

f269v.

viel der armen leit halben usgericht  
hat *Will mich also hiermit e.l. und gunsten bevolhen*  
*haben, domit Got dem almechtigen bevolhen, datum zu*  
*Lunden, den 23 Augusti Anno 40*

*E.L. und gunst.*  
*gutwilliger diener*  
*K. Harst*

*sagt auch meyn g hern an, wie meyn g.ste fraw*  
*von den gnad gottes als ich bey Iren g was, und als Ich*  
*hoff noch, wol zu pas ist, hab mit Iren g miessen uff*  
*das geJegt reyten, und auch mit Irn g und den Enge:*  
*lischen Junckfrawen schiessen, bin ich nit woll dran,*  
*was freyd, kheme Ich ein mol uß dem Engelischen*  
*landt, wolt Innen Ir Engelisch freyd allein lassen*

**Folios 278r. - 280r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 1 September 1540**

### Transcript

f278r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietende gunstige hern*  
*den 24 Augusti hab ich ein schreiben empfangen, von meyns*  
*g hern Räth, zu Cleve, den 8 Augusti geschribben, mit*  
*zwei Ingelegte copeyen, ein meyns g. hern antwurt, an*  
*den konig, die ander an meyn gnedigste fraw, welch*  
*dan Ir g. mir hat furhin anzeigt als viel ich*  
mich bei der **Königin** und sunst auch vermerck:  
en und vernemmen kan was meim g.h. hie:  
rin zuthun seie wil ich ich sein f.g. ~~gern~~ trei:  
lich zuschreiben dan wil von noten hierin  
bedechtig gehandelt werd uf das die **Königin**  
nit in ferner geferlichkeit kom und

---

<sup>75</sup> wolt gern declarationem habben gehat etlicher puncten halben

mein g.h. in kein verbitterung. wil ich  
 fur mein person gern verhuten was die sach  
 arger mocht machen und also lossen got  
 bevolhen sein bin ungezweifel mein g.  
 h. thet us hertzen gern was seiner f.g.  
 lieben schwester zu gutem mocht kom:  
 men den christ oder winacht obent pfleg:  
 en sich wie der alt brauch alle hern  
 im konigreich sich zum **König** verfugen wan meins  
 g.h. geschickten und anderen guten hern  
 und mitverwanten die sachen und hand:  
 lungen furdrugen von noten ob aber  
 die **Königin** reconsiliirt wirt oder mein g.h. in  
 kein verbitterung komt ist bei mir gros:  
 ser zweifel dan ich besorg leider bey  
 dieser art nicht guts zuerwarten die ko:  
 nigin von nafarra [sic] hat einen diener zu  
 das **französischen Königs Botschafter** hergeschickt und im dorneben be:  
 volhen der **Königin** von iret wegen viel guts  
 anzusagen und sich gar fruntlich erbotten

f278v.

aber es hat es des **französischen Königs Botschafter** und auch mich  
 fur gut angesehen das der diener nit  
 reit sunder die botschaft ich ange:  
 nommen der **Königin** solchs anzusagen  
 dan zu besorgen wuo solchs in eim an:  
 deren entgelten miest und das er  
 ubeler gehalten wurde werden hat  
 das **französischen Königs Botschafter** wol kinnen erkennen *mihi familiariter*  
*notus, ingeniosus vir, fuit bis/his aut. ter. in regeriis sui regis,*  
*Constantinopoli* hat sich fruntlich gegen  
 mir erbotten brief wuo ich hin wil zuuber:  
 schicken *auch dieweil ehr Im feld In*  
*eim lustligen ort leit, mir anzeigt, wan Ich verdruß*  
*In der stat hab, und mir gelegen etlich tag zu Im zukommen*  
*melencoli und zeit zuvertreiben* sagt mir in geheim  
 das der **König** hette es zwischen dem **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** und **Jeanne de Navarre** gern  
 verhindert verdrost sich hinfurter **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** uf  
 den **König** ich besorg er und die burgunder  
 sind es heimlich ins<sup>76</sup> der bischof ba:  
 do sol auch noch nit kommen sein ob et:  
 wan die **Burgunder** von im vernemmen wie die sach:  
 en ston oder was mein g.h. geantwurt habbe ich

<sup>76</sup> oder sich von den **Burgundern** lossen reitzen und uf das der **Burgunder** practica kein furgang nit hab ist von noten gedult zuhabben

versto *das den xxv Augusti* ist der **Königin**  
 sigel zerbrochen dem goalschmidt [sic] uber:  
 antwurt worden und ein anders fur die  
 new braut zugraben wolt das mein gne:  
 digste frau dus [sic, rus] were dan der **König** sagt  
 zu mir auch sagt es menneklich ir g.  
 wil hin pleiben ego miror vid illa bo:  
 na matrona cogitat post tam contentam il:

f279r.

latamt inivriam [sic] her cantzler habt acht  
 in us und ein reiten in franckerich dan  
 man sunder zweifel ein ufsehen uf uch  
 hat wuo man uch ein val mocht stellen  
 got der almechtig verleihe in die:  
 ser christlicher hilichs handlung und  
 allem anderen viel gnad und glucks  
*zeigt an meynen g. frawen, das Irer g. dochter, meyn*  
*gnedigste fraw, von den gnaden Gottes noch wol zu pas*  
*und gesunt Ist auch das man mir schreibt*  
 ich sol von hinnen nit verrucken und  
 verpleiben bis man sicht wie sich die  
 sachen ferrer zutragen *non fußem tanti.*  
*consternatus, si princeps mihi mandaßet ut irem Hieroso:*  
*limas* dan das ich bey diesem unstanthaftig:  
 en volck pleiben sol wan ich allein et:  
 was erbars schaffen und handeln kint  
 wolt ich gern gedult dragen sagt  
 auch meim g.h. dieweil seiner f.g. schwes:  
 ter mein gnedigste frau allein geant:  
 wurt hat ir g. wil in alle weg bis osteren  
 pleiben und erwarten was aber irer g. be:  
 duncken was furzunehmen und den sachen  
 zu gutem kommen mocht wil ich irn g. gut  
 bedunckens noch ein mol weiter anhoren und es  
 als dan seinen g. treilich überschreiben  
 ich vernim auch das die act durch die  
 bischof gesprochen publicirt wirt werden  
 das der **König** dieweil die **Königin** verlobt er ein  
 ander frau mag nemmen<sup>77</sup> und die **Königin** auch  
 en [sic, ein] anderen man wie es ein volck ist so hebben

279v.

---

<sup>77</sup> und welcher do widder sagt und auch main gnedigste frau hinfurter ein **Königin von England** nennet sol  
 hinfurter ein verreter zum **König** sein

sie auch ausgesprochen sie sagen je sie  
 sei mit eim anderen verlobt dorum ist  
 sie mit dem **König** nit bundich und lossen doch  
 zu das ir g. ein anderen man mag nemmen der  
 bischof bodo sol uf dem weg kranck sein  
 plibben die acta im perlament beschlossen  
 sind im druck vernim das etlich englische  
 munch zu arnhem im barfusser closter oder  
 in sachsen mocht man sie lossen  
 in geheim verdeitzschen man hat widder *prim. Septemb.*  
 us geruffen das man widder us das **Königs** gnaden  
 hat erlaubt allen uslender zu pleiben bis  
 ostern <sup>78</sup>auch alle die uslender die do sind  
 \*der vermenten [sic]\* newen konigin diener auch madamma  
 maria das **Königs** dochter diener und madamma  
 der hertzogin von clef diener also  
 ist ir g. offentlic [sic] genant worden die selben  
 diener sollen gefreit sein zupleiben  
*Weyter lieber hern hat mit mir* in geheim geret  
 der gin [sic, gen] der dem hofmeister hochsteden  
 und doctor olichschleger hat eisere kertz:  
 en schneitzer geschenkt bereit itzt  
 dem **König** ein schon wagenburg hat kleinen sin  
 in diesem land zupleiben were auch  
 wol gesint wuo er von hinnen kan kommen  
 unserem g.h. zudienen wuo man im ein under:  
 haltung wolt gebben nun bedarf mein g.h. soch:  
 er [sic, solcher] rustung in diesen seltzammen leiffen  
 so ist es auch ewer l. derenthalben  
 mit meim g.h. reddn und mir solchs uber  
 schreiben weis sich der gut gesel darnoch  
 zuhalten hat auch vorhin mit dem hofmei:

f280r.

ster wie er mir mit anzeigt darvon geret *Auch her doc:*  
*tor lieber her wie ich diese vergangne tag hab wollen zu kirchen*  
*reyten Ist einer uff der strossen zu mir kommen, mir einen*  
*gruß von uch anzeicht, und dorneben gesagt wie*  
 ir im bevolhen das er mir sagen solt das  
 ich wol zusehe uf das ich nit zuviel  
 schrib hieruf antwurt ich im es solt  
 kein not hebben ich schrib nicht *kunt mich*  
*solcher red nit genug verwunder [sic], und were, er doch were*  
*und wie mich also befragt* sagt mir einer es  
 were gilbrecht der herolt der gut

<sup>78</sup> ist schon viel volcks enweg gezogen auch Bierbruer das mangel an bier ward

man. ich vernim die artickel die mein  
 gnedigst **Königin** hat verwilligt und underzeichnet  
 sind auch dem druck bruchhausen rent:  
 meister zu arnhem sein sun wirt solche  
 artickel verdeitschen und sie also seim  
 vatter überschicken halten alle brief  
 und geschriften geheim *Fünffundzwentz:*  
*ig lib. sterling* hab ich von der factor  
 empfangen vor cost ros und knech [sic] ver:  
 schaffe das sie her adolf rincken wid:  
 hersect werden bit ich *Hiemit seyen e.l.*  
*und gunst. Got dem almechtigen bevolhen datum zu Lunden*  
*prim. Septemb. Anno 1540*

*E L und gunst. frundt*  
*und diener*  
*Karl Harst*

**Folios 292r. - 296v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 18 September 1540**

**Transcript**

f292r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor Ernnestl., hochgelerte*  
*gepiettende, gunstige hern, Ich wil e.l. nicht verhalten*  
*wie das ich uff Montag den 6 Septemb. zu meynen*  
*gste frawen bin geritten, bey Irn g. blibben drey tag, Ist*  
*Ir g. von den g. Gottes noch wol zu paß, welchs e.l. mogen*  
*Irn g. fraw Mutter, auch meynem g. hern, beyden Iren g.*  
*anzeigen ich hab auch irn g. anzeigt noch \*verlesung\* meim*  
 schreiben das mein g.h. gern thun wolt was  
 seinen g. muglich wan sein g allein horte  
 was der sachen noch gelegenheit dien:  
 lich und ir g. begeren wird auch hab ich  
 irn g. anzeigt das schreiben das mein g.h.  
 an den **König** thut und under allem meldung  
 gethon wie sich der **König** hat lossen durch  
 den bischof vermercken das er furge:  
 nommen ir g. erlich umzuschicken und ir  
 g. nit anders dan hinfurter fur sein schwes:

ter halten und irn g. verzelt also ferrer in:  
halt desselben schreiben uf das wort um  
schicken hot ir g. meins bedunckens klein  
gefallens dorbei sagt ich irn g. auch die  
weil mein g.h. an ir g. begert das ir g. sein  
f.g. verteilich wissen wolt lossen was  
sein g. zuthun oder furzunemmen hette  
auch erholt oder widderum wie das ich  
von mir selbs bey privisil und anderen  
wolt handeln uf das ir g. mit einem ge:  
reiten pfennig wird abgefertigt und zu  
irn frinden [sic, frunden] mocht kommen dieweil ich  
aber iren g. willen gemiet und meinung  
miest habben bette ich ir g. noch un:

f292v.

terthenig mir solchs zuerofnen wolt ich  
dan noch meinem vermugen zum treilich:  
sten handeln hieruf antwurt mir ir g.  
sie wuste nit was hierin zuthun  
oder furzunemmen were<sup>79</sup> und mit privisil  
oder anderen zusprechen solt ich uf dis:  
mol beruen lossen dan ir g. wolt pleiben  
bis osteren in diesem land und wolt ge:  
dult habben hette alle handlung got  
heim gestelt dieweil man dan ir g. von  
der meinung nit kan bringen so sehe es  
mich fur gut an wil es auch us getrei:  
er meinung habben anzeigt das man ein red:  
lichen ernstschaftigen [sic] wolerfarnen man  
hette hieren geschickt dam auch ir g.  
mit gehor hette gebben<sup>80</sup> dan ir g. noch ein  
junge person mocht sich leichtlich  
mit eim wort verreden das irn g. noch zu  
weiterem nochteil mocht kommen dan ir  
habt leibs gut zuerachten das es meins  
handels nit ist so bin ich auch zu solch:  
en gescheften nit geubt noch erzogen  
worden es habben mir auch etlich von  
irn g. junckern diese vergangne dag in  
geheim anzeigt und ich auch selbs  
von irn g. verstanden wie das sich ir g.  
zum **König** an hof wil begeben do fur ich  
ir g. treilich hab gewarnt und ursachen

<sup>79</sup> wuo man handelte solt vleicht boser werden

<sup>80</sup> der stetlich bey irn g were wan er schon den engellendern nit angemem were

anzeigt nemlich sich verhuten fur  
dem has und neid der neuen braut  
dan ir g. als ein konigin ins lant kommen  
sich nun nit verkleinern noch irn stam:

f295r.

men als ein dienst junckfrau antwurt ir  
g. mir sie wolt sich nit dohin begeben  
der **König** entbotte sie dan die gut **Königin** verdrut  
dem **König** noch mit einem wort macht er ir g.  
weise was er wil<sup>81</sup> die neu braut ist noch  
nit schwanger denck mit der zeit nimt  
er villeicht [sic] noch ein andere dan es  
wolt ietlich gern wie ich vernim die  
hubste und liebste sein also streich:  
en sie sich mit seltzammen kleidern  
herfur wie lang wirt das frolich leben  
weren got wirt es nit kinnen leiden  
ich versto auch wie das volck murmelt  
uf diese grosse unsegliche schatzung  
irer g. fraumitter [sic, fraumutter] und auch mein g.h. moch:  
ten iren g. zum fruntlichsten und beweg:  
lichsten schreiben und zusagung thun  
uf das ir g. daster mher [sic, mehr] sin und gemiet  
hinnaus hette dan ir g. sagt sie wil  
furhin ein wissen hebben wie ir g. hie  
ston weiter auch das die elter iren sie:  
nen nit schreiben dan zubesorgen wuo  
einer von den junckern ein ufbruch  
mochte were vleicht zubesorgen das  
die anderen auch werden wollen noch  
folgen das dan gar kein geschickt wird  
haben<sup>82</sup> und allein mit engelischen  
miest bedient sein dan ich doch besorg  
das ir g. fur ein geisel und lenger im  
land mus pleiben dan irn g. lieb wirt sein  
es hat mir ir g. die vergangne dag alle  
irer g. kleinetter ding und geschmickt  
zeigt das der **König** irn g. hat widder geben

295v.

got geb das er es irn g. nit widder nem  
der bischof zu wincestern ist nun stet:  
tes zu hof und im rath bei leben **Cromwells**

<sup>81</sup> es hat mir ir g. ein ringlein zeigt welchs der **König** zu eim zeichen hat geschickt ist ir g. widder etwas erfreut

<sup>82</sup> dan sich die unseren edelleidt zichtig und wol halten

hette man in nit lossen *den weykessel umb das*  
*chor dragen* pfaltzgraf philips [sic] hat  
 her geschribben wie das er kom wirt<sup>83</sup>  
 man mecht mitler zeit bei dem **König** durch  
 des **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** fruntschaft samentlich frunt:  
 lich ansuchen doch demutig und zum  
 beweglichsten uf das der unglimpf nit  
 uf meim g.h. pleibbe und uf der unschul:  
 digen furstinnen sunder abgeleinet  
 wurd und menneklich zur notturft versten:  
 digt wurd wiewol ich dorfur hab der **Kaiser**  
 und **Burgunder** scheren die brend etlich meinen  
 auch es kan nit schaden das mein g.h. also  
 gemechlich darzu thue und die hie los  
 auch ein weil uf dem kropf sitzen  
 das es verhut werd uf das man nit innen  
 werd das ich schreibe zwuoer sachen hal:  
 ben mag unser g.h. mit dem **König** wol von noten  
 fursichtigklich handeln das lant von  
 gellern halben und auch der **Königin** halben  
 die als ein halbe gefangne ist uf das  
 er und die art nit verbittert werden  
 und auch die **Burgunder** nit weiter ursach hie  
 zulachen und durch solches lachen zu:  
 wegen brechten das sie nimmer als ich  
 verhof wuo fursichtig gehandelt uberkom:  
 men werden und also ist von noten das  
 bedechtlich gehandelt werde

296r.

es hat diese dag ein kaufman us dem  
 stalhof hinnaus mit ich willens was  
 zuschreiben also ist im ein heimliche  
 warnung kommen us des **Königs** hof  
 das er sich in keinen weg uf die  
 stros begebbe dan an allen porten be:  
 stelt uf in acht zuhaben ob er ei:  
 nich brief hat oder bevel ist dickmol  
 an meiner gnedigsten frauen der **Königin**  
 hof gewesen auch mit mir etlich do  
 und auch an das **Königs** hof bekant ist auch  
 us unsers g.h. landt geboren vleicht die:  
 sen hie bewust darum hab man gut acht  
 was oder by wem man der oder schreiben  
 gedult mus ich haben dieweil die **Königin**

<sup>83</sup> besorg ich nit usrichten dieweil **Cromwell** doth ist

im land ist sunst wird ich das beredden  
 und mich beclagen wan ich worhaftig ver:  
 merckt das man mir meine brief under:  
 stunde ufzubrechen es hat aber nun kein  
 fug sunder alles mit gedult dragen bis  
 das ir g. us dem land were der bischo [sic] ist  
 noch nit kommen ob er sich kranck macht  
 oder wie die sachen gelegen weis ich  
 nit besorg als die burgunder practicirn ob  
 sie den brei kinten versaltzen noch mer  
 hebben etlich verhoft aber ich nit *der*  
*dag zu hagenaw* sol meim g.h. etwas guts wirck:  
 en ist allein practicirt eins ietlichen ge:  
 miets zuerfaren<sup>84</sup> der luttringer libel  
 wirt nit sunder furwissen des **Kaisers** und der **Burgunder/ Statthalterin**  
 den stenden ubergeben sein worden dan

296v.

der Kaiser etlich mol zu mir gesagt er habs  
 dar fur das der luttringer ein besser  
 gerechtigkeit hab zu dem land gellern  
 dan mein g.h. hieruf anwurt ich zu  
 der zeit irer ma.t sie were nit wol  
 informirt wie in anderem me wirt mein[s]  
 erachtens von noten sei [sic] das mein g.h.  
 den luttringer antwurt ich vernim die  
 luttringer hebben nit uber funfzig  
 libel lossen in druck us gon habs noch  
 nit gesehen *Wirt hie gesagt wie das der konig*  
*uß Schottlandt sol den furnemste im gantzen konigRe[ich]*  
*habbe lossen kopffen, ferner das gmelter konig alle uß:*  
*lendige schiff laß arrestieren, warumb weyß Ich nit*  
*und seyen also e.l. Got dem almechtigen bevolhen, da[tum]*  
*zu Lunden den 18 Septemb Anno 1540*  
*E.L. und gunste gutwilliger dien[er]*  
*Karl harst*

*Es hat meyn gste fraw allen tag zu disch gen in die 160*  
*personen ungeferlich, viel unnutzlichs volcks darunder,*  
*hab es auch Irn g gesagt, nympt Ir g viel in, so gibt Ir*  
*g auch widder viel uß, und also wirt Irn g nichts uber*  
*bleiben*

---

<sup>84</sup> und die [pro]testiere[nd]en zerdren[n]en

**Enclosed:**

f293r.

*Ich schick el auch die ußgegangenen acta Im  
druck, durch das perlament sehent[...] caput 25  
doch in geheim das niemants ge:  
war werd das man sie überschickt  
hat uf das **die Königin** nit beschwert werd*

f294r.

*der Rincken factor Christian hat mir gelien  
Dryssig lib sterling, wollen doch manen, uff das sie her  
Adolff Rincken zum furderlichsten widder bezalt werden Es  
laufft ein costeen uff, und ist nicht hie zu handeln, wolte gern  
das ich von hinnen were, und by meyner g.ste frawen zu sein, will sich  
nit schicken, durch mych wird Ir g. mhe beschwert, habben sunst  
nit gern das ich viel do bin*

**Folios 285r. - 288r. + 290r, Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger,  
London, 2/4 October 1540**

**Transcript**

f 285r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepittede gunstige hern ich  
kan nit vermercken das einige reconcilacion  
zuerhoffen seie wie ich vermerck so ist der  
hilic [sic] mit **Königin** ein ursach gewesen des **Cromwells** doths  
diesen hat **Cromwell** gemacht und in kein anderen  
wollen consentieren norfok soll habben fur:  
gebben das mit der **Königin** viel flemming und frem:  
des volck in grosser zal hier ins konigreich  
sind kommen und also durch den **Königin** hilich mit  
hilf **der Sachsen** die furhin lange zeit in diesem  
konigreich geregirt und geherscht habben  
und wurd dordurch der itzt jung printz  
verdrissen das soll zum teil ein argument sein ge:  
wesen, wie Ich vernym und ein ursach repudii  
Es hat auch Im vergangenen Summer norfok gesagt zu  
**Cromwell** was dunckt dich von der hat die itztund  
braut \*sein nicht\* gemeint doruf sol **Cromwell** geantwurt*

haben es ist ein schone schnur oder ein  
 seit dem deiffel domit zulachen noch  
 der zeit hat norfock **Cromwell** nit mir [sic] mogen  
 leiden dan die braut ist norfocs bruders  
 dochter \*die mutter\* hat ei[...] burgerin von lunden gewest  
 domit hat er diese brut  
 uberkommen dan ir mutter hat furhin ein  
 doctor gehat und die witwin viel gelts  
 gehat dorum sie norfocks bruder genom:  
 men *hic habetis annologiam* sponse nove es hat  
 auch wincestern hie dapffer zugeholffen  
 und sich gegen sachsen gerochen das evan:  
 gelium belangen *Auch hab Ich mir lossen sagen*  
 wie dos der **König** horte das **Cromwell** also christlich

285v.

gestorben ware sol der **König** gesagt haben  
 er wolt wan er sterben sol das er were  
 do itzt **Cromwell** ist ich besorg **Cromwell** hat got erzir:  
 net ist streng gewesen auch etlich viel  
 helffen umbringen got verzeihe ich  
 rath noch das mein g.h. seiner g. schwester  
 mit viel zusagen und guten worten ein:  
 naus locken und ir g. vom **König** zum besten  
 versichert wurd dan wuo der **König** sturb so  
 were ir g. noch zur zeit zeit meins erachtens  
 gar wenig versichert und was man itzt  
 gibt essen doch die engelschen widder  
 uf und hie kein hofnung wuo ist ir g. bes:  
 ser dan widder by irn g. frunden *Ich hab*  
*auch fur langest geschribben das es mich fur gut an sehe,*  
 das man ein feine verstendige frau  
 zu einer zuchtmeisterin \*oder ufseherin\* hette her  
 geschickt dieweil ir g. noch jung und under  
 den fremden ist \*und wolffen allein\* *hab aber auch Itzt kurtz geschribben*  
*oder das man schickt ein dapfferen ver:*  
*stendigen man von jaren Ist mir aber kein ant:*  
*wurt derenthalben noch nit worden* es hat irn g. niemants  
 hie dan allein etlich unsere edelleit  
 die sich nun als viel ich vermerck zich:  
 tig und stil halten aber wan mein g.h. noch  
 ein verstendige erbars gemiets und ernstlich  
 junckfrau \*her schickte\* were underweilen under diesem  
 liggerlichen engelischen volck wol von noten *doch under*  
*dem schein,* als wan sie allein her keme  
 von wegen meiner g. alten frauen

286r.

um zusehen wie irn g. dochter lebte mit:  
 ler zeit mocht man rath suchen wie ir g.  
 zum fuglichsten hinnaus keme dan do kan  
 ich kein hofnung vermercken aber ir g. hoft  
 noch ist aber nicht dan allein ir luft oder  
 wint gehoft aber darf sich nicht uf den un:  
 stanhaftigen [sic] **König** weiters vertrosten *Junckfraw*  
*Stahel were gut hie, ein Zeit lang*, Ch dan ir g. alein hat  
 zwuo deitzsche kammerjunckfrauen das an:  
 der ist als engelisch volck die acta die  
 ich ubergeschickt hab hie im perlament  
 usgangen were gut das man sie dem **Kurfürsten** uber:  
 schickt hat engelische zu wittenberg wer:  
 den sie bald vertieren \*doch in geheim\* *Schick e.l. hie ver[...]*  
*XXV cap. CH und XXXVIII END* Ich kan engelsch nit, noch  
*beger sie auch nit zulern derenthalt hat mir es ein nidder:*  
*lender vertiert, mag man die cap. Baltasar oder yemants*  
*anders zustellen In besser deitzsch zusetzen, uff das meyn*  
*g<sup>er</sup> her verstendigt werd Inhalts solches drucks, seiner g*  
*Schwester belangen* da[s m]an mit allem uber und  
 hinnubber schreiben verschwigenlich handel  
 hebben fur *sehs dagen ungeferlich* widder eim  
 kaufman alle s[ei]n brief genommen zube:  
 sichtigen und uß [de]r handlung also viel vermerckt das  
 sie vermeint hebben meiner g. frauen und mein brief  
 zuuberkommen aber mein g.f. also gewrnt [sic, gewarnt] wirt  
 sich ir g. wol huten das man sich mit nich:  
 ten als gegen des **Königs Botschafter** mercken das ich ei:  
 nig wort überschreibe ich habs dorfur kun:  
 ten sie etwas erfunden [sic] uf mein g. frau  
 oder das ir g. ein wort schrib das dem **König** zu:  
 widder were wurden sie es fur verreterei  
 uslegen und halten und irn g. zum wenigsten

286v.

ein gefencklich straf anlegen do got ir g.  
 fur behut ist aber des volcks art gebben  
 solchen lon vleicht auch fro ein ursach  
 zuhabben das uberrich alles zunehmen das  
 ir g. hat das doch als ich besorg gescheen  
 wirt dorum von noten das man sich in alle  
 weg verhut und nicht vertrue ich glaub  
 es were dem **König** fast leit gewesen wan **Fürst Wilhelm von Kleve** mit  
 dem **Kaiser** zu Gent were verdragen worden hette

der **König** als dan den neuen dantz nit dorffen anfahen den  
 er itzt furt *Es hat meyn gnedigste fraw bym konig lossen*  
*ansuchen ein bequemlich winterhauß, hab aber sorg Ir g. wirt*  
*nit das selbig erhalten, das Ir g. gern haben wolt, wie es aber Je*  
*nit anders kan sein, so hab Ich gerotte, das Ir g. gedult habbe,*  
*wie In anderen dingen mher (sic, mehr), und will uch samentlich hiemit*  
*Gott dem almechtigen bevolhen haben datum zu Lunden den ii Octob.*

Anno xl

*Epis Badonien. Ist noch nit uberkommen, ob er kranck, oder was es*  
*verhindert, weyß Ich nit.*

*E.L. und gunst gutwilliger diener*  
*und frundt*

*Karll Harrst*

288r.

*Itzt uff stund, wirt mir anzeigt, wie sich die des konigs post sol haben lossen mercken*  
*der dan newlich hier von meyns g hern hoff sol sein kommen, wie das doctor Wotum*  
*sol hefftig hieher geschribben haben, einer scharffen antwurt die der Churfurst und*  
*meyn g. her sollen haben gebben, ob das erdacht seye, oder an Im also ist, hab nir:*  
*getz von kein wissen, unnutzlich uberbring dient niergentz zu, oder leichtfer:*  
*tige reddung zwischen dem gemeinen man, verbittert allein die sachen, hat sunst*  
*meyn g. h. genug zuthun. Got geb sein gnad*

290r.

*Und noch ferrer gepietende hern, ist mir itzt ange:*  
*sagt worden eigentlicwie [sic] die new braut*  
*passa sia [sic, sua] abort hoc est quod materia deflup:*  
*it [sic, defluxit] und also um die frucht kommen man*  
*hilt es aber als viel muglich verborgen*  
*Ich glaub es auch leichtlich, darumb hat man also geeylt mit*  
*dem dantz, uff das man das uberich nit verston solt, das die*  
*fruntschafft also lang gewert hat, were auch vleicht*  
*als bald ein meitlin worden als ein knef:*  
*fen Gott verzeye. Es vernym auch Itzt wie man ein braw*  
*hauß bawe, do meyn g. fraw Ist hinfurter do bier zu bruen*  
*dan man es biß anher von Lunden hinauß hat gefurt, wirt*  
*Ir g ein feucht winterlager an dem ort haben Mag Ir g. gedult*  
*dragen, aber Ist ein ungelegen hauß winter zeit, weyt vom*  
*volck, hiemit seyen e.l. Got bevolhen datum zu Lunden den*  
*vierden Octob. Anno xl*  
*los solchs mit [...] braut in geheim by uch*  
*pleiben*  
*E gutwilliger alzeit karl*  
*harst*

fos. 299r. - 302v., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 3 November 1540

## Transcript

f299r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietende gunstige hern  
wie das ich e.l. vorhin geschribben als wan ungeferlich uff  
Sankt Miches abent, oder darumb, dem **König** von meins  
g.h. hof ein heftig schreiben sein  
solt kommen solche Red sind widder gestilt höre  
nicht weyters darvon. Weyter hat mir des **französischen Königs Botschafter** an:  
zeigt geheim diese vergangne tag wie im  
ein dreflicher gesagt hette wolt in aber  
nit nennen mein g.f. die **Königin** solt dem **König** wid:  
der reconciliirt werden aber des **englischen Königs** [sic, probably meant French King]*

### Botschafter

*noch ich gebben leider beyde solchem kein glauben das  
glaub ich aber wuo im diese newe braut  
kein kinder wirt gebern so wirt er  
ein andere nemmen<sup>85</sup> wan ich meyner g.ste frawen  
der **Königin** diese newe zeitun [sic] sagt die re:  
consiliation belangen so ist ir g. so gut hertzig  
glaubt es uff stund darff hierum irn g. von solchen  
Rumor nicht sagen wird ir g. auch nit anders wenen es  
wird und miest also sein ir g. hat den englischen  
zuviel glaubt und verdraut ich wolt  
das ir g. us dem land were *Ich hab etlich mol  
geschribben und fur langest das man ein feine zichtige  
auch von irn jaren ein zichtige Junckfraw her  
schickte, oder einen dapfferen erfarnnen man, aber nutzlich:  
er were erbare Junckfraw, als Junckfraw Stahel  
die etwas strack were und mir uff sehe, und nit ein  
geltgiriche oder eigennutzige dan die from fur:  
stin ist allein hie under den engelisch:  
en wolven* *Es ist mir aber hieruff nie kein antwort  
worden wan ich nit meynt das es von noth were ich hette  
so dickmol nit darvon geschribben hat je meyn g. her also**

f299v.

*viel furstenthumb doIn man mochte finden ein ansehnlich  
verstendige Junckfraw die Irer Lansfurstinnen mochte  
zu getrue dienst zuwillen werden miest aber erstlich nit in dem*

<sup>85</sup> es hat auch der **König** wie ich vernym der neuen braut noch nicht zuverordenet und uf kein gut noch bewisen noch ichts [sic, nichts] verordenet

schein her kommen sunder als wan sie  
 her keme von iren g. frau mutter um zu:  
 sehen was ir g. dochter deth *Ich hab auch ge:*  
*schribben das meyn g. fraw auch meyn g. her der Königin* in  
 geheim fruntlich schribben auch zu:  
 sagung detten uff das ir g. daster gewil:  
 liger were hinnaus zukommen ich be:  
 sorg allein man wirt ir g nit hinnaus lossen  
 es hat ir g. auch im willen den **König** zwei pferd zu:  
 schencken do sol irn g. der *von Reifferscheidt*  
*zu helffen*<sup>86</sup> weys nit ob es geraten seye zuschencken dan zubesorgen  
 das die newe braut und ir anhang das:  
 ter einen grossern has auf die from  
 furstin werden werffen *Als wan sie sagen wolten*  
*Ir g will sich widder zuthun*<sup>87</sup> es hat ir g auch der  
 neuen braut etwas wollen verordnen zum  
 \*newen jar\* das hab ich irn g um viel ursachen  
 und ufsprechens willen us geret ver:  
 hof ir g wirt es underlossen *Weyter ist*  
*mir auch anzeigt worden wie das der erste konigin dochter*  
*Madame Maria die nun myn g fraw liebet und*  
*das gleiche meyn g fraw widderumb also sol dieselbig hochge:*  
*melte Maria etwan ein Ring, oder sunst ein kleinet*  
*meyner g frawen uberschickt hebben, wie aber nun*  
*meyn g fraw hatt wollen danckbar sein, und herwidde:*  
*rumb etwas verordnet, hochgedechter Melede Maria zu gebben*  
*sol der selbig officir, der dan den bevelh hat ghat von meyn:*

f300r.

*g. frawen solchs dem konig hebben anzeigt und gefragt*  
*Ir ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt ob er es thun mag und solchs schenck von wegen meynen*  
*g frawen der hochgnanter dochter Maria uberantworten*  
*sol der konig im geantwort hebben, ehr hab Recht doran*  
*dhon, das er gefragt hab, und der konig schellig worden*  
*ober [sic] sein dochter, gesagt wer sie also stoltz mache das sie*  
*sunder irer Mt. furwissen der frawen von Cleff etwas*  
*schencken und hat lassen vleyßlich darnoch fragen were*  
*seiner dochter das gerotten hat solchs hab ich kurtzlich er:*  
*faren, hab auch nit darfur das meyn g fraw von solcher verlauffnen*  
*handlung ein wissen hab, dan ich nicht von irn g. ver:*  
*merckt hab, das schreib ich allein darumb das man hie:*  
*rauß schepffen mag des Königs gemiets das doch nit*  
*der redder wert es und wie man es doch also*

<sup>86</sup> etiam ut caveat ne quid Rifferschedt licenciosius scribat

<sup>87</sup> es sagt ir g es schenck jederman dem konig so wil iren g. auch nit weniger gebitten so wil ichs auch nit sunderstellig machen

*ferresucht. Weyter gunstige hern sollen e.l. wissen  
wie ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt herolt den 19. Octob. zu mir ist kommen und  
mir ein schreiben uberantwort von meyns g. hern Rathen den  
5. Octob. zu dysseldorff ußgangen, auch sagt ehr mir, des konigs  
Rath hette im bevolhen, sie hette mir die brieff gern ee zu:  
geschickt, es were aber ko<sup>ch</sup> Mt spet heim kommen, fragt ich  
in wie die brieff in das konigs landt weren kommen, sagt  
ehr sie weren in ein packet gelegen. Er fragt mich auch ob  
ich nicht den Räthen schreiben noch enbietten wolt, gab  
fur ehr hette es bevell, mich solchs zufragen, hierumb  
antwort ich im Ich hette nicht uff diß mol, dan ich  
wünscht in heil und gesuntheit, und entbott Innen mey:  
nen dienst meins erachtens hebben sie  
die brief etlich dag under iren hen:  
den gehabt dan die brief wassen offen  
gewesen das aber mein g.h. einichen rath*

f300v.

diesem unstandhaftigen **König** sucht ist ver:  
loren man geb im allein gut wort ne no:  
ceat aber man vertroost sich nit uf in  
noch man vertrue im auch nicht hat meins  
erachtens kein rechtsinnigen rath *dan meyn*  
*kuntschafft laut, das diese vergangene tag ein englisch:*  
er eim dreflichen frantzosen hat verwis:  
sen alles das gin was sie practicirn oder  
begeren vom **französischen König** wirt in als abgeschlagen  
kinnen nichts erhalten *kunte der ander und ich*  
*wol ermessen es wolt deuten uf den hilich*  
zwischen **Wilhelm von Kleve** und **Jeanne de Navarre** das sie es nit hetten  
kinnen erhalten do die sachen zwischen  
dem **König** und der **Königin** noch wol sind gestanden hab  
ich keinen ratschlag nie von im kinnen  
haben *das der arbeit wert seye gewesen wie e.l. uß*  
*meym viel schreiben wol gespurt* darum viel weniger  
nun was heit weis ist ist morgen schwartz  
doch geb man im fruntlich wort dan mit  
bochen<sup>88</sup> wirt man nicht erhalten sunder die  
handlung me verbittern das man des **Königs Botschafter**  
nicht vertrau doch im ir [sic, er] bewaise uf das  
er nicht zum bosten kere oder schreibe  
der bischof badonien ist noch nit uber:  
kommen sol noch fast kranck ligen *als ich ver:*  
*standen hab* sol er mit samt wincestern ein  
ursach und principal sein der scheidung

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<sup>88</sup> [bocken?]

halben und das man des **Königs** gemiet erkundig:  
 en mocht ist schwerlich das sag ich de:  
 renthalb dieweil man des **Königs** Botschafter **des Römischen Königs** schreiben  
*oder antwurt hat zugestelt* dan der **König** lacht

f301r.

so meint er es anders im hertzen wan  
 mein g.f. die **Königin** widder reconciliert werden  
 solt miest ein sunderlich g. von got sein  
 das ich leider besorg nimmerme *und wird*  
*doch auch keinen bestant hebben wan es schon widder darzu*  
*keme* also ein wanckelmiettiger und unstant:  
 haftiger mensch heit dis morgen anders  
 und erst liebt er ein ding und wuo er  
 ein has uf wirft ist es chon [sic, schon] gescheen  
 es were im leit das mein g.h. mit dem **Kaiser**  
 wol eins were *wie aber der Romisch konig meynen g.*  
*hern im schreiben vermant was seines g. zu Gent notturff:*  
*tiglich erzelt und furgehalten worden ingedenck seye und*  
*sein g. sich also erzeige, das key<sup>ch</sup> Mt. geursacht werd*  
*mit gnaden und in irer Mt. gnaden und huld pleiben mag. Es*  
*dunckt mich etwas scharff geschribben seyn wan man schon*  
 Ungern erobert hette und den durcken er:  
 schlagen so weren es drauwort genug  
*wie itzt im Reichstag wirt als man sagt, denck wol es seye*  
*das merenteil ungern halben angesehen und wu das selbig fur:*  
*nemmen ein guten christlichen ußgang hat hab aber mein g.h.*  
 acht das seinen g. kein uberdrang  
 von einichen nochpurn und basiliscoken  
 wan alle ding uf anderen orten ge:  
 distert ist widderfare <sup>89</sup>*darumb ist großlig*  
*von nothen ein uffmerckens zu hebben uff den artickel den*  
*landtfridden bedreffen [sic] das er im Reichs abschidt*  
*widder ußdrucklich erholt werd nit das dar:*  
 noch wan gantz deitzschlant befriddet  
 mein g.h. dan ushalten miest und nit dan  
 under dem schein dieweil die **Burgunder** ein  
 hern zu eim **Kaiser** hebben darum mutwillen

f301v.

noch irem wolgfällen [sic] Weyter ist mir *\*den vierden Octob.\** durch  
 Johan von Essen von Antdorff von meiner  
 g.f. ein brief zugeschickt worden zu iren g.  
 dochter der **Königin** dan ich dasselbigmol bei iren g ware  
 welchen ich iren g in geheim hab zugestelt

<sup>89</sup> der Kaiser hat stilschwigen heimlich duck hinderim novit dissimulare

mocht ir unser g.f. anzeigen *weyter als ich das letstmol*  
*bey meyner g. frawen bin gewesen, was ir g. von den gnaden*  
*Gottes des almechtigen noch wol zu paß und gesunt, bit ich e.l.*  
*das ir solchs unser g. frawen anzeigen wollen. Weyter muß*  
*ich uch schreiben das wol zu lachen were, wan es sie [sic] handlung*  
*sunst erleiden mocht, und nit an Im selbst sunst ee zubeschreiben*  
*Ich bin berichtentlich, und habben es glaubwurdig leut ghort, und*  
*etlichen verzelt, es sol der **König** im feld geritten sein*  
 ist im einer begegnet mit zwen weissen  
 hunden hat der **König** gefragt wem gehore die  
 hund zu hat der ander geantwurt der ko:  
 nigin hieruf hat der **König** gefrogt welcher  
 konigin hat der ander widder geantwurt der  
 konigin catharin (die itzt braut heist catari:  
 na) uf solche antwurt sol der **König** die handt fur den  
 Mundt gehaben [sic, gehoben] gelacht habben und enweg geritten  
 ich habs darfur er wirt in kurtem ein  
 andere nemmen en lepidum regem man mur:  
 melt schon sie ist unfruchtber [sic] und zu  
 zart ist nit ein weip fur ein konig wirt  
 on zweifel widder etwas neus fur handen  
 mein g.f. leit noch zu heveren ist im win:  
 ter ein feicht ort ist gedult zu zuhabben  
 und zu leiden noch dannet Besser dan  
 ein bosers Man hat diese vergangne tag meyner g.ste  
 frawen edeleut ir besoldung bezalt, hat zu Lunden hie  
 fast gestorben und noch<sup>90</sup> Got der almechtig bessers, und verhut uns  
 alle, hiemit seye e.l. und gunsten Got dem hern bevolhen datum  
 zu Lunden, den dritte Novemb. Anno 40  
 das wassenbur dis schreiben uberantwurt werd  
 uf das es nit in anderleit henden kom noch  
 des **Königs Botschafter** ichts [sic, nichts] davon vernem noch iemants  
 anders dan es mocht der **Königin** ein nochteil und ir  
 g. es entgelten must das man niemants vertrue  
 weiter beschwernis zu verhu:  
 [ten]  
*E.L. und gunst. williger*  
*Karl Harst*

f302r.

*Es sehe mich auch zum teil fur gut an* wan das mein  
 g.h. der **Wilhelm von Kleve** verhilicht wird es were mit der **Herzogin von Mailand**  
 oder **der Prinzessin von Navarra** das dan derselbigen frund mitler  
 und underhandler weren neben meim g.h.

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<sup>90</sup> und durchs gantz konigreich

zwischen dem **König** und der **Königin** doch als mit  
 senfftmutigkeit redder und gutigkeit und also das end  
 aller handlung des **Königs** gemiets erfa:  
 ren besorg aber **der Kurfürst von Sachsen** wirt hie nit viel ge:  
 hor habben *dan dieselbigen* sind von Wincen:  
 tern und den bischoffe beneidet und ist  
 Wincester der bub hoch im spiel *Sie*  
*sagen die propheci got* der **König** wirt habben sibben  
 weiber *mit solcher Rechenschafft* ston im noch zwuo  
 us Ich vernym wie das carmina und prosa zu Leipsig uß sind  
 gangen in druck gegen den konig den umgestossenen  
 hylich mit meyner g. frawen belangen welchs ich nit gern  
 höre wolt lieber das ehs [sic] unterwegs were plibben Ego casu inter  
 legendi. ad fallendi. [...] iuridi in epistolas Bembi, Ubi pontifex  
 Leo scribit, Scambergio Augustiniano, actu tractatimuß fuisse, cum adhuc  
 puer princeps [...] (quem ante multos annos ego in Hispania vidi.  
 de ducenda Cardone uxoris sorore, et uterque infans esset, et quod  
 Carolus Caesar remiserit, qui tum forte fuit aucter huius tractatus  
 colligo et ipsum pontificem illa tractatione[m...] nihili [sic] ferre, wie E.L.  
*dan hiebey sehen mog mit A gezeichnet etc. Ich forcht auch*  
 wan mein g.h. sich in die handlung wirt be:  
 gebben seiner g. schwester als billich bei:  
 stendig sein und wuo es der **König** vermerckt  
 wirt er kein audientz werden gebben *uff das*  
 der gemein man im gantzen konigreich nit  
 gruntlich *bericht oder verstendigt werd dan er ist actor*  
 richter und Papst *alles mit eynander Ich hor auch nichts me*  
 von dem hilich zwischen meim g.h. und

f302v.

der von **Prinzessin von Navarra** und dieweil alle sachen also still sind so besorg  
*ich bey mir* die **Burgunder** habben in um gestossen dan  
 man murmelt hie der **Kaiser** und **französische König** sind verdragen  
*das ich doch umb vieler ursach halben nit wol glauben kont*  
*Weyter auch wie der konig von franckrich Andara fast widder steckt*  
*viel geschitzt hinnein lossen fieren, laufft nit fer ein wasser dobei here*  
*sol beyden konig In [sic] frantzosen und Engellant gemeinlich zu horen*  
*uber welchs wasser der frantzoso hat ein bruck lossen schlagen, sind*  
*die von Calis herauß gefallen etwan bey nacht in ii oder iii starck*  
*die bruck uff irer seyde zu abgeworffen, doch solchs unangesehen*  
*ist der frantzoso in der arbeit die bruck zu volenden mit ein plochhuß [?] was druß werd*  
*hinfurter weyß ich nit, es hat diese vergangne dag zum zweyten*  
*mol, alwegen in ein zwei stunden der König in ein garten mit eim*  
 medicin doctor geret ist die bleich neue  
 braut einmol dorbei gewesen *vermeynen ehr hab*  
*raths gepflegt* wie er sich mit der bleichen

braut hinfurter halten sol es solt wol  
 bald an ein scheiden gon uf das die prophe:  
 ci verfult werde *Ich vernym auch* das mei:  
 ner g.f. der **Königin** officir in der handlung sind  
 uf das ir g. versicher und gewiesen werd  
 uf abteien ich vertrau den leiten gar  
 nicht *hiemit seyt Gott alle bevolhen* datum ut supra

**Fos. 307r. - 308r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 6 November 1540**

**Transcript**

f307r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, gepietende hern. Ich will ewern l. nit  
 verhalten, wie das der Bischoff von Wincses:  
 tern botschafft weyse uberziehe und mit im M. Lung M.  
 Knevis und Bert, wu aber hien, sagt man nit eigentlich.  
 Ich halt aber darfur gon Regen zu key.ch Mt., forte ad petendum remissionem  
 precator werden einander gut wort gebben und  
 nicht anders herfolgen der **König** hat nit gern  
 gesehen das mein g.h. mit dem **Kaiser** in frunt:  
 schaft kom *sunder ehr hat wollen der Sun aldo sein, das  
 schryfft ich uß allen handlungen, dieweil ich bin gewesen hie  
 im land* werden widder ein neierung sehen win:  
 cestern wirt in widder anfiern mein g.h. hab  
 zu dieser zeit gedult geb gut wort verdrost  
 sich aber nicht noch verdru nicht ist es  
 sach das der **Kaiser** einige vereinegung mit  
 dem **König** macht wirt es allein zu drutz meim g.h. be:  
 scheen vermeinen sein g. dordurch zu zwing:  
 gen dan der **Kaiser** hat in sunst nit lieb *von der koni:  
 gin Catharina her, manet alta mente nepostum hat mir des  
 konigs von Franckrichs Botschafft gesagt, wie das die frantz:  
 osen, die widderhermachte bruck by Ardara solls widder abge:  
 legt hebben, umb gezanck mit dem konig uß Engellant zu  
 vermeiden* aber wol vermerckt von des **französischen Königs Botschafter** das  
 es dorum bescheen sei dieweil das die  
 haubtleit in Ardara vermerckt hebben das  
 Ardara noch nit noch aller natdurft [sic] gnug:  
 samlich verwart sei und alsoo [sic] durch der*

brucken zanck halben um die stadt kemen  
 also die bruck unverletzt ufgehebt zur not:  
 durft und hingelegt worden ist wol bedocht  
 meins erachtens *Es göth hie ein geschrei am hoff, wie*  
*das hertzog Friderich zu meym g. hern seye geritten, noch*

f307v.

*zu handeln, us der Burgunder wegen ob meyn g. h. Gellern*  
*wolt verlossen, und man die sachen mocht vertragen denck*  
 mein **König** der buler mit samt seim biscof [sic] win:  
*cesterne dem brulufft macht derenthalben uß sind*  
*umb neue fruntschafft zumachen*<sup>91</sup> *ich verneym das der Bischoff*  
*Badoniensis sey kommen von Dhunkercken biß gen Calis*  
*den lufft zuverenderen. Er wirt zu Calis kein mangel an*  
*wind hebben. Ich will der lufft verschweigen, itzt gunstige*  
*hern wie ich sitz und schreib, wirt mir anzeigt, wie das*  
*der von Wincester und M. Lung Reiten zum keyser, und*  
*fort zum konig von Franckrich M. knevis aber, und Bert,*  
*zu dem Churf. zu Sachsen, dan der Churf. sol In kurtz:*  
*verschinnen tagen dem konig wie man sagt geschribben hebben ghat*  
*was aber die handlung sind ist mir nit wissen, ob sie*  
*aber einichen bevelh zu meinem g. hern werden hebben halts nit darfür man*  
*hat mir noch nichts anzeigt des konigs Rath sind itzt hie zu*  
*Lunden, werden etlich tag pleiben, aber nit lang als ich darfür*  
*habbe ob es sach were das des Königs Botschafter obgemelt zum*  
**Kurfürsten** kemen were von nöten das mein g.h. den **Kurfürst von Sachsen**  
 erinnert uf das kein antwort gebben das mei:  
 ner g.f. der **Königin** zu nochteil kommen mocht  
*als gleicherweyse, wan man innen verweissen wolt*  
 man hette mein g.f. hingangen (*als leider war ist*)  
 nemlich als ir g. hat bekennen miessen  
 der **von Lothringen** sei ir vermehelter her und man *Item*  
 das sie hat bekennen miessen der **König** hab  
 ir g. nie berurt *das schreib ich darumb* das solchs  
 uf dismol nit zuverholten seie dan ich  
 glaub der **König** weis selbs nit wuo ran *consciencia*  
*recti cruciabit ali. vando animum eius und derent:*  
*halben sich zuverhuten dan onzweifel Knevis und der:*

f308r.

*gleichen schmeychler* sind der neuen braut  
 frund und gunner dem **König** zugefallen hette  
 mein g.f. die **Königin** mir gefolgt ir g. miest dem **König**  
 nit in allen noch seim sin und willen

<sup>91</sup> vleicht auch herin des **Königs** unerbar handlung zuverglimffen und wol also unschamhaftig dorft die von **Mailand** begeren

gesungen hebben *aber wie nun denn* ir g. forcht die art  
 die vorigen rathen terruerunt eam darum  
 noch das best wuo kein reconsiliation je  
 nit zuvehoffen das dan ir g us dem land  
 were je ee je besser *Ich zeigs auch noch an*  
*das es von noten ist und doch das man nicht von mir sage, und*  
*meyn g.h. hierein schick Ein verstendige, erbare Junck:*  
*fraw<sup>92</sup> nit zu jung, noch geltgirig, noch kein schmeichle:*  
*Rin, sunder was zu irn meyner gste frawen mocht kommen*  
*dasselbig helffen [...] und furdren dan es ein falsch*  
*sorglich nacion ist Ich besorg die alt hoffmeysterin die*  
*von Loo, kompt nit widder, kent die art des landts Junck:*  
*fraw Stahel wirt schwerlich noch gelegenheit itzt zur Zeit*  
*zubewegen kinnen sein, wiewol vleicht ein kleine zeit zuthun*  
*und doch aber von noten, hiemit seyt Got dem hern alle*  
*bevolhen, datum zu Lunden den vi Novemb Anno xl*

*E.L. und gunst.*  
*frundt und diener*  
*Karll Harst*

**Fos. 312r. - 314r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 3 November 1540**

**Transcript**

f312r.

*Meynen willigen dienst, zuvor gepietende gunstige hern,*  
*Ich will e.l. nit verhalten, wie mir ein gutter frundt hat an:*  
*zeigt, wie der konig den vergangnen VIII Novemb. sein weg*  
*von Winsern uff Lunden hat genommen, also zu hantun:*  
*curt zu mittag abgestiegen, Im neyr Reyten aber hat er bey*  
*dem Honologio gesehen meyner g.ste frawen wapen, bevolhen*  
*das man es enweg thue, also uff stund ist man solchem*  
*bevelh nachkommen, und nit allein dasselbig, wie ich vernym,*  
*sunder in allen venstern, alle Irer g. wapen durch*  
*gestossen, in kurtzverschinnen tagen darfur wie das ich bin uff*  
*dem stechplatz zu Westmynster furgeritten mit uffsatz dar:*

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<sup>92</sup> mit kein pracht, still

*nach gesehen stunden Ir g. wapen an den vendlin noch, ob  
 sie aber sither enweg sind gethan worden, Ist mir nit wissen,  
 mein kuntschaft laut es wirt bald widder  
 ein neue bruluft werden Es ist meyn g.ste  
 fraw uff etlich abteyen gewesen, von welchen Ir g. Irn  
 g. Rente entpfahen soll, Ich bin In etlichen wochen bey  
 Irn g. nit gewesen, dan als verzogen ob des **Königs** rath  
 noch mir schicken wolten des **Königs** rath  
 anzuhoen<sup>93</sup> wie dan doctor Wotum us be:  
 vel meins g.h. sol ubergeschribben haben  
 Ist mir aber nicht anzeigt, noch auch entbotten worden, will  
 aber wu mich Got gesunt loßt morgen zu Irn g. Reyten  
 Ich vernym man wirt Irn g. ein bequemlichere bewonung zu:  
 stellen, werde es wol vernennen morgen, der **König** gibt der  
**Königin** gut \*wort\* ir g glaubt dem **König** also uberret er ir g.  
 wie er wil es laut mein kuntschaft  
 der **König** seie in der handlung<sup>94</sup> und hab  
 widder ein neue braut fur handen ob Im  
 aber also seye entlich, will ich nit fur ein warheit schreiben  
 Es hat bey mir kleinen Zweyfel dorfft sagen iee Ja, es were also*

312v.

Es ist der Bischoff von Wincestern In prechtichster rustung  
 zum keyser zu Reyten, wirt viel mit gulden ketten vor Im haben  
 gon, wollen sagen ehr hab sich lossen vernennen, ehr wiel den  
 deutzschen drucken kneven Recht kommen und antwurten wie  
 eim bischoff zu sto, dan Melanchton sol als ich hor, dem konig  
 verechtlich von dem Bischoff haben geschribben, und derenthalben  
 der konig Im Knevis sol zu haben gebben, umb anzuhoen, wie  
 ehr sein entschuldigung thue. Ich wolt das Butzern an Im  
 allein were, wird in wol butzen<sup>95</sup> improbissimus il:  
 le auctor annis mali divortii *Et deplorandi*  
*casus illustriß [...] Dux, precipuus inventor proditor regis*  
*sui et regni Es meynen etlich ehr ziehe hinnauß den*  
**Kaiser** auch mit gelt wuo muglich hinderstel:  
 lich zumachen uf das kein vereinegung  
 werd mit dem **französischen König, Kaiser** und deitzschen das ich  
 leichlich by mir glaub dan es ist das **Königs**  
 alter brauch uf das man derweil seiner  
 verges *Es hette auch macht, der Bischoff wurde key.ch Mt.*  
*anzeigen, was glimpff und fug sein konig hette, und was*

<sup>93</sup> des Romischen konigs schreiben halben an meynen g. hern gethan, vor etlichen wochen zur Newen stat  
 ußgangen

<sup>94</sup> diese kurtzvergangne tag zu westmunster

<sup>95</sup> und das er die acta verstund und was sich in zwentzig jaren des bischofs zeit her verlaufen hette unico pestis  
 regni ipsa mors crumfeldi

*In verursacht hette, das ehr sich hette von seiner  
 eehegemahel, der konigin, meyner g.ste frawen, lossen scheiden, der  
 bub, der sich des heylichs brieffs understanden zu verdeytz:  
 schen, und zwischen des konigs Rathen und meyner g.ste fraw  
 als man Ir g. hindergangen hat, dolmetsch gewesen  
 zeicht auch mit dem Bischoff hinauß, als man sagen will<sup>96</sup>  
 Nent sich Steffan von Hasselbrug gibt sich uß fur ein Edel:  
 man uß Mechern. Ich sye In an fur einen verlauff:  
 nen munch, hat dem konig die Meysen khoren oder blochhu:  
 ser helffen angebben. Ist hochmutig und leucht viel, als ich vernym, das schreib ich darumb ob  
 es etwan in meyns*

f313r.

*g. hern landt kheme, das man wust was man an Im  
 hette, Episcopus Badonien als ich hor, seye in vier dagen  
 In Engellant ankommen. Ich hab darfur key.ch Mt. wirt  
 des Bischoff von Wincestern doth und nammen wol bekant sein  
 dan ehr was der ghenne der sich bearweit mit der erste koni:  
 gin Catharin, das sie verstossen ward mein g.h. hab  
 noch gedult sehe zu so lang sei g. mit  
 dem **Kaiser** nit verdragen ist und seiner f.g.  
 scwester [sic] noch im land ist dan ich hab  
 darfur es gruelt den englischen wol halb  
 wolten gern meins g.h. gemiet erfahren wuo  
 sie ichtwas mercken miest es mein g.f.  
 entgelten solchs verhieten ist wol uff zu:  
 mercken, dan ich glaub er wirt fruntschaft  
 bey dem **Kaiser** suchen und solt er es mit gros:  
 se gelt erkauffen<sup>97</sup> Item wie ich vorhin hab geschribben  
 es solten etlich von hinnen In Sachsen zuReiten, verordenet  
 sein, hor Ich nicht weyers mher darvon, Ist vleicht widder  
 wendig worden, wie sie dan mit allen Irn handlungen  
 dien, heut also, morgens anders, Es hat mir des **französischen Königs Botschafter**  
 anzeigt wie sein her der **französische König** einen im be:  
 kant mit geschriften zu meim g.h. hab ab:  
 gefurtigt und beger der **französische König** das der hilich  
 mit meim g.h. und der von **Navarra** sein vorgang  
 habbe wie dan vorhin abgeret welchs ich  
 von hertzen gern hab gehort wiewol das mit  
**der Herzogin von Mailand** hette vleich (sic) fridden gemacht aber  
 die burgundischen habben es nun in vier  
 jar uf gezogen welchs solcher uffschub, meyns g. hern  
 erblanden groß geferlichkeit mocht drauß entston, derenthalben*

<sup>96</sup> die anderen meynen ehr sol Calis noch me helffen stercken mit newen bewern

<sup>97</sup> ad [...] discardias

f313v.

*als ich wol errachten kan, kein lengern verzug erleiden mag,*  
 es sagt mir auch des **französischen Königs Botschafter** es solten meins  
 g.h. rath fur langest widder hinnein sein  
 und man were irer warten gewest weren  
 aber noch nit kommen ich denck wol die  
**Burgunder** ziehen es uf als fas sie immer mog:  
 en mit guten worten hat sich wol des **Kaisers Botschafter**  
*diener einer hie an einer dofelen, als dofel Red sich*  
*lossen mercken,* man wirt dem **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** mit samt der **Herzogin von**  
**Mailand**  
 Gellern lossen volgen wuo der **Herzog Wilhelm von Kleve** die von  
**Mailand** nit nimt so wirt man im Gellern nit  
 lossen *Als viel ich vermerck, gepietende hern, das*  
*meyn gnedigste fraw wol geneigt were, wie dan e.l.*  
*onzweyfel wol bewust, das Ir g. dem konig zwey Roß wolt*  
*schencken, dan es hie der brauch ist, das mennecklich dem ko:*  
*nig ein neue Jar schenckt, was hierIn zuthun were kan*  
*Ich nit wol wissen, solt ich es widderraten, oder raten, darff*  
*keins nit thun, gib es e.l. und anderen meyns g. hern Räthen*  
*zubedencken, Ich hab ermant, das man hette überschickt*  
*ein stille, fromme, nit eigennutzig, oder geltgirige Junckfraw,*  
*und auch darneben verstandt hette, und kein schmeichlerin, die*  
*hoffmeysterin von Loo was ein feine Junckfraw, wirt*  
*aber in diese art, besorg Ich, nit mhe wöllen, dieweil die*  
*sachen beyden sich also verlauffen habben, es gö welchen weg es*  
*wolle, es werd böser oder besser, so were meins erachtens*  
*ein kleine Zeit noch ein verstendige Junckfraw von noten*  
 sie gon hie viel zu rath kinnen sich nit  
 resolvieren missen krufeldes *Bit auch e.l.*  
*das Ir Ingedenck wollen sein, der wein, wie dan meyn g.ste*  
*fraw begert und ich derenthalb vorhin auch geschribben hab,*

f314r.

*hiemit seye e.l. Got dem almechtigen bevolhen datum zu*  
*Lunden den xv Novemb. Anno xxxx*

*E.L. diener, und gutter gunner,*  
*Karl Harst*

**fos. 316r. - 320r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 25 November 1540**

**Summary:**

Instructs the recipients to report to the mother duchess and to the duke that Anne is doing well. Has visited her on 6<sup>th</sup> December and left on 10<sup>th</sup>, has escorted her halfway to Richmond, where she moved to, and then headed back to London. The king will soon move to Hampton Court, about three miles away from Richmond. Has done his best to instruct her grace on how to conduct herself in several important aspects. She was well-disposed to this advice and replied that she will conduct herself accordingly and tell her servants to do the same. Reminds the recipients that he has asked them to send a lady in waiting who is decent and modest and accompanied by only a few servants to avoid criticism. But he has never received a reply to this request, although it should not be a problem to find a suitable woman among the nobility in the duke's domain. Complains that he receives fewer answers since he addressed his dispatches to four recipients than before, when he addressed them to Gogreve alone. Norfolk's brother William [Howard] has talked a lot to Anne about [her] taking another husband and assiduously enquired whether her brother has written a letter to her and when she would leave the country. She replied that her brother has not sent her anything in a long time and she would not leave the realm unless the king demands it. Harst suspects that Henry would like to see her grace remarry or her brother demand her return home. Believes that the king would not dislike a reconciliation between the emperor and the [protestant] German princes and therefore sends his envoy Winchester to negotiate an alliance. It seems like the English and the French king are not getting along well, as Henry is reinforcing Calais. It would be necessary that the duke had a port at the sea, with ships ready, in order to get Anne out of the realm in the case of a war between the French and the King of England. Has been warned that the king wants to marry her grace off to Anthony Browne, the king's master of the horses and believes this could well be true. Harst wonders why, after Henry has repudiated Anne, he orders her to move to Richmond, close to him. Furthermore, it is surprising that, after declaring that the reason for the annulment was a betrothal between her and Francis of Lorraine, her grace is now being told to remarry in order to get rid of her. Has warned and instructed her insistently on how to react to such requests. Does not 'think much of this nation, they have a king, believe him to be a god' and suspects that Henry does not believe in the afterlife. There was a herald in Richmond who declared that he had good news, Anne of Cleves

was coming to Richmond and was pregnant with a little prince. He was incarcerated as a traitor, they have removed him from his office and he died from grief while he was jailed. According to rumours, there was also a woman who said that the king has had five wives, but for none she had more sympathy than for Anne. This woman is said to be imprisoned for these words as well. 'Is it not entertaining to hear this? How is this going to end?' Thinks that Winchester desires the duchess of Milan [to be the next queen], and if Anne would be married off elsewhere, this would support the king's rascalities. Cromwell, when he wrote to the king from prison, has begged for mercy, considering his hard work and faithful service that he had proven in the past, but how he was rewarded is on display at the [London] bridge. They say that the book which the Elector has sent to the king, was one of the causes of Cromwell's fall. But many are predicting that in the course of events Winchester will be beheaded as well and Anne reinstated. But who would advise her grace to keep up hope until all crudities and tyrannies are done? Has heard that the emperor aims to borrow money from the King of England, but does not know any more details about the conditions. Harst recommends to dissimulate and to speak favourably for now to not irritate the inconstant and perverted heart of the king.

Postscriptum: the imperial ambassador has announced that an important [vizier?] of the Turks was killed who had helped to recapture all cities that the Turk had conquered the past year.

Enclosed note:

Allegedly the bishop of Bath has told a merchant that the duke was content with his sister's remarrying, but the groom would need to be of distinct nobility. Does not believe this gossip to be true, but thinks that the bishop would have liked to bring home such a response.

## Transcript

f316r.

*Meynen willigen dienst und alles guts zuvor gepietende  
gunstige hern Ewer l. mogen anzeigen meyner g. fraw  
en, und auch meym g. hern, das meyn gnedigste fraw  
von den gnaden Gottes noch wol zu paß ist, dan Ich den  
6. decemb<sup>98</sup>. zu Irn g. gon pleßeli<sup>99</sup> bin geritten, und Ir g.  
den 10. decemb<sup>100</sup>. uffgebrochen widder uff Ritzmundt*

<sup>98</sup> [Harst erroneously gives the dates as December instead of November.]

<sup>99</sup> [Probably Bletchingley Place.]

<sup>100</sup> [Harst erroneously gives the dates as December instead of November.]

*bin den halben weg mit Irn g. geritten, also von Irn g.  
 urlup genommen und meyn wegen uff Lunden widder ge:  
 nommen, begert wol Ir g. Ich solt bald eins widder zu Irn  
 gd. kommen, der konig wirt bald widder gen hantencurt  
 ungeferlich 3 meynen von Ritzmundt kommen ich hab ir g.  
 noch meym besten underweisung gedon wie sich  
 ir g. sol in etlich dingen die von no:  
 ten sind halten und ir g. mich gern hat  
 gehort und in gutem angenommen auch ge:  
 antwurt ir g. wil sich und die Iren also regulieren das ir g. verhoft  
 rum und ere zuerlangen Ich hab wol ge:  
 schribben etlich viel mol, das wol von nöten were, das man  
 herschickte ein feyne Junckfraw, die verstendig were, und  
 auch gehör hette, doch sunder pracht mit wenig volck ,  
 das es daster ein weniger nachreddung hette, und das man aber  
 nicht von mir sagte, das Ich solchs sollicitirt hette, Es ging  
 auch welchen weg es wolte, so kunte es doch nit viel schaden  
 sunder mher von nöten under diesen unstanthaf:  
 tigen englischen wolffen Ist mir aber hieruff  
 noch nicht geantwurt worden, will verschweygen das man  
 Jemants uberschicken solt, noch dem meyn g. h. Also ein dreff:  
 lichen adel Im land hette, were daster ehr ein person zu:  
 finden, die dozu döglich were gewesen, forigmol als Ich  
 dem Cantzler allein hab geschribben Ist mir mher geantwurt  
 worden dan wan Ich Itzunt vier und sampt und sunder*

f316v.

*uff die obergeschrift und tittel schreib, ob aber e.l. vleicht  
 meyn uberflissig viel unnutzlich schreiben verdryst, zwey:  
 fel Ich wol halb, wie aber dem, Ich gemeyn es auch gut,  
 milord willem des von norfocks bruder  
 hat meiner g.f. viel gepredigt von eim an:  
 deren man zunehmen auch fleissig begert  
 zuerkundigen wan mein g.h. irn g. geschribben  
 hab und wan ir g. hinnaus wil hieruf hat ir  
 g. wol geantwurt das noch ir g. noch auch ich  
 in langer zeit nie kein schreiben gehat  
 auch hat ir g. gesagt ir g. wil nit hinnaus es  
 heis dan der **König** sie hinnaus ziehen milord  
 willem hat mich auch gefrogt wie lang  
 ich kein geschriften hab gehat ich glaub  
 wol das der **König** gern she das sich mein g.f.  
 weiter verhilicht ich haf (sic, hof) mein g.f. wirt  
 sich recht halten dan mein kuntschaft  
 laut das der **König** gern seh das mein g.h. sei:  
 ner g. schwester hinnaus forderte ich hab*

dorfur der **König** sicht nit gern das der **Kaiser** und die  
 deitzschen sich verglichen *und dieweil man In*  
*der disputation oder underreddung zu Wurms ist* schickt  
 er seinen bischof wincesten (sic) ein neue  
 vereinegung zumachen *als Ichs darfur hab* bedunckt  
 mich er und der **französische König** verdragen sich nit fast  
 wol der **König** rust sich mit bauleit bei calis  
 noch me lossen stercken es were fast von  
 noten das mein g.h. ein haven do sich schif  
 mochten erhalten uf der sekant hette wuo  
 krieg zwischen dem **französischen König** und dem **König von England** wurden  
 so wolt ich das **die Königin** us diesem land were dan  
 der **König** wil sein usgeluhen gelt vom **französischen König** hebben

f319r.

*Gunstige hern* es ist mir zum deil in war:  
 nus weise gesagt worden wie mein g.f. die **Königin**  
 wol zusehe das der **König** dorfte iren g. ein anderen  
 man gebben und nennet einen heist anthoni  
 brun ist stet in das **Königs** cammer ist das **Königs**  
 underhem \*und stalmeister\* *Ich dorfft es leichtlich glauben* das der **König**  
 solchs underston dorfte *dan das hertz kan nit*  
*ruwig sein* dieweil er also unerlich nit wie  
 eim konig geburt gehandelt hat und die  
 from **Königin** also schmelich verstossen und wun:  
 dert mich was der **König** damit gemein das er  
 ir g. lost also noh zu kommen gon rutzmundt  
*ferrer auch wundert es mich nit wenig* noch dem der  
**König** hat mir selbs anzeigt die ursach das er  
 sich von irn g. hat lossen scheiden dieweil ir g.  
 mit dem von **Lothringen** solt versprochen sein *und doch die*  
*hiegegen ußgegangen acta* meldung thun das ir g. mag  
 ein anderen man nemmen und mit solcher prac:  
 tica wird er irer g. ledig ich hab ir g. auch  
 vleissig derenthalben gewarnt was sich ir g.  
 halten sol wan ir g. solchs begegnet wil auch  
 uf stund widder zu iren g. und ir g. underthenig:  
 klich und treilich widder warnen man sagt ie  
 also lang van eim ding das es solt eim ein  
 suspicion machen wil derenthalben als viel  
 mir muglich ist ein ufmerckens hebben solch:  
 em furkommen ich halt gar nicht uf diese  
 nacion hebben ein konig vermeinen es  
 sei ein got *und Ich hab darfur* das der **König** nit an:  
 ders glaub dan das noch diesem leben seie  
 kein leben me *Ita cor induratum pharonis nunquam con:*

vertetur *Es ist uch allen onzweyfel* meister weed  
wol bekant der hat lossen ein betstat zu risten

f319v.

die der selbs schmeichler der newen itz:  
igen braut zum neien iar wol schencken  
*daruff stet geschribben Ne[...] Amarille modo et veneris die vincula*  
*necto, Et in medio [...] pendet nodus in*  
*formam globi et inscriptu est Respexit humilitate ancillam*  
*suam nihil deest quam quod siquis addaret, sed ex hoc, non beatam*  
*eam dicent omnes generationes* *Es ist ein diener diese ver:*  
*gange tag* \*zu rutzmund\* ein englischer des  
**Königs** herolt eine[r] hat man in  
gefrogt was newes hat der herolt  
geantwurt gut neue zeitung malade  
anna von clef kum gon rutzmund und  
seie schwanger mit eim jungen prin:  
cen solche wort hat man im usgelegt  
als wan es verreterei were zum **König**  
darum den armen herolten gefangen im  
sein amt genommen und wirt im vleicht  
auch sein leben nemmen<sup>101</sup> *Es sol auch* ein frau  
haben gesagt der **König** hab funf weiber gehabt  
sie hab aber mit keiner me mitleiden  
dan mit der **Königin** sol deren wort halben die  
selbig frau auch gefencklich angelegt  
sein worden **Königin** Ist solchs nit kurtzweylich zuhoren, was wirt  
zum letsten drauß werden und dieweil der **König** mein g.h.  
gern der unerbarer handlung mit deil:  
haftig wolt machen und das mein g.h. seiner g.  
schwester heim solt ruffen *kan Ich fur mich*  
*nicht anders dorauß schepffen oder auch dencken* dan das  
wincestern die von **Mailand** begeren und wuo  
mein g.f. **Königin** anderswuo verhilicht wird so wer  
dem **König** in seinen buberien ufgeholffen *und*  
*ein erbare practica* in sunderheit von eim  
konig *Ich kans nit anders bey mir erorteren dan das solchs*  
*sein fürnemmen muß syn Wie Ich e.l. das letsts mol geschribben*

f320r.

haben uf das der **König** daster me ein schein<sup>102</sup>  
das die bischof fur den **König** und widder mein  
g.f. sprechen welchs sie leider *wie dan e.l. bewust*  
*gethan* haben und dem **König** sein unerlich furnem:

<sup>101</sup> er ist aber von im selbs us trostmutigkeit in der gefencknis gestorben

<sup>102</sup> und glimpf im machen

men befestigt welchs got ungesroft (sic, ungestroft) nit  
 wirt lossen *Ist by mir gar kein zweyfel* und wie **Cromwell**  
 us der gefencknis hot dem **König** geschribben hat  
 er noch unden dran gesetzt und gebetten  
 das der **König** im armen gefangen wolle gnedig  
 sein in ansehen die gros mug und arweit  
 mit wachen und getrue dienst die er bewie:  
 sen hat wie er aber bezalt ist darfur worden  
 siecht man uf der brucken das worzeichen sa:  
 gen auch das bichlin [sic, buchlin] das de [sic] **Kurfürst** hat dem **König** zuge:  
 schickt sol **Cromwell** auc [sic] neben anderem den stos hab:  
 ben gethon ja es sagen wol etlich es werde  
 noch darzu kommen das man wincestern wirt  
 sein haubt abschlagen und als dan werd mein  
 g.f. die **Königin** widder reconsiliirt werden ja wer  
 wolt meiner g.f. raten das ir g. der hofnung  
 lebt bis das alle crudelideten und tiranni:  
 en volbracht weren ich vernim der **Kaiser** practi:  
 cir gelt vom **König** zuentlehenen [sic] *durch was mittel aber,*  
*aut quibus conditionibus, nondum intellexi, noch auch wie es bescheen*  
*sol, oder ob er es auch erhalten sol, Ist mir noch nit wissen, glaub*  
 aber er wirt leihen uf das der **König** im bei dem  
**Kaiser** fruntschaft mache ich rath noch das man  
 nochzurzeit dissimulier und gut wort geb  
 ne irritetur inconstans et perversum cor regis  
*nam angor consciemus, in fine cruciabit illam illicitam voluptatem*  
*Vos conferuet Christis, in cuius ditione et praestare omnes su-*  
*mus, Londini xxv Novemb. Anno xxxx*

*E.L. gutwilliger*  
*Karl Harst*

*das keyzers botschafft hat sie hie lossen mercken, wie ein grosser [...] von durck:*  
*en seye gefallen und dem Sephir gholffen alle stet widder erobbern, die Im der durck*  
*In kurtz vergangnen Jaren genommen hat*

### Enclosed:

f318r.  
 es sol auch episcopus [sic] badoniensis zu eim kaufman  
 habben gesagt mein g.h. seie zu fridden das seiner  
 g. schwester die **Königin** weiter verhilicht werd doch  
 das derselbig von eim hoch adelichen geschlecht  
 seie das Ich kan nit glaub, das solchs war geret seyn worden  
 sunder der pater hat es erdacht, glaub aber wol das ehr gern solchs  
 antwurt hette heim bracht

**fos 327r.-329r., Karl Harst to Chancellor Gogreve and Olisleger, London, 20 December 1540**

**Summary:**

Instructs the recipient to report to the mother duchess that her daughter was well and in good health when he visited her at Hever last Friday. Will go to see Anne again after she moved to Bletchingley, which is supposed to happen on 26<sup>th</sup> December. Bletchingley, Hever and Richmond are the manors that were granted to her. It is planned that she stays in Bletchingley for fourteen days and thereafter move on to Richmond, but Harst doesn't believe this as lots of firewood is being brought to Hever which makes him believe that Anne will be brought to Hever again after a while. On 19<sup>th</sup> November, the bishop of Winchester has departed from London to the emperor. Winchester has a train of 24 people, adorned with golden chains and donned in velvet. So he will not arrive barefoot like the apostles or like the Lord on a donkey, but like someone who, if it wasn't for the king, was hoping to become a cardinal. Thinks that something must be under way with the emperor, maybe Winchester is sent to achieve an alliance. The emperor is said to have left the Low Countries as if heading towards Italy and planning to move on to Spain thereafter. But thinks that the duke should not feel safe because of this and keep on fortifying [his dominions]. Has heard that Winchester allegedly said to the king that the Saxons are traitors towards Henry, and thinks that he may have meant the marriage. There is rumour that the king wants to separate from the 'new bride', as she is pale and infertile. Many are hoping for Anne to be reconciled, but Harst does not believe this. Thinks that other gossip is more likely, that the king has another marriage at hand with the daughter of the late duke of Buckingham. Has order from Anne to request that her brother may deliver to her two tuns of wine, of his own vineyards, as she dislikes the English wine. She also said that she would be lost if they did not send over the two horses. Harst is unsure whether it is better to send them or to leave it, but has told Anne his suspicion that the person who recommended to gift the horses to the king may plan to get them for himself. Harst thinks that it would be best to leave this decision to the Chamberlain Hochsteden, as he has to consider whether this may affect the duke's and his sister's honour to reward Henry with a present after his deed. Suspects that Anne may not only wish to gift the horses not only as this was the custom, but also in the hope of boosting the king's favour. Has previously requested a matron to be dispatched [for service to Anne] but has received no answer yet.

Harst questions whether he is of any use to the duke as an envoy and deems his stay a waste of money after what happened. Reckons that it would be best if Anne had a signed and sealed warrant concerning her provisions that was not only signed by his majesty, but also by the church and [other representatives of] the realm, as he suspects that after the king's death, it may be revoked. Anne wanted to show him the letter of the king, in which he confirmed the provisions that he had promised her before, but she could not find it until he was about to leave. Has told her to keep it with great care. Suspects that the king is planning yet another marriage and is deprived of the Lord's grace. Has enquired whether her grace was willing to leave the country, but she showed no inclination to do so before Easter. Worries that it might not be permitted once she does. Has heard that Cromwell was forced to make a written declaration about his conversations with the king after Anne arrived in this realm. After Rochester the king allegedly confessed to Cromwell that he did not like her as much as anticipated, after Greenwich Henry supposedly appeared unhappy to him and had further complaints about the 'innocent blood'. The king, 'this perfidious, disreputable mind', is said to have given this declaration to the bishops and scholars in regard to her grace. Has made contact with someone at Hampton Court who inspected [the palace] for him and reported that all heraldry of Anne has been replaced by a white lion, except for one room's window that still bore hers. The king had decreed months ago that no goods may be shipped from England with foreign ships, only with those that are English, and that high taxes are raised on all goods that are shipped out of the realm. At that time [of this decree] Winchester had arrived in Antwerp, suspects there is scheming behind this. Anne is patient, but Harst believes that she does so because of her youth and that she does not comprehend.

Postscriptum: Anne's supreme officers have enquired of the king and his councillors how her grace's pension will be paid to her. Harst has not joined in, because he would prefer her leaving the country, but thinks the officers may prefer her stay to be a long one, as this would be to their gain.

### **Transcript**

f327r.

*Meynen willigen dienst zuvor gepietende gunstige hern  
Es mag e.l. meynen g. frawen anzeigen, das Ich den ver:*

gangnen freytag den xix November <sup>103</sup>bey Irer g. dochter mey:  
 ner gste frawen zu heveren bin gewesen, Ire gd. wol  
 zu paß und gesunt funden und gesunt verlossen, von  
 den gnaden gottes, als Ich von Irn g. bin geritten auch  
 Irn g. zu gesagt, In kurtzen tagen widder zu Irn g. zukom:  
 men, das new lager zubesichtigen, dan Ir g von heveren  
 In ein ander hauß den zukunfftigen freytag den xxvi ver:  
 rucken wirt, welchs genant Bleßleli<sup>104</sup>, etwas klei:  
 ner dan heveren, xiiii Engelsch meylen von Lunden gelegen  
 hat zugehort Mylord Marrus<sup>105</sup>, der kopfft ist worden, he:  
 veren aber ist gelegen von Lunden xxi Engelsch meylen,  
 Ist der letst Inhabber das selbigen hauß gewesen, der konigIn  
 vatter, die do kopfft Ist worden, solche beyde heuser, mit  
 sampt Rutzmundt sollen Irn g. verordenet sein, wie  
 man Irn g furgibt, weyter soll Ir g. ungeferlich ein  
 xiiii tag pleiben zu Bleßleli, und von dannen uff Rutz-  
 mundt ziehen welchem Ich kein glauben gib, Ich see es dan  
 dan Ich ee darfur hab, das der printz [...] kommen wirt  
 man fiert gen heveren deglich sunder underlaß viel holtz  
 zu, das ich darfur hab, das mitlerzeit Ir g widder daselbst  
 hin gefurtet wirt werden, Der Bischoff von Wincestern  
 Ist von Lunden geritten den 19. Novemb. zu key.ch Mt. fur  
 Im ghat ungeferlich In die 24 mit gulden ketten Reytende  
 und sammate Röcken, wirt nit kommen wie die Apostelen zu fuß, noch wie der  
 her, uff dem Eselin, sunder wie einer, wie allein der ko:  
 nig die augen hette zugethan, der do nach hofft Cardinal  
 zu sein, und zu herschen, forte iam petiturus veniam commis:  
 so[.] Es muß widder etwas fur handen seyn, bin ungezweyfelt, es  
 seye dem keyser sein zukunfft wol bewust, etwan ein  
 heimliches verstandt habben, Got lebt aber noch, nos ordina:

f327v.

mus, deus aurem disponit<sup>106</sup> sagen auch etlich der frantzios sol mit  
 dem keyser gesprech halten Auch sol key.ch Mt. uff nidderland sein  
 gescheiden als wan Ir nit ein zeitlang widder uff Italia und  
 von dannen uff hißpanien wolt CH mein g.h. vertrost  
 sich daruf gar nicht baue stracks fort  
 hat ir ma.t solchs me gespilt END Es heyßt zu deutsch  
 uberrast CH das mein g.h. als vleissig acht habben  
 was wincestern werbung seie ich vernim win:

<sup>103</sup> [Harst made a mistake, it should read December.]

<sup>104</sup> [Probably Bletchingley Place.]

<sup>105</sup> [Morus, i.e. Sir Thomas More.]

<sup>106</sup> glaub das der **König** durch wincestern wil ein verbuntnis mit dem **Kaiser** machen o *almachtiger Got* was unerbares gemiets mus der **König** sein noch dem er weis wie meins g.h. sachen mit dem **Kaiser** sind macht er newe practica dieweil er sich groblich schuldig befindt also versto ich es

cestern sol zu dem **König** hebben gesagt er wil  
 den sechsischen wol antwurten und auch sol  
 gesagt hebben zum **König** er wolt das die sech:  
 sischen hie weren sie sind verreter an  
 dem **König** worden ich denck der schalck *hat den*  
*hylich gemeint mit meyner gste frawen Man murmelt wid:*  
*der CH* das der **König** die new braut verlossen wil  
 dan sie seie bleich und unfruchbar verhof:  
 fen etlich mein g.f. die **Königin** sol widder re:  
 consiliirt werden ich gib im gar kein glau:  
 ben man sag dor neben wie der **König** einen new:  
 en hilich fur handen hab mit des hertzen  
 von bockelems <sup>107</sup> dochter deren vatte [sic] er  
 hat lossen fur etlich jaren kopffen das  
 solt ee gescheen wuo ich den **König** recht ken  
*Es hat mir auch meyn gste fraw widder bevolhen, das ich*  
*doch wolt zum glumpfflichste schreiben und wu es meym g. hern nit*  
*beschwerlich were, das sein f.g. Iren g mit deylen wolt,*  
*zwey fuder seiner f. g. eigen gewechs, dan Ir g keinen ge:*  
*schmack an diesen weinen hat, bitte derenthalben e.l. solchs zum*  
*furderlichsten verhelffen bey meym g. hern Ingedenck ~~wollen~~ z [sic, zu] sein,*  
*uff das solchs verschafft werd, hat mir Ir g. auch gesagt*  
*wu man die Roß nit überschicke, so seye Ir g. gar verlossen,*

f328r.

*doruff Ich Irn g. nichts geantwurt hab, dan Ich weyß nit*  
*ob es besser seye zuthun, oder zuunderlossen, hab wol also viel*  
*vermerckt, das etwan einer seye, der Irn g. solchs Rath ver:*  
*hofft vleicht, das ehr die Roß dem konig uberantwurten sol*  
*und dordurch einen raup zuholen, Ich hab wol vorigmol an:*  
*zeigt, es sol sich niemants solchs underwynden<sup>108</sup> sunder dem*  
*hoffmeyster hochsteden anzeigen, wirt wol kinnen anzeigen*  
*ob es zuthun, oder zulossen seye, dan fur allen dingen zube:*  
*dencken, ob solchs meyns g. hern Ehr seye, und seiner f. g.*  
*schwester zu gute erschiessen mochte, nit das man sagen mocht*  
*das man unangesehen die trost mutige handlung, noch dorüb:*  
*ber schencken darzu schickte ob aber vleicht mein g.f. die*  
**Königin** die ros darum dem **König** schenckte *nit allein die:*  
*weil es der brauch ist, sunder das vleicht ir g. ver:*  
 hofte vom **König** ein besser schenck zuhaben  
*hab wol geschribben das man ein erliche Junckfraw von*  
*Jaren überschickte, doch das man Ir auch gehor gebe, Ist mir*  
*nie kein antwurt worden, doch das man nicht von mir sagte*  
*das ich es sollicir, oder anders auch sonst geschribben hette, dan*

<sup>107</sup> [Buckingham]

<sup>108</sup> noch auch dem von Reiffenscheidt derenthalben schreibe

*Ich allein solchs uß getruer guter meynung schreibe, uff das  
sich e.l. daster besser habb darnoch zu Richten, kan nit wissen  
was ich meym g. hern hinfurter nutz bin. In dieser art, nach  
gelegenheit der handlung, dan allein meym g. hern das gelt  
hie anwerde, und costen druff laufft habb zwey pferd, einen  
knecht und ein lackeyen, kan nit wol weniger hebben were wol  
von noten dan der **König** sterblich ist das mei:  
ner g.f. der **Königin** etwas vesteklich zu irer  
g. unterhaltung verschribben und versig:  
elt wurd nit allein vom **König** sunder  
auch von geistlichen und dem gantzen  
konigreich wirt doch ghalten, als viel es mag, und wie*

f328v.

*sie In anderen allen dingen pflegen Es sagt mir das letst  
mol meyn gnedige fraw, wie der konig Iren g. geschribben  
selbs hette wolt mich Ir g. den brieff habben lossen sehen, was  
aber verlegt In den kisten, und das selbig mol nit zufinden aber  
das anderen dags als Ich verreiten wolt, was der brieff funden  
hette aber dasselbigmol kein stat zu sehen, sagt mir aber Ir  
g. hult ungeferlich In, wie das der konig Irn g. schriftlich  
widder zusagte was ehr vorhin hette zusagen lossen, Irer g. under:  
haltung halben, solt gehalten werden sagt irn g sie solt  
den brief wol ufhebben der **König** gibt gut  
wort uf das ir g daster gedultiger seie ob  
der jung **König** vleicht widder ein newen hi:  
lich besorg beston und sich enwenig ergetzen, das Jung blut  
ich besorg er seie der g. gottes beraubt ich  
hab auch mit meiner g.f. geret ob ir g. nit ge:  
sint hinnaus widder zukommen seie hat ir g.  
als ich vermerck nit im sin fur ostern ich be:  
sorg wan ir g. dan gern wolt so wirt es dan irn g  
nit zugelossen werden *Ich vernym* wie als  
der arm **Cromwell** gefangen ist gewesen hat er dem  
**König** geschriftlich miessen bekennen wie und  
was der **König** mit **Cromwell** geret hab als mein g.f. die **Königin**  
ins lant ist kommen zu Roschetteren<sup>109</sup> sol der **König** **Cromwell**  
bekant habben das mein g.f. im nit also wol  
gefal als er gemeint hette zu grinwitz hat  
**Cromwell** dem **König** drurich funden **Cromwell** den **König** gefrogt  
warum ir ma.t trurich seie sol der **König** widder  
ein misfallen habben gehat uber das  
unschuldig blut die **Königin** was aber die wort sind  
nymt zuviel zeit zuschreiben, solchs **Cromwell** bekanntnis sol*

<sup>109</sup> [Rochester]

der **König** das falsch unerbar gemiet habben den  
bischofen clero und gelerten uberantwort

f329r.

*habbe, belangen mey[ner g.ste] frawen wegen zu hantencurt hab  
Ich einen ußgmacht der mir alle gelegenheit durchsehe, sagt der  
selbig das by dem herologie were enweg, und eine weysse Lew  
In stat gestelt, aber in einer Cammern sunderlich stunde es  
noch In venstern Es hat der konig hie fur etlichen monaten  
lossen ein gebot auß gon, das man kein gut uß dem land sol  
fieren uff ußblendigen schiffen, dan allein uff Englischen schiffe  
das man kein gietter uff einichen Englischen schiff sol uß  
schiffe, sie bezalen dan den grossen zol, und Ist eben zur selbigen  
zeit der von Wincestern gen Antdorff kommen, der **Kaiser** mus uf  
ein practica luren mag mein g.h. diesen  
summer fridden habben das man dan in al:  
len bewen fort fare rath ich es ist mein g.  
f. gedultig<sup>110</sup> got geb irn g f mutter und  
meim h auch gedult Und seyt also hiemit Got  
dem hern bevolhen, datum zu Lunden uff Montag den xx  
december Anno 15 xxxx*

*E.L. und gunst. frundt und diener  
Karl Harst*

*Es habb auch meyner gsten frawen officir als Rentmey:  
ster und andere by konig oder Räthen angehalten, das meyn g.ste  
fraw verwiesen ist worden, wie ich vernym, wie man Iren  
g. und uff welches g[...]ern die pension reichen sol Ich hab mich  
solchs gar nicht angenommen dan in solcher gestalt  
mein g.f. in land lang zuverleiben ist mir  
irn g. gar nicht dran Aber die officir mochten leiden  
das es lang also werd, umb Ir schefflin zu scheren*

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<sup>110</sup> das thut aber die Juget Ir g. verstet es noch nit